#2013-6

Brother Theodulus: Reluctant Martyr in New Orleans by Brother George Klawitter, CSC

All too often history focuses on the lives and exploits of famous people, and if ordinary folk figure at all in history, they are background for the limning out of memorable personages, but if we have learned anything from Studs Terkel, it should be that the little people (for him the foot solders in World War II) are every bit as deserving of coverage in history books as emperors and kings and politicians and bishops who have generally ended up hogging the limelight. In Holy Cross too we have had hundreds of heroic little people who have been by and large overlooked: Hilarion Ferton, Leonard Guittoger, Sister Mary of the Five Wounds. Then sandwiched in between the great and the little are the middle folk who are also awaiting their turns in history: Victor Drouelle, Alexis Granger, Lawrence Menage. One person who can no longer lie neglected, if only because his letters still complain to us from the grave, is Brother Theodulus Barbé, a reluctant martyr for the orphans in New Orleans.

Like most entries in the General Matricule of the Congregation of Holy Cross, the entry for Brother Theodulus is succinct:

[Number] 347. Brother Theodulus (Francis Barbé), son of Francis [Barbé] and Anne Chardon, was born February 20, 1818, in Jublains ([in the department of] Mayenne); he entered [at Ste. Croix] on July 2, 1838, became a novice on August 19, 1838, was professed August 22,

1843; [he] left France for America with Father Sorin in 1846; [he] died June 25, 1853, in New Orleans of yellow fever, having been commissioner at the [St. Mary's] orphanage. [Midwest Province Archives]

The Lower Normandy town in which Francis was born in 1818, just sixteen years after Napoleon's welcome Concordat with the Church, is an ancient town dating back to pre-Roman times. Conquered in the first century CE, it was called Noviodunum by the Romans and also Civitas Diablintum, City of the Diablintes, an ancient Gallic tribe. Eventually the name was corrupted to Jublent and finally Jublains. Located six miles from the Department capital Mayenne, a city of 14,000 people, Jublains itself has today a population of only 700. Its present attractions are the Gallo-Roman ruins, including those of a fortress (apparently more for grain storage than battle), an amphitheater, temple, and baths. The city Laval is about fifteen miles distant, and the town of Saulges, where that most interesting pioneer brother Gatian Monsimer was born, is on the other side of Laval heading towards Le Mans. Jublains lies fifty-three miles south of Mont St. Michel and fifty-five miles from Rennes, where Holy Cross Brothers still staff a boarding residence for male students at the Rennes technical school.

When Francis Barbé showed up at Sainte-Croix in 1838, the little religious community was undergoing a drop in new vocations, after ten years of energetic growth. Although many had their formation cut short by apostolic needs in the diocese, Francis, now named Theodulus, apparently enjoyed a solid period of formation. It was not until three years after his profession that he was sent from his

homeland, in the company of Father Sorin, for ministry in America. Father Moreau was not always so careful with his young recruits: Anselm Caillot was shipped out to America at age 16 and Gatian Monsimer at age 15. However, once in America almost immediately Theodulus was taken from the relative stability of Notre Dame south to a new venture in Kentucky after Father Sorin had been asked to staff there troubled St. Mary's College.

Opened in the spring of 1821 by a diocesan priest, Father William Byrne, at the request of Bishop Flaget twenty miles south of Bardstown and three miles west of Lebanon, Kentucky, in an old stone building, St. Mary's College was twice destroyed by fire during Byrne's time. Between 1821 and 1833, the school educated 1200 students, many of whom came from Louisiana and Mississippi (Webb 434). One of the first fifty boys to enroll was Martin John Spaulding, who would later become bishop of Baltimore. In 1833 Byrne turned the institution over to six Jesuits. Two more were added in 1836. The Jesuits remained until 1846 when they withdrew from Kentucky because they needed men to run St. John's College, Fordham. St. Mary's was always overshadowed by its sister school St. Joseph's in Bardstown, although a December 5, 1849, letter from the Jesuit president of St. Joseph's, Father Peter J. Verhaegen, to Father Benedict Spalding, brother of Bishop Spalding and vicar of the diocese of Louisville, notes, "St. Mary's could not injure St. Joseph's, because it was a school for Catholic boys only" (qtd. 305), implying that St. Joseph's enrolled Protestant students as well as Catholic students, a fact demonstrated by a walkout of some Protestant boys over a rule that students must kneel during mandatory chapel services. There was, at least from the Jesuit point of view, no feeling that two institutions so close together on the frontier would jeopardize each other. Sorin was of a different opinion.

In his Chronicles, Sorin begins his St. Mary's, Kentucky, account (written no doubt years after the events themselves) with the 1846 Jesuit pullout. Bishop Guy Chabrat of Louisville had written to Sorin offering him the school, and Sorin in reply offered to take over the institution and also possibly start a brothers' novitiate and a trade school on condition that the bishop would transfer ownership of all four hundred acres to Holy Cross. According to a note in Brother Aidan's Extracts, Sorin intended to use St. Mary's as a novitiate site in order to have more liberty than he enjoyed in the Vincennes diocese (Life of Mother Theodore, 318-2, 1846, qtd. in Brother Aidan's Extracts, 496). Chabrat accepted the terms and so informed Sorin with a letter addressed to Sorin in New York as Sorin was leaving for France. Sorin in turn asked Father Julian Delaune to leave his parish in Madison, Indiana, and go to St. Mary's to assess the situation. Delaune, without permission, bought the place for Sorin. Some dawdling from Propaganda Fidei complicated the transition for four months. Meanwhile by spring of 1847 Sorin remained in France and Delaune remained in limbo. Desparate, Delaune had opened the college in January, 1847, with the help of some local teachers, and convinced fifty students to enroll. In retrospect Sorin opined that Delaune had hoped to be named permanent president of the college (Chronicles 69). By October, 1847, Moreau ratified the deal. Tension at St. Mary's, however, mounted between Delaune and Father Auguste Saunier, who was Moreau's representative at the college. Into the middle of the muddle four sisters and Brother Theodulus arrived. Then the vicar of the diocese, Martin

Spalding, stepped into the fray, and to make matters worse the Jesuits returned to Kentucky and reopened their Bardstown college.¹

The first letter we have by Brother Theodulus is postmarked February 18, 1848, from St. Mary's, Kentucky, and as is typical with his writing, the organization is haphazard. He does not like Father Saunier and keeps returning to that theme. He has high regard for Father Delaune, who apparently was doing an excellent job holding the college together before Moreau's emissary Saunier showed up. With between forty-five and fifty boarders (Klawitter 189), the school does seem to be thriving, but the tension between Delaune and Saunier threatens the entire facility. On this matter of dissension between the two priests, the Cattas are painstakingly detailed, and no one comes off very well (1.552-564). Delaune and Saunier are characterized as energetic and well-intentioned, both wishing to head the school, but Delaune acted too hastily in piling up debt by buying all the departing Jesuits' furniture. Then Saunier came muscling in on this promising enterprise armed with the self-assurance that he should head the institution with Moreau's blessing. Sorin had placed his trust in Delaune who acted precipitously, and Moreau with his usual caution, unwittingly fanned the flames from afar.² Apprized of Saunier's machinations, Martin Spalding, at the time vicar-general of Detroit, labeled Sauier "a big blockhead" (Annales qtd. Catta 1.465, n107). What Theodulus made of this imbroglio we do not have to guess because his February, 1848, letter to Sorin clearly indicates he is a Delaune advocate:

Saunier and Mr. Delaune can agree on nothing. One day Mr. Delaune said to Father Saunier, "I wish they'd send me a man with whom I can

agree so we could move on." Father Saunier replied to him that he was the most capable. Mr. Delaune replied to him on this occasion, "There's nobody in your Community capable of running a college."....Father Saunier has eight postulants, one of which heads the farm. He's a man with the worst insolence for Mr. Delaune. I also found him so when I arrived here. He hardly works and doesn't push those whom he was told to make work on the farm. Mr. Delaune wished that they'd leave. (Klawitter 189)

In retrospect both priests at St. Mary's had their strong points: Delaune could attract boarders and Saunier could attract postulants. But the chemistry between the two was irreparably bad. When Bishop Spalding paid a visit to the school in January, 1848 (Klawitter 190), he sided with Delaune. Theodulus, lost in the squabbling, tells Sorin he wishes he were back at Notre Dame.

Two weeks after his February, 1848, letter to Sorin, Theodulus writes again in less confusion than before, although he does say, "I don't know if you can understand the sense of my letter. I don't have the sense to arrange my paragraphs" (Klawitter 193). Moreau has written to Delaune annulling all arrangements at St. Mary's. The news, apparently, has not daunted Saunier whom Theodulus quotes as saying, "I'm the great president of St. Mary's" (Klawitter 193). Moreau, meanwhile, has despaired of authorizing either Delaune or Saunier and yet is preparing to send four brothers and four sisters to St. Mary's, with no mention of any other priest than Saunier to guide the establishment. Why Moreau had such confidence in a man whom other men, including a bishop, considered incompetent, is beyond

explanation, but while the powers tussled, the little people, like Theodulus, suffered.

We can only imagine what the townsfolk thought of the situation.

By the following summer we know what the locals thought because Theodulus writes in a letter to Sorin (July 9, 1848) that they are saying, "The Lake [Notre Dame] is falling apart; they're going to disperse one of these days" (Klawitter 216). It is true that at the time St. Mary's and St. Joseph's were both able to attract more boarders than Notre Dame could, a state of affairs that would be no secret either in Indiana or in Kentucky. In this same letter Theodulus notes that Saunier handed over his Holy Cross rule book to Theodulus the night before as well as other Notre Dame material, his intention being to leave the Congregation, although he passed off his action simply as a need for a thirty day retreat with the Jesuits. The truth is that Saunier probably either did not know what he wanted to do with his life or he wanted to use this gesture as a way to rally pity and support. In any case, off he went to the Jesuits, who were thriving in Cincinnati. Theodulus reads the situation in an interesting light: "The loss of this college is a blessing" (Klawitter 216). In fact, he concludes, it would have been a blessing if Holy Cross had never undertaken this Kentucky venture in the first place.3

In July, 1848, Sorin came to St. Mary's and took Theodulus away with him to Notre Dame, leaving only the four sisters. Saunier left Holy Cross abruptly, taking two southern Indiana brothers with him, one of whom was the brash Brother Mary Joseph (Samuel O'Connell) who never backed off from a good fight. When Sorin confonted the three renegades in Cincinnati, where he bumped into Saunier on the street by chance, Sorin told them he would never take them back. Brother Bernard

(Patrick Leo Foley) did, however, return to Holy Cross in 1855 (or in 1887, according to his US Province matricule card), taking the name John de Matha and teaching at Notre Dame until his death in 1895, two years after Sorin's own death. Although Sorin and Saunier were seminary classmates, the mess in Kentucky poisoned their relationship. Sorin, in fact, wrote to Moreau of Saunier: "You sent here to represent the Congregation *a child who does not even have common sense.* I think he is diseased in the brain" (qtd. in O'Connell 230).

Theodulus was, however, not quite finished with St. Mary's because we have evidence in a letter to Moreau the following spring (April 16, 1849) that he returned to Kentucky. He reports to Moreau the details of a very interesting interview he had while there with the bishop of Cincinnati, John Baptist Purcell:

There was in his tone, his manners, and his words so much hatred against us I was surprised. We are a "Community of children and headless folks so as to make all the bishops reject us and send us packing." He's so tired of us that he can no longer stomach us. Nevertheless, he says that if the affair of the Sisters interests him, he'll sooner take you to court than let them go, because they are too difficult to replace. He compares you to one who renounces his signature. (Klawitter 302)

So we know that the Holy Cross sisters did not leave St. Mary's when Delaune, Saunier, and Theodulus did, and we know that they were valued for their work. But the sisters did eventually leave Kentucky, reassigned to New Orleans, and it was Theodulus who had to come to St. Mary's to make arrangements for their trip south

by boat in late spring 1849: Sister Mary of the Nativity, Sister Mary of Calvary, Sister Mary of Providence, and Sister Mary of the Five Wounds are all named in Theodulus' April (1849) letter. In her blunt manner, Five Wounds says to Theodulus of the decision to include Providence on the trip: "What bad luck; I never would have decided to go there and live with her" (Klawitter 303). They are all, however, getting out of Kentucky just as cholera is moving in. They probably did not know cholera and other diseases would be waiting for them in New Orleans.

In April, 1849, five brothers and three sisters traveled to New Orleans to take over direction of St. Mary's Orphanage, which had been floundering since the death of its founder, Father Adam Kindelon, a brave priest from Mississippi who had died as a result of typhoid contracted saving orphans and cattle during a 1837 hurricane on the property at Bayou St. John. The brothers in New Orleans were directed by Brother Vincent Pieau, whose signature can be seen clearly in the orphanage log (May 1, 1949) now held in the New Orleans Archdiocesan archives. With Vincent came Basil, Francis de Sales, and Louis. Brother Theodulus, according to minutes of the Notre Dame local council for December 6, 1847), was to have the title "steward" (O'Reilly 496).

Theodulus' first letter from New Orleans (June 6, 1849), addressed to Sorin, is anguished. The complaints are not petty, and there are many: every morning at 5 AM he has to drive three miles in a small cart into the city to get provisions, and he has to cook for the orphans and staff in an overheated kitchen under the supervision of a bossy old German with the help of only one old black woman. It is not a good situation. Not only is the climate beastly and the working conditions harsh, there is

no common prayer life for the brothers even though good old Brother Vincent Pieau is in charge. Two months later (August 24, 1849) he writes again to Sorin. He has been put in charge of the boys' dormitories, but he gets directions and criticism from both Brother Vincent and a man he particularly has no respect for, Brother Francis de Sales, a very outspoken man (as is attested in the letters he wrote to Sorin earlier in his American career). Theodulus begs Sorin to send a priest to New Orleans (he mentions Father Francis Gouesse by name as unsuitable) and requests a visit from Sorin himself to see how bad things are. By September he is still exasperated and writes (September 9, 1849) to the Chapter at Notre Dame to push Sorin to visit New Orleans. Everyone, including Bishop Blanc, is expecting Sorin to come down. Things would improve, Theodulus writes, if Sorin came. If he does not come—here Theodulus turns darkly ominous: "If you don't want to see some disagreeable things, consider Father Superior's trip necessary—I won't return to any details on this subject" (Klawitter 331). Then Theodulus turns the letter to a less than subtle attack on Brother Vincent:

He [Vincent] knows he's not loved and approved by all of us here. Not that I'm saying he's wrong. He's right in many instances. I don't tell him that any more. He's beginning to get a little old too. Be so kind, my very dear friends, to send us Father Superior. I make this prayer in the name of everyone here, and I make it to you because I know that you'll give permission. (Klawitter 332)

So much for Vincent, the American patriarch of Holy Cross! Then Theodulus cannot resist bragging a bit: "As I'm sacristan, I spend money quietly to decorate the

chapel. And Sister Mary of Calvary does everything as I want it" (Klawitter 332). He must indeed have been a delightful brother, tied to his work but not afraid to grumble. His postscript to this letter is, however, sadly foreboding: "I'm in good health. Yellow fever is in town but will amount to nothing" (Klawitter 333). Four years hence it will ironically be yellow fever that does him in.

The following June Theodulus again writes an impassioned letter (June 10, 1850) to Sorin stressing Brother Vincent's increasing inability to hold up as director. Complicating the matter, although Theodulus does not refer to it, is the tussle between Sorin and Moreau over the official position of Father Gouesse who has been appointed by Sorin for New Orleans. Sorin had sent him as "Visitor" to get rid of him (both he and Brother Gatian were his nemeses in council meetings at Notre Dame), but Moreau named Gouesse "Superior" and separated the orphanage account book somewhat from Sorin's control. Theodulus appraises his own ability to be Vincent's replacement and concludes he could do it if he had to, although he says Gouesse has told him if he took over, "the place would fall apart." This may seem an odd statement because in fact he had been appointed director of the orphanage a month earlier (on May 22, 1850, according to the minutes of the Minor Chapter at Notre Dame), but obviously the news had not yet reached New Orleans. For the next three years Sorin wrestled with Moreau over the superiorship in New Orleans, Gouesse remaining in limbo and declared merely a "Visitor" by the former and declared officially "Superior" by the latter.4 Brother Theodulus, meanwhile, went on with the day to day running of the orphanage after Brother Vincent returned to Notre Dame in 1850. One of his biggest headaches is Brother Francis de

Sales, about whom he writes to Sorin, "The greatest saint in heaven wouldn't be smart enough to give an order that wouldn't be criticized by Brother Francis de Sales" (letter June 10, 1850).

By January, 1853, Theodulus seems comfortable in his role as director. In the last letter we have by him (to Moreau January 1, 1853), he tells Moreau how busy things are at the orphanage and he outlines what he would look for in a new brother assigned to New Orleans: neither too young nor too old, adept at organization, able to speak both French and English. In this letter he attacks Sorin and has nothing but praise for the patience of Father Gouesse. Given this epistolary blessing from a man on the ground, we may have to reassess all the bad press Gouesse has received over the past twenty years. It is good to know, at any rate, that director and superior were working well together in New Orleans, no matter how nastily the feud continued between Notre Dame and Le Mans. Then tragedy struck the orphanage in the summer of 1853.

There are only two extant letters from New Orleans in the 1853 Sorin correspondence in the US Province Archives, both by Father Gouesse, and neither of them mentions Brother Theodulus.⁵ However, two interesting New Orleans letters in the Notre Dame Archives do mention Theodulus' death: one by Bishop Blanc and one by Francis Gouesse. For this same year there are four letters in the US Province Archives by Sorin, only one of them consequential since it pertains to his refusal of the Bengal bishopric and his considering a five year leave from the Congregation. There is, naturally, no mention of the death of Theodulus in this letter to Moreau: Sorin had more ominous matters on his mind than the passing of one brother. He

did not apparently write to Moreau of Theodulus' death because Moreau in Circular Letter #55 (August 27, 1853) notes that word was received of the death from Father Gouesse by way of Father Rézé:

It is but a few days since I had the consolation of seeing most of you at the general retreat. At that time, I announced to you the sad news which is the subject of this present letter. Nevertheless, I believe I ought to mention the matter again for the benefit of those who were not present and have not yet learned of it. It concerns the sad loss of one of our members, whose death was announced to me by a letter from his Local Superior to Father Rézé, our Provincial in America:

New Orleans

June 25, 1853

Reverend Father:

I have the honor to inform you that Brother Theodulus, who was Director and Commissioner in our Orphan Asylum in New Orleans, fell asleep in the Lord, on June 25, 1853, at six o'clock in the morning, at the age of 37, after receiving the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist and Extreme Unction. His funeral was held that same day at five o'clock in the afternoon.

Kindly inform the Very Reverend Father Rector so that he may order the usual prayers for the repose of this dear soul.

Ask him, likewise, to send someone to replace this good Brother, since we have no one available at present.

I have the honor, etc.

Gouesse, Salvatorist

This is brisk enough reportage, and it would characterize Gouesse as rather cold if we did not have another letter by him to Moreau dated July 8, 1853. This letter (held in the General Archives, Notre Dame) follows a strong letter by Bishop Blanc (June 30, 1853) to Sorin scolding Sorin for prolonging his squabble with Moreau to the detriment of the New Orleans orphanage. Of Brother Theodulus, Blanc writes, "I don't know if I told you about the death of good Brother Theodulus, who was buried three days ago. He was sick for four days. It is a real loss to the orphanage—a loss all the more felt because the other brothers are few and not healthy!" He then uses the death of the brother to further pummel Sorin for the quarrel with Moreau. It is a very strong letter from a good bishop friend of Holy Cross.

On July 8, 1853, Gouesse, in writing to Moreau about the troubles with Sorin, includes touching details about Theodulus' final days. Were it not for this letter, we would know nothing about the four days Theodulus struggled with yellow fever:

Brother Theodulus was taken away at the moment he least expected. I never saw a man so frightened of death during four days of sickness, twelve hours of total loss of consciousness, and fifteen minutes of agony which ended his days. By a stroke of luck some weeks before, he sent you or his family his will or his power of attorney. Forty-eight hours before his death, on his formal request I promised him in order

to save his life I'd send him to either Canada or France. That made him very happy that I hoped I'd be able to keep my promise to him. [Gouesse to Moreau, July 8, 1853)

It is good to know that Theodulus on his deathbed did have the benefit of a Holy Cross priest at hand, a priest, in fact, whom he trusted and admired, as we know from his final letter to Moreau six months before his death.

With the death of Theodulus began a rash of deaths in New Orleans (Theodulus, Athanasius, Elezar, Sister Alphonsus): four days after Circular Letter #55 came Circular #56 (August 31, 1853), reprinting another letter from Gouesse:

New Orleans

August 31, 1853

Reverend Father:

I have the honor to inform you that Bother Athanasius, professed, who was tailor in our house at New Orleans, fell asleep in the lord on August 2, 1853, at the age of 26, after receiving the Sacraments of Penance, Holy Eucharist, and Extreme Unction. His funeral was held that same day.

Kindly inform Very Reverend Father Rector in order that he may have the usual prayers said for the repose of this beloved soul. Request him, likewise, to send someone to replace Brother as soon as possible.

I have the honor, etc.

Your obedient servant.

Gouesse, Salvatorist

Athanasius was born Martin Kline in Germany in 1827. He came to Holy Cross in 1851 and was professed on Christmas Day, 1852. Less than a year later he was dead. Although this second letter from Gouesse (August 31, 1853) sounds formulaic (the order of the sacraments, the request for a replacement), it was accompanied by an impassioned cry titled "The Week in New Orleans":

Farewell to business, farewell to the noise and the gaiety of other days. On the streets we hear nothing but the grim rumble of hearses on their way to the cemeteries; everywhere the eye sees naught but mournful processions. New Orleans is a Necropolis where death reigns supreme.

All who could do so have left the city. It is sad to witness the heart-rending spectacle offered by every passing day. Many outsiders have left the city to escape the scourge, but the number of those who are obliged to remain here, as on a battlefield, is still too large. Death mows them down mercilessly, and the spade of the grave-digger is constantly echoing from the ground. A hundred victims a day is large, even an enormous figure, when we consider that the foreign population of the city is now reduced to almost nothing.

These are the responses of a poet to a catastrophe, and they are the words of Father Gouesse, not Father Moreau. Moreau is less passionate, as can be seen when he announces less than two weeks later in Circular Letter #57 (September 10, 1853) yet another death in New Orleans:

The scourge of yellow fever which is decimating the population of New Orleans still rages frightfully. Now, no more than before, does it respect the Brothers and Sisters in charge of the sorely tried asylum which is directed by Father Gouesse. You will have suspected from this observation that we have suffered a new loss, and that we must redouble our fervor to appease the wrath of Heaven...My greatest worry now is to know who is still alive after the death of those we already mourn. Great indeed would be my joy were I soon to learn that the good Brother whose death I am about to announce to you is the last victim.

This is a dispassionate analysis of the situation, and the letter from Gouesse which Moreau reprints is also cool, very formulaic, announcing the death of a novice, Brother Eleazar, 35 years old and a teacher in New Orleans. The second man in Holy Cross to take the name Eleazar, he was born John Dobson in 1818 in Ireland. He entered Holy Cross in 1850 at age 32 and became a novice in February, 1851. He died of yellow fever two and a half years later on August 18, 1853, in New Orleans without ever taking vows.

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The list of deaths ends eleven days later with the announcement of one more death in New Orleans (Circular Letter #59, September 21, 1853): Sister Mary of St. Alphonsus, a 30 year old novice "employed in the clothes room." Sister Mary of St. Aphonsus was herself a novice when she contracted yellow fever and was professed on her deathbed. Born Mary Therese Sheehan in Ireland, she entered the sisters at Bertrand in August of 1850 and received the habit a year later, two months before

she was sent to New Orleans on May 3, 1852. Thus she had just over a year in the South before she died. She is buried in St. Patrick's Cemetery, New Orleans.

Thus Moreau learned of four deaths in New Orleans within three months, the deaths occurring June 25, August 2, August 18, and August 23.6 The effect on the local community must have been devastating. Sacrificed for orphans in New Orleans, these four religious would not be the only ones to die working for Holy Cross in the Crescent City, but their tragic end so clustered together made a great impression on Moreau's religious Communities. Among them, Theodulus stands out because he left us vivid letters about his work and trials in two locations: Kentucky and Louisiana. And if we remember him in the future, we should remember him as the generous soul that he was, helping in his last years to transform a miserable orphanage into an institution that the city and the diocese would be proud of for a century after his death, a tortured death that made him a reluctant martyr in New Orleans. Able to assess personalities and to size up unworkable living conditions, he nevertheless stayed true to his vows and labored intently in two inhospitable locales. When religious Titans battled over his head, Theodulus took care of day-today matters, making life tolerable for boarders in Kentucky and little orphans in New Orleans. What more could be expected of a martyr?

End Notes

1 Curiously, in Webb's *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, there is no mention of Holy Cross at all in the St. Mary's coverage. Webb only mentions Julian Delaune as the first of many secular priests to head the institution until the Resurrectionist Fathers took it over in 1873. From Brother Aidan's *Extracts*, we get the following details about the educational plan for the school under Julian Delaune:

"To afford those whose avocations in life render unnecessary for them a classical education, a better opportunity of devoting their time and ability exclusively to the acquisition of those sciences which are generally considered as the most useful, no classical course will be taught in the institution, but English and Commercial course divided into three years.... Faculty: John Maguire, Julian Delaune, A. Saulnier, Richard Shortis. Terms: Bed and Board, Tuition, Washing, Bedding etc. Bedding per annum (pay half yearly in advance) \$75.00 Day School, 1st year \$16.00 Day School, 2nd year 20.00 Day School, 3rd year 24.00 Board the week during vacation \$2.00"

— Catholic Almanac. pp. 129-31, 1848.

2 It does not help the Cattas' text that they persistently refer to the "Louisville" affair when, in fact, it really was a "St. Mary's" affair or, by extension, a "Bardstown" affair.

3 St. Mary's College closed in 1976. One of its famous alumni was Joseph Cardinal Bernardine of Chicago. The town of St. Mary today has a population of 1600, while three miles away Lebanon has 6000 people and is known for its Ham Days Festival and Tractor Show held annually in September. In the 1960's Lebanon was known as "an entertainment hotspot, as nationally known acts appeared at Club 68 and The Golden Horseshoe Nightclubs" (Wiki).

- 4 Sorin did not think much of Gouesse. He wrote to Bishop Blanc July 16, 1853, in the middle of the yellow fever terror: "Father Gouesse is not a man of God, and he will succeed only in creating trouble and discord instead of peace. Sainte Croix has committed an unpardonable fault in identifying itself with such a man" (qtd. in O'Connell 318). For Sister Mary of the Angels' negative reaction to Gouesse's treatment of the sisters on a boat trip see Costin, *Priceless* (93). On the matter of Gouesse's possible alcoholism, see Connelly (111). All negative assessments of Gouesse must be filtered, however, through their sources, all of whom may have already chosen sides in the Sorin-Moreau fracas.
- 5 Fitzgerald names the June, 1853, deceased New Orleans brother Victor (150), but this is incorrect. The dead brother was Theodulus.

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6 Fitzgerald errs in claiming Moreau's circular letter #60 speaks of "five sisters dead in New Orleans" (152). Heston translates the information as "five Sisters are still confined to their beds at New Orleans" (Moreau 290).

Appendix: Time Line for Brother Theodulus

2-20-1818	born at Jublains, Mayenne, France
7-2-1838	enters at Sainte-Croix
8-19-1838	becomes a novice
8-22-1843	professed
1846	comes to America with Edward Sorin
3-22-1847	member of the Minor Chapter
6-7-1847	stopped working due to weak health
8-26-1847	appointed steward at Notre Dame
8-27-1847	appointed collarist and fruitkeeper, presider over college brothers
10-24-1847	appointed to the novitiate
12-6-1847	named steward at St. Mary's, Kentucky
2-18-1848	letter to Sorin
3-1-1848	letter to Sorin
3-22-1848	letter to Sorin
7-9-1848	letter to Sorin
8-28-1848	named chamberlain at Notre Dame
10-13-1848	member of the Minor Chapter at Notre Dame
3-19-1849	sent to New Orleans
4-16-1849	letter to Moreau
6-6-1849	letter to Sorin
7-31-1849	letter to Moreau [missing from the archives]

8-25-1849	letter to Sorin
9-9-1849	letter to Minor Chapter at Notre Dame
5-22-1850	appointed director of St. Mary's Orphanage, New Orleans
6-10-1850	letter to Sorin
1-1-1853	letter to Moreau
6-25-1853	dies of yellow fever in New Orleans
6-30-1853	letter of Blanc to Moreau
7-8-1853	letter of Gouesse to Moreau

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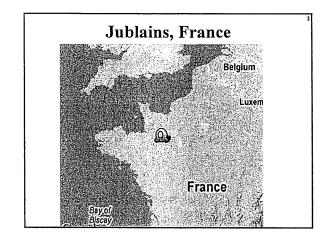
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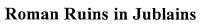
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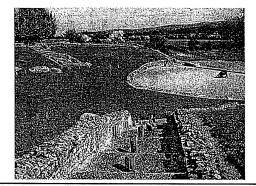
Brother Theodulus

1818 - 1853

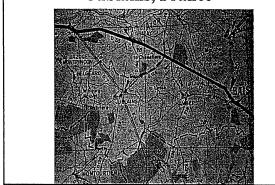
Reluctant Martyr in New Orleans







Jublains, France

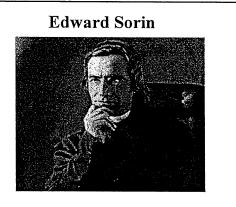


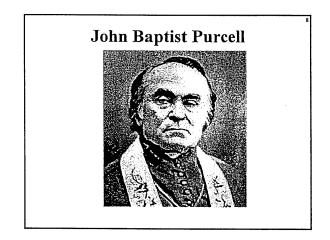
St. Mary's College, Kentucky

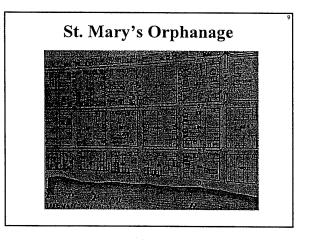


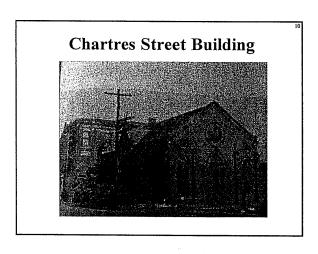
Guy Chabrat

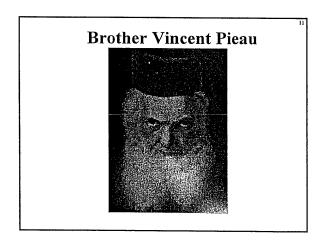


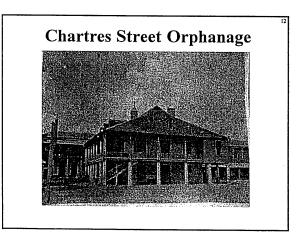


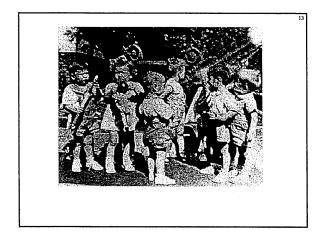


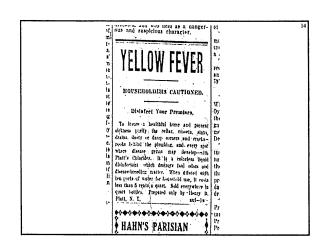


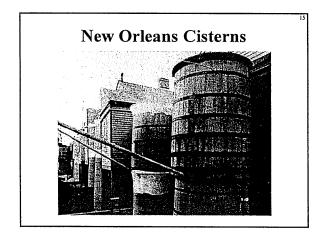


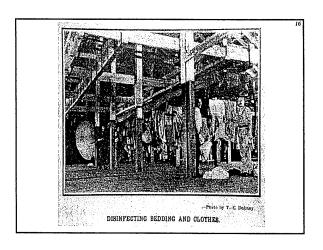


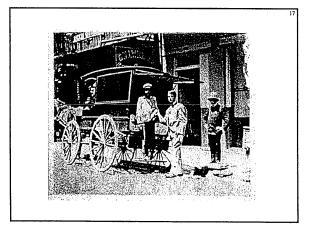












Yellow Fever Deaths New Orleans

- 1851 = 17
- 1852 = 456
- 1853 = 7849
- 1854 = 2425
- 1855 = 2670
- 1856 = 74

