EDUCATORS IN THE FAITH:
THE HOLY CROSS CONGREGATIONS AND THEIR SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1865-1900

by

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There are too many Catholic schools! There are too few religious available to staff and direct them! There are not enough Catholic parents willing and able to make the financial sacrifices necessary to keep Catholic schools open! It is time for the church as well as religious communities to make an agonizing reappraisal of their commitment to Catholic educational institutions!

Much as this might sound like a declaration for the 1990s, it is written as a statement of the situation confronting church and congregational leaders in the 1890s. The last third of the nineteenth century was a period of enormous growth for the Catholic Church in the United States. The number of Catholics more than doubled and the number of dioceses, parishes and schools increased appreciably. American Catholicism would not again make such a leap forward in terms of its institutional presence in the country until the two decades after World War II.

The four religious congregations which trace themselves back to Basil Moreau as their founder were both effected by this expansion as well as contributors to it. In the process, all four became so heavily committed to the apostolate of education in the United States that their investment of personnel and financial resources in this work would shape their overall ministry for most of the twentieth century.

An analysis of how that happened and what its consequences for the four congregations have been must await another time and place. This paper has a more modest goal: to survey, in summary fashion, the course of events whereby, in little more than three decades, the Holy Cross family moved from

staffing a handful of educational institutions, most of them in northern Indiana and southern Louisiana, to responsibility for a nationwide network of universities, colleges, academies and parochial schools that stretched from Wisconsin to Texas and from New Hampshire to California.

At the end of the Civil War, in 1865, the Priests and Brothers of Holy Cross were concentrating their efforts as educators at the University of Notre Dame; the Brothers also taught in twelve parochial schools. The Marianites of Holy Cross were staffing six academies for young women: Saint Mary of the Immaculate Conception at Notre Dame, Indiana; St. Angela's in Morris, Illinois; St. Rose's in La Porte, Indiana; St. Ambrose in Michigan City, Indiana; Holy Angels in New Orleans; and Immaculate Conception in Opelousas, Louisiana. They also taught in fifteen parochial schools. By 1900, the Holy Cross congregations, four in number by then, were staffing and directing six colleges, one normal school, twenty-nine academies and sixty-six parochial schools.[1]

THE COLLEGES

Let us begin with the colleges the largest of which was the University of Notre Dame. It had a faculty of thirty-four and an enrollment of 512 boys

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1. Andrew Corsini Fowler, *A Chronological Outline: The Congregation of Holy Cross in the United States, 1841-1978* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Province Archives Center, 1980). M. Eleanore Brosnahan, *On The King's Highway* (New York: Appleton, 1931) 431-433. "Establishments, Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross, Louisiana Province, 1849-1985," 2 pages, typescript, Archives of the Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross, New Orleans (hereafter MANO). M. Ita O'Sullivan, "The First Fifty Years in New York," 8, 13, 16, paper given at the annual Conference on the History of the Congregations of Holy Cross (1985) [hereafter CHCHC]. Louise Parent, "The Mission of the Sisters of Holy Cross in the New England States," 9-10, CHCHC (1982).

in 1865. Although forty percent of the students came from Indiana and Illinois, almost every state in the Union was represented by 1868. While the size of the student body fluctuated in the following decades, falling to 324 in 1879, it stood at 725 in 1900.[2] Supported by student fees and the unsalaried labor of the Holy Cross religious, Notre Dame in the nineteenth century was a place where a boy might begin his schooling at age five or six and stay as long as his progress warranted and his family could afford the tuition. By 1887, there were two hundred minims at Notre Dame, young boys between the ages of six and thirteen whose schooling was in the hands of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.[3] While a number of master's degrees was given in these years and bachelor's degrees were regularly bestowed in the liberal arts, science and law, the majority of Notre Dame students, until well into the 1890s, left with a commercial diploma certifying that they had mastered bookkeeping, accounting and other skills that would fit them for a business career.[4] In its educational offerings and in the makeup of its student body, Notre Dame served as a model for the other colleges conducted by the Brothers and Priests of Holy Cross.

Whoever may have held the office of president after he relinquished it in 1865, Edward Sorin's vision and authority prevailed at Notre Dame until his death in 1893. Although he approved the opening of the schools of law in 1865 and engineering in 1873, the first under Catholic auspices in the United

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2. Arthur J. Hope, *Notre Dame One Hundred Years* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University Press, 1943), 150, 191. Ralph E. Weber, *Notre Dame's John Zahm* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1961), 173, n. 15.

3. Hope, 221.

4. Ibid., 167, 171, 176-177, 181, 185-186, 197, 199. Weber, 135.

States, and while he supported the efforts of Presidents Auguste Lemonnier (1872-74) and Thomas Walsh (1881-93) to raise the standard of education at Notre Dame, Sorin, himself, had been educated in the seminary rather than in the university. He saw the school's purpose as being to produce not Catholic scholars so much as good Catholic men for the ordinary walks of life.[5] In the nineteenth century, the University of Notre Dame, despite its title, was for the most part a primary and secondary boarding school. Its emergency as a university would come later.

Sorin's finest hour and his greatest service to the work of education in the Congregation of Holy Cross may well have come in April 1879, when a fire destroyed Notre Dame's main building and there was some question as to whether the school would reopen.[6] Sorin returned from Montreal where he had gone in his capacity as superior general, toured the smoking ruins and then gathered the university community in Sacred Heart Church, the only large building still standing. In a moving speech, he told those assembled:

> The fire was my fault. I came here as a young man and founded a university which I named after the Mother of God. Now she had to burn it to the ground to show me that I dreamed too small a dream. Tomorrow we will begin again and build it bigger, and when it is built, we will put a gold dome on top with a golden statue of the Mother of God so that everyone who comes this way will know to

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5. Hope, 167, 181.

6. Timothy Edward Howard, *A History of St. Joseph County, Indiana* (Chicago: The Lewis Publishing Company, 1907), vol. 2, 656ff.

whom we owe whatever great future this place has....If it were all gone, I should not give up.[7]

Sorin's impact on his listeners was electrifying; the issue was no longer in doubt. Five months later, a new building had been erected, classes were back in session and Notre Dame had survived its greatest crisis.

Between 1840 and 1890, religious congregations opened 172 Catholic colleges in the United States.[8] The Holy Cross Sisters, Priests and Brothers played a part in this effort to educate the growing Catholic population in America. In one decade, the 1870s, the men of Holy Cross founded or took over the direction of seven colleges.

Table I

Colleges conducted by the Priests and Brothers of Holy Cross in the United States, 1865-1900

Name	Location	Years
1. Univ. of Notre Dame	Notre Dame, Indiana	1842-
2. St. Mary's	Galveston, Texas	1870-1877
3. Univ. of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart	Watertown, Wisconsin	1872-1912
4. St. Joseph's	Cincinnati, Ohio	1872-1921
5. Holy Cross	New Iberia, Louisiana	1872-1874
6. St. Joseph's	Brownsville, Texas	1873-1874
7. St. Edward's	Austin, Texas	1878-
8. St. Isidore's (Holy Cross after 1890)	New Orleans, Louisiana	1879-

7. Quoted in Robert E. Schmuhl, *The University of Notre Dame: A Contemporary Portrait* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 1. See also Hope, 186. Schmuhl gives no source for the quotation. Hope attributes it to Timothy E. Howard.

8. "Education," *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, vol. 5, 141 (Washington: Catholic University of America, 1967).

The first of these ventures came about when Jean Marie Odin, a French missionary and the bishop of Galveston, Texas, approached Sorin in 1869 about taking over the direction of St. Mary's College in his see city. Founded by Odin in 1854, the college had struggled through the Civil War years but lacked an adequate staff. An agreement was reached and Bishop Odin eventually turned over the deed to the college to Holy Cross. Brother Boniface (Francis) Muher arrived in Galveston in September 1870 to take over both the administration and the teaching duties at St. Mary's. The enrollment consisted of twenty-four boys.[9]

Four more Brothers were assigned to Galveston in 1870-1871 and several priests served for brief periods as chaplains. By the end of the first year under Holy Cross auspices, the students had increased to eighty-four, Protestant and Jewish boys among them. The Holy Cross men were all northerners, however, and found the adjustment to southern living difficult. Brother Boniface left in 1873 to become president of the congregation's college in Cincinnati and low faculty morale, lack of support from the Galveston community and the financial panic of 1873 resulted in a decline in enrollment at St. Mary's. In 1877, the last Holy Cross men were withdrawn from Galveston and the deed to the college was returned to the bishop.[10]

A second foundation in Texas, even more short lived than the one in Galveston, occurred in 1873-1874 when two seminarians and a layman were sent from New Orleans to staff St. Joseph's College in Brownsville. Three years before, this school had been started by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate who

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9. William Dunn, "The Early Years of Holy Cross in Texas, 1870-1900," 1-4. CHCHC (1982).

10. Ibid., 4-6.

wished to hand it over to another religious community. The Holy Cross men proved to be too few, too young and too inexperienced and were withdrawn at the end of the year.[11]

A third foundation in the Lone Star State was made at Austin, the state capital, in 1874 when Daniel Spillard became pastor of St. Mary's Parish, Mother Angela (Eliza) Gillespie and Sister Austin (Julia) Barnard took over the teaching duties at the parish school and Brothers Maximus (Eugene) Petit and John of the Cross (Peter) Hanratty took up residence on a 521-acre farm south of the town. The impetus for this endeavor came from Mary Doyle, a widow who wanted a school for Catholic boys in Austin. She had given Sorin her farm on condition that the Congregation of Holy Cross open such an institution. In 1878, Father William Demers began teaching six boys from neighboring farms in the house on the Doyle property. The following year, a schoolhouse was built and St. Edward's Academy, as it came to be called, was under way.[12]

The administration of St. Edward's changed almost annually until 1886 when Father Peter J. Hurth became, at age 29, the sixth president of the school. Born in Germany, Hurth had entered the congregation in the United States. When he was ordained in 1880, Hurth was teaching at St. Joseph's College in Cincinnati where he also served as president in 1882-1883. During Hurth's eight-year tenure as president of St. Edward's, the institution made

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11. Ibid., 7-8.

12. William Dunn, *Saint Edward's University: A Centennial History* (Austin, Texas: Saint Edward's University Press, 1986), 67.

considerable progress. Hurth left the college in 1894 to become the bishop of Dhaka in East Bengal, India.[13]

When Hurth arrived at St. Edward's, he found some sixty students enrolled. The following autumn, the number dropped to forty but by the end of Hurth's presidency the student body was hovering around two hundred and remained at that level through the end of the century.[14] The faculty in 1885 consisted of three priests, five Brothers, three laymen and the school doctor. Six more Brothers worked the farm and did other non-teaching jobs.[15] Twelve Sisters of the Holy Cross took care of the cooking, cleaning and laundry and looked after the sick. The Sisters continued to serve in this capacity until 1895 when, six in number, they were withdrawn as part of the submission of Sorin's Coadjutor Sisters to the mother general of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.[16]

Before he assumed the presidency of St. Edward's, Hurth had already seen to the chartering of the school in 1885 as St. Edward's College. In 1889, he dedicated a splendid new college building, a commodious, four-story edifice designed by Galveston architect, Nicholas Clayton. As at Notre Dame, the largest number of students were in the commercial course, although there was a classical course and classes in science were offered. The college catalog described the institution's aim as being "to give its students a thorough business and moral training, to form their character, to develop a well-

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13. Ibid., 31-91.

14. Ibid., 31, 33, 64 and 124.

15. Dunn, "The Early Years of Holy Cross in Texas", 16-17.

16. William Dunn, *The Finest Country in the World: The Brothers and Priests of Holy Cross in Texas, 1870-1985* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Province Archives Center, 1985), 59.

balanced mind in a sound body - in a word, to prepare them for success in life, and to make them Christian gentlemen."[17]

In the autumn of 1872, while the outcome of the move into Texas was still uncertain, the Brothers and Priests opened two colleges in the northern states: Our Lady of the Sacred Heart in Watertown, Wisconsin, and St. Joseph's in Cincinnati. The Wisconsin venture dated back to 1871 when Bishop John Martin Henni of Milwaukee offered to sell Sorin fifty-one acres on which to build a college for boys. The land in question was located on the outskirts of Watertown, a city of 8,000 people, many of them Irish and German Catholics, in the south central part of the state. Sorin paid the bishop $12,000 for the land and, in addition, the Congregation of Holy Cross was given in perpetuity the care of the town's English-speaking parish, St. Bernard's. The property contained a large house which became the first school building. On opening day, September 8, 1872, twenty-seven students enrolled; by December, the number had grown to sixty-six of whom five were boarders. The first faculty consisted of three priests, three Brothers, a seminarian and four Sisters of the Holy Cross who took care of the laundry and the kitchen and tended the sick.[18]

In 1874, this institution was chartered by the State of Wisconsin as the "University of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart" with the stated purpose of "the propagation of the liberal Arts and Sciences." The list of subjects taught indicates the existence of both the classical and the commercial courses from the beginning. By the 1880s, B.A. and M.A. degrees were being given, the

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17. Dunn, *Saint Edward's University*, 67.

18. Cullen, "Sacred Heart College, Watertown, Wisconsin, 1872-1912," 2, CHCHC (1987).

former to those who had completed the classical course and the latter to those with the B.A. who had, in addition, "devoted two years to literary pursuits, or to any of the learned professions." Judging from the reports of the commencement exercises, a majority of the students up through the 1880s were in the two-year commercial course and graduated with a Master of Accounts degree. In the 1890s, the classical course was altered and students were allowed to substitute modern languages for the study of Latin and Greek. There is also mention in the catalogs of a Minim Department for boys aged seven to thirteen and of a preparatory course for those not ready to begin either the classical or the commercial courses.[19]

By 1879, Sacred Heart had erected the first of several college buildings and had a debt of $14,000. Enrollment in the nineteenth century seems never to have gone much above seventy and was often less. The lack of development apparently persuaded the congregation to close the school to lay students for two years in 1886-1888 and to use it exclusively for the education of candidates for the Brothers of Holy Cross. These never numbered more than thirty and in 1888 Sacred Heart was reopened to its former clientele. To stimulate enrollment, a large new college building was erected in 1888-1889 for $30,000. Since St. Edward's College in Austin was constructing a large building at the same time, the strain on the congregation's finances must have been considerable. By the turn of the century, the administration of Sacred Heart, although optimistic about the future, had a sizeable debt and a student body that did not seem to grow much from year to year.[20]

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19. Ibid., 5-7, 13-14, 22.

20. Ibid., 2-3, 9, 17-20.

St. Joseph's College in Cincinnati opened its doors on October 2, 1872. Unlike its sister institutions in Wisconsin and Texas which were located in small cities, St. Joseph's was situated in the midst of a large metropolitan area. On the eve of the Civil War, Cincinnati was the largest city west of the Allegheny Mountains. Its population had surpassed 160,000 and this included a large number of Irish and German Catholics. As early as 1850, Cincinnati had boasted nine parishes within the city. By 1872, there were thirty parochial schools in the "Queen City of the West" with a total enrollment of 12,584. Moreover, the Brothers of Holy Cross had been teaching in the parochial schools of several of the German parishes in Cincinnati and in nearby Hamilton, Ohio, since 1852. The Congregation of Holy Cross thus already knew and was known by the Catholic population of southeastern Ohio.[21]

The chapter of the American Province of the Brothers and Priests of Holy Cross, which met in the summer of 1871, had decided to open a school of "higher learning" in Cincinnati. Land had been donated and a building was erected on West Eighth Street, less than two blocks from the cathedral. A faculty of seven Brothers, a priest, a seminarian and several laymen staffed the college when it opened in the autumn of 1872. The curriculum was a three-year commercial course with special facilities for the study of German. Perhaps because of the extensive network of parochial schools in Cincinnati, there do not appear to have been any minims at St. Joseph's in its early years. Enrollment stood at 157 by 1875 but had dropped to 120 in 1878.[22] In

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21. Joseph Kehoe, "St. Joseph's College, Cincinnati, Ohio", 2-3. CHCHC (1989).

22. Minutes of the Provincial Chapter, Sessions of June 28-29 and Aug. 8&11, 1871, Indiana Province Archives [hereafter IPA]. Toohey to Sorin, March 4, 1875. Franciscus to Sorin, undated, 1879. IPA.

the first eleven years of its existence, St. Joseph's College went through ten presidents. The provincial chapter of 1877 discussed closing St. Joseph's but did not. In 1877, there was also a debt of $3,270 which demanded immediate repayment and the college administration had to appeal to Sorin for funds.[23]

By 1880, things were looking better for St. Joseph's. Enrollment stood at 133 and was on the rise; the school's debt had been reduced by almost half to $29,000. This relative stability seems to have continued down to the turn of the century although the enrollment apparently declined overall. The curriculum had expanded in the meantime to include a six-year classical course as well as preparatory and minim divisions. By 1901, there were 102 students taught by three priests, four Brothers and two laymen; both the classical course and the minims had been discontinued.[24]

The Priests and Brothers of Holy Cross also conducted two colleges in Louisiana in the 1870s. The first of these, Holy Cross College in New Iberia, appears to have been staffed by the congregation from 1872 to 1874. In the latter year, a shortage of students, teachers and money brought an end to the Holy Cross commitment and possibly to the school as well. Located one hundred miles west of New Orleans in the area where the French-speaking exiles from Acadia, the "Cajuns", had settled in the eighteenth century, the school had forty students, ten of them boarders, and was conducted by two Brothers, a priest and a lay teacher in October 1873. Little else is known about it.[25]

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23. Minutes of the Provincial Chapter, July 21, 1877. Franciscus to Sorin, November 11, 1877. IPA.

24. Franciscus to Sorin, February 11, 1880, and June 16, 1880. IPA. *Thirtieth Annual Catalogue, Saint Joseph's College, 1901-1902.* IPA.

25. Alexandre Marine to Sorin, September 14, 1873. Brother John of the Cross to Sorin, October 22, 1873, and March 20, 1874. Sorin to Archbishop Napoleon Perche (of New Orleans), December 24, 1873. IPA.

In New Orleans, itself, the congregation opened St. Isidore's College in 1879 on the riverfront farm in the Third District, two miles below the city, which had been purchased in 1859. Until 1871, the Brothers of Holy Cross had worked the farm, used the produce to supply St. Mary's Orphan Asylum in the city and employed on it some of the older boys from the orphanage.[26]

From 1849, when the Holy Cross religious had first come to Louisiana, St. Mary's Asylum had been staffed by the Brothers and the Marianite Sisters. Even after the separation of the men and women of Holy Cross into autonomous congregations in 1857, the Brothers and Sisters had continued to work together at the orphanage. In 1871, however, the lay directors of St. Mary's made a new contract with the Marianites alone to staff and direct the institution. The relationship between the Marianites and the men of Holy Cross was, by this time, so disturbed by the sale of the mother house in France and the exclusion, to their impoverishment, of the Sisters from any of the proceeds, that the Brothers were excluded from any further involvement with St. Mary's Asylum after 1871.[27] From that time on, until well into the twentieth century, collaboration between the two communities in Louisiana seems to have virtually come to a standstill.

The older boys from St. Mary's were moved to the farm where they were instructed in trades and agriculture. Known at various times during the 1870s as The Industrial School of Our Lady of Holy Cross and St. Isidore's Farm, the property continued to be utilized for the care of orphan boys until 1879 when the congregation reorganized it as St. Isidore's College for boarding and day

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26. Fisher Iwasko, "Crux Spec Unica - A Motto and a Triumph in New Orleans," 15-20. CHCHC (1986).

27. John Toohey to Sorin, January 7, 1871. Brother Ignatius to Sorin, July 6, 1871. IPA.

students. As such, it was the first boarding school for boys in New Orleans.[28]

The new college seems to have started off well. By 1882, there were fifty-three boarders and twenty-five scholars. But two years later enrollment had dropped to forty-three of whom thirty-one were boarders.[29] In its early years, St. Isidore's suffered from its reputation as a former orphanage and industrial school. With the number of students declining and the buildings in disrepair, the provincial chapter of 1884 considered closing the school but decided against it.[30] Apparently, the financial situation improved even though the student body did not become appreciably larger. In 1891, William Corby, the provincial superior, noted an enrollment of seventy-three at St. Isidore's taught by nine Brothers, two priests and a seminarian.[31] The minutes of the local council for 1889 recorded the admonition to teachers and prefects not to hit the boys: "we need them, especially before Christmas."[32]

Although the sale of the property was discussed by the authorities of the congregation in 1889 and again in 1893, and a slaughter house erected adjacent to the farm in 1893 filled the air of the neighborhood with an awful stench, the community invested $15,000 in the construction of a new school building in 1894-1895. In 1890, the institution had received a charter from the State of Louisiana and the name had been changed to Holy Cross College.

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28. Iwasko, 22.

29. Joseph Scherer to Sorin, May 28, 1882. Scherer to Granger, December 14, 1883. Sorin Era Papers, IPA.

30. Iwasko, 22. Minutes of the Provincial Chapter, August 10-11, 1884, IPA.

31. Visitor's Report, February 28, 1891. Corby Papers, IPA.

32. Iwasko, 23.

An early prospectus listed "the chief aim and object of the institution" as being "to give a good christian and complete commercial education." Although a classical course was offered, the majority of the students followed the business curriculum. A Minim Department was organized in 1895.[33]

If the efforts of the men of Holy Cross in behalf of the education of the American Catholic populace expanded considerably in the last third of the nineteenth century, that expansion itself posed problems. Not all of the seven colleges founded in those years proved to be viable; only two of them would still be open in 1922. The financial resources and the personnel of the Priests' and Brothers' congregation, moreover, were stretched thin to establish and staff these schools. Short cuts were taken in the education and training of many of the members of the community that would hinder the congregation's ability in the future to meet its commitments. For all the problems, however, the work of education continued to be the principle endeavor of the Holy Cross men, as it had been from the beginning.

The women of Holy Cross got into the business of higher education in the United States only at the end of the century. In 1896, educational reforms at St. Mary's Academy at Notre Dame, Indiana, resulted in the addition of a one-year program, after graduation from the academy, in a special field of concentration. A degree was awarded to the young women who successfully completed the program. In 1898, Agnes Ewing Brown of Lancaster, Ohio, a grand-niece of Mother Angela, became the first to do so and received the degree of Bachelor of Letters in English. As the twentieth century

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33. Iwasko, 23. Corby to Sorin, January 29, 1889, IPA. The prospectus is in the Holy Cross College, New Orleans, box, IPA. An account of the development of the school may be found in the series of four articles entitled "The Brothers of Holy Cross, Pioneers in Louisiana," *Catholic Action of the South* (New Orleans), April 21, 28 and May 5, 12, 1949.

progressed, St. Mary's College came into being alongside the venerable academy of the same name on the Sisters' property at Notre Dame.[34]

THE ACADEMIES

If the Sisters had not offered a bachelor's degree at any of their schools until the 1890s, they had, nevertheless, long been engaged in offering educational opportunities to young women above and beyond the traditional "three r's". Their vehicle for doing this was the academy or select school. While these schools defy a precise definition, usually they took in boarders, followed a program of studies which specified the subjects to be taught in each year and the textbooks to be used and advanced students from year to year only upon the successful completion of an examination. The students who pursued their studies in one of these academies paid for the privilege of doing so and the academies were thus a source of income for the Sisters. They indirectly supported the parochial schools where the teaching Sisters worked for room and board and a small stipend. Every academy of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, for instance, housed a faculty for a nearby parochial school and Sisters from that academy taught religion in parishes that had no school.[35]

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34. Mary Immaculate Creek, *A Panorama: 1844-1977, Saint Mary's College, Notre Dame, Indiana* (Notre Dame, Indiana: Saint Mary's College, 1977), 50-51. The College of Notre Dame of Maryland in Baltimore claims to be the first Catholic women's college chartered to grant degrees. In 1899, it granted bachelor's degrees for the first time to six women graduates. See John Tracy Ellis, editor, *Documents of American Catholic History*, volume 2 (Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1967), 530. Vassar College in Poughkeepsie, New York, chartered in 1861, was the first women's college in the U.S. to grant degrees.

35. Maria Concepta McDermott, *The Making of a Sister-Teacher* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1965), chapter 3 and p. 116.

The model for the twenty-six academies conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross was St. Mary's of the Immaculate Conception, founded in Bertrand, Michigan, in 1844 and transferred to Notre Dame, Indiana, in 1855. In 1860, St. Mary's enrollment had stood at ninety. During the Civil War years, the student body grew steadily until there were 264 students in 1866. In 1900, the students numbered 214. Originally ten years in duration, the curriculum for the academy had stretched to eleven years, twelve for the classical course, by the turn of the century.[36]

Table II

Academies or select schools by the Sisters of the Holy Cross in the United States in the Nineteenth Century*

Name	Location	Years
1. St. Mary's	Bertrand, Michigan	1844-1855
	Notre Dame, Indiana	1855-1945
	South Bend, Indiana	1945-1976
2. Holy Angels	Mishawaka, Indiana	1848-1859
3. St. Ambrose's	Michigan City, Indiana	1854-1897
4. St. Mary's	Susquehanna, Pennsylvania	1856-1858
5. St. Angela's	Morris, Illinois	1857-1958
6. St. Patrick's (Holy Cross After 1870	Baltimore, Maryland	1859-1888
7. St. Vincent's became Holy Angels)	Logansport, Indiana	1863-1924
8. St. Rose's	La Porte, Indiana	1864-1919
9. St. Joseph's	South Bend, Indiana	1865-1953
10. Our Lady of the Sacred Heart	Fort Wayne, Indiana	1866-1934
11. Assumption	Lowell (South Bend), Indiana	1867-1933
12. Holy Cross	Washington, D.C.	1868-
13. St. Cecilia's	Washington, D.C.	1868-1985
14. St. Mary's	Alexandria, Virginia	1869-1990
15. Sacred Heart	Lancaster, Pennsylvania	1873-1958

36. Ibid. 68. For enrollments see *Annual Catalogue of St. Mary's Academy*, 1860-1861, 1865-1866 and 1899-1900, St. Mary's College Archives. See also Creek, chapters 1 and 3 and pp. 30-31.

16. St. Mary's	Austin, Texas	1874-1972
17. St. Mary's	Salt Lake City, Utah	1875-1970
18. St. Catherine's Normal Institute	Baltimore, Maryland	1875-1929
19. Sacred Heart	Ogden, Utah	1878-1939
20. Sacred Heart	Clarksville, Texas	1879-1883
21. St. Mary's	Marshall, Texas	1880-1957
22. St. Edward's	Deadwood, S. Dakota	1883-1897
23. Holy Rosary	Woodland, California	1886-1953
24. St. Teresa's	Boise, Idaho	1889-1964
25. St. Mary's	Danville, Illinois	1891-1914
26. St. Augustine's	Fresno, California	1894-1940

* The Sisters of the Holy Cross were separated from the Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross after 1869. Listed below are all those schools founded from the mother house of the Sisters of the Holy Cross at Notre Dame, Indiana, both before and after 1869. Source: McDermott, 91; Brosnahan, 431-434.

In 1856, Basile Moreau had published *La Pedagogie chretienne*, a treatise on the art of teaching for the guidance of the Brothers of St. Joseph.[37] Relying on Moreau's directives and on her own experience in American schools, Mother Angela Gillespie in the 1850s drew up a "Programme of Studies for Select Schools and Academies" which specified not only the subjects to be studied in each of ten years but also the textbooks to be used. Then, to meet the need for appropriate texts, the indefatigable Angela compiled and edited a series of readers which was published by D.J. Sadlier and Company of New York and went through several revisions and editions between 1860 and 1900. While not influenced directly by Mother Angela, the academies conducted by the Marianites of Holy Cross in Louisiana and New York drew on the common heritage of Moreau's *Pedagogie chretienne* and the detailed procedures for teachers as

37. B. Moreau, *La Pedagogie chretienne a l'usage des Josephites de Sainte-Croix* (Le Mans, 1856).

well as school administrators (prefects of studies, health and discipline) in Moreau's rules for the women of Holy Cross.[38]

In short, an education in one of the Holy Cross Sisters' academies in the latter nineteenth century was a recognizable entity. Rather than being merely institutions of expediency, the thirty-two academies conducted by the women of Holy Cross between 1860 and 1900 were organized, planned centers of learning, modeled on the same philosophy and with the same type of curriculum. The plan of studies for the parochial schools under the Sisters' direction differed only in that modern language courses, music and art were not usually part of the curriculum and there were no boarders.[39]

Table III

Academies conducted by the Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross in the United States in the Nineteenth Century*

Name	Location	Years
1. Holy Angels	New Orleans, Louisiana	1854-
2. St. Basil's	Plaquemine, Louisiana	1857-1862 1865-1976
3. Immaculate Conception	Opelousas, Louisiana	1856-1862 1865?-1988
4. St. John's	Franklin, Louisiana	1871-
5. St. Vincent de Paul	New York, New York	1873-1934
6. St. Charles	Lake Charles, Louisiana	1882-1974
7. Sacred Heart	Morgan City, Louisiana	1893-

* Although all the Holy Cross Sisters in the United States from 1843 to 1869 belonged to one congregation as Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross, this list includes only those schools which remained in the care of the Marianites after the separation of the Indiana Sisters in 1869. Sources: List entitled "Establishments: Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross, Louisiana Province, 1849-1985" in MANO; "List of foundations, Province of the North" in archives of Our Lady of Princeton, Princeton, New Jersey.

38. McDermott, 63-75.

39. Ibid., 69, 93.

Some of these academies enjoyed a large enrollment and were able to have their own buildings. St. Mary's in Salt Lake City had 200 students by 1881. St. Mary's in Austin, Texas, opened a splendid new building on an elevat ed site in the center of the city, a few blocks from the state capitol, in 1885. Holy Angels in New Orleans had moved into a large new building in 1865. Such prosperity was now always the case, however. In Danville, Illinois, the name "St. Mary's Academy" was posted on the front door of the school building while the side door was advertised as giving entry to St. Patrick's Parish School.[40]

The academies, especially Holy Angels for the Marianites and St. Mary's at Notre Dame for the Sisters of the Holy Cross, also served for the education of the young teaching Sisters who were then assigned to other schools of their respective congregations for an apprenticeship under the watchful eye of Sisters who were veterans of the classroom. Over and above the preparation of their own members, the Sisters of the Holy Cross entered the field of teacher training for public education with the opening of St. Catherine's Normal Institute in Baltimore in 1875, the first Catholic normal school in the United States. In an age when the certification of teachers was either non-existent or varied greatly from state to state, the women of Holy Cross were, on the whole, as competent as teachers in the public schools.[41]

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40. Miriam Ann Cunningham, "The Sisters of the Holy Cross in Utah," 15, 20, CHCHC (1983). M. Georgia Costin, "The Finest and Most Elevated Place", *Fruits of the Tree*, volume 2 (Notre Dame, Indiana: Sisters of the Holy Cross, 1989), 129-130. M. Campion Kuhn, "In the Garden Spot: Sacred Heart Academy, Lancaster, Pennsylvania," 1, CHCHC (1988).

41. McDermott, 104-121.

PAROCHIAL SCHOOLS

The decree of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 that every parish in the United States should have a Catholic school found the Holy Cross congregations already heavily engaged on that level of education. In the remaining years of the century, the commitment grew even larger as the Marianites took on teaching duties in six parochial schools in Louisiana, Mississippi and New York City and the Sisters of the Holy Cross took on fifteen additional schools, most of them in the western states.

In December of 1881, six Canadian Marianites had arrived in North Grosvenordale, Connecticut, to staff St. Joseph's Parish School. Their services had been requested by the Belgian-born pastor, who needed a bi-lingual school in his parish to accommodate the children of both his Irish and French-Canadian parishioners who worked in the local textile mills. In France and Canada, boys and girls went to separate schools and the Marianites' provincial superior in Montreal, Mother Mary of St. Raphael, hesitated when she learned that her Sisters would be expected to conduct a mixed school if they went to Connecticut. She consented, however, when the pastor pleaded that he could not afford two schools and that, besides, little boys had a soul as well as little girls.[42]

St. Joseph's in North Grosvenordale proved to be the first of sixteen parochial schools that the Canadian Sisters undertook to staff in New York State and the New England states in the last two decades of the nineteenth century. All these schools were in parishes with a large French-speaking

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42. *Annales de la Congregation des Soeurs de Sainte-Croix et des Sept-Douleurs*, 4 volumes (Saint-Laurent, Quebec, 1930-1936, II, 388-391.

population made up mostly or entirely of immigrants from Canada who had been drawn south of the border by opportunities for employment in American factories. When the Canadian Sisters, an autonomous community after 1883 and known as the Congregation of the Sisters of Holy Cross and the Seven Dolors, came to divide their membership into provinces in 1902, the New England states less Vermont constituted one of the three provinces established, so numerous had the Sisters committed to this work become.[43]

Table IV

Parochial schools conducted by the Sisters of Holy Cross and the Seven Dolors in the United States in the nineteenth century.*

Name	Location	Years
1. St. Joseph's	N. Grosvenordale, Connecticut	1881-
2. St. Louis de Gonzague	Nashua, New Hampshire	1883-
3. St. Anne	Fall River, Massachusetts	1883-1895
4. ?	Redford, New York	1885-1914
5. Sacred Heart	New Bedford, Massachusetts	1886-
6. ?	Vergennes, Vermont	1886-1908
7. St. Francis Xavier	Nashua, New Hampshire	1886-
8. Holy Angels	St. Alban's, Vermont	1889-1931
9. St. John Baptist	Suncook, New Hampshire	1890-
10. Holy Rosary	Rochester, New Hampshire	1893-
11. St. Hyacinthe	New Bedford, Massachusetts	1894-
12. ?	Keeseville, New York	1894-1913
13. Immaculate Conception	Fitchburg, Massachusetts	1895-1902
14. St. Joseph	Springfield, Massachusetts	1898-
15. St. Anthony	New Bedford, Massachusetts	1899
16. St. George	Manchester, New Hampshire	1899

43. L. Parent, 10-12.

17. Our Lady of Seven Dolors	Adams, Massachusetts	1899-

* Although the Sisters of Holy Cross and the Seven Dolors were all Marianites Sisters of Holy Cross until 1883, this list includes the schools founded from their mother house in Montreal both before and after 1883. Sources: *Annales de la Congregation des Soeurs de Saint-Croix et des Sept-Douleurs*, IV, 362-363; L. Parent, passim.

Table V

Parochial schools conducted by the Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross in the United States in the nineteenth century.*

Name	Location	Years
1. St. Mary's Boys' Assylum	New Orleans	1849-1932
2. Immaculate Conception Girls' Asylum	New Orleans	1851-1931
3. Industrial School	New York City	1855-1856
4. St. Basil/St. John	Plaquemine, Louisiana	1857-1976
5. St. Vincent de Paul	New York City	1861-1922
	Tarrytown, New York	1922-1978
6. St. Vincent de Paul	New Orleans	1869-1881
7. St. Charles	Pensacola, Florida	1869-1871
8. Sts. Peter & Paul	New Orleans	1870-
9. St. Francis de Sales	Houma, Louisiana	1870-
10. Our Lady of the Sacred Heart/St. Mary's	New Orleans	1874-1901
11. St. Mary in Carrolton	New Orleans	1881-1886
12. St. Theresa/St. Alphonsus	Ocean Springs, Mississippi	1887-1990
13. Holy Name of Mary	Algiers, Louisiana	1888-
14. Our Lady of Mercy	New York City	1888-1947
15. St. Joseph/Little Flower	Arnaudville, Louisiana	1891-1980
16. St. Patrick's	New Orleans	1892-1910
17. St. Cecilia's	New Orleans	1897-
18. St. Stephen's	Berwick, Louisiana	1897-?

* See note for Table III.

Table VI

Parochial schools conducted by the Sisters of the Holy Cross in the United States in the nineteenth century.*

Name	Location	Years
1. Indian Mission	Pokagon, Michigan	1843-1857
2. St. John's	Lake County, Indiana	1849-1864
3. St. Anne's	Mackinac, Michigan	1852-1853
4. Assumption	Lowell (S. Bend), Indiana	1854-1985
5. St. Mary's	Michigan City, Indiana	1854-1897
6. St. Jospeh's Asylum	Washington, D.C.	1856-1967
and Day School	Washington, D.C.	1856-1904
7. Filbert Street (Immaculate Conception)	Philadelphia	1856-1864
8. Holy Name	Chicago	1856-1861
9. St. Joseph's German	Chicago	1857-1861
10. St. Philomena's	Bourbonnais Grove, Illinois	1858-1860
11. St. Patrick's	Baltimore	1859-1987
12. St. Paul's	Philadelphia	1859-1864
13. St. Augustine's	Philadelphia	1859-1865
14. St. James	West Phildelphia, Pennsylvania	1861-1864
15. St. Charles	Crawfordsville, Indiana	1865-1944
16. St. Teresa's	Joliet, Illinois	1865-1880
17. St. Vincent's	Fort Wayne, Indiana	1866-1914
18. St. Joseph's Asylum	Rensselaer, Indiana	1867-1887
19. St. Peter's	Washington, D.C.	1868-1972
20. St. Matthew's	Washington, D.C.	1868-1905
(reopened as Calvert)		1925-1970
21. St. Mary's	Alexandria, Virginia	1869-
22. St. Vincent's	Logansport, Indiana	1869-1973
23. St. Michael's	Plymouth, Indiana	1871-1970
24. St. Bernard's	Watertown, Wisconsin	1872-1903
25. St. Anthony's	Lancaster, Pennsylvania	1873-1958
26. St. Augustine's	Washington, D.C.	1875-1895
27. St. Bridget's	Logansport, Indiana	1875-1893
28. St. Joseph's Asylum	Lafayette, Indiana	1876-1893
29. St. Mary's	Union City, Indiana	1877-1941
30. St. Agnes	Catonsville, Maryland	1877-1881
31. Sacred Heart	Ackley, Iowa	1878-1884
32. St. Mary's	Anderson, Indiana	1879-1974
33. St. Mary's	Marshall, Texas	1880-1968
34. St. Joseph's	Marshall, Texas	1880-1968
35. St. John's	Goshen, Indiana	1881-1917
36. St. Vincent's	Akron, Ohio	1881-1885

37.	St. Vincent's	Elkhart, Indiana	1881-1975
38.	St. Mary's	Park City, Utah	1882-1933
39.	Holy Cross	Salt Lake City, Utah	1882-1896
40.	?	Grand Junction, Colorado	1884-1885
41.	St. Ann's	Lake Linden, Michigan	1885-1889
42.	St. Mary's	South Bend, Indiana	1885-1950
43.	St. Hedwig's	South Bend, Indiana	1885-1936
44.	St. Paul's	Washington, D.C.	1887-1957
45.	St. Pius	Baltimore	1888-1929
46.	St. Patrick's (Holy Family)	Danville, Illinois	1891-1988
47.	St. Joseph's	Eureka, Utah	1891-1941
48.	St. Ann's Orphanage	Salt Lake City, Utah	1891-1953
49.	St. Patrick's	Lead City, Dakota Terr.	1891-1892
50.	St. Joseph's	Pocatello, Idaho	1892-1968
51.	St. Charles	San Francisco	1894-1975
52.	St. Joseph's	Ogden, Utah	1896-1979
53.	Sacred Heart	South Bend, Indiana	1896-1901
54.	St. Joseph's (St. John's	Fresno, California	1897-1968
55.	St. Patrick's	Chatsworth, Illinois	1899-1941
56.	St. Joseph's	Boise, Idaho	1900-1985
57.	St. Stephen's	South Bend, Indiana	1900-1901

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* See note for Table II.

The Brothers of Holy Cross, in addition to their work in the various colleges conducted by their congregation, were also active as teachers of boys in the parochial schools in the latter decades of the nineteenth century. Already engaged at this level of Catholic education before the Civil War, the Brothers served in fifty-two parish schools between 1861 and 1900. In many of these schools, however, their service was of short duration, two to eight years. The number of parochial schools staffed by the Brothers reached a peak of seventeen in 1875. Thereafter, the number of students benefitting from their services declined, as did the ranks of the Brother-teachers, until they had only six schools in 1895 and two in the autumn of 1900: the cathedral

parish in Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Holy Trinity in Chicago.[44] The fact that there were fewer teaching Brothers available and that they were employed at the colleges and that the Sisters were willing to teach both boys and girls and cost pastors less to maintain conspired to greatly diminish the Brothers' role in primary education by the turn of the century.[45]

Table VII

Parochial schools conducted by the Brothers of Holy Cross in the United States in the nineteenth century.*

Name	Location	Years
1. Catholic school	St. Peter's Colony, Indiana	1841-1846
2. St. Michael's	Madison, Indiana	1842-1848 1859-1860
3. Manual Labor School	Notre Dame, Indiana	1843-1899
4. Immaculate Conception	Fort Wayne, Indiana	1844-1909
5. St. Raphael's	Dubuque, Iowa	1844-1845
6. Catholic school	Washington, Indiana	1846-1847
7. St. John's	Lake County, Indiana	1846-1849
8. Assumption	Brooklyn	1848-1849
9. St. Mary's Orphanage	Lafayette, Indiana	1848-1849
10. St. Mary's Asylum	New Orleans	1849-1871
11. St. Joseph's Orphanage	Cincinnati	1852-1854
12. St. Joseph's Male Orphan Asylum	Lancaster, New York	1852-1853
13. St. Anne's	Mackinac, Michigan	1852-1853(?)
14. St. John's	Cincinnati	1852(?)-1861
15. St. Joseph's	Mishawaka, Indiana	1853-1860
16. St. Francis de Sales	Toledo, Ohio	1853-1860
17. St. Joseph's	Cincinnati	1853-1860 1863-1877

44. Fowler, *Chronological Outline*. Individual Brothers were teaching in the parish schools at St. Hedwig's and St. Casimir's in South Bend in 1900 and at St. Mary's in Austin, Texas. On the Brothers' work in the parochial schools, see Kilian Beirne, *From Sea To Shining Sea* (Valatie, New York: Holy Cross Press, 1966), 100-137.

45. James A. Burns, *The Growth and Development of the Catholic School System in the United States* (New York: Benziger Brothers, 1912), 100, 103, 282.

18. St. Alouisius Orphanage	Cincinnati	1854-1855(?)
19. St. Alexis	Lowell (S. Bend), Indiana	1855-?
20. St. Mary's	Toledo, Ohio	1855-1860
21. St. Boniface	Louisville	1855-1857
22. St. Joseph's	Hamilton, Ohio	1855-1858 1890-1899
23. St. Teresa's	Joliet, Illinois	1855-1869
24. Catholic Orphanage	Buffalo, New York	1856-1857
25. German School	Columbus, Ohio	1856-1859
26. St. Paul's	Philadelphia	1856-1864
27. St. Augustine's	Philadelphia	1856-1864
28. Assumption	Philadelphia	1856-1864
29. St. Patrick's	Chicago	1857-1861
30. St. Joseph's	Chicago	1857-1861
31. St. Peter's	Milwaukee	1857-1858
32. St. Thomas	Zanesville, Ohio	1857-1862
33. Manual Labor School	Highland (Vincennes), Indiana	1857-?
34. St. Patrick's	Columbus, Ohio	1858-1861
35. Cathedral	Alton, Illinois	1858-1885
36. Sts. Peter & Paul	Turkey Creek (Lake Co.), Indiana	1858-?
37. St. Patrick's Orphanage	Baltimore	1859-1874
38. St. Patrick's	Baltimore	1859-1867
39. St. Francis	Cincinnati	1859-1870
40. St. Augustine's Manual Training	Philadelphia	1859-1865
41. Immaculate Conception	Springfield, Illinois	1862-1888
42. French & German	Toledo, Ohio	1862-?
43. Holy Trinity	Cincinnati	1863-1896
44. New Dublin	Sorinsville (Lowell), Indiana	1864-1866
45. St. Vincent de Paul	New York	1864-1865
46. St. Philomena	Cincinnati	1864-1868 1877-1880
47. St. Patrick's	South Bend, Indiana	1867-1894
48. St. Mary's	Lafayette, Indiana	1867-1895
49. Holy Cross	Blairstown, Iowa	1867-1870
50. St. Patrick's	Lafayette, Indiana	1868-?
51. St. Joseph's	South Bend, Indiana	1869-1884
52. St. Ann's	Lafayette, Indiana	1869-1884
53. St. Isidore's Agricultural	New Orleans	1871-1879
54. St. Vincent's Industrial	New Orleans	1871-1879
55. St. Stephen's	Hamilton, Ohio	1873-1880
56. St. Anthony's	La Salle, Illinois	1874-1879

57.	St. Patrick's Academy	La Salle, Illinois	1874-1879
58.	St. John's	Lafayette, Indiana	1874-?
59.	St. Joseph's	New Orleans	1875-?
60.	St. John's	Trenton, New Jersey	1875-1881
61.	Cathedral	Covington, Kentucky	1875-1882
62.	St. John's Cathedral	Milwaukee	1876-1882
63.	St. Edward's Academy	Austin, Texax	1878-1967
64.	Sts. Peter & Paul	Sandusky, Ohio	1877-1878
65.	St. Vincent's Mission	Vincennes, Indiana	1878-?
66.	St. Francis Xavier Cathedral	Vincennes, Indiana	1878-1889
67.	?	Bay, City, Michigan	1879-1881
68.	?	Burlington, Iowa	1879-1881
69.	St. Vincent's	Logansport, Indiana	1881-?
70.	St. Mary's	Camden, New Jersey	1882-1895
71.	St. Turibius Indian Mission	Kelseyville, California	1882-1883
72.	St. Hedwig's	South Bend, Indiana	1883-1896
73.	St. Pius	Chicago	1885-1890
74.	Nativity	Chicago	1885-1890
75.	St. Columbkille's	Chicago	1886-1900
76.	St. Augustine's	Kalamazoo, Michigan	1890-?
77.	St. Columba's	Ottawa, Illinois	1891-1896
78.	Holy Trinity	Chicago	1893-1910
79.	St. Casimir's	South Bend, Indiana	1898-1900

* Source: Fowler, *Chronological Outline*.

The last third of the nineteenth century was an era of expansion for the Holy Cross congregations in the United States. Not only had their personnel[46] and the institutions under their care increased significantly,

46. Comparable statistics for all four Holy Cross congregations in the U.S. are not readily available. The Brothers and Priests numbered 287 professed and novices as of July 1, 1900 (source: *List of the Religious of Holy Cross, Province of Indiana* in IPA). The Marianite Sisters of Holy Cross numbered 113 professed and novices in their Louisiana Province at the time of their general chapter in 1901 (source: *Annales...des Soeurs Marianites*, 517-518). The Marianites in New York City belonged to the Province of France and are not included in this number. The Sisters of the Holy Cross were 837 professed and novices in 1900, information for which I am indebted to Sr. M. Alma Louise Fitch of the Archives of the Sisters of the Holy Cross.

but they had spread themselves across the country, from New England to California, from Wisconsin to Louisiana and Texas. Only the southeastern states and the southwestern territories had seen no foundation by one or other of the four Holy Cross congregations which looked to Basile Moreau as their founder. The ways in which they served the Catholic community, the ministries they undertook, had multiplied in a way which no one could have foreseen.

It was precisely this expansion, however, unforeseen and unplanned as it was, that posed the challenges which a new generation of leadership in the American Holy Cross communities would have to face as the nineteenth century came to an end. If their predecessors had struggled to established a network of institutions to serve the largely immigrant church in America, the new leaders would have to struggle to maintain these same institutions which were making ever heavier claims on the resources of the four Holy Cross congregations by 1900. Moreover, the passing of the men and women who had guided the Holy Cross congregations in the United States for most of the nineteenth century left leadership in the hands of those who, however competent they may have been, lacked the prestige and personal authority of their predecessors.

Nevertheless, when the men and women of Holy Cross at Notre Dame gathered in November 1896 for the funeral of Brother Francis Xavier (Rene) Pattoy, the last of the band of seven who had come from France in 1841 to extend their congregation's work to the United States, they could look back on more then a half-century of development that must have astounded the man whom they were laying to rest. For he had known the two-month journey from Le Mans to the wilderness of Indiana, had endured the winter of 1842-1843 at Notre Dame and the following spring had been present at the opening of a school in

the forest which by 1844 dared to call itself a university. Whatever obstacles might lie ahead, they must have seemed small and the community's resources more than adequate when compared with the situation of Brother Francis Xavier and his confreres who, 55 years before, had huddled together against the winter cold in a log cabin on the shore of a frozen lake in northern Indiana to make plans for evangelizing and civilizing their corner of the earth.