Sacrifice and survival: the historiographic role of identity and mission in Jesuit higher education of the New Orleans Province

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SACRIFICE AND SURVIVAL: THE HISTORIOGRAPHIC ROLE OF IDENTITY AND MISSION IN JESUIT HIGHER EDUCATION OF THE NEW ORLEANS PROVINCE

A Dissertation
Submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Louisiana State University and Agricultural and Mechanical College
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

in

The Department of Educational Theory, Policy, and Practice

by

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August 2011
DEDICATION

For my grandparents—all of them:

Douglas Helton
Verlene Lee Helton
Virgil Lee
Eunice Platt
Martin Platt
James Turner

A.M.D.G.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I finish this text and look around the small coffee shop surrounding me, I realize how far I have come and thank God for every opportunity and challenge given to me. Without God, my life, education, and this study would never have come to pass. Indeed, the God-given educational progress of my life has been a series of discoveries and stumbles, and there have always been people to experience them with me and cheer me along the way. As I reflect upon the creation of this study, research performed in archives, and the numerous conversations that prompted its development, a host of thanks come to mind and need to be paid forth.

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¹ Simon Winchester, The Professor and the Madman: A Tale of Murder, Insanity, and the Making of the
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ABSTRACT

The Catholic religious order known as the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) manages an expansive network of colleges and universities with a distinct Catholic identity and mission. The Society of Jesus has, throughout the course of its existence, experienced failure and survival regarding its colleges and universities worldwide. Of particular interest for this study are Jesuit institutions in the American South, regionally known as the New Orleans Province. This study hypothesizes that the identity and mission of Southern Jesuit colleges and universities may have functioned as catalytic concepts that influenced interactions with external social environs and directly impacted the way in which these Catholic institutions survived or failed.

Literature regarding institutional survival and societal interactions focuses on resource exchange and has precluded the possible effects of identity and mission as catalytic components to the survival of colleges and universities. The interaction between Jesuit institutions and surrounding Southern environments presents a unique opportunity to examine the affects of institutional identity, mission, and environmental interactions on college/university survival. To discern the affects of institutional identity, mission, and societal relationships on the survival of Jesuit institutions in the South from the 1830s through the 1930s, archival documents serve as the primary data source for this study. Documents have been acquired through several sites, including the Archives of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus; Loyola University New Orleans; Spring Hill College Special Collections; and the archives of Jesuit High School, New Orleans. By utilizing historical research methodology, case study construction, and case analysis, this study encapsulates the history of multiple Jesuit colleges and universities in the South.
and allows for a cross-comparison of their existence, development, survival, and/or failure.

The findings of this study support the claim posed by the hypotheses that institutional identity and mission did catalytically affect societal *town and gown* relationships between these Southern Jesuit colleges and universities and thus influenced their ability to survive. As well, through the course of this study, it was discovered that the internal identity, mission, and hierarchic obedience of the Jesuit Fathers played a role in the existence and maintenance of their New Orleans Province institutions.
CHAPTER ONE: OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY; IDENTITY, MISSION, SURVIVAL, AND JESUIT HIGHER EDUCATION IN THE AMERICAN SOUTH

It is false to assume that there is a one-to-one correlation between what goes on in the university and the needs of outside society. . . . all the institutions of society, are partly functional and partly antiquated, vestigial, or even frankly “dysfunctional.” This is because they all have a history and a life of their own, and their responses to outside pressure is consequently imperfect, stumbling, tardy, even reactive. – Lawrence Stone

How does a university survive? What factors keep the lights on in one college and permanently closes the doors in another? As Stone mentions above, a university has its own history, life, and posses the ability to perform functionally or act in such a manner as to be considered outdated and incongruent with its surroundings. But what foundational catalytic factors affect its ability to survive? Consider the history of American higher education. The social communities surrounding American colleges and universities have played a historic role in their survival. From the colonies of the New World to our present society, external social pressures have influenced the development of these institutions. These societal pressures, such as external perception of an institution or the perceived need for practical job-related education, take a distinct form when influencing religious affiliated colleges and universities, and more specifically, Catholic institutions of higher education. The religious identity and mission of these colleges and universities may function as foundational concepts that influence the interaction with external environs to directly impact survival. Among the most enduring Catholic colleges and universities are those administered by the Society of Jesus. This religious organization manages an expansive network of institutions with a distinctive identity and

mission. Jesuits have experienced the failure and success of their colleges and universities around the world. Throughout the history of American higher education, many Jesuit colleges closed, while others managed to survive with their Catholic/Jesuit identity intact and continue to exist even in largely Protestant regions of America.

The interaction between Jesuit institutions and their surrounding environments presents a unique opportunity to examine the effects of institutional identity, mission, and environmental interactions, on college/university survival. These factors raise a series of questions:

1. Can the institutional identity and mission of colleges and universities affect their ability to survive?
2. What responses to historically hostile or hospitable social environments contributed to the survival of particular institutions of higher education?
3. How does the relationship between a college or university and the surrounding social environment contribute to its ability to persist?
4. Ultimately, can an examination of these factors, in tandem with historic examples, aid in the development of a theory that illustrates how institutional identity and mission contribute to the survival of institutions as they subsist in surrounding societies?

With these questions in mind, the hypothesis behind this study is that concepts of institutional identity and mission, regarding Jesuit colleges and universities in the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus, had, and can have, catalytic effects on town and gown relationships that affect survivability.
As a student of higher education administration and historical research, I have an interest in questions relating to the origin, development, and sustainability of colleges and universities. My particular interests, for this study, lie in higher education history and the survival of Jesuit colleges in the American South. With these interests at the forefront, the literature concerning institutional and societal interactions indicates that the relationship between higher education and society does indeed have a direct effect on institutional progress.\(^2\) The existing published research also notes that colleges and universities respond to changing societies,\(^3\) and when external forces compromise the identity of an institution, members of the institutional organization respond actively.\(^4\) Despite this information, there is a lack of literature concerning institutional survival based on college/university identity and mission. More importantly, there is little research that directly illustrates how institutions of higher learning, with a strong mission and established identity, endure within an ever-changing societal context that may or may not be supportive. Even more disappointing is the dearth of literature that explains the evolution of the current system of Southern Jesuit higher education in the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus.

It is easy to locate single institutional histories that chronicle the difficulties and ultimate success of large public universities. Books such as *To Foster Knowledge: A History of the University of Tennessee, 1794-1970* by James Montgomery, Stanley Folmsbee, and Lee Greene or *History of the University of Georgia* by Thomas Walter

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Reed serve as popular examples of institutional history, but where is the research that examines the survival of a system of institutions? Where is the literature that details the interaction between colleges and universities and their surrounding societal milieu? In particular, the literature is lacking in studies that track the progression of higher education and demonstrates how institutional identity and mission affects college/university survival.

Currently, several Southern states are considering closing or merging multiple institutions of higher learning in response to modern economic problems. The Louisiana Board of Regents has presented a model to address the projected 2011 economic downfall that includes the termination of eight college campuses.\(^5\) In Mississippi, legislators have proposed a mass reorganization of the state’s system of higher education that will merge multiple Historically Black Universities.\(^6\) These historically rich institutions, created as a response to segregation and supported predominantly via Protestant missionary movements, service surrounding communities by promoting a collective identity and strong institutional missions.\(^7\) This proposed model for institutional amalgamation has university leaders concerned that the institutional identity of Mississippi’s Historically Black Colleges and Universities will be subsumed.\(^8\)

With the proposal of college closures/amalgamations in the South at hand and the notion of lost institutional identity raised, it is relevant to examine the history of institutional survival. These current events, as well as my personal research queries, lead

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\(^8\) Jaschik, “Threat to Black Colleges.”
me to a set of intriguing resources that sparked my interest in institutional survival in the South. The first is an electronic database entitled *List of Colleges and Universities that Have Closed, Merged, or Changed their Names* created by Ray Brown, the director for institutional advancement at Westminster College in Missouri. Brown maintains the database and divides relevant information according to state. After perusing the Southern states, I noticed a relatively high number of religiously affiliated colleges that had closed; of particular interest are those colleges and universities administered by the Society of Jesus. This religious order interests me as an educational historian due to its rich history, global identity, and educational missions. The Society of Jesus’ educational documents and spiritual material provide a framework that governs their institutions’ identity, mission, and influences the way in which their colleges and universities interact with society.

Following an in-depth examination of Ray Brown’s database, I found that the physical campus of a defunct college in Louisiana, Jefferson College in Convent, Louisiana, still stands. Now known as Manresa on the Mississippi, this former college, turned spiritual retreat center, has been owned and operated by the Society of Jesus since 1931. Jefferson College, founded in 1831 as a college for the sons of wealthy Louisiana planters, has a unique history. Situated on the Mississippi River between Baton Rouge and New Orleans, the college held three separate administrations, each with its own identity and mission. The first and second administrations ended in failure and temporary

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closure of the college. The Marist Fathers governed the final years of Jefferson College until the administration’s collapse and campus closure in 1927.10

Figure 1.1 A Sketch of Jefferson College.11

After reviewing Manresa’s website I contacted the retreat’s administrative office and was offered the chance to tour the facility. On a rainy day, I drove from Baton Rouge to an oak-lined portion of Louisiana’s River Road where Manresa stands reflecting Greek revival architecture infused with Catholic symbols. The director of Manresa escorted me through the halls of the old college. The conversation quickly turned from the history of

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11 A Sketch of Jefferson College, detail of an illustration, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
Jefferson College, to the nature of spiritual retreats, the Catholic ideals of spirituality and education, the Jesuit perspective, and finally the specifics of Jesuit higher education.

Needless to say, I was captivated. In one location I was allowed to explore a college that had experienced three administrative failures, the last of which occurred under Catholic management. As I explored the campus, the retreat director and I discussed aspects of, Jesuit education, institutional mission, and identity, as well as its historic development throughout the Southern states. From these topics, I began to explore concepts of institutional identity and mission, as well as survival methods of colleges and universities. This lead to a series of theoretical possibilities as to how Jesuitical concepts serve as an illustrative model concerning college and university mission, identity, and institutional survival.

Further exploration of literature pertaining to Jesuit education helped me to understand the instructional and administrative methods of the Society of Jesus and the continued existence of Jesuit higher education in the South. After further inquiry, I learned about the Jesuit Archives at Loyola University New Orleans and was allowed access. Within the archives lay an abundance of supportive primary data, and by conducting my research at a Jesuit institution, I was able to immerse myself in the identity and mission of a Jesuit university. Journals, house diaries, letters, catalogues, newspapers, reports, and other forms of historic material displayed the educational establishments of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus.

While studying primary sources relating to Jesuit colleges in the South, I began to theorize as to how Southern societal expectations, originating from middle and upper class individuals, as demonstrated by the societal want to attain professional job-related
higher education, along with sentiments of anti-Catholicism and anti-Jesuitism from Protest organizations, created a challenging environment for Jesuits who wished to provide a system of sustainable Catholic education for students. At the same time, Jesuit educational projects forged alliances between other religious orders and accrediting associations were joined to aid in the development of Jesuit institutions. But how did the Southern ideological climate affect the liberal religious-based educational system of the Society of Jesus? How did the Society of Jesus provide sustainable institutions of higher education true to its Catholic/Jesuit identity and what kinds of decisions were made in order to maintain institutional mission and identity, while managing to keep Jesuit colleges in the South alive?

Faced with a low population of Jesuit priests and Jesuit brothers in the Southern geographical region established by the Society of Jesus known as the New Orleans Mission; 1880 (First known as the Mission of Lyon, 1837-1880) and later the New Orleans Province; 1907, low student enrollment, institutional competition, and changing curricular foci, the religious order would embark on a series of educational projects that would revise their network of colleges and universities and ultimately reduce their presence to a more manageable pair of institutions: Loyola University New Orleans and Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama. After reviewing existing literature regarding institutional identity, mission, societal relationships, and survival, as well as analyzing supportive archival documents, the purpose of this study is to explain the role these concepts had on the higher educational attempts of the Society of Jesus in the South in order to theorize about catalytic concepts that affect institutional survival. Ultimately, this study chronicles a lineage of events via a set of singular institutions and societal events.
that forced the Society of Jesus to sacrifice several of their Southern colleges and transform Jesuit higher education in the New Orleans Province in order to promote the survival of their regional educational practices.

**Overview of Methodology: Historiographic Case Construction and Analysis**

During the formation of this study, I realized that there was a need to identify a combination of methodologies. By utilizing historical research to construct multiple case studies, educational researchers can generate a methodological lens that encapsulates the history of multiple Jesuit colleges and universities in the South through individual cases, allow for a cross comparison of their existence and development, and articulates the reliance on primary and secondary archival data in case construction. This combination of specific methodologies, integrating historiographic techniques and case analysis, presents an illustration of institutional identity, mission, and societal relationships as they affect higher education failure and/or survival. In most instances, case studies are recorded for further study, are defined by an interest in individual situations, and compiled via a plethora of source material including living persons; however, in this study pertaining to Jesuit institutions in the New Orleans Province, case studies are constructed via primary data sources. Each source builds upon the last to create an individualized history of each institution included in the research for singular and comparative analysis. After each historiographically-constructed case is generated, they are then treated as traditional case studies. These developed cases allow for an

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exploration of singular institutional stories\textsuperscript{13} constructed from primary data sources in order to investigate a phenomenon, population, or condition.\textsuperscript{14} In the development of historiographically-constructed case studies, historical research permits the utilization of a variety of data sources. Historical documents such as: diaries, memoirs, newspapers, biographies, and autobiographies are used to construct the individual cases.\textsuperscript{15} The individual stories of each institution allow for an in-depth and focused analysis of a series of cases that have their own complex histories operated within a larger environmental context.\textsuperscript{16} The developed cases guide the research and allow the focus of the study to examine themes directly related to institutional survival.

In order to ensure that primary documents employed to construct individual case studies are valid, the critical examination of each document’s context is important. The author of each document must be studied in order to determine the relevance of the document. Questions that must be asked related to each document are: Was the author present during the event? Was the author a participant in the event, was the event described accurately, and was the author vested in the outcomes of the event?\textsuperscript{17} In the hunt for primary sources that describe the identity and mission of Jesuit institutions and how they interacted with Southern societal settings, all supportive data are scrutinized and validated for direct relation to the study.\textsuperscript{18} The typifying consideration in historic

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{13} Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, \textit{Basics of Qualitative Research} 3rd ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Publications, 2008), 64.
\textsuperscript{14} Robert E. Stake, “Case Studies,” In \textit{Handbook of Qualitative Research} 2nd ed., 437.
\textsuperscript{15} Juliet Corbin and Anselm Strauss, \textit{Basics of Qualitative Research}, 27.
\textsuperscript{18} Sharan B. Merriam, \textit{Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis} (San Francisco, California: Josey Bass, 2002), 435.
research concerning institutions of higher education is the necessity of recreating internal phenomena as well external perceptions regarding the college or university in question.\textsuperscript{19}

As the review of pertinent literature grew, I came to understand that the presence of Jesuit colleges in the South serves as an excellent example of institutional survival due to their highly palpable Catholic/Jesuit identity and mission, not to mention the historic documents that illustrate period opinions concerning the Society of Jesus and Jesuit education. As I developed these historiographically-constructed cases, the identity of the Society of Jesus was always apparent. At the top or bottom of most letters, journal entries, or hand-written reports composed by Jesuit priests and brothers are the letters A.M.D.G. These letters stand for the motto of the Society of Jesus, \textit{Ad Majorem De Gloriam}, in Latin translated as “For the Greater Glory of God,”\textsuperscript{20} and identifiable symbols such as \textit{IHS} (a third century symbolic monogram of the name of Jesus Christ),\textsuperscript{21} with its Jesuit derivation of a cross stemming from the “H”, adorn many books and journals on Jesuit education and spirituality. Even the physical campuses of existing Jesuit colleges are adorned with such Catholic/Jesuit symbols. This constant iconographic representation of the Society of Jesus’ identity and mission, along with the Jesuit theme \textit{Magis} meaning, “to do more,”\textsuperscript{22} permeates all facets of Jesuit education. So too was the ever-present mission of the Society of Jesus. The \textit{Constitutions of the Society of Jesus} provide a premise for establishing Jesuit colleges and their purpose. Finally, the Jesuit method of instruction, the \textit{Ratio Studiorum}, gave an even greater insight into the mission.

of Jesuit colleges as it concerns instructional principles. All of this information and representation must be included to better understand the individual cases and represents Jesuit institutional identity and mission.

These historiographically-constructed case studies relating to former and existing Jesuit colleges of the New Orleans Province, including the College of the Immaculate Conception, New Orleans, Louisiana; Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama; St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana; St. Mary’s College, Galveston, Texas; College of the Sacred Heart, Augusta, Georgia; Loyola College, New Orleans, Louisiana; and Loyola University New Orleans, provide a construct for researching and understanding Jesuit institutional identity, mission, and societal relations as an example of how these concepts affect survival; however, one of the most important steps in the process of constructed historiographic case studies for singular and multiple case analysis is the use of archives. In order to understand the relationship between these institutions and society, I had to delve into the daily accounts and actions of Jesuits as they interacted with Southern society in pursuit of the development and sustenance of their educational institutions. The Archives of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus served as “my research home” during the course of this study. Archives function as a repository for primary sources. These sources can be particularly fragile and rare and must be carefully preserved in a controlled environment with limited access. Ultimately, it is though the process of archival exploration that yielded the raw data utilized to construct the institutional cases and thus permitted an in depth analysis to identify themes that govern this study.

23 Merriam, *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*, 438.
24 Ibid.
Statement of the Problem

An undeniable fact about institutions of higher education is that they are located within concentric circles of society: city, state, country.25 Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald Salancik explore this concept, explaining that societal environs react to institutions and are not always dependable due to ideological changes that have the potential to constrain an institution’s ability to survive. These societal changes create differences between society and institutions. Tension occurs when changes in society or institution do not coincide.26 Social surroundings are given to change that may or may not always align with the ideals of a college or university. Changing societal ideals develop alongside changing societal demands, and the want for applicable education forces institutions of higher education to reexamine their practices and decide how to respond accordingly or counter.27

Despite societal and institutional changes, colleges and universities maintain some form of relationship with the surrounding society, and societal-institution interactions can have a significant effect on the development of an institution.28 In light of institutions and societal interactions, most research regarding societal effects on higher education is conducted with a focus on resource exchange and has precluded the possible effects of identity and mission on the survival of colleges and universities. According to Pfeffer and Salancik, the key component to organizational survival is the ability to acquire and

In other studies, it has been proposed that the maintenance and decorum of college facilities play a large role in institutional success. Still others suggest that institutional leadership molds the adaptive processes of an institution in an attempt to promote success and thus affect institutional survival. The important aspect here is to discern the difference between institutional success and institutional survival.

Institutional success may determine an institution’s standing, performance, or (in some cases) the influence of effective leadership. These aspects may be connected with survival but survival, in this study, relates entirely to a college or university’s ability to remain operational and in existence. The literature does not directly address how an institution with a developed identity and mission adapts to survive given environmental influences. Also, literature regarding organizational identity rarely examines the concept of whole institutional identity. Rather, organizational identity is presented as an internal cultural force developed by individuals within an institution that governs the way they interact in accordance with the larger institutional structure.

James Bess and Jay Dee state that institutions of higher education operate as complex systems engaging in administrative and academic functions to fulfill their missions. One of the overall questions guiding this study is; how does institutional identity and mission affect survival? Given this research perspective, it would therefore be pertinent to examine a

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series of colleges and universities whose identity and mission potentially affected their survivability.

**Purpose of the Research**

Sharan Merriam notes that historical research in education provides researchers a venue for accessing the past, allows the maintenance of a continuous dialogue with former events, and provides educational researchers the opportunity to reinterpret past events via new questions in order to justify modern events. This continued dialogue and questioning provides fresh insight regarding our understanding of the development of modern educational practices and institutions. Ultimately, historical inquiry allows researchers to analyze developmental forces that may indicate whether types of educational reforms or practices are accepted, adapted, or deleted.\(^{35}\) Gary McCulloch and William Richardson support this train of reasoning when they write,

> Our current notions of school and education, then, are historical creations that came into being and became established for specific reasons that have much to do with their cultural surroundings. The same is true of particular types of school and forms of education, such as nursery schools, primary schools, secondary schools, apprenticeship, universities, technical and liberal education and adult education. The means that have been developed for providing education, such as lectures, seminars and classes, are also historically contingent, as are the methods for assessing their outcomes, such as examinations, tests and practical projects. The familiar artefacts [sic] of education, including desks, textbooks, blackboards, playgrounds and the very buildings constructed to accommodate them, are all historical inventions. No less are the ideas and practices that were once well established but were then abandoned . . . Understanding the origins of such phenomena, the ways in which they were contrasted and the reasons for their resilience and ultimate decline is the basic purpose of historical research on education.\(^{36}\)

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\(^{35}\) Merriam, *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*, 434.

Thus, the study of educational history allows researchers to analyze and interpret events while addressing specific questions. As in this study, the concepts of institutional identity, mission, and the interaction of institutions to their social surroundings function as a conceptual framework for analyzing why certain institutions survived and others closed. To understand the identity and mission of Jesuit institutions, an educational researcher has but to turn to the historic texts.

According to Good, textbooks and other forms of written material pertaining to the ideas surrounding an educational institution are invaluable.\textsuperscript{37} For example, the \textit{Constitutions of the Society of Jesus} include an annotated section on the identity, mission, and administration of Jesuit colleges. Also, the \textit{Ratio Studiorum} provides a prescribed methodology for teaching in Jesuit institutions. These documents are invaluable when attempting to establish the practices of historically Jesuit institutions in the Southern states but it is the usage of primary sources and archival materials that serve as the chief data component in this study.

When historically constructing a case study for an institution of higher learning, the college or university’s mission and identity play a large role in the understanding of fundamental principles behind the establishment and administration of the college or university. Institutional \textit{mission}, in regard to higher education, relates to the overall purpose and function of a college or university, whereas institutional \textit{identity} refers to a shared set of ideals that represent the whole organization.\textsuperscript{38} These ideals can include the institution’s mission, physical expressions, and symbols that contribute to a juxtaposition

of attributes that culminating in an identity upon which internal individuals agree and institutional leaders support.\textsuperscript{39}

In addition to institutional identity and mission, one must consider the interaction between institutions and their surrounding environments. This relationship is referred to as \textit{town and gown}. Implications relating to the town and gown relationship can determine how well an institution functions within a given place. Pfeffer and Salancik state, “What happens in an organization is not only a function of the organization, its structure, its leadership, its procedures, or its goals. What happens is also a consequence of the environment and the particular contingencies and constraints deriving from that environment.”\textsuperscript{40} Ultimately, through the development of historiographically-constructed cases and analysis, as well as the usage of a conceptual framework including institutional identity, institutional mission, and town and gown relations, a historical interpretation can be generated to explain how these concepts affect the way that an institution and its surrounding social environment interact and thus directly affect institutional survival. By using these concepts and methods to study Jesuit higher education in the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus, an interpretation can be presented that illustrates the failure, adaptation, or survival of Jesuit colleges and universities in the South. Such research will add to a greater understanding of catalytic concepts that affect modern institutional survivability and allow educational researchers and administrators a greater insight into the early and effective stages that may cause a college or university to fail or survive.


\textsuperscript{40} Pfeffer and Salancik, \textit{The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective}, 3.
Overview of Conceptual Framework

While attempting to understand the factors that affect institutional survival it is important, for this study, to operationally define aspects of institutional identity, institutional mission, and the interaction between the institution and the surrounding social environment. In this study it will be demonstrated that these factors can convalesce to affect the overall sustainability of a college or university feeding into one another to create a set of circumstances with a palpable affect. Institutional identity and mission work together to support the mechanisms that collectively define and provide a governing concept as to what an institution is and does. While regarding identity and mission as having an affect on survival, town and gown relationships must be considered. Ultimately, how the surrounding social environment perceives an institution’s identity and mission may have had a direct impact on Southern Jesuit higher education’s ability to survive.

Institutional Identity

Eckert and Wenger define institutional identity as the enactment and understanding of institutional practices in conjunction with the way in which an institution is viewed externally.41 Gioia, Schultz, and Corely add to this definition with their notion that identity is a construct defined by the members of an organization, linkage to core values, institutional history, and the institution’s potential to resist change.42 Also, the identity of an institution shapes the way its acting members engage in institutional mission. Institutional identity can serve as the justification for managerial

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strategies and tactics aimed at acquiring resources for the institution. Identity, above all is the central, enduring, and distinctive character of an institution. Ultimately, institutional identity is a construct of internal members and is established in order to promote the purpose of a college/university.

Albert and Whetten identify three key concepts in establishing institutional identity. The first refers in general to the features that contribute to the essence of an institution. The members of an institution must believe these features to be essential for institutional survival. The second concept is distinctiveness, which refers to the factors that distinguish an institution from its competitors and justify an intuition’s existence. The final institutional identity concept is temporal continuity. Identifiable features of an institution that have withheld the test of time serve as a form of temporal continuity to the members of an institution and represent the institution’s commitment to its overall purpose. These three components can be viewed in the surviving institutions of Loyola University New Orleans and Spring Hill College. Faculty and staff of Loyola University and Spring Hill College are comprised of Jesuit and non Jesuit members (14 Jesuits currently work at Loyola, 13 at Spring Hill); however, all employed are encouraged to follow the Jesuit principles governing the administration and instructional techniques of both institutions. This attempted adherence to Jesuit educational philosophy creates an internal environment that is discernibly different from other colleges or universities. These features at Loyola University and Spring Hill College are based on the same

45 Ibid.
46 2011 Catalog of the Provinces of Jesus in the United States of America (Jesuit Conference, 2010), 241-242 & 245-246.
educational principles established by the Society of Jesus during the administration of their first colleges in the 16th century.\textsuperscript{47}

At times, institutional identity may be characterized by competing dualities. In Catholic/Jesuit higher education, a fundamental identity duality would be that of a university and the Church.\textsuperscript{48} This identity duality can create disunity with the surrounding environs. If this duality of identity runs contrary to the surrounding environment, the institution may react assertively to protect itself, thereby ensuring the continued sustainability of the institution’s identity within the larger societal milieu. In fact, the loss or deterioration of an institution’s identity can threaten an institution’s survival by decreasing support from critical resources.\textsuperscript{49}

The aforementioned external pressures that threaten institutional identity may increase the likelihood that institutional members will explicitly reflect on aspects of identity and concentrate on maintaining a continuity of identity while making adaptations for survival.\textsuperscript{50} In times of environmental pressure, institutional identity needs to be made explicit, re-evaluated, and adapted to society in order to sustain the institution;\textsuperscript{51} however, as Gioia, Schultz, and Corely state,

The notion of an identity that is enduring implies that identity remains the same over time—that it has permanency. An identity with a sense of continuity, however, is one that shifts in its interpretation and meaning while retaining labels of “core” beliefs and values that extend over time and context.\textsuperscript{52}

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\textsuperscript{47} Office of Mission and Ministry, “Welcome to University Ministry,” (Loyola University New Orleans, 1996-2010), http://mm.loyno.edu/university-ministry (accessed November 25, 2010)


\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 17-18.

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 13.

As institutions of higher education adapt or close in response to changing environs there is a definite need for the study of identity, particularly as organizations deal with tumultuous environments.\textsuperscript{53}

**Institutional Mission**

John Scott, in his examination of the transformation of university missions, relates that a clear understanding of the history and implications behind institutional mission can benefit colleges, universities, policy makers, and legislators as they seek to understand the importance of implications relating to institutional mission.\textsuperscript{54} Nevertheless, it is of great importance to note that institutional mission is a separate concept from the publically disseminated college or university mission statement. In a 1979 issue of *Science*, Richard Chait adapted an article from the *Chronicle of Higher Education* in an effort to inform readers about the nature of college mission statements. Reasons listed for the development of mission statements included the need for a public declaration of institutional purpose, direction for future institutional goals, and the fulfillment of regional accreditation standards. Despite these reasons, according to Chait, most mission statements remain overly global, rhetorical, and can be exaggerated during times of institutional identity crisis. In the end, Chait determines that the actual mission of an institution is greater than the mission statement, that institutions are driven by and adapt to the market, and predominantly that, “the mission will always be, in some sense, survival.” Chait concluded that,\textsuperscript{55} “The best way to survive, even flourish, may be to

\textsuperscript{53} Ibid., 63.
worry a little less about mission statements and a little more about actions.”56 If anything, a mission statement is a publicly consumable token of an institution’s mission; however, the actual mission of an institution is more expansive and is comprised of the pursued goals and actions of a college or university.

Because institutional mission is a separate development from mission statements, carrying out the purpose and goals that align with an institutions mission is crucial to performance enhancement of a college or university.57 Mission statements alone are not effective enough to promote institutional survival; they simply act as a point of public reference. Rather, the purpose, goals, objectives, beliefs, and values of an institution create the driving force behind institutional mission.58 Fjortoft and Smart argue that an institution with a highly distinguishable mission will strive towards the betterment of the college or university; however, such a mission could also be a detriment to the overall institution. Institutional mission harbors the possibility of creating difficulties as a college or university adapts to changing external environments. “In Affect, institutions that limit themselves to choices that are consistent with their agreed upon mission may not be able to adapt fully to changing environmental conditions.”59

As an institution attempts to adapt to the needs of a pressing environment, the mission of a college or university may be shaped by external factors causing alteration in internal programs; however, these developments may spawn disunity rather than a focused institution driven by a unified purpose. Dressel identifies that an overarching institutional mission may aid in the development of objectives and may determine the

56 Ibid.
58 Ibid., 442.
59 Ibid., 432.
clientele that the institution wishes to serve. Nevertheless, in order to remain consistent with the institutional mission yet survive within the larger social environment, a supportive leadership and rallying faculty must buttress the mission of the college or university in order to maintain solidarity.  

**Town and Gown**

As previously indicated, the relationship between a college or university and its surrounding environment plays an important part in an institution’s survival. The institution’s ability to respond to the demands of the surrounding environment allows for survival, but these demands can conflict with the purpose of the institution and can constrain a college or university from achieving its established goals. Therefore, institutions cannot both respond to every demand and remain true to their purpose. Complete responsiveness to all environmental demands would cause the institution to fail in time. As presented by the Academy of Arts and Sciences, “Universities are expected to engage in a vast number of public service activities; in particular, they are urged to respond to the pressing needs of the wider community in which they are located.” By neglecting to provide some form of public services that address social wants, an institution of higher education fails to form a positive relationship that could result in tension between the institution and its social surroundings. The failure to develop and maintain a lasting relationship between a college or university and the surrounding

environment can be attributed to a lack of conflict resolution regarding the outlook and behavior of the two groups.\textsuperscript{63}

In towns where a university has developed, the relationship between the surrounding social environment and the institution can create a power dynamic in which the institution is expected to aid in local issues; however, the division between town and gown created by institutional identity and mission that directs internal actions or goals versus the wants of the environment can hinder reciprocal relationships that could otherwise aid in community development and institutional survival.\textsuperscript{64} According to Blake Gumprecht, even in the best of times, a college and its town are rarely in complete accord with one another. The surrounding society, at times, views the university with conflicting emotions. Often the institution is a welcome addition to an area due to economic and job-related benefits; however, the local community may resent the college or university out of the belief that the institution acts without concern for the former.\textsuperscript{65} Often, the relationship between institutions of higher learning and the surrounding environment is tenuous. Environments change, demands fluctuate, and institutions face the choice between adapting to their surroundings or failure to survive.\textsuperscript{66}

Through this conceptual overview regarding institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships one can understand how these factors mesh and affect a college or university’s ability to function and survive. Survival may be affected by issues relating to leadership, resource attainment, institutional maintenance, etc. but a college’s identity, its mission, and how to interacts with the surrounding social environment must

\textsuperscript{63} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{66} Pfeffer and Salancik, \textit{The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective}, 3.
be examined as foundational concepts that have the ability to restrict supportive resources, explain the reasons behind administrative decisions, and determine how an institution thrives or why a college or university closes its doors. The historiographically-constructed cases presented in this study will depict the institutional histories of seven Jesuit colleges and universities in the New Orleans Province in order to determine if the interaction of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships catalytically affect survivability. Jesuit institutions in the New Orleans province play importance in this study because of their palpable identity and mission as well as the context they are set in, the American South. In the following chapters a more in depth review of pertinent literature will be presented to thoroughly illustrate and explain the influence of identity, mission, and town and gown as it regards survival.

**Overview Summation**

Institutional survival, for this study, is defined as a college or university’s ability to thrive in a given environment and remain in existence. By utilizing historiographically-constructed case studies focusing on Catholic/Jesuit higher education in the South (for this study, the South is defined as the geographic region of the United Stated governed by the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus) it can be shown that institutional identity and mission affects town and gown relationships and thus impacts institutional survival of Catholic/Jesuit institutions of higher education. The following chapter will present a history of the religious organization that administered all Jesuit colleges, the Society of Jesus, as well as the educational identity and mission of Jesuit colleges, and the Order’s presence in the American South. The information presented in chapter two is of utmost importance in understanding the rich history, strong institutional identity and
mission, and the affects of Jesuit institutions in the New Orleans Province. Following this history, a review of literature pertaining to the conceptual framework of institutional survival, along with the affecting concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships will be presented to illustrate the focus of this study. To explain the nature and use of historiographic singular and multiple case constructions and analysis, an examination of historic research methodology, archival research, and case study will follow. The fifth chapter will include three historiographically-constructed cases and case analysis focusing on Jesuit institutions that failed to survive followed by a chapter that presents two cases of Jesuit institutions that closed and were amalgamated by another Jesuit university. The seventh chapter will consist of two cases representing Jesuit college/university survival in the New Orleans Province. Immediately following the historiographically-constructed cases studies will be the conclusive chapter detailing overarching trends, comparative analysis of all cases via the inclusion of supportive data material that aids in validating the analysis and, finally, a section summarizing the findings and implications of this study as well as future research possibilities will conclude this examination of institutional survival and Jesuits higher education.

In addition to understanding institutional survival and the development of colleges and universities administered by the Society of Jesus, this research is a response to a call for greater study on Southern higher education and how it was affected by the society of which is was a part. Historian Thomas G. Dyer states,

Scholars have zealously studied virtually every aspect of southern history. Thus when a topic seems under exploited or, in the parlance of contemporary politics, underdeveloped, it should come something of a surprise to those who study the region. Such is true of the history of higher education in the South. Although much has been written about episodes or cases, the field has not been assiduously studied,
this is, scholars have not focused their energies on attempting to understand this complex and important aspect of the region’s past.67

This study seeks to remedy a small portion of Dyer’s claim via the analysis of Southern Catholic/Jesuit institutions of higher education. This study goes further, not only examining Southern higher education in light of a redeveloping social environment, but also examines the pertinence of institutional identity and mission. An exploration of how these Jesuit colleges and universities survived, failed, or adapted in the New Orleans Province while attempting to remain connected to their European foundations will lead to a fuller understanding of how higher education must remain responsive to society while maintaining a sense of identity and mission.

CHAPTER TWO: THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, JESUIT HIGHER EDUCATION, AND THE NEW ORLEANS PROVINCE

... [the] fruit sought in colleges may be spread more universally through the branches taught, the number of persons attending, and the degrees which are conferred in order that the recipients may be able to teach with authority elsewhere what they have learned well in these universities of the Society for the glory to God our Lord. – Saint Ignatius of Loyola

In order to more fully understand how concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships can affect the survival of Jesuit colleges and universities it is important to understand the foundational history that governs the development and administration of Jesuit institutions as well as the kinds of instruction that take place on their campuses and the way they have interacted with surrounding social environs. The justification for an understanding of Jesuit history and education can be summed up in a line from Philip Gleason’s book Contending With Modernity: Catholic Higher Education in the Twentieth Century. Gleason states: “Without understanding Catholic educators’ religious and intellectual convictions we cannot possible understand what they did or why they did it.” Such is the case with the Society of Jesus.

The Society of Jesus has held a position of religious and educational significance in America since 1566 when twenty-four Jesuits arrived in the Spanish territory of Florida. Later, in 1634, a group of English Jesuits settled in St. Mary’s City, Maryland. In the following years, additional members of the Order made their way to aid in the

1 Saint Ignatius of Loyola, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, trans. George E. Ganss (St. Louis, Missouri: The Institute of Jesuit Sources, 1970), 210-211.
exploration and settling of America.\(^4\) As the American colonies grew, the Society of Jesus grew right alongside. Jesuit priests and brothers preceded or accompanied pioneers into new regions of the American frontier and settled in geographic areas that became heavily populated centers of America. As has been stated in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*: “Not a cape was turned, nor a river entered, but a Jesuit led the way.”\(^5\)

Members of the Society of Jesus were highly educated and prepared to teach in early schools fashioned by their own hands. The Jesuit parish school grew out of the need for basic education in rural areas for boys and eventually expanded into private colleges. The first major, and still existing establishment of an American Jesuit university, is Georgetown University, opened in 1789.\(^6\) Schools of business, law, medicine, dentistry, engineering, nursing, journalism, and ultimately graduate education, followed in American Jesuit colleges and universities. In fact, many other Catholic colleges and universities drew from Jesuit educational philosophy and practice mainly because the Society of Jesus created and presented a discernable methodology of education and were renowned as effective educators.\(^7\) Here in lies the major difference between Catholic and Jesuit education. Jesuit education had a developed method utilized in all colleges to form a universal practice. Catholic colleges/universities did not, as of yet, have such a model. William Leahy reflects this argument by stating:

Other Catholic colleges and universities drew from Jesuit educational theory and practice because Jesuits had articulated a definite philosophy of education and because they a reputation as effective educators since their founding.\textsuperscript{8} Thus, Catholic educational institutions borrowed the writings of the Society of Jesus, including the \textit{Ratio Studiorum}, to more centrally focus their curricula.\textsuperscript{9}

In fact, this educational reputation caused the Jesuits of the New Orleans Mission to be invited to develop parishes, churches, and colleges in other areas of the South. In 1874 the Society of Jesus was called to Augusta, Georgia, where they opened the College of the Sacred Heart in 1900. In 1884 the bishop of Galveston, Texas, gave St. Mary’s University to the Society, and in 1889 the Jesuit Fathers were invited to establish a church and educational institution in Florida by the Right Rev. J. Moore, bishop of St. Augustine.\textsuperscript{10}

As the Society of Jesus continued to expand, Jesuit educators and administrators carried with them the identity and mission of the Society of Jesus as represented by a methodical teaching and curricular framework based on the \textit{Spiritual Exercises}, the \textit{Constitutions of the Society of Jesus} (both written by St. Ignatius Loyola, the Society’s founder and first superior general), and a series of teaching methods known as the \textit{Ratio Studiorum} created by the Society of Jesus. This framework, supported by the identifiable Jesuit themes of \textit{Ad Majorem Dei Glorium}, “For the Greater Glory of God”\textsuperscript{11} and “Finding God in All Things,” which invites individuals to search for and find God in every circumstance of life, played a seminal role in the development of Jesuit colleges.

\textsuperscript{8} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{10} The Catholic Church in the United States of America: To Celebrate the Golden Jubilee of His Holiness, Pope Pius X (New York: The Catholic Editing Company, 1908), 195.
\textsuperscript{11} J. F. Broderick, “About the Jesuits: New York Province,” New Catholic Encyclopedia, VII.
and universities.\textsuperscript{12} These ideological themes supplied the means for the Order to address both liberal and professional education, while remaining loyal to the Catholic mission of salvation through education.

\textbf{Characteristics and Mission of Jesuit Education}

Additional Jesuit themes reveal governing philosophical concepts that define the identity of and driving force behind the Society of Jesus. Two that stand out in regard to the educational institutions of the Society of Jesus are the \textit{cura personalis} “care for the whole person”\textsuperscript{13} and the \textit{magis} “more.”\textsuperscript{14} “Care for the whole person,” is presented in Jesuit spirituality, via the belief that God is a part of all things and all people. Also, what “more” can be done for people pertains to glorifying God by seeking additional opportunities for humankind. This premise of glorifying God through caring for the whole person and pursuit of additional ways to reach out to society typify elements of Jesuit educational mission.

Drawing on the history and themes of Jesuit education, Peter-Hans Kolvenback, former superior general of the Society of Jesus, in an address read to the 1989 Assembly of Jesuit Ministry in Higher Education, stated that,

You are in a position to form the minds and hearts of people who will mold the beginning of the third millennium. What a marvelous opportunity for the magis, for aiming at ever greater, more profound, more universal service. How pleased Ignatius must be to see us poised for such a challenge!\textsuperscript{15}

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These remarks, meant to guide Jesuit higher education through the new millennium, demonstrated the zeal of the Society of Jesus for education while retaining the historic identity and mission of the Order. The philosophy and predominant ideologies of Jesuit higher education, based on Ignatian spirituality, are linked and cannot be separated. The growth of both Jesuit spirituality and education, as illustrated by Kolvenback, has been marked as exponential. Forms of Jesuit higher education, beginning in the last years of the Society of Jesus’ founder St. Ignatius Loyola’s life, progressed throughout the world. This symbiotic relationship between spirituality and education, seated within the history of the Society of Jesus, evolved and retained fundamental Jesuit principles, such as the magis, as it progressed in Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

With the first successful wave of Jesuit education experiences in Messina a second college soon opened in Palermo. From there, Jesuit education became a popular regime requested by heads of state and other clerical leaders. With this encouraging growth education quickly became an apostolic priority for the Order. Ignatius himself grew anxious to see the educational work of the Jesuits prosper. Between 1551 and 1556 Ignatius pushed education realizing that a quality education could bring an individual to love God and ultimately bring salvation. In 1551, Ignatius established a college in the heart of Rome that would serve as the model for all other Jesuit institutions to follow. It is known as the Gregorian University and today services both religious and laypersons. At

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the time of Ignatius’ death in 1556 there were approximately 1000 Jesuits who served in over 100 apostolic establishments and managed some 33 colleges and schools.\textsuperscript{18}

Based on substantial governing tenants Jesuit institutions spread maintaining a standard curriculum from one Jesuit college to another. As a student studied in a Jesuit college he or she were to create in them a constant search for the truth and thus a sense of spirituality. As an individual partook in this form of education they soon realized they were not only a leaner but also a teacher to others around them, younger than them, and unto themselves. As a person passed through the Jesuit curriculum they refined the ability to demonstrate, through a personal want to learn, a respect for others and develop esteem for what they have learned. Jesuit education, as expressed through a humanist lens, establishes that all people have potential and enables a person, through their liberal studies, to realize they are a creation of God whose future purpose is to lead in the surrounding world.\textsuperscript{19} The sum total of Jesuit curriculum is based on a series of guiding characteristics. These characteristics not only govern Jesuit curriculum but also serve as a formative guide for both students and instructors, religious and lay, and take into account the historic development of Jesuit education.\textsuperscript{20} These all-important characteristics have coalesced throughout the history of the Society of Jesus and typify the identity and mission behind the instruction given in its colleges and universities (See table 2.1).

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Table 2.1 The Characteristics of Jesuit Education.\textsuperscript{21}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principles of Jesuit education . . .</th>
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<tr>
<td>. . . are world affirming.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . assist in the total formation of each individual within the human community.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . include a religious dimension that permeates the entire education.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . are an apostolic instrument.</td>
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<td>. . . promote dialogue between faith and culture.</td>
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<td>. . . insist on individual care and concern for each person.</td>
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<td>. . . emphasize activity on the part of the student.</td>
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<td>. . . encourage life-long openness to growth.</td>
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<td>. . . are value oriented.</td>
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<td>. . . encourage a realistic knowledge, love, and acceptance to self.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . provide a realistic knowledge of the world in which we live.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . propose Christ as the model for human life.</td>
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<td>. . . provide adequate pastoral care.</td>
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<td>. . . celebrate faith in personal and community prayer, worship, and service.</td>
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<td>. . . serve as a preparation for active life commitments.</td>
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<td>. . . serve the faith that does justice.</td>
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<td>. . . seek to form “men and women for others”.</td>
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<td>. . . manifest a particular concern for the poor.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . are an apostolic instrument, in service of the church as it serves human society.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . prepare students for active participation in the service of others.</td>
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<td>. . . pursue excellence in its work of formation.</td>
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<td>. . . are witnesses to excellence.</td>
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<td>. . . stress lay-Jesuit collaboration.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . rely on a spirit of community within all facets of Jesuit institutions.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . take place within a structure that promotes community.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . adapt means and methods in order to achieve its purposes most affectively.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . act as a system of institutions with a common vision and common goals.</td>
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<tr>
<td>. . . assist in and encourages the ongoing learning and development of those who teach within its institutions.</td>
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\textsuperscript{21} Go Forth and Teach: The Characteristics of Jesuit Education, 17, 21, 27, 30, 35, 38, 41, & 47.
These characteristics, if anything, embody the developed nature of institutional identity and mission established in Jesuit institutions by its parent religious order. Jean-Marc Laporte, a Jesuit priest and writer on Ignatian identity and mission illustrates certain notions that assist in the understanding of how such characteristics came about and how they guide the Order’s colleges and universities. Laporte establishes certain Jesuit identities through the foundational actions and life of Ignatius Loyola and the history of the Order. Second, the mission governing the Order is established through its identity. Finally, it is the duty of the Society of Jesus to imbue their apostolic work with their own spirituality so that laypersons may partake in some communal format including education.22

As well as the formative and guiding characteristics of Jesuit education, which help in the discernment of Jesuit educational identity and mission, the social constructs behind the *cura personalis* and the *magis* become significant when examining the historical development of Jesuit higher education in the American South. The educational apostolates of the Society of Jesus suggest that Jesuits and Jesuit higher education utilize a classical European form of curriculum, focusing on a liberal arts education, while pursuing holistic instruction as a method of representing and fortifying the spiritual and educational identity and mission of their colleges and universities. This combined form of liberal education and holistic education is governed through the *Ratio Studiorum* and the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, both foundational documents of the Order. These documents guide the Society of Jesus as they develop and administer institutions of higher education while allowing these institutions to engage social environs in the South.

As the Society of Jesus followed their spiritually based foundations, the need would arise to modify their system of higher education in the Southern states.

In their constant endeavor to fulfill an expansive educational mission, the Jesuits of the South founded St. Charles College in Grande Coteau, Louisiana in 1837. Later in 1847 they took charge of Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama. The Order established a territory and engaged in educational pursuits that covered an area from Galveston, Texas, to Tampa, Florida, and spread northward into Georgia. The territory became known as the New Orleans Mission in 1880 and later the New Orleans Province in 1907 encompassing much of the Gulf South including New Orleans and Mobile. The Order’s higher educational advancement continued in Mobile and grew throughout Louisiana until the start of the Civil War in 1861. Unlike other Southern institutes, Jesuit colleges managed to remain open during the war by promoting their mission and identity via preparatory departments. In the years that followed, the Society of Jesus delegated its efforts further developing their Southern institutions of higher education. Ultimately, the Jesuits of the South would add to their liberal holistic education to include professional programs of study to meet a growing demand for industrial change in Southern higher education. This institutional expansion, conjoined with the growing need for curricular revision lead to a questioning of the Order’s educational purposes in the South. In an effort to maintain the Jesuit nature of their colleges and universities, as well as meet the needs of a changing social environment, harsh decisions would be made in order to fortify and sustain their system of higher education.

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Students of God: St. Ignatius Loyola, the Society of Jesus, and the First Jesuit Colleges

Before this examination of the survival of Jesuit colleges and universities in the American South can progress certain questions must be answered concerning the Society of Jesus. How did this religious order originate? What factors lead the Society of Jesus to educational endeavors? How did the Order establish a presence in the American South? What was the social environment like in the South during transitional periods and how did Jesuit higher education respond? In order to answer these questions one must start with an understanding of the Jesuit founder, St. Ignatius Loyola.

Father Thomas Clancy (1923-2009), former Jesuit provincial for the New Orleans Province, professor of history, vice-president of Loyola University New Orleans, and archivist for the New Orleans Province passed away while this study was in its formative stages. His writing on the Society of Jesus is formidable. He and his surviving colleagues would most likely agree that Ignatius Loyola, can be at times a mystery. In his book, *An Introduction to Jesuit Life, The Constitutions and History Through 435 Years*, Clancy makes a depictive statement about the life of Ignatius Loyola:

> Beginning in the last years of the nineteenth century there has been an enormous amount of scholarly production and popular diffusion concerning Ignatius’ life and ideas. Indeed he might be said to be among the dozen most thoroughly investigated humans in history . . . A veritable library of learned and popular books has been published by dedicated and erudite authors. But the Enigma still remains. Loyola has never been a popular saint. The faithful have found other Jesuits more appealing . . . One of the most delightful things about visiting the Province of Guipuzxoa in the Spanish Basque Country is to discover the extraordinary popularity of the saint among the people of his native country. For the rest he remains a enigmatic figure.26

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Ignatius’ position as the founder of the Society of Jesus adds a crucial layer. The life and history of Ignatius Loyola, his spiritual mission, educational experience, and administrative identity are important to consider when examining any portion of Jesuit higher education. The details provided here are not presented to interpret his life but to give a historical framework to the formation and spread of the Society of Jesus through the establishment of the New Orleans Mission/Province.

At the Castle of Loyola in the province of Guipuscoa, Spain, two families resided: one family known as Ognez, the other Balde, both distinguished by a long line of military and scholarly ancestors. From the Ognez line the name Loyola would rise and represent the family at the end of the 15th century. In 1491, Don Bertram, Lord of Ognez and Loyola, and his wife Done Maria Saez de Balde named their newborn child Inigo Lopez de Loyola.\(^27\) His name, Inigo, would later be mistakenly translated to Ignatius at the University of Paris.\(^28\) After his death in 1566, and later beatification, he would become known as St. Ignatius Loyola.

Ignatius was the last of thirteen children.\(^29\) He was brought up at the end of the Muslem wars, a time of Spanish discovery. Names such as Columbus and Cortez were on the lips of well-to-do Spaniards. In his youth, Ignatius’ studied the practices of a the gentry and nobles.\(^30\) When he was approximately fifteen years old, Ignatius was sent by his family to study as a page in the court of Don Juan Valasquez de Cueller and was forced to take on a life of both military training and clerical studies. Despite this

education, he prided himself on martial exercises and felt that he was fit for “more” than the duties of a country pastor.\textsuperscript{31}

This feeling of “more” had a profound influence on Ignatius, his military career, and later, his spiritual life. Looking back on his life, Ignatius described himself as a vain youth, but this narcissism came to an end at the Battle of Pamplona. In 1512, Pope Julius II, the Emperor of Spain, the Venetian Republic, and Henry the VIII of England combined forces to create The Holy League and waged war against France. Ferdinand, Emperor of Spain, sent troops to invade Navarre. Three years later, Navarre pledged loyalty to Spain. The viceroy of the now Spanish governed country of Navarre, the Duke of Najera, had set up court at Pamplona and was a friend of the Loyola family. Ignatius, seeing an opportunity for self-glory, presented himself to the Duke of Najera in full military dress. That same year, a French army marched on Pamplona. Prepared for battle and with only a companion-in-arms to confess his sins, Ignatius charged into the siege prepared to die. In the heat of battle, a cannonball sped through the air and shattered Ignatius’ right leg and wounded his left. Suffering from the blow, Ignatius fell and with him so did his Spanish comrades. When he was discovered lying in his own blood, the French honored him as a gallant foe, had their doctors operate on his shattered leg, and sent Ignatius home to the Castle of Loyola.\textsuperscript{32}

Upon reaching his family home, Spanish doctors realized his right leg was set improperly. If left alone, the leg would heal shorter than the other. At Ignatius’ command the leg was re-broken and reset without any form of anesthesia. Despite medical efforts,


\textsuperscript{32} Brodrick, \textit{The Origins of the Jesuits}, 7-9.
Ignatius’ life began to wane. He asked for and received the last rights, consisting of confession, prayers, and communion, in preparation for death. The doctors, on the Vigil of the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, had concluded that within the next day Ignatius would most likely die; however, the following day came and Ignatius lived. Slowly he began to heal properly and regain his strength.\footnote{Ibid., 25.}

\textbf{Figure 2.1} St. Ignatius Loyola.\footnote{Jac Del Conte, “S. Ignatius de Loyola,” detail of a postcard, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.}

As time passed, Ignatius remained in bed recouping from his injuries. This incapacitation led to a keen interest in literature, and Ignatius read a variety of romantic novels from the castle library. After depleting the library’s stock of novels depicting chivalrous deeds and knightly rescues of fair damsels, he began, due to the lack of any

\footnote{Ibid., 25.}
other form of literature, to read books concerning the lives of Christ and the Saints.\(^\text{35}\)

Prior to Ignatius’ return, his eldest brother had married Magdalena de Araoz. She had brought with her to the Loyola household, a picture of the Annunciation, which still resides in the chapel of Loyola, as well as four large volumes of *The Life of Christ*. These books and this painting had an immense effect on Ignatius. Not only did they produce in him a keen awareness of the importance of religious art, they also fanned the flames of his religious life.\(^\text{36}\)

As Ignatius continued his religious self-education, he had a vision of Mary and the Christ Child that filled him with a loathing for his life of vanity and self-glory. From this vision and the knowledge acquired through religious literature, Ignatius decided that a life of penance was necessary to expunge the sins of his former life. Once well enough, he would journey to Jerusalem as a personal pilgrimage to reflect on penance.\(^\text{37}\) In 1522, he left his family home for the Holy Land. Three weeks later, he arrived at Montserrat.\(^\text{38}\) Upon reaching the Cathedral of Montserrat, Ignatius made his general confession, and replaced his noble clothing with that of a beggar. With his sword hung upon the church altar, he received the Holy Communion, and departed poor but full of joy for the holy work he envisioned himself undertaking.\(^\text{39}\)

Ignatius had only intended to stop for a few days at Montserrat, but his request to Pope Adrian VI for the pilgrimage had been delayed, and the plague had ceased all travel in Spain. Thus, his stay at Montserrat was increased exponentially, and in this time he was to be treated by God, as Ignatius describes, “like a schoolboy.” Ignatius continued


his penitential existence and received the teachings God had to offer all while living in a cell provided by the Dominican friars of Montserrat.⁴⁰ During the following eleven months, Ignatius rejected the worldliness of his former life, helped the sick, attended daily Mass, spent hours on his knees in prayer, and often retreated to a cave in Manresa near the monastery, where his education from God progressed. At Manresa, he prayed and contemplated the Will of God. Here, Ignatius produced *The Spiritual Exercises*, his first and most influential writings that would eventually establish the identity of his future religious order.⁴¹

*The Spiritual Exercises* is a series of meditations, prayers, and examinations of personal conscience for the purpose of determining God’s will for an individual’s life. Divided into what Ignatius called “weeks,” these spiritual meditations include the contemplation of personal sin and what man owes God in repentance of sin, a study of the life of Jesus, a period of meditation on the suffering and death of Christ, and an in-depth contemplation on the joy of the resurrection of Jesus.⁴² The overall purpose of this compact set of writings and contemplations is that each individual who undergoes this period of meditation and prayer will emerge having made a personal decision that his or her life should be lived for the greater glory of God, *Ad Majorem Dei Glorium*.⁴³

Upon closer examination, one can surmise that the motivation to undergo the exercises is to create a closer conformity with the mind of Christ, to understand and want to be more like Him out of love and devotion, to accept poverty with Jesus rather than

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⁴³ Ibid, 9-10.
riches without Him, and to accept the scorn and mockery from others for standing with Jesus instead of honor and fame that could be acquired from a life without Christ.  

Through this process, a person chooses of his or her own volition to embrace Christ through a closer self-educated and meditative understanding of Jesus. Ignatius’ experiences at Manresa and the formation of the *Spiritual Exercises* remain the key to the spiritual and educational apostolate of the Society of Jesus. In fact, it is within the *Spiritual Exercises* that Ignatius more fully developed the principle of the *magis* and the inclination that he and others must pursue “more” for the glory of God.

Departing Manresa, Ignatius succeeded in his quest to reach Jerusalem. There he met with the Franciscan Fathers in hopes that he might join their Order, however, the Franciscans denied him entrance on the grounds that they did not have the financial stability to support another member. Ignatius left the Holy Land after much protest and journeyed to Barcelona. Realizing the need to further his own education, Ignatius studied grammar and Latin at a school in Barcelona under the guidance of Jerome Ardavalo. Alongside children, Ignatius convinced himself that through further studies he could become a useful instrument for God. This formative experience shaped the ideologies governing the earliest educational courses for young men in Jesuit colleges.

From Barcelona, he traveled to the University of Alcala where he studied dialects, physics, and theology. While at Alcala, he administered the *Spiritual Exercises* to others. Unfortunately, the Inquisition of Toledo noticed the crowd that flocked to the spiritual

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teachings of Ignatius. Although the Inquisition found no fault with him, the local Vicar Figueroa advised Ignatius against his public teaching and eventually had him thrown in jail for forty days. Eventually Ignatius was released under the condition that he could not teach or profess issues of faith, as he had not completed his studies in the liberal arts. Disheartened, Ignatius decided to depart Alcalá.48 From his life as a student of the military and nobility to his convalesced religious self-education furthered by his studies in grammar and Latin, Ignatius ventured into a world of academics that would have lasting effects on the educational mission of the Society of Jesus.

Even though his studies at the University of Alcalá ceased prematurely his experiences with formal education were far from over. In 1528, Ignatius reached the University of Paris. There he found lodging outside of the university in a house filled with Spanish students and refreshed his study of the humanities.49 In Paris, Ignatius would have to begin his courses anew, due to the fact that his previous courses would not transfer to this new university. Undaunted, and at the age of thirty-seven, Ignatius excelled in Latin and devoured humanist philosophy; however, all this study was nothing without its divine end being the greater glory of God through service for others.50

Ignatius collected a band of followers in Paris. On August 15, 1534, Ignatius and six other men gathered together in a church on Montmartre, attended mass, and took the vows of what was to become a new religious society. Although this new religious company still had no formal title or ordination, it was still a formative group based on the

Catholic ideal of the life of Christ.\textsuperscript{51} Prior to this conclave of the unrecognized religious order, Ignatius had completed several levels of education, receiving a Bachelor’s of arts in 1532, a Licentiate of Arts in 1533, and a Master of Arts in 1534.\textsuperscript{52} His studies in the liberal arts shaped the way he and other Jesuits developed schools, colleges, and universities. Not only would the liberal arts be of chief import in European Jesuit colleges and universities, but they would spread to American Jesuit colleges and universities, as well.

Directly after the formation of this small band of early Jesuits, Ignatius hoped that the organization would serve in the Holy Land and work among the Muslims. In 1536, after all members of the band had graduated from the University of Paris, each agreed to take separate paths to Venice; once there, they would regroup and sail east. Upon arrival in Rome, the group was notified by clerical officials that they must gain permission from the Pope to travel to the Holy Land. The Pope gave his consent and all in the group who were not priests were ordained. Despite the group’s enthusiasm, the voyage came to a standstill due to hostilities between the Muslims and the Turks. It became apparent in 1539 that the group’s intentions in Jerusalem would not come to fruition. The members returned to Rome and placed themselves at the full disposal of the Pope. After much deliberation, Pope Paul III gave his approval of the Company of Jesus in the Papal Bull \textit{Regimini Militantis Ecclesia} on September 14, 1540. All members of the Order would take the vows of poverty, obedience, and chastity like so many other religious orders. This Order would respond to a fourth vow; the vow of complete obedience to the

\textsuperscript{52} Decloux, \textit{The Ignatian Way}, 8.
missions of the Pope. The Order would serve as if under military regime and would be later heralded as the soldiers of the Pope.\textsuperscript{53}

At the Pontiff’s request, the Society of Jesus would accommodate his edicts, always serving for the greater glory of God. Before their educational work began, Papal authority instructed the young Order to tend to the homeless, those who suffered from famine, criminals in prison, and women driven to prostitution by poverty. When asked to provide teachers for schools, the Society of Jesus answered the call. Ignatius and the other members of the Order had received advanced degrees from a prestigious European university. This education was never intended to be an individual honor, but rather a means of helping the company do more for others. This new apostolic endeavor allowed for another opportunity to pursue the driving force of the \textit{magis} through education.\textsuperscript{54}

Ignatius would later regard education as a priority for the Society of Jesus; he deemed the work of education as a seminal tool in the salvation and perfection of students who would go forth from the Order’s colleges and universities and spread Catholicism throughout society.\textsuperscript{55}

In 1554, Ignatius wrote the \textit{Constitutions of the Society of Jesus}.\textsuperscript{56} These guiding premises establish the Jesuit identity, lay down crucial aspects regarding the mission and purpose behind different Jesuit apostolates, and govern the hierarchy and social responsibilities to which all Jesuits would hold. The constitutions cover topics such as the formation of the Society, missions, declarations, governance of the Society, and matters

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{53} Hollis, \textit{The Jesuits, a History}, 14-16.
\item \textsuperscript{56} Clancey, \textit{An Introduction to Jesuit Life, The Constitutions and History Through 435 Years}, 45.
\end{itemize}
concerning Jesuit education for novices and laypersons. As previously mentioned, the Society of Jesus, as it was now called, began to take on educational work in the forms of colleges and universities. Ignatius writes in the Constitutions concerning Jesuit educational pursuits and their spiritual underpinnings:

> Through a motive of charity colleges are accepted and schools open to the public are maintained in them for the improvement of learning and in living no only for our own members but even more especially of those from outside the Society. Through this same motive the Society can extend itself to undertaking the works of universities, that through them this fruit sought in the colleges may be spread more universally through the branches taught, the number of persons attending, and the degrees which are conferred in order that the recipients my be able to teach with authority elsewhere what they have learned well in these universities of the Society for the glory of God.

Ignatius, being the ever-firm superior general of the Society of Jesus, documented in the Constitutions the branches that should be taught at Jesuit colleges and universities. The principle area of study was to be theology but would also include Latin, Greek, and Hebrew. Additionally, there would be courses in Chaldaic, Arabic, and Indian. Ignatius saw these courses as being useful to students so that they may better communicate with and aid people of other countries. The Jesuits taught grammar, rhetoric, poetry, and history, along with natural sciences. At the same time, courses in logic, physics, metaphysics, and moral philosophy were offered. All in all, the curriculum was a liberal education interwoven with theological principles. Ignatius remained fervent on maintaining a liberal-arts curriculum, and regarding professional branches of education such as law or medicine he simply stated: “The study of medicine and laws, being more remote from our institute, will not be treated in the universities of the Society, or at least

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58 Ibid., 210-211.
59 Ibid., 213-214.
the Society will not undertake this teaching through its own members.” To the Society of Jesus, it was not preferred to engage in professional forms of instruction by members of the Order, but, if such professional education were to be taught within a Jesuit institution, then it would be instructed by a layperson with experience in the particular professional field.

As the religious order expanded throughout Europe, Jesuits established colleges and continuing to promulgate liberal education. In 1599, forty-three years after the death of Ignatius, the Order produced its own method for instruction in their colleges. The document is known as the Ratio Atque Institutio Studiorum Societatis Iesu, otherwise referred to as the Ratio Studiorum, or simply “the method of studies.” Through this document, Jesuits all over the world had a universal technique for teaching. What one Jesuit college taught, another could also. By the time of its publication, the Ratio Studiorum was used in 245 Jesuit institutions. In 1626, the number of Jesuit colleges rose to 441 and in 1749 to 669, the Jesuit system of education had spread from Europe to India, Cuba, Mexico, and the Philippines. As one reads the Ratio Studiorum in conjunction with the Order’s constitutions, it becomes apparent that the Society of Jesus considered a liberal education to be the most holistic and developmental form of instruction.

The Jesuit educational system grew to span all of Europe and branched into Asia. John W. O’Malley, in his book The First Jesuits, provides a description of qualities that made early Jesuit education not only successful but also expansive. In brief, the Jesuits

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60 Ibid., 215.
charged no tuition, welcomed students from all social classes, capitalized on character formation, developed a balanced educational plan consisting of the study of languages and philosophy/science, implemented divisible classes based on subjects, encouraged public orations, disputations and plays, and promoted a religious education for all students that could be internalized. As a further Jesuit educational adaptation to the confraternity, they created a network of institutions that stayed in constant communication with each other, and finally, every Jesuit instructor was highly educated and tried to influence their students more by their actions than by their words. 62

The passion of the Jesuits for colleges and universities sent them across the globe and eventually to the Americas. In the New World, the Jesuit Fathers would continue their practices of liberal education and keep in contact with Jesuits from around the globe learning from each other’s experiences as they advanced in the apostolate of education. Ignatius made it clear in the constitutions that the best way to keep the Society unified was to write and communicate between priests, brothers, and superiors in the different global regions inhabited by the Order. 63 In the New World most Jesuits pursued missions, and few functioned as educators in the traditional sense; however, with the growth of colonies in the Americas, Jesuits began performing more classroom duties than mission work. 64 Focusing on the life of Ignatius, as well as the ideologies behind the cura personalis and the magis, Jesuits in the New World hastened to establish colleges and universities in order to promote the spread of Catholic doctrine through the education of students.

63 Loyola, The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, 292.
The Jesuits in the New World: Pursuing the *Magis* in the South

The Jesuit presence in the American South lead to a series of events that made the Society of Jesus common place along the Gulf Coast. In 1566, a Spanish ship sailed along the Florida coast in search of the port of St. Helena. The ship’s crew had one main objective; to deliver three Jesuit priests to Don Pedro Menendez de Avilesto so that these priests might convert Native Americans to Catholicism and aid in the development of the faith in the Spanish colony. Pedro Martinez, the leader of the Florida-bound group had entered the Order three years before the death of Ignatius. He had been a classic example of a Jesuit, tending to the needs of the sick, studying theology, diligently working as a college teacher and successful preacher, and had served as the chaplain to 12,000 Spanish troops as they marched against the Moors. Now, he sought missions abroad. After he pleaded with his religious superiors, they granted him his wish and sent him to Florida; however, his stay in the Florida territory was not long lasting. Following a series of events that left he and his fellow Jesuits stranded without supplies on the Florida coast the small band was killed by local tribesmen. In 1570, another group of Jesuits attempted a second Florida mission near the Chesapeake Bay, but the story repeated itself and this group of religious men, like the last, was expunged at the onset of their arrival.

In light of the fatalities, Jesuit mission attempts to the New World would not resume for another sixty-four years. In 1634, a group of English Jesuits settled in St. Mary’s City, Maryland. Groups of Jesuits already existed in Quebec and Mexico and eventually these three groups would coalesce through the expansion of the United States

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66 Ibid., 13.
67 Ibid., 14.
of America. Despite many unsuccessful attempts by the Jesuits to aid pioneers in the search for pathways westward or southward, the Jesuit Jacques Marquette undertook a daring venture with explorers Louis Jolliet and Jean Talon in 1673. Their mission was to expand the colonial territory for France southward via the Mississippi River.\textsuperscript{68}

\begin{figure}
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\caption{Discovery of the Mississippi by Marquette.\textsuperscript{69}}
\end{figure}

Traveling along the shore of Lake Michigan to Green Bay, Marquette and his fellow travelers, eventually came across the Fox River, which connected the explorers to the Wisconsin River. The explorers, after much paddling to avoid rapids and whirlpools, arrived at the Mississippi River where they canoed southward. During their exploration of the Mississippi, they discovered a direct route to the Louisiana Territory. They turned back and after reaching the village of the Illinois Indians, the group of explorers set up

\textsuperscript{68} Bangert, \textit{A History of the Society of Jesus}, 261-264.
\textsuperscript{69} J. N. Marchand, “Discovery of the Mississippi by Marquette,” photograph of a tapestry, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
camp on what would become the city of Chicago. Excited to have returned safely, Marquette recorded his trip down the Mississippi. In 1674, Marquette set out again to revisit the Illinois tribe, but on his journey, he fell ill and realized he was about to die. Upon reaching the tribe, he instructed his fellow travelers as to how he was to be buried, heard their confessions, and wrote his own.⁷₀ As he lay dying he uttered his last words; “Mater Dei, memento mei” (“Mother of God, remember me”).⁷¹ Even though Marquette’s death kept him from further expanding the French territory, his exploration of the Mississippi River demonstrated that the Louisiana territory could be reached via the Mississippi River, a fact that played in favor of American expansion and Jesuit progress and pursuit of the magis in the South.⁷²

As in other established regions, Southern Jesuits held to the apostolate of missions with Native Americans. Raymond Schroth, in his book The American Jesuits, A History, demonstrates the importance of Jesuit education in the understanding of languages. This polyglottous skill proved useful as members of the Society in the American South confronted tribes that spoke diverse and highly structured languages. Schroth puts it simply; “For the Jesuit, the ability to address a tribal council in the midst of controversy could mean life or death.”⁷³ In this new land, the traditional long, black robe encumbered the Jesuits and their vow of poverty restricted Jesuits from providing gifts to tribesmen.⁷⁴ Had it not been for their ability to communicate and demonstrate that they were not a physical threat, the Jesuit expansion may not have been as progressive. Essentially, the liberal education (including linguistics) Jesuits experienced in their own institutions

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⁷² Ibid.
⁷³ Ibid., 41.
⁷⁴ Ibid.
affirmed their missionary foothold in the South and probably fortified their justification for liberal education in their Southern colleges.

In scattered groups, Jesuits had expanded their endeavors in the South towards the colony of New Orleans and the Gulf of Mexico since 1700 as part of the Quebec Mission. Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d’ Iberville, the first Governor of New Orleans and former indentured servant to the Society of Jesus, had brought with him the Jesuit Father Paul Du Rhu as the expedition’s chaplain, perhaps out of a loyalty to the Order. Du Rhu would traverse northwards on the Mississippi River covering the area that Marquette had not. In lieu of Iberville’s work to develop a colony in the Louisiana territory, the French government, concerned with health and strategic placement, decided to move the inhabitants of the colony, including Father Du Rhu, to the western shore of Mobile Bay. Despite his disappointment at the relocation, the Jesuit Father became the first resident priest of Mobile, Alabama.

After his transfer to Mobile, Father Du Rhu developed a conflicting relationship with Bishop St. Vallier of Quebec, whose jurisdiction covered the Mississippi Valley. After much consideration, Du Rhu’s provincial, Reverend Julien Baudran, decided that Du Rhu and the small group of Jesuits working alongside the Mobile Bay should return to France in 1704. After the egress of Du Rhu and the Mobile Jesuits several members of the Order traveled to the Gulf Coast colonies thus increasing their presence in the South.

77 Donald A. Howkins, S.J. “Pioneer Jesuits in the South – 1566 to 1763,” Jesuits of the South Celebrate 75 Years as a Province (1907-1982), Apostolic Ministry in the South Since 1837, Early Jesuits Missions in the South (1566-1763) 2 no. 1 (August, 1982): 5.
78 Biever, The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley, 17.
In 1720, Father Laval attempted to visit the Southern region to conduct a survey of the Mississippi Coast, but the trip was cut short due to the presence of plague aboard Laval’s ship. In 1722, Jesuit historian Father Pierre Francois-Xavier de Charlevoix made a short visit to the Louisiana territory and gave the colony a negative review based on the harsh living conditions of the swampland. Later, he would write about his hope for the future of the colony and his wish that the colony prosper.\footnote{Ibid., 17-19.} Despite these visits, the comings and goings of so many Jesuits throughout the Louisiana Territory and Mobile indicate that no Jesuit held permanent residence in the Southern territory, a situation soon to be rectified by the younger brother of Iberville, Jean-Baptiste Le Moyne de Bienville.

Bienville had witnessed the work of the Jesuits in Canada, and like his brother Iberville, wanted to see the Order return to the Southern colonies. Bienville was convinced that only a compact organization like the Society of Jesus could survive and flourish amongst the hardships of colonial missionary life in the territory.\footnote{Ibid., 20-21.} At the time of Bienville’s governorship, the Quebec Mission still controlled the Louisiana Territory; however, in 1723, the Holy See detached Louisiana from the province of Canada. In the same year, the Society of Jesus connected the Mission of the Southern Jesuits with the Lyon Province in France. Father Joseph Francois de Kereben acted as its first Superior, and in 1724, Nicholas de Beaubois was named to succeed Kereben and journeyed to New Orleans with six other Jesuits. De Beaubois’ first objective was to establish an agreement with the French government to support the placement of a permanent Jesuit house in New Orleans. The Jesuits’ purpose in New Orleans was to continue mission work among the
Native American tribes of the Mississippi Valley. Bienville and the Jesuits shared a peaceful relationship based on the advancement of the New Orleans colony. As Bienville strove to promote the Society of Jesus in the colony, the Jesuits returned the favor by defending Bienville whenever his gubernatorial administration came into question.

Figure 2.3 Plan of the City of New Orleans and the Adjacent Plantations. Due to the instability of the French Government to cover missionary expenses, the Jesuit Fathers of New Orleans decided to form a plantation. The proceeds of the plantation would maintain the missionaries and their work with the Native American populations. The first concession of land for the plantation was on the east side of the colony on the west bank of the Mississippi River and extended north-west as far as the cypress swamp.

81 Clancy, Our Friends, 3.
82 Albert James Pickett, History of Alabama and Incidentally Georgia and Mississippi, From the Earliest Period (Birmingham, Alabama: Press of Robert & Son, 1878), 176.
83 Carlos Trudeau, “Plan of the City of New Orleans and the Adjacent Plantations,” detail of a map, courtesy of the Library of Congress. Note: The Jesuit Plantation can be found on the map in the area South of the colony on the west bank of the Mississippi River and extended north-west as far as the cypress swamp.
Mississippi River, opposite the colony, a tract considered undesirable, due to its inconvenient location. The Jesuits of the colony resolved to secure a more suitable site on the western side of the river. Aware of their needs, Bienville, passed an act on April 11, 1726 that transferred to the Jesuits a large tract of land on the west of the Mississippi River and adjacent to the colony. The land measured 3,600 feet wide by 9,000 feet long and lay between what is now known as Tchoupitoulas, Annunciation, and Terpsichore streets, and the edge of Bayou St. John. Two subsequent purchases would result in the expansion that ultimately extended the land from the river to Broad street and from Common Street to Felicity Road (See figure 2.3).

In order to obtain this new concession of land on the east side of the river, Father de Beaubois, as the leader of the New Orleans Jesuits, sailed to France in 1726. The voyage to France had a secondary motive: When the need for hospital managers in New Orleans increased, the colonial administration wrote to the Company of the Indies to ask for help in the acquisition of the gray sisters, namely, the Daughters of Charity. To the colonial administration’s disappointment the Daughters of Charity were not in a position to send any of their members. In response to this, de Beaubois, envisioning an opportunity to do more for the colony, made contact with the Ursuline sisters who would nurse the colony’s sick and provide educational services, a task that the Jesuits had, so far, been forbidden to do.

According to Emily Clark, author of *Voices From an Early American Convent*, “The Company of the Indies crafted a contract with this group of nuns that stipulated the hospital as their primary responsibility, making clear that teaching would be

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85 Ibid., 33.
supplemental and could only be undertaken if it did not interfere with or detract from their nursing duties.  

This contract assured a position for the Ursuline sisters within the colony and through their educational activities the Jesuits had helped in the procurement of a solution to a need for the burgeoning colony. The group of Ursuline nuns that Father de Beaubois secured for New Orleans set sail on the Gironde from port L’Orient on February 22, 1727 and reached the colony on August 7th of that same year.  

**Figure 2.4** Landing at New Orleans of the Ursuline Nuns of Rouen, France, on the morning of August 7, 1727.

The Jesuits and the Ursuline Sisters shared a variety of similarities. They both utilized forms of meditative spiritual retreats, Jesuits of course through their *Spiritual*...

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87 Biever, *The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley*, 34.

88 “Landing at New Orleans of the Ursuline Nuns of Rouen, France, on the morning of August 7, 1727,” photograph of a painting, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library. Note: Father de Beauboys, foreground, left.
Exercises. In addition, both religious orders were known for containing excellent educators. Even though Father de Beaubois intended for the two Order’s educational techniques to provide a much-needed service for the colony, the trip’s main purpose was to ensure the Society of Jesus’ place in the South. The plantation de Beaubois and the Southern Jesuits constructed through the land concession was well organized. The plantation financially supported the New Orleans Jesuits and provided a wide variety of crops, including corn, rice potatoes, cotton, and sugar. The Jesuits also brought, figs, oranges, and indigo. In fact, they allotted a large portion of the plantation for the latter.89

Father de Beaubois had ensured enough land for an expansive, Jesuit-run plantation, as well as for the Ursuline sisters to help with hospital and educational needs, but the Society of Jesus had trodden through territory overseen by the Capuchin friars, who had pastoral rights to New Orleans. The Jesuits and Capuchins argued chiefly over missionary territory.90 This localized issue, along with a series of dense political factors, would soon pose a risk to Jesuit progress in the South. Indeed, European powers had already aligned to undo the work of the Society of Jesus throughout Europe and the Americas.91

Despite the educational and religious background of the Society of Jesus, the spiritual direction of the colony was the contracted responsibility of the Capuchin Friars.92 The New Orleans Capuchins had arrived in 1723 and their apostolic work in the city pertained to the sacraments of the Catholic Church, baptisms, weddings, and tending

89 Ibid., 37-39.
91 Ibid.
to the sick. In addition, the Capuchins were responsible for colonial education long before the Jesuits had established a college in the South; however, within the city plans for New Orleans, designers had not considered the construction of a school.  

Having seen the need for such an institution, the Capuchins purchased a house on St. Ann Street with a promise of reimbursement from the Company of the Indies. Father Raphael, the Capuchin Superior of New Orleans, opened his school in 1725, to educate colonial children and Native Americans. By September of that same year the school was

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94 Pauger, “Plan De La Nouvelle Orleans,” courtesy of the Library of Congress. Note: Pre-sold sections of land for residential and commercial property, no area was allotted for education.
already too small. Historian Adam Hebert explains that Jesuit criticism of this small Capuchin school marked a breach of apostolate boundaries concerning education. De Beaubois criticized the intelligence of the colony’s children and circuitously insulted the Capuchin run school. Hardships were not limited to verbal slings and arrows. The number of students attending the Capuchin school dropped off in 1726, and it was a struggle to retain teachers, acquire schoolbooks, and most important, make payments on the schoolhouse.\footnote{Hebert, “History of Education in Colonial Louisiana,” 10-12.}

Regarding payments on the schoolhouse: Earlier it was mentioned that Raphael had made an agreement with the Company of the Indies to reimburse the purchase of the St. Ann Street house. When the Company of the Indies failed to make payment, a legal battle ensued to determine who was the responsible party for payment failure. It was determined by the French courts that the fault lay with the Company of the Indies and that it was their responsibility to pay for the schoolhouse. Two years later, payment still had not been made, and in 1731, the Capuchin school closed from neglect.\footnote{Ibid., 13-15.}

This financial and contractual struggle may have been factors that kept the Jesuits from pursuing a college in the colony. Also, the Society of Jesus felt there was not sufficient lodging in New Orleans for a college and that materials required to support such an institution were not readily available.\footnote{Fay, The History of Education in Louisiana, 11.} Because of this, the Jesuits ignored encouragement by the civil administration of New Orleans to found a colonial college as a means to end the educational migration of the colony’s 561 children to colleges and universities in France. Despite this dilemma, the Jesuits’ main objective in the New
Orleans colony was to perform spiritual missions. The Society of Jesus had no right to establish an educational institution, as it was part of the Capuchin’s objectives to do so; however, once the legal battle over the St. Ann Street school had come to a dismal close, the Capuchins went out of the education business in New Orleans all together, but, the critical slight the Jesuits made against the Capuchin school was remembered, and soon the Jesuits would find themselves out of work and out of the colony.

In 1762, a dispute concerning the Jesuits raged between European monarchs and Pope Clement XIII. Several nations, including Spain and France, attempted to suppress the Society of Jesus resulting from the belief that the Jesuits were causing civil unrest through court influence and conquest for additional lands. By April the suppression had begun in France and Portugal. All Colleges operated by the Society of Jesus were forced to close. When King Charles of Spain vowed to remove all Jesuit priests from his country neighboring heads of state sided with Charles and requested the suppression of the Jesuits in their own countries despite the public outcry in support of the Order. As France expelled their Jesuits in 1763, the citizens of New Orleans across the Atlantic sided with the French government and expelled Jesuits from the Louisiana Territory. The Capuchins took over all positions and social responsibilities maintained by the Society of Jesus and the large Jesuit plantation was now the property of the French government. The Jesuit expulsion was based on a case centered on beliefs that the Order in New Orleans cared only for their land and not for their apostolic work. In

99 Clancy, An Introduction to Jesuit Life: The Constitutions and History through 435 Years, 173-175.
100 Hollis, The Jesuits, a History, 148-153.
1773, Pope Clement XIV, bending to political pressure, dispatched the hardest blow for all Jesuits. Clement ordered the global suppression of the Society of Jesus.103

The decree of suppression in Louisiana condemned the Jesuits without defense or a proper trial. Their personal property and land were confiscated, divided, and sold; the Jesuit church was demolished, and the Capuchins claimed all ornaments and sacred vessels that resided in the church. The decree went further than just taking their personal belongings and property: The Society of Jesus was now defunct. Jesuits were no longer allowed to indicate themselves by that title and were commanded to don the garb of secular priests instead of the traditional Jesuit habit. In the end, the Jesuits of the South were shipped back to France. Adding insult to injury, colonial officials forced Father Baudoin, the New Orleans Jesuit Superior, to attend the celebration feast following the New Orleans suppression.104

For 51 years, the Jesuits were silenced, their Order demolished by the Holy See, and yet they persevered. In countries such as Prussia, ruled by Fredrick the Great, and Russia, under the Empress Catherine, the remaining vestments of the Society found sanctuary, were allowed to practice the Spiritual Exercises, and keep their identity alive.105 In August of 1814, Pope Pius VII, in his Papal Bull *Sollicitudo Omnium Ecclesiarum*, restored the Society of Jesus. As the newly elected pontiff, Pius VII was determined to reinstate the Jesuits and return them to their apostolic work. In fact, Pius believed that the Jesuit return would herald a new awakening for the Catholic Church

105 Hollis, *The Jesuits, a History*, 159.
through the Order’s passion for education. The Society’s restoration was slow. Eventually, countries around the world accepted the Jesuit return and allowed them to begin their work anew. With the election of Joannes Roothaan as the superior general of the Society, the Order revitalized its mission efforts, spread the practice of the *Spiritual Exercises* to the lay population, and updated the *Ratio Studiorum* to include a wider range of languages, mathematics, philosophies, science, and geography. Despite the restoration, the Jesuits were judged by European governments with a harsh slant for the next 50 years and were expelled temporarily from Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Switzerland, Guatemala, and Nicaragua. This prejudice did not dampen their ever-present pursuit of the *magis*. Jesuits journeyed in mass to America, where they would fortify the American Assistancy, aid in missions, and rebuild their system of education. In time, the Jesuits would return to the American South.

Despite the suppression, Jesuits had been arriving in America since 1801 to teach at Georgetown University. By 1805, several Jesuits had returned to Georgetown, and appointed Father Robert Molyneaux superior over the small group. In the South, however, the Society of Jesus had no presence. Observing a lack of educational institutes in New Orleans and the Southern region, Reverend Anthony Blanc, the first archbishop of New Orleans, traveled to Rome on November 22, 1835, and pleaded with the Reverend John Roothaan, general of the Society of Jesus. His request was that the Society of Jesus would send educators to the New Orleans diocese and build a college. Rev. Roothaan conceded that the first objective of the newly returned Jesuit Fathers

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would be to construct a church and college in the South for the education of Catholic youth and provide for religious needs of Southern residents.

Figure 2.6 Archbishop Anthony Blanc.¹⁰⁹

Following the approval of Blanc’s request, seven Jesuits priests and two brothers set sail from France and arrived in New Orleans on February 22, 1837. Once the Jesuits arrived, steps were immediately taken to find a site for a new college in Louisiana. Locations such as Houma, Donaldsonville, and Mandeville were considered but rejected due to financial constraints and local Jesuit opposition. The Jesuits ultimately choose Grand Coteau in St. Landry Parrish. Father Points prepared the plans for the college, and

¹⁰⁹ “Archbishop Anthony Blanc,” photograph of a portrait, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
on July 31, 1837, Archbishop Blanc laid the corner stone amidst an assembly of supporters.110

The new apostolate zeal of the Jesuits in the South would be the development of institutions of higher education for the instruction of Southern boys. The endeavors of Archbishop Blanc had planted the seed of Jesuit education in Southern soil. In 1837, St. Charles College opened in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, and in 1847, a small group of French Jesuits assumed control of Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama. Soon, plans were drawn up to open a Jesuit church in New Orleans with an adjoining college. An educational mission was discussed and plans were set into motion. With these actions came a college in New Orleans, ultimately titled the College of the Immaculate Conception, and a college in Baton Rouge, St. Peter and St. Paul’s College.111 After the Civil War, the Jesuits of the South would expand even more to assume control over a university in Galveston, Texas. The Order’s constant pursuit of the magis in the newly established New Orleans Mission of the Society of Jesus would push Jesuits further, opening educational intuitions in Shreveport, Louisiana; Augusta, Georgia; and Tampa, Florida.

Despite this expansion, prior to the Civil War and following it, hardships were plentiful for the growing Southern mission. Protestant ideology had dominated American society since early puritan movements in the colonial era; however, with the rise of Catholic immigration to New Orleans and the American South in 1820, social and economic order was disrupted. This disruption affected job competition and strained

welfare. Conflicting educational ideologies also put a strain on Catholics who wished to attain higher education and anti-Catholic as well as anti-Jesuit sentiments were etched into the American consciousness. Forms of anti-Catholic movements took shape in organizations such as the Know Nothing Party (1854), the Ku Klux Klan (1865 and 1915), and the American Protective Association (1887). The historian Donald Howkins states:

The middle decades of the 19th century were the worst possible time for Catholic schools for three reasons. First, there was a very unfriendly climate towards Catholics throughout the USA in the 1840’s and 50’s which saw the rise of nativism and the Know-Nothing party. Maria Monk and ex-priests found fame and fortune lecturing on the evils of the Catholic Church in general and the Jesuits in particular . . . In second place yellow fever epidemics periodically devastated the population of the Gulf south or wherever mosquitos flourished . . . In the third place there was the Civil War and Reconstruction . . . the economic hardships that followed the war made education an unattainable luxury for many Catholic families.

As well, hostilities towards immigrants were fervently present and difficulties only doubled for those of foreign birth who also claimed to be Catholic. The Catholic priest and renowned historian on the Catholic Church in Louisiana, Roger Baudier indicates that a negative sentiment against immigrants from Europe developed throughout the South and in particular along the seacoast and in New Orleans where many immigrants, many being Catholic, settled. Baudier illustrates the following concerning anti-Catholicism and anti-Jesuitism in his book The Catholic Church in Louisiana:

Because of Irish and Italian immigrants being involved, nearly all Catholics, and Germans also, many also being Catholics, it was to be expected that the religious question would be thrust into the affair. And so it was. A violent anti-Catholic

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sentiment developed, including, during the fervor of native Americanism enthusiasm and demands that America be governed by Americans, all the old nonsense of Papal domination, Church interference in political affairs, Jesuitism, the baneful influence of Bishops and clergy, allegiance to a foreign potentate and similar ranting.\textsuperscript{114}

Prior to and following the Civil War New Orleans was flooded with violent anti-Catholic dodgers warning against the election of Catholics to political offices. Handbills were dispersed deposing Catholic priests and the Society of Jesus heralding that such a religious order should not be allowed to rule the city. The Know Nothing party in Louisiana was bitterly opposed to Catholicism. Called “Know-Nothings” due to the intense secrecy of the party, the organization refused admittance to practicing Catholics or any man having a Catholic wife. Rumors persisted that the party allowed admittance to professors at Centenary College in Jackson, Louisiana, who taught students the negative implications of the rise of Catholicism in the South and promoted the destruction of Catholic churches in New Orleans.\textsuperscript{115}

An excellent example of hardships faced by the Jesuits and their educational institutions is the tumultuous years of the College of Sts. Peter and Paul in the Louisiana capital city of Baton Rouge. The College opened January 2, 1850, with twenty-five students; however, local non-Catholic groups opposed the formation of the college. In fact, local social organizations had a street laid on the site designated for the college in order to discourage the Jesuit Fathers’ progress. Despite the enthusiasm of the Catholic population of Baton Rouge in welcoming the Society of Jesus they did little to support the construction of the college. As well, the Know Nothing party in Baton Rouge publicly

\textsuperscript{114} Roger Baudier, \textit{The Catholic Church in Louisiana} (New Orleans, 1939: Reprinted, Louisiana Library Association Public Library Section, 1972), 379.
\textsuperscript{115} Ibid., 379-380.
discouraged the educational plans of the Jesuits; however, the college was erected consisting of three two-story buildings that contained dorm rooms, classrooms, a chapel, and residential space for priests and brothers. The construction projects did not end there. The Jesuits were also responsible for the rebuilding of the Catholic church in Baton Rouge, St. Joseph Cathedral.\(^{116}\)

In lieu of the local conflicts surrounding the college, the construction of the college and new cathedral, yellow fever closed the institution in 1853 and killed members of the Jesuit staff. Again, in 1855, a larger yellow fever epidemic struck Baton Rouge killing several of the local Jesuit population and three of the college’s students. In 1865, the Jesuit Fathers decided to close the college due to epidemics, lack of community support, and the fear that if successful, the college would draw boarders away from other Southern Jesuit institutions. With the decision to refortify the existing colleges outside of Baton Rouge, the Jesuit population departed the capital city.\(^{117}\)

During the Civil War, Southern Jesuit institutions, unlike their secular counterparts, remained open. Southern Jesuit institutions functioned throughout the war years for a variety of reasons. First, they relied heavily on their combined educational facilities that serviced both younger boys and college students. This practice helped to offset the number of enlisting “age-appropriate” students. Also, the institutions provided a residence for occupying troops in exchange for leaving the physical campuses unharmed. Finally, Father Gautrelet, president of Spring Hill College, visited Jefferson

\(^{117}\) Ibid., 27, 31, &33.
Davis and requested the cessation of army recruiters to all Southern Jesuit campuses.\textsuperscript{118} With a decreased but secure student population, Jesuit colleges remained open and intact. Expansion was still on the minds of the members of the Order. In the Civil War letters of Father Gache, a Jesuit and former president of Spring Hill College in Mobile, it becomes evident that Gache had plans to connect the mission work of the Order’s colleges in the South with those Jesuit institutions in the North. Father Gache believed that Columbia, South Carolina, was the ideal location to establish a college. He believed the apostolic work of a college, joined in forces with those Jesuit colleges in the North and South, would aid in the spread of education imbued with Catholic doctrine. This plan of connecting Southern Jesuit institutions to Northern ones was short lived. After the war ended the New Orleans Mission was strained financially and the plan was abandoned leaving Southern Jesuit colleges far removed from their Northern counterparts.\textsuperscript{119}

Once the fighting ceased, hardships continued to plague the Society of Jesus. Anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit sentiment was still felt; however, the Order set out to build additional educational institutions. The most challenging aspect for the Southern Jesuits was the need for curriculum revision in a time of Southern educational reform. Finding ways to respond to social environs of the South while maintaining the identity and mission of Jesuit education ultimately required the curricular and physical structure of the Jesuit system in the South to change drastically if it were to survive.

\textsuperscript{118} W. C. Widman, “Spring Hill (1830-1898.),” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 27 no. 3 (1898): 273.
The New South, Catholicism, and the Adaptation of Jesuit Higher Education

Prior to the Civil War the Society of Jesus in the Antebellum South faced anti-Jesuitism, educational establishment dilemmas, and the hardships of sustaining their colleges. In post-bellum South, difficulties faced by the Order continued as their social environment changed dramatically. Jesuit higher education would have to adapt curricularly and reform its physical structure if it was to maintain its presence.

Following the Civil War, Southern states faced the daunting task of rebuilding and reorganizing in the period of American history known as Reconstruction. In Eric Foner’s book *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877*, he illustrates how Northern visitors to the war-torn South reported scenes of devastation. Depictions of burned homes, demolished bridges, destroyed livestock, and ruined livelihoods were lodged in the minds of Northern visitors and Southern residents. Foner presents to readers how Southern visitors to Northern states found the site of bustling cities and flourishing commerce hard to witness compared to their charred homes and ruined businesses. The South was crippled agriculturally, and in turn, economically; post-war agricultural statistics show that land values decreased rapidly and livestock numbers fell by the thousands. As well, over 260,000 men died in the Confederate armies, and many more were left disabled. The South was virtually bankrupt; any institutional endowments, such as those formerly held by Catholic churches or colleges, were practically wiped out.120 This was a vast and debilitating change for the once financially stable South.

Given the bleak conditions mentioned before, colleges and universities in the former Confederate South, both religious and secular, faced a myriad of challenges

during Reconstruction that were far different than those challenges faced in the antebellum days. Institutions of higher education that closed due to the Civil War faced the daunting task of reopening, rebuilding, and restructuring. In many cases, the presence of students and professors was virtually non-existent. In some situations, proper facilities and instructional materials had been burned or looted leaving only remnants of what had been a college. John R. Thelin in his book *A History of American Higher Education*, indicates that by 1865, most colleges in the South had abandoned instruction due to the fact that both students and faculty had left their academic positions to enlistment in the Confederate army. Thelin goes on to describe scenes where college campuses, emptied of their academic purposes, were converted into shelters and hospitals for both Union and Confederate troops or were damaged from Civil War battles or shelling.  

With the passage of the Morrill Act of 1862, a wave of industrial and agricultural curriculum swept through America’s institutions, echoing the need for revolution on an industrial level. During Reconstruction, Southern colleges and universities joined the industrial education movement. Dan R. Frost attests in his book *Thinking Confederates: Academia and the Idea of Progress in the New South* attests that many post-war college administrators realized the need for agricultural and mechanical colleges as well as industrial curriculum in the South. Several institutional administrators, once Confederate soldiers and officers, conveyed that concerning industrial resources during the war, the North had an advantage. Frost also relays how those same administrators witnessed a lack of mechanical understanding on the part of Confederate soldiers during the war. Imbued with teaching centered on agricultural and mechanical arts, colleges could begin serving a

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redeveloping South. With the inclusion of curriculum that focused on industrial needs, along with its practical application, antebellum colleges would slowly change the nature of their academic concerns during the Reconstruction era.

With the removal of Federal troupes from Southern states, Reconstruction came to an end, and a period of Southern reform began. Southern higher education curriculum movements were advancing and state supported colleges and universities operated alongside other public and religious entities. According to historian Edward L. Ayers, “in every kind of institution, advocates could be found for antebellum-style classicism, for Christian piety, for narrow practicality and for modern research. The South’s colleges and universities, while not on the cutting edge of innovation, felt the deep intellectual, moral, and political struggles that appeared on campuses across America.” In addition, Ayers goes on to describe that Southern intellectuals realized that lectures, papers, and educational philosophies could no longer be written for private discourse but must be displayed and pronounced in public platforms and in quarterly journals.

Not only were Southern intellectuals becoming more vocal about their academic abilities, but they were also keenly aware of the roles colleges, universities, and technical schools played in the region’s livelihood. Students enrolled in Southern higher education would emerge as the leaders of the “New South.” Even antebellum religious based colleges; i.e. Catholic/Jesuit, were subject to the effects of the industrial advancement of the South and progressive minded faculty. These Jesuit colleges, like their secular

124 Ibid., 422
125 Ibid., 420
counterparts, had an understanding that to survive in the New South meant accommodating to needs of an industrializing South.

Southern intellectuals began to define progress as the movement of civilization towards scientific achievements. While venerating Southern heritage, Southern academics looked forward to curriculum imbued with mechanical and agricultural subject matter. Academics wanted publicly accessible higher education based on scientific instruction to generate a new crop of Southerners ready to compete with the rest of the nation.\textsuperscript{126} As Reconstruction gave way to an era of reform ideas of classical education merged with professional curriculum. While Southern colleges engaged in models of liberal and professional programs an opportunity to compare educational notes from both national and international collegiate tableaus was developing: the Worlds Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition. In addition, Catholic immigrants requested forms of higher education that would help provide for a better quality of life and wanted training in basic languages and technical skills in a culturally reinforced setting, not liberal or scientific research institutions. Higher education for Catholics through World War I was perceived as a luxury. Impoverished Catholics made up 17\% of college students and were found to be the least likely denomination to pursue a college degree.\textsuperscript{127}

During Reconstruction and beyond, the United States had been heavily affected by war and was bent on industrial and scientific education to improve the work force. Religious education, in particular Catholic and Jesuit higher education, felt a growing clash between their liberally based educational practices and the rising social demand for scientific training. Due to their rigid historic foundations, limited resources, and social

\textsuperscript{126} Frost, \textit{Thinking Confederates: Academia and the Idea of Progress in the New South}, xii-xiii.  
\textsuperscript{127} Leahy, \textit{Adapting to America: Catholics, Jesuits, and Higher Education in the Twentieth Century}, 5-6.
isolation, many of these institutions vehemently opposed innovation or simply could not respond due to a lack of materials and instructors. With a lack of financial support from the Church, Catholic higher education was extremely vulnerable to external forces and conflict soon arose centered upon intellectual research in Catholic higher education. This research was produced by Catholic academics in the fields of psychology, philosophy and the natural sciences in an attempt to reconcile science and theology. This roused the attention of Pope Pius X in 1907 and he consequently condemned modern philosophical and theological ideas. This forbiddance of intellectual inquiry established limits to Catholic scholarship.¹²⁸

More conflicts arose as Catholic higher education faced the curriculum trends of larger secular and land-grant institutions who emphasized scientific training and deemphasized holistic liberal curriculum. Leahy explains that,

The conflict and ensuing secularization, curriculum reform, accreditation, and standardization in education held particular significance for Catholicism and its schools, especially in the twentieth century. Before World War II, Catholic colleges and universities in America had a clear and compelling sense of purpose: To protect the faith of Catholics and to make it possible for Catholics to obtain a college education.¹²⁹

With the rise of accreditation associations Jesuit colleges and Universities considered the benefits of joining; however, Jesuits themselves had a difficulty time earning American PhDs due to high requirements. Consequently, without higher educated faculty, Jesuit institutions found it difficult to join accrediting bodies, attract higher student populations,

¹²⁸ Ibid., 7, 13, & 14.
¹²⁹ Ibid., 15 & 156.
and rise to the ranks of their secular peers. In addition to this, low student revenue hindered any upgrading of curriculum, educational programs, and campus facilities.\textsuperscript{130}

With the need for a Catholic centered governing board American Catholics established the Association of Catholic Colleges in 1899. Later, in 1904, this association was renamed the Catholic Educational Association. This association supplied a much-needed method to promulgate methods of rejuvenating institutions of Catholic education. Methods of renewal revolved around adapting to a traditional four-year undergraduate curriculum and in the 1920’s Catholic higher education would finally join accrediting organizations and enhance scientific training. In addition Jesuit higher education expanded their liberal and scientific curriculum to include professional programs and business training. Still, the Society of Jesus in the American South continued to trumpet their identifiable liberal arts curriculum and justified the concept of the \textit{magis} in the addition of professional and graduate programs;\textsuperscript{131} however, the refusal of the Jesuit Fathers to quickly adapt to changing educational trends would cost the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus dearly and ultimately force the retrenchment of the Southern Jesuit system of higher education.

\textbf{A History in Review}

With the presented aspects of Jesuit education, an understanding of the history of the Society of Jesus, as well as their educational expansion in the South it can be understood how the spiritual and educational identity and mission of the Society of Jesus permeated their apostolic work in education. Also, it can be understood that there was a notable and diverse social relationship between the “town” of surrounding Southern

\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., 21-22.
\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., 23, 25, 33, & 34.
social environments and the “gown” of Jesuits institutions. Relations between town and gown may have been strengthened or hindered via local perceptions as well as the overarching identity and mission of the Society of Jesus that was evident in their colleges and universities. But how could the combination of these factors affect the survival of Southern Jesuit institutions? In the following chapter existing literature will be reviewed that lends credence to the effecting nature that concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships have on institutional survival. This presentation of pertinent literature will be accompanied by a review of articles and books that cover aspects that may have affected Jesuit higher education’s development and survival in America as well as in the South. Through this review of published material a greater understanding of how institutions of higher education survive will guide this study forward to a series of historiographically-constructed cases and analyses of Jesuit higher education in the New Orleans Province.
CHAPTER THREE: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE; IDENTITY, MISSION, AND THE TOWN AND GOWN RELATIONSHIP

... a function of clear institutional identity, and its measure is the ability of institutions to withstand ... Viewed in the longer term, many ... institutions are not favored by recent history. They were forced, early on, to learn survival skills ... – Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

Conceptual characteristics of institutional identity and mission have the ability to guide and shape a college or university and are affected by geographic location, as well as surrounding social climates. Overall, it is the location, perceptible characteristics, and missions of an institution that create relationships between a college or university and its contiguous society. These relationships can be positive or negative; however, it is this combination of elements that plays a part in institutional survival. Such examples of negative and positive societal reactions have been provided through the history of the Society of Jesus as they developed educational institutions. These interactions between Jesuit institutions and surrounding communities have proved influential in the failure or survival of the colleges and universities of the Society of Jesus.

In this chapter, a review of published literature will be presented that examines the role of institutional identity and mission in shaping relationships with surrounding social environments. Also, concepts that affect survival, which have been previously discussed, will be reintroduced in order to more clearly demonstrate the role of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships as they affect institutions of higher education. Through this presentation of relevant published literature and research pertaining to the survivability of Jesuit higher education, this study will illustrate

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how the conceptual factors coalesce, thus influencing the survivability of Jesuit colleges in the American South.

David D. Dill in his article “The Management of Academic Culture: Notes on the Management of Meaning and Social Integration,” explains that academic institutions face or have faced the issue of survival at some point in their histories. Dill suggests that, despite the need for financial attainment to determine success, factors of institutional identity and mission drive institutions to find methods of survival. While fighting to survive, institutions of higher education, along with political organizations, business corporations, churches, and schools affect their surrounding societies. For example: In early universities, faculty guarded and preserved religious ideals, educational material, and disseminated chosen information to students who would become governing members of the surrounding society. As the years passed, colleges and universities contributed to public debate and academic forum. In addition, colleges and universities have prompted the reformation of their environments through discoveries in science and technology.

This academic proliferation, which has been used in various ways to aid society while promoting existing institutional identities and missions, played a seminal part between the co-development of institutions and the surrounding environments. As Edward Shils states:

Every institution exists in an ecological setting. No institution or any part of an institution is free from the necessity of interaction with its immediate locality. Its physical existence is located in a particular place; its members live in particular places; they often live near each other; their survival as physiological organisms

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depends on local institutions to supply food, maintain lines of transport, and ensure public order—all of these occur within places of relatively narrow radius.\textsuperscript{4}

This narrow radius between institutions and society is one that researchers such as Shelley Brickson have tried to interpret through applying organizational identity constructs. These constructs may provide insight as to the link between the institution and its societal relationships.\textsuperscript{5} Many of these identifiable constructs take shape in the surrounding milieu and can change the way surrounding societies perceive institutions of higher education. For example: religious identity in social communities can affect the perception of community members thus inclining denizens to attend institutions with similar identities and shared missions. In particular are those institutions with denominational affiliations.

For instance, Queen’s University of Belfast has had to contend with a divided religious population delineated by members of the Roman Catholic Church and Protestants. This division of local communities based on denomination has created dilemmas for the university as the institution attempts to service the populous and still maintain a positive public affiliation.\textsuperscript{6} When examining such an affiliation between town and gown, it is important to take into account the driving concepts of institutional identity and mission, as they play positive and negative roles in the survival of colleges and universities. As with Queen’s University, the religious divide between Catholics and Protestants affected the developmental relationships between the educational institutions


\textsuperscript{5} Shelley L. Brickson, “Organizational Identity Orientation: Forging a Link Between Organizational Identity and Organizations’ Relations with Stakeholders,” \textit{Administrative Science Quarterly} 50 no. 4 (December 2005): 577.

of the Society of Jesus and their social surroundings in America, as well as in the Southern region of the United States.

With the inclusion of literature regarding institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships, this chapter will attempt to demonstrate their affecting traits concerning institutional survival. As well, published examples of Jesuit higher education, as they relate to the aforementioned concepts, will accompany this literature review to demonstrate the recorded affects of Jesuit identity and mission on colleges and universities administered by the Society of Jesus.

**The Role of Institutional Identity**

Identity includes the traits and characteristics that refer to how an individual, group, organization, or institution is known or perceived by others. Institutions develop their identities from a myriad of factors. These factors can include geographic location, social organizations, religious affiliations, political connections, academic orientations, and so forth. Early liberal arts colleges fostered an identity typified by religious ideals. These early colleges became institutions where young men discovered knowledge while immersed in a religious identity. This religious identity created a social community that ultimately had an effect on a multitude of relationships between town and gown. It is important to note, however, that the concept of an institutional identity is amorphous and difficult to reduce to easily consumable, all-encompassing phrases. Penelope Eckert and Etinee Wenger discuss this premise in their writing and present the following:

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Institutional identities are both inevitable and reflective of the institution. An identity is not something that can be packaged or drilled. Rather, it is a trajectory of participation that reflects the actual practices of specific communities and specific forms of participation in these practices.\(^9\)

In accordance with this quote, David Dill argues that academic institutions pose distinctive cultures and identities that are developed and sustained through the interaction with the local communities. The identifiable factors that make up an institution’s culture include such aspects as symbols and icons that represent the nature of the institution, its values, and ultimately its mission. These factors can define the interactive relationship between the institution and its surroundings, describe institutional leadership, and present a guideline for overarching institutional purposes.\(^10\)

Academic institutions abound with symbols that encapsulate and display institutional identities. These symbols may be concrete, such as the university seal or iconographic statues. At other times, symbols may take on an intangible form like curriculum choice. A liberal arts curriculum serves as an example of instructional symbolism that defines what a university considers important for conveyance to its students.\(^11\) According to Jiri Musil, even the art and architecture of an institution can be influenced by the nature of the college or university and its surrounding environment. These structural representations reflect an institution’s identity as well as its relationship to the social/cultural environment. The construction of an institution with symbols related

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\(^{11}\) Ibid., 314.
to its ideologies and purposes has the ability to garner or deter political support from community leaders.\textsuperscript{12}

In examining the different ways that institutional identity manifests itself and affects the development of an institution, its physical structures, and relationships with the surrounding environment, Bruce Leslie suggests five factors that can help educational researchers examine institutional identity and its potential to affect college or university survival. These factors are that (1) colleges play a large part in their own destiny, (2) internal dysfunctions need to be understood as well as external conflict, (3) local communities are not always interested in modernizing local educational institutions, (4) institutions must be examined within the constructs of their surrounding societies, and (5) the study of the history of higher education must be accompanied with economic underpinnings.\textsuperscript{13} With these factors in mind, it can be globally viewed that many institutions of higher education strive to establish an identity and attempt to serve as a source of knowledge generation and educational conveyance for society.\textsuperscript{14} The established identity of a college or university can be easily viewed through Leslie’s factors as an institution develops its identity and chooses to follow it; however, the identity of an institution may hinder connections between the town and gown. In order to determine the effect of institutional identity, a college or university should be examined along side the surrounding society, as the identity of a college or university may affect its


ability to acquire much needed financial and/or material resources and garner positive relationships from neighboring social communities.

Ultimately, institutional identity can have an effect on the way a college or university progresses or fails to survive. Survival aside, no institution is without some form of identity. This identity encompasses the ideals of an institution and can serve as a construct for pursuing particular goals. As Robert Nisbet states:

No community, no organization, no institution . . . can exist for long without a belief or set of beliefs so deeply and widely held that it is more or less exempt from ordinary demands that its goodness or rightness be demonstrable at any given moment . . . [But] dogma and faith unsupported by the bonds of structure are, as comparative religion teaches us, notoriously fragile.\textsuperscript{15}

Nisbet’s quote conveys that identifiable beliefs held by an institution are imperative, but the entire institution must partake in those beliefs in order for it to function properly, pursue common goals, and address the needs of the surrounding community; however, at times, the local environment may have little affect on an organization due to loose-coupling. Loose-coupling refers to an institutions ability to ignore certain environmental interactions and move forward without regard to the relationship between the organization and society. Loose-coupling can be an important strategy for organizational survival. If an organization paid attention to every want and whim from the surrounding society, it would never be able to maintain its identity. As Robert Nisbest explains, the need to maintain an identity is essential for an institution to survive.\textsuperscript{16} So, too, was the need to establish and maintain an identity with educational institutions belonging to the Society of Jesus.

Identity and Jesuit Higher Education

The curricular identity in Jesuit education was liberal arts, which focused on developing community leaders and the offering of vocational or commercial education when the need arose.\(^{17}\) Overall, the curriculum was designed to impart students with the knowledge and skills deemed worthy to promote graduates in the surrounding social milieu and carry the ideals of the institution forward into society.\(^{18}\) As lay-students were not intended to become clergy, the goal in their instruction through theology and philosophy was to mold them into leaders, who would live out a faithful life serving God.\(^{19}\) Concerning this religious imbued curriculum of Jesuit colleges and universities, John McKenzie states:

> What theology can contribute to the trained mind in knowledge of the truth as it is apprehended by theology; and knowledge of the truth is not going to hamper anyone’s thinking.\(^{20}\)

In order to prepare students for the college level and stock the college divisions of Catholic institutions, a crucial curricular aspect was the provision of courses relegated to the secondary level.\(^{21}\) These preparatory courses consisted of literary and classical courses and corresponded to the curriculum of the American high school. These college preparatory departments consisted of eight major courses in literature, mathematics, natural science, economics, and languages. Combined with higher educational courses equivalent to secular universities, this combination of lower and higher grades made up


\(^{19}\) Ibid., 63.


the instructional nature of Jesuit colleges and universities.\textsuperscript{22} In order to prepare students
to fully understand theologically based lectures, Jesuits followed Ignatius’ command that
the subjects to be taught in the primary years of instruction were to be human letters,
languages, Latin, arts, philosophy, and finally theology.\textsuperscript{23}

Despite the want to provide a variety of subject matters, the instructional methods
utilized in Jesuit institutions were harsh, and the method of studies, \textit{Ratio Studiorum}, was
often criticized for being too difficult for students to properly internalize all material
taught.\textsuperscript{24} The premier elements of the \textit{Ratio Studiorum}, coupled with the life of Ignatius
and the history of the Society, its spirituality, identity, and mission, are all utilized to
establish Jesuit college/university identity and provide the driving force behind Jesuit
curriculum.\textsuperscript{25} According to Eugene Devlin, “the \textit{Ratio} was not concerned with providing
an easy or effortless way to character. It required of the student perseverance effort and the
sacrifice of subjective impulses to the objective claims of morality.”\textsuperscript{26}

Despite the \textit{Ratio Studiorum}’s stringent nature and difficult teaching
methodologies, the overarching identifiable factor of the Jesuit system of education was
that it should adapt itself to regional practices. When comparing Jesuit institutions across
the globe, great variety can be found in the geographically established curricula.\textsuperscript{27} In fact,

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{22} Robert Schwickerath, \textit{Jesuit Education: Its History and Principles Viewed in the Light of Modern
Educational Problems} (St. Louis, Missouri: B. Herder, 1904), 118 & 130.
\item \textsuperscript{23} Ganss, \textit{Saint Ignatius’ Idea of a Jesuit University}, 33.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Allan P. Farrell, “Notes on Jesuit Teaching Procedures.” \textit{Jesuit Educational Quarterly} 5 no. 4 (1943):
238 & 241-242.
\item \textsuperscript{25} William D. Ryan, “Is There Anything Distinctive About Jesuit Education?” \textit{Jesuit Educational Quarterly}
\item \textsuperscript{26} Eugene J. Devlin, “Character Formation in the \textit{Ratio Studiorum},” \textit{Jesuit Educational Quarterly} 15 no. 4
(1953): 222.
\item \textsuperscript{27} Schwickerath, \textit{Jesuit Education: Its History and Principles Viewed in the Light of Modern Educational
\end{itemize}
the want for such a system in Louisiana spans back to the days of Bienville and the small apostolic war between the Jesuits and Capuchins in New Orleans.\footnote{Jean Delanglez, “The Jesuits and Education in Louisiana,” \textit{Jesuit Educational Quarterly} 7 no. 1 (1944): 17 & 18.}

If anything, the system implemented by the Society of Jesus was labeled with a stalwart identity. According to Miguel Bernard, “Whatever accusations might be hurled against Jesuit pedagogy (and there have been many), it cannot be accused of being vague in its aims, or of wanting system in its methods.”\footnote{Miguel A. Bernard, “The Class of ‘Humanities’ in the \textit{Ratio Studiorum},” \textit{Jesuit Educational Quarterly} 15 no. 4 (1953): 205.} Direct criticisms targeting key items in the \textit{Ratio Studiorum} establish that Jesuit educational materials were easily accessible to the public and their methods of instruction and administrative nature were widely known. In fact, the curricular plan of studies at the Jesuit administered College of the Immaculate Conception in New Orleans, Louisiana adhered to the instructional direction of the \textit{Ratio Studiorum}. All academic classes were imbued with moral and mental philosophy, and public advertisements made this identifiable fact known.\footnote{Ibid., 132.} Not only were the religious instructional aspects of the college known, Albert Biever also indicates that “The New Orleans church and college are said to be the first in the world thus officially dedicated to the Immaculate Conception [of Mary] . . . .”\footnote{Ibid., 101.} This connection with a religious figure heralded by the Catholic church clearly established the religious identity of this particular Jesuit institution.

The college was deemed a Catholic institution; however, Catholic and non-Catholic alike were allowed to enroll as long as they partook in Catholic worship.\footnote{Rodney Cline, \textit{Pioneer Leaders and Early Institutions in Louisiana Education} (Baton Rouge: Claitor’s Publishing Division, 1969), 224.} Students were encouraged to assemble every morning in the adjoining church for mass,
prayer, and communion before the day’s classes began. Even extracurricular activities were centered on religious contemplation through spiritual social clubs, music, literary societies, and vocal groups. Some of these organizations were listed as the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary, The Apostleship of Prayer in League with Sacred Heart, and The Sanctuary Society of St. John Berchmans. Also, there was the St. Cecili choir and orchestra, along with a variety of literary societies that provided students with opportunities to practice debate and oratory skills.

Despite the Catholic curricular identity in Jesuit colleges, the design flaw in American Jesuit institutions lay in their historical formation that relied on European curricular models. This Jesuit design, which reflected a European manner of instruction, no longer provided a credible model to match modern universities after the Civil War. As Jesuit institutions attempted to adapt to the reforms of American higher education, they complied with high school and university curricular standards promoted by the National Entrance Examination Board. This board’s main objective was the establishment of testing services that would filter students to various institutions based on varying college entrance requirements from institution to institution. Mahoney adds to adaptive attempts of Jesuit higher education with the following quote:

While the Jesuits labored over the issue of dividing the seven-year course of studies into distinctive preparatory and collegiate-level programs, other Catholic educators accepted the . . . model and began to successfully push for the establishment of independent Catholic high schools.

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34 Ibid., 139-140.
Jesuit provinces across the United States lagged behind in these curricular adaptations, and often the Order resisted reform entirely through the beginning of the 20th century; however, by the 1920s, Jesuit higher and secondary education began to more closely resemble their competitors.  

Two issues provided a set of problems for the maintenance of the Catholic identity of Jesuit institutions. This first issue was the sub-current of socially assimilated Catholic populations that moved Catholic students away from age-old identifiable characteristics of Jesuit colleges. The second was the adaptation of American Catholic institutions to their secular competitors. Prior Jesuit Visitors such as Father Thomas O’Neill from the Missouri Province had instituted curricular reformation at Spring Hill College in 1880. His Visitation allowed the restructuring of the New Orleans Mission’s administration from an old regime of elderly Europeans to a set of Irish-American Jesuits determined to progress the educational institutions of America. This administrative change allowed for the adaptation of the linguistic identity of Jesuits to closer match those of their students and social surroundings, thus promoting the continued educational mission of the Order.  

From the identity of the Society of Jesus sprang forth the mission of Jesuit education. Institutional mission itself is a concept in need of further study. Aspects of institutional mission have shaped colleges and universities around the world. The purposes governing institutional missions are publicly perceived and internally-directed, 

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38 Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America: The Jesuits and Harvard in the Age of the University*, 235-236.  
and they ultimately resonate with the development and survival of a college or university. With the inclusion of literature regarding intuitional mission, this chapter will attempt to display its Catholic connection to institutional survival and the formation of Jesuit institutions.

**From Identity to Mission**

In a study performed by John Smart and Edward St. John, it was discovered that the expressed identity of an institution generates the mission or purpose that governs the actions of a college or university. This mission serves as a guiding force in managerial performance, educational instruction, and institutional progression. In the examination of an institution of higher learning, it is important to define the college or university’s mission, how it is articulated, its use in guiding decisions, and the overall agreement of the defined mission by the institution and those who work and reside within. Also, when looking at the surrounding environment, it is critical to examine ways that institutional mission affects relationships between social surroundings and the institution, whether they are hospitable, neutral, or hostile.

In short, each college or university pursues a particular mission to fulfill specific goals and remain viable. The presentation of a formal mission statement may guide strategic plans and policy generation, but if the mission is not agreed upon by all

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involved, it may provoke internal dissent. Overall, a mission statement may serve, at best, as a tool to direct a college or university; however, the defining of an actual institutional mission may be connected to total performance rather than the expressions of a mission statement.

According to Morphew and Hartley, a mission statement alone does not always constitute an institution’s ambitions and directives. Many practitioners and scholars view mission statements as vague phrases that have few, if any, realistic intents. From this perspective, the mission statement is an inadequate representation of an institution’s true intentions, goals, and ambitions. Further examination must be conducted to uncover an institution’s true mission, directional purposes, and function in the larger society. In digging deeper into the mission of a college or university, institutional theory can prove helpful. The purpose of institutional theory is to critically examine internal processes of an institution and determine if individuals functioning within the institution agree on the overall purpose of the college or university. Institutional theorists claim that in order to derive the mission of a college or university, educational researchers must examine other artifacts along with existing mission statements.

Campbell and Nash assert that an established mission must contain certain primary components in order to affect the entire institution. First, the mission must provide a justification for people to work and function within the institution. Second,

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46 Ibid., 195-196.
48 Ibid., 458.
those who function within the institution must share institutional values and beliefs. Finally, members of the institution must uphold those beliefs and values that govern the institution. In religious orders that govern educational institutions such as the Society of Jesus, the need for a shared, supported, and unified mission is required. The governing term *charism* (often translated as “gift”) introduced by Paul of Tarsus aids in the establishment of the mission of a religious order. First, it gives each religious order the dynamism that defines it, and second, it provides a frame of consistent directives that allows for periodic adaptation. Despite the production of documents and statements that embody the mission like purposes of the *charism*, people alone must embody it and live it in order for it to gain resonance and have effect.

At times, branches of an institution that share a particular mission may be viewed externally as possessing differing missions. In fact, varying missions within a larger educational institution are not unheard of and are, at times, based on personal ambitions. An example can be found in early Italian institutions of higher education. Internal dysfunction in the form of competition raged between professors of Italian universities and was externally perceived by the local populous. The community status of a professor depended on the number of people who attended his lectures. In order to increase personal prestige, professors bribed students to attend personal lectures by offering monetary rewards. This disregard for the larger institutional mission created

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52 Hyde, “Universities and Cities in Medieval Italy,” in *The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present*, 17.
disunion amongst faculty.\textsuperscript{53} The personal mission of faculty created difficulties when the Italian system that governed educational institutions attempted to solidify the missions of singular institutions.

In later years, positive forms of institution-wide mission support in European colleges and universities were established. Such an example of positive mission alignment took place in the German model of higher education. Academic colleges and departments were developed to address particular curricular missions with a larger university supervising each college. Larger university supervision ensured that each college or department supported the greater mission of the university. When surrounding societies realized that the key to industrial progress lay partially in researching universities, institutions of higher education in Germany became fragmented into colleges dedicated to the study of a particular field, its applicability to the environment, and service to the greater university’s research mission. The German university grew, the student body swelled, and the research mission secured the place of higher education as a part of the German milieu.\textsuperscript{54} The German model demonstrates that internal agreement concerning the mission and directives of an institution can aid in the sustenance of an institution through collective support and cohesiveness of those members functioning within. Also, the agreed upon mission of an institution can help shield a college or university against an external environment that may not be in favor of the institution’s directives or presses the college with particular needs and demands.\textsuperscript{55}


\textsuperscript{54} Van der Wusten, ed., \textit{The Urban University and its Identity: Roots, Locations, Roles}, 3.

\textsuperscript{55} Nancey Fjortoft and John C. Smart, “Enhancing Organizational Effectiveness: The Importance of Culture Type and Mission Agreement,” \textit{Higher Education} 27 no. 4 (June 1994): 432.
Invariably, institutional mission plays a part in resource allocation.\textsuperscript{56} According to Weisbrod, Ballou, and Asch, “Every school does two things: it raises revenue and it spends it. It spends money to pursue its mission and it raises revenue to finance those expenditures.”\textsuperscript{57} The role of a college or university’s mission and revenue acquisition activities are difficult to separate.\textsuperscript{58} No matter what an institution’s mission may be, revenue is required to pursue and accomplish it.\textsuperscript{59} Institutions of higher education will pursue revenue for mission goals unless the acquisition of revenue undermines or conflicts with the mission itself.\textsuperscript{60} By differing the controlling missions that govern separate intuitions within larger educational systems, resources can be allocated in accordance with each college or university’s directive.\textsuperscript{61}

As with secular higher education, institutional mission has played its part in the progression and survival of Jesuit and Catholic higher education. Mission, as a product of identity, is imbued with those aspects that are of great importance to an institution. Likewise, the Catholic and educational identity of the Society of Jesus and their institutions promulgated a publicly perceivable mission regarding religiously based curriculum, instruction, and administrative control.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., 58.
\textsuperscript{58} Weisbrod, Ballou, and Asch, \textit{Mission and Money: Understanding the University}, 74.
\textsuperscript{59} Ibid., 68.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid., 72.
Mission and Jesuit Higher Education

Ignatius believed that a great mission of the Society would be religious instruction in education, such as catechetical instruction; however, it is incorrect to label the Society of Jesus a primarily teaching order. The Order’s missions range from teaching to preaching and missionary work, but in its institutions of higher education, the factor that provides the greatest longitudinal mission expressed by all Jesuits working within each Jesuit college and university is the salvation of souls. All Jesuits are well aware that the Society of Jesus was not founded to develop educational institutions. This aspect of the Society of Jesus is taught to all Jesuits with the understanding that preaching and mission work are also imperative to the life of a religious. As Ganss states: “The heart of the matter for Jesuits is that their schools are means, not ends.” Jesuit education in and of itself is but a part of the greater mission of the Society of Jesus. To compound this Jesuit concept, Father Gustave Weigel states the following in his article entitled “The Heart of Jesuit Education” from The Jesuit Educational Quarterly:

In the Jesuit view, higher education is a medium; it is not just a means. It has intrinsic value. Involving, as it does, the pursuit of wisdom, higher education is worth much in purely human terms and thus worthy of dedicated human effort. But the worth of higher education, as both means and medium, transcends the human and touches the divine.

When the Order began educational work, it was Ignatius’ desire that all instruction would focus on the cultivation of intellect and morality. Rooted in humanism, these Jesuit institutions were intended to educate the whole person—mind, body, and spirit—towards moral lives of leadership aimed at aiding society but also intended to spread Catholicism. For the Society of Jesus, an institutional mission that called for the harmonious development of the whole person, *cura personalis*, typifies their colleges and universities. The curriculum selected for use in Jesuit institutions is intended to affect not only the intellect and the body but also the soul and conscience. In the eyes of Jesuits, such a system is impossible without imbuing religion into all curricular aspects. As Harold Attridge states:

> The commitment to work for the reign of God is entirely compatible with the quest to know the truth and to live in conformity with it. Not to engage in the, oftentimes abrasive, quest for truth is, in fact, to run the risk of setting up idols. At a university, particularly a university that seeks to work for the kingdom of God, the quest for Socrates must be sacrosanct.

Spiritual based education and service to God are the hallmarks of Jesuit educational identity and are considered chief components of the educational mission. Despite adapting curriculum and programs to changing times, the overall aims remain the same. Jesuits traveled the globe, carried with them the identity and mission of the Society of Jesus, promoted it in their colleges, and ultimately, felt the effects of their geographic locations as they affected their educational apostolic and institutional mission.

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Acknowledging Location

In Harold T. Shapiro’s book, *A Larger Sense of Purpose: Higher Education and Society*, Shapiro states: “The ‘right’ profile of any university will vary by institution and geography, but in all cases will remain elusive and controversial.”\(^1\) Such institutional profiles that adapt to and acknowledge location, surrounding social milieus, and cultures denote a sense of interaction between a college or university and its surrounding social vicinage; however, as the surrounding community changes, the institution must change, as well. In *The View From the Helm: Leading the American University During an Era of Change*, James Duderstadt argues that “The relationship between a university and its surrounding community is usually a complex one. . . . Although town and gown are linked together with intertwined destinies, there is nevertheless always a tension between the two.”\(^2\) Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald Salancik concur with Duderstadt and Shapiro in the following statement: “. . . the behavior of larger social units, such as groups and formal organizations, is generally constrained by the interest of others—governments, consumers, unions, competitors, etc.”\(^3\) These authors, in their own ways, have established that there is a particular and delicate relationship between any institution, whether it is educational or not, and its surroundings.

With this relationship between town and gown established, a university can examine a city or community as no other organization can. It can attempt to identify with the community and rise above local prejudices against the institution itself. It can seek to

\(^2\) James J. Duderstadt, *The View From the Helm: Leading the American University During an Era of Change* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2010), 209.
\(^3\) Pfeffer and Salancik, *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective*, 15.
identify with its surroundings and/or bolster its own identity. Concordia University provides a strong example of an institution that has examined its social surroundings and made itself available to its immediate social surroundings while maintaining its identity and mission. Concordia, the result of a merger between the Jesuit institution Loyola College and George Williams University, maintains its Jesuit identity and mission while remaining open to the public for their benefit through the support of the Montréal Jesuit Community and the Father’s want for an institution to serve the public through a general education for all, an emphasis on teaching, and a rejection of professional programs in order to magnify the provision of education for the community. Because of its enmeshment with the urban sector of the city, Concordia maintains an identity and mission of being “in the city, of the city, and for the city.”

Other examples of this relationship between town and gown include universities such as London University or New York University. These institutions assumed a certain character from their distinctive surroundings. Both attempted educational endeavors to meet the needs of the social milieu, although not all were successful. These institutions thrived because of their adaptability to the metropolitan area. For example, the city of London during the Enlightenment felt there was no actual need for a university because the city itself functioned as a place of learning; however, London University thrived by responding to specific educational wants that escaped the town’s ability to provide. In responding to the needs of the town in order to survive, the university expressed its

understanding that the town was a center for social and intellectual partnerships and so
capitalized on this venture and produced a positive and supportive interconnection
between town and gown. As Sheldon Rothblat states:

As important as the actual [pragmatic] curriculum, as in [the University of]
London’s case, was the spirit in which the professors were to approach the arts
course. Here we can identify an urban influence or connection. In the first place
the professional curriculum partly drove the general curriculum. An obvious case
was medicine, which required the colleges to invest resources in teaching of the
biological and physical sciences, and another was engineering, which required
mathematics.

Striking a balance between institution and the surrounding environment may be difficult
when little planning has taken place on the part of a college or university to predict how
the environment may respond to the identity and mission of the institution.

Understanding the need to examine its surroundings, the University of London took note
of the social milieu and established curricular methods to adapt and serve its contiguous
city, thus allowing it to thrive as an urban institution.

Even though the University of London developed survival methods by adapting to
its surroundings, not all institutions of higher education do the same. Rapport, in his
article “Conflict in a New England College Town,” concludes that the overarching issue
between the town and gown pivots the want for each to assert its own identity and for
each not to be amalgamated by the other. Such situations abound with urban
institutions, and at times, resistance to the demands of the city or local community must
take place in order to remain true to the college or university identity and mission.

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77 Sheldon Rothblatt, “London: A Metropolitan University?” in The University and the City: From
Medieval Origins to the Present, ed. Thomas Bender, 119-149 (New York, Oxford: Oxford University
78 Ibid., 128.
79 Pfeffer and Salancik, The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective, 83.
Klotsche states: “... there is an intimate and close relationship between the university and its community no one will deny. Yet no university should sacrifice its primary goal in pursuit of community approbation. It should at all times seek to be respected rather than be popular.” An essential way to survive without giving up the chief components of an institution’s identity and mission is adaptability. Institutional survival is increased by adaptability. When an organization adapts to or copes with its surrounding environment and makes adjustments to curricular wants, physical structures, and access to campus material such as libraries, the likelihood for survival increases.  

This need to adapt and better serve the surrounding populous without losing institutional identity and mission can be difficult. Institutions situated in densely populated areas strive to merge their identities with aspects of the environment that are perceived as positive while avoiding components the institution perceives as negative. An example of this attempt to create a balance between town and gown took place in medieval universities of Italy that survived solely on college enrollments. The larger the population, the greater possible chance of survival, as Italian institutions were reliant on fees collected from students and their families. Both professors and politically connected statesmen regulated this balance between the wants of the town and the ambition of the gown to ensure that public support increased to financially sustain the growing institutions and that colleges provided curriculum requested by Italian denizens. Relationships with politically and financially powerful citizen groups ensured the

81 Klotsche, The Urban University: And the Future of Our Cities, 19.  
82 Pfeffer and Salancik, The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective, 19.  
83 Klotsche, The Urban University: And the Future of Our Cities, 65.
survival of educational institutions in Italian communities. 84 This financial relationship between Italian institutions and financially supportive groups raises an important point. Local philanthropy and public financial support are at times essential to institutional survival. If the town does not agree with the purpose or identity of an institution, local financial support may prove difficult to ascertain. 85

When attempting to understand concepts of institutional identity and mission that affect institutional survival, the geographic location of a campus becomes an issue for scrutiny. 86 Also, a large factor in the survivability of an organization is the existence of highly competitive organizations in a chosen geographic region. 87 Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald Salancik explain this geographic selection process, its financial implication, and the role of local competitor institutions as follows:

Ecological models suggest that environment contingencies allow some organizations to survive while others disappear, thus selecting organizations that fit the environment at the expense of others that fit less well. Models of both kinds imply the empirical consistency between the nature of the environment and the organization. . . . The organization survives to the extent that the activities included are sufficient for the organization to maintain itself. 88

These factors of geographic location and competitor institutions are aspects that must be taken into account. It is possible that institutions with unique identities and missions may avoid competitor implications if they established methods to service their geographic

85 Shils, “The University, the City, and the World: Chicago and the University of Chicago,” in The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present, 229.
87 Pfeffer and Salancik, The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Perspective, 103.
88 Ibid., 226 & 32.
locations through identifiable uniqueness and ability to navigate surrounding social milieus.

Regarding the selection of a geographic location, Alan Burnet argues that land can become an issue for universities residing in certain environments. In urban settings the institution may take up and/or purchase large amounts of land with the intended purpose of the purchase to benefit the institution with the hope of better serving the adjacent community. At times, city authorities and university administrations may overlap and create discrepancies concerning land rights and uses of real estate.\(^89\) Institutions once located on the outskirts of a city or community may be engulfed by neighboring societies, thus creating conflict regarding governance of particular regions.\(^90\) In another instance, institutions located in dense communities and metropolitan spaces are at the center of dynamic and potentially volatile regions regarding land ownership.\(^91\) Urban universities, in particular, deal with land issues that affect the surrounding communities. The urban university is compact and constrained by its real estate holdings. In particular cases, institutions cannot be easily identified or physically separated from the towns, as compared to rural colleges and universities. Despite their size, all urban universities struggle with their environments.\(^92\) In fact, as Alan Burnett indicates, the relative size of an institution to its town can be an indicator for the intensity of relations between town and gown.\(^93\)

\(^90\) Klotsche, *The Urban University: And the Future of Our Cities*, 62.
\(^91\) Ibid., 22.
\(^92\) Ibid., 16-17.
Urban institutions must be ever aware of their environments due to partial dependence on surrounding social communities. An institution may choose to adapt to its surroundings if survivability is in question, but this is avoided if possible due to negative effects on unique institutional identities and missions. The urban university, in particular, must consider the recruitment of students from outside the local community; however, this may prove to be damaging as institutions that maintain urban identities present missions to primarily supply education to the local populous. Also, urban institutions may find that local inhabitants may not be able to afford the high cost of tuition, thus resulting in financial detriments for the institution, especially if the institution is or has been completely reliant on tuition dollars.  

Van der Wusten argues that a city’s population directly impacts an institution situated within its boundaries. The institution is affected by local politics, economics, and even differences between the culture of the institution and the culture of the city it resides in. Public opinion may not always match that of an institution and vice versa. It must be understood then that an institution must gauge its surrounding environment to determine the nature of the town and gown relationship.

As the Society of Jesus established colleges and universities in America, the public noted their presence. Financial assistance was difficult to acquire, and criticism often followed their educational efforts. The town and gown relationships established by the Jesuit Fathers were at time tenuous and difficult to maintain. In largely Catholic populated cities, however, the Order discovered that there was ease to their work, which had not been previously experienced in highly non-Catholic/Protestants portions of the

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95 Ibid., 4.
96 Collison, “The University and Local Politics,” 81.
United States. These town and gown, or in this case town and cassock relationships, are important to note, as they detail the struggles of Jesuit higher education in America.

**Town and Cassock**

To compound difficulties faced by the Society of Jesus in America, the seminal issue that plagued the Order was that of place. Mahoney argues that Catholic higher education’s connection with Roman Catholicism set it vastly apart from the surrounding educational environment of American Protestant higher education. Moreover, students and faculty belonging to Catholic institutions have often been set apart from the larger society, whether it was due to their Catholic heritage or, in several cases, their immigrant status. Despite these difficulties, Jesuits took up the pressing task of responding to new academic demands from surrounding communities, all the while holding tight to their educational ideals and religious identity, in part by reasserting their institutions’ main objective: the communication of the faith through academic instruction. To compound these difficulties, the Jesuit Fathers were plagued with hardships regarding the establishment of spaces where their educational work could be accomplished positively in America.  

Often, the public perception of the Society of Jesus was negative. Jesuits even held a place in American dictionaries as authors of deceit and hypocrisy. Such dictionaries claimed that Jesuits were rooted in the past, irrelevant, and lacking in modern educational practices. As the age of the college gave way to that of the university, Jesuit institutions in America were publicly defamed as being against liberty and unresponsive to the educational wants of the modern age; however, the *Constitutions of the Society of*

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97 Mahoney, *Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America: The Jesuits and Harvard in the Age of the University*, 6, 7, & 14.
Jesus mandated that their educational institutions adapt and be responsive not only to suit the times but to respond to the people of surrounding environments. 98

In the South, the Jesuit navigation of social surroundings seemed to attract similar issues as those felt globally. According to Michael Kenny, no Catholic educational institution in Alabama was free of Protestant criticism. In Mobile, Alabama, Spring Hill College was criticized by Protestant denominational leaders who preached in local pulpits against the Catholic institutions of Mobile. Spring Hill College and the Visitation Academy of Mobile took the brunt of the criticisms, many of which came from the Episcopal populations in neighboring counties. 99 In 1851, the Jesuits opened a college in Baton Rouge, at the same time effectively taking control of the surrounding St. Joseph parish. The local Methodist population rallied against the Jesuit institution and attempted to prevent the opening of the college. In 1856, the college was discontinued. 100

By the late 19th century, institutions affiliated with the Catholic Church were developing in highly populated regions. Following the advice of Ignatius, the Society of Jesus situated colleges in urban settings and had managed to cope with various social environments. It was Ignatius’ habit to locate the colleges of the Society of Jesus in highly Catholic cities. 101 It was the same with Jesuit institutions in the American South. The site of the College of the Immaculate Conception had become a part of the heart of the central business district of New Orleans. Noisy, crowded, and covered in soot; however, this area of the city was no longer viewed as a beneficial temple to academic

98 Ibid., 53, 59, & 97-98.
100 Roger Baudier, The Catholic Church in Louisiana (New Orleans: Louisiana Library Association Public Library Section, 1939), 357.
and religious life at the start of the 20th century. Thus, the college was closed in lieu of a new Jesuit university.\footnote{Biever, \textit{The Jesuits in New Orleans and the Mississippi Valley}, 161.}

As has been presented, the location of a college or university is important to define when examining geographic and geopolitical boundaries that affect the town and gown relationship. Such practices have been important for Catholic institutions in Protestant populated regions of America. As Kathleen Mahoney states,\footnote{Mahoney, \textit{Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America: The Jesuits and Harvard in the Age of the University}, 2.}

> Defining the boundaries of engagement with American Protestantism and Protestant America has shaped Catholic higher education, determining in large measure the degree to which it has been able to achieve respectability and social relevance in the American context while maintaining its Catholic character.\footnote{Baudier, \textit{The Catholic Church in Louisiana}, 372.}

Even when navigating the geographic region of the business district in New Orleans, the College of the Immaculate Conception seemed to be performing well. According to Roger Baudier,

> The boys’ college met with prompt success. . . Students came from all parts of the city. The roster of the College of the Immaculate Conception in its early years, is virtually a directory of the leaders of New Orleans in the subsequent decades. The college did an untold amount of good in overcoming the chronic spirit of indifference to religion among men and in bringing up a more zealous and devout body of Catholic laymen, which heretofore, had been one of the saddest wants of New Orleans for more than a century.\footnote{Baudier, \textit{The Catholic Church in Louisiana}, 372.}

Certainly the Society of Jesus took note of their surroundings and its effects on their institutions; however, the social relations between local communities and the Jesuit Fathers spawned both friendships and hardships for the Order. With these relationships acknowledged, it is important to delve further into the understanding of societal relationships and their effects on institutional survival.
Knowing the Gown, Surviving the Town: Understanding Broader Concepts

The examination of an institution’s surrounding social environment needs to take place on a regional level in order to fully consider political influence across a region, let alone a town. Jan Groenendijk adds to this notion via the following quote that explains the ways in which a college or university may be affected by city leadership changes and regional shifts. “The various ways in which universities have been governed coincides with stages in the relationship between university and city.” An excellent example of a relationship shift between local social environments and institutions of higher education is the case of the University of Leiden. In the early 1500s, the Protestant population of Leiden, Holland rose and changed the religious and civic climate of the city. As well, local supporters and business owners were now largely Protestant, and the university had no residential colleges. This meant that foreign students and faculty, whose religious backgrounds may not have aligned with Protestant ideologies, lived in the local community and intermingled with it daily.

This comingling of town and gown had a distinct effect on the institution. Faculty, normally foreign to the city, had to adapt quickly to life in a changed community outside of the college walls. In order to increase enrollment, instruction became more centered on the changes taking place in the town and reflected the increased Protestant population. The local culture had become marked by Protestantism but managed to maintain one of its longest held customs, the wholesale consumption of alcohol. This custom greatly

105 Ibid., 71.
affected foreign faculty in the negative. Professors not used to such traditions would participate only to find themselves sick the next morning. As a result, students would post signs on classroom doors stating that the instructor was too intoxicated to teach. Foreign faculty often did not last long at the University of Leiden due to their unfamiliarity with local religious and popular culture. In at least one instance, a professor died as a result of extreme alcohol consumption. This is not to say that the community could not control itself. This example simply illustrates how an institution’s lack of awareness of the implications of comingling foreign faculty with a multitude of local customs could negatively impact the institution.\textsuperscript{108} Needless to say, the intricacies of a city are many. As Klotch states:

> Cities are more than a collection of statistics. More than houses, streets, automobiles, factories, and industries, shopping centers, stores, and parking lots, cities are a human habitat in which man is trying somehow to come to terms with his environment. They are focal points of learning as well as centers of religious and cultural life. They are important points of trade, production, and transportation, as well as the source of remunerative employment. Cities also represent conflict, accommodation, and common civic tasks that need to be performed.\textsuperscript{109}

If anything, the above quote demonstrates the diverse and multifaceted nature of cities and social communities. This is what is essential to understand when examining the survival of an institution of higher education, as its social surroundings can have a direct impact on its progress.

The surrounding environment, for many institutions, spans larger than just the local town or city and can have just as powerful of an impact on institutional survival. In Europe, societal influences spread from country to country, as is the case with the University of Berlin, which was born out of the need for an expansive university after the

\textsuperscript{108} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{109} Klotsche, \textit{The Urban University: And the Future of Our Cities}, 24.
closure of the Prussian university. Local governments provided financial support and, to supply the institution with local culture, hired faculty from adjacent countries. This hiring practice gave the University of Berlin a regional flavor no doubt but also made the institution respectable in the eyes of neighboring countries. Despite its strong regional character, the institution’s relationship with the local community was weak. In order to strengthen this relationship, the university opened its doors to the town and offered lectures for the public and disseminated information concerning science and history to the region. In lieu of these attempts to promote positive relations between town and gown, younger professors felt ambivalence towards the town because they held no sway in civic matters. This ambivalence, compounded with geographical differences between the faculty and the town, made resistance between the two obvious. Despite problems, the institution retained its identity and position due primarily to regional officials.\footnote{Charles E. McClelland, “To Live for Science”: Ideals and Realities at the University of Berlin,” in The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present, ed. Thomas Bender, 181-197 (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), 186, 188, 192, 193, & 195.}

During the 18th century, the nature of town and gown relationships changed dramatically during the Enlightenment. Higher education ceased to be limited to the training of the clergy, lawyers, and physicians. The education allowed by denominational higher education, both Catholic and Protestant, was considered insufficient to the needs of society. New curricula, focused on pragmatic education and centered on science, were needed. Institutions wanted to maintain their role in the education of societal elite, fortify instructional ideologies, and enforce their identity as purveyors of material deemed
worthy for instruction. Higher education permitted the change of curriculum, and a shift began that drew universities away from strict liberal education models.\textsuperscript{111}

In the need for a new system of education to attract more students, city officials of Edinburgh, Scotland, in agreement with the monarchy’s need for a clerical training system, reformed Edinburgh University for their needs. By the mid-1760s, the town and crown now governed the institution and re-staffed it with philosophers, theologians, and doctors all suited to meet the educational needs sought by town leaders and the monarchy.\textsuperscript{112} The Academy of Geneva in Switzerland felt similar effects, as city officials slowly took administrative control of the institution in the 18th century and changed the nature of the institution from a seminary to a civic university.\textsuperscript{113} As well, in cities such as Leiden, Geneva, and Edinburgh, colleges were faltering due to antiquated instruction, but with the support of city leaders, institutions incorporated new trends in science instruction, which allowed for prosperity.\textsuperscript{114}

The need for positive relations between town and gown in order to gain financial support is apparent in many instances, but none as apparent as the need for positive support from city officials and wealthy supporters. According to Leslie, “Colleges obviously were neither forced to court wealthy sponsors nor accept their offers. But

\begin{thebibliography}{9}
\bibitem{114} Bender, ed., \textit{The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present}, 6.
\end{thebibliography}
failing to do so reduced colleges’ options.”115 Even though local business and corporations may not physically surround an institution, their belief in the identity and mission of a college or university is imperative in order for it to garner support.116 Through the establishment of positive relationships, the surrounding upper and middle classes have, at times, financially sustained local colleges and universities. But as the local environment surrounding institutions changes, so do the class structures. Wealthy families were not always present to contribute to the financial needs of institutions, and those present may not have had the financial resources to do so or felt inclined to support a college that did not meet their educational needs.117

In time, public higher education received subsidies from governments. Because of this massive public form of support, institutions have reason to reciprocate with some provisions for their surroundings.118 Despite this reliance on local businesses and government support, it becomes apparent that, as Pfeffer and Slanick state, “The fact that a resource is important to the organization’s functioning is, in itself, not the source of the organization’s problems. Problematic conditions of resources come from the environment.”119 At some point in time, all aspects of a town or governed state fall under the auspices of political control. Colleges and universities are no exception to this rule. In some shape or fashion, all institutions within a region will be affected by politics.120

In a similar situation, the University of Paris yielded to wealthy students and their demands for curriculum revision. Slowly, the institution began to move away from strict

115 Leslie, Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the “Age of the University,” 1865-1917, 244.
116 Bender, ed., The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present, 293.
117 Leslie, Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the “Age of the University,” 1865-1917, 247.
118 Bok, Beyond the Ivory Tower, 64.
119 Pfeffer and Salancik, The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective, 47.
liberal educational models and revised portions of the curriculum to develop the requested pragmatic education elicited by the local population. Not only did the demands of the student population change the curriculum, but the university’s setting, being amidst the central business district, influenced the institution to perform more like a business than a classical college. In order to increase the amount of instructors required to meet educational demands, the University of Paris drew additional faculty from abroad and diversified its student body by attracting those who wished to enroll from other countries, along with Parisians. Despite their origins, these foreigners were welcomed by the populous due primarily to the income they brought to the city. In reviewing the town and gown relationship of Europe, Anthony Grafton presents the following:

The most profound interactions between university and city, however, took place, at a less formal level. The university always remained—at least in the ideals of its professors—a cosmopolitan institute, part of the Europe-wide, Latin-speaking Republic of Letters . . . The university was the center for sustained efforts to develop classical genres in Dutch poetry . . . [and] was the center of efforts to devise a new system of international law to support to commercial and military expansion of Holland . . . Like patricians and predikants, university and society were locked together in a symbiosis that enriched both parties.

This situation was not solely felt by European institutions but can be witnessed in the history of American higher education. The changes in European models of higher education crossed the Atlantic, and higher education in America benefited from their revisions.

In the 19th century, American higher education drew much from the German and English models. From the German model, American higher education developed a strong

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122 Ibid., 22 & 32.
interest in research, whereas from the English model; it derived teaching strategies for the undergraduate population. According to Bruce Leslie, “Nineteenth century American colleges were valued vehicles of prestige for many communities and served as forms of identity for ethno-religious groups, classes, and genders. Struggles to control the destinies of colleges reflected important social and cultural divides. Americans increasingly turned to colleges to perpetuate their cultural values and social position in the next generation.” Nonetheless, private institutions lagged behind public colleges and universities with regard to scientific and mechanical training, holding onto the vestiges of classical education no longer desired by students. Prior to the 20th century, the lack of formal governing systems hampered the survivability of several private institutions due to low support from neighboring institutions and state supporters. By the end of the 19th century, as a new generation of students passed from the realm of learners to become new professors and administrators, they replaced former institutional missions with their own and reshaped colleges and universities.

As institutional missions were adapted, so, too were curricular ideals and instructional methodologies. Through the instruction of students, institutions found a means of serving the surrounding environment by attempting to produce a student body aware of itself that was prepared for the workforce, as well as leadership positions. As Laurence Veysey argues, generational academic leadership transitions caused contention between societal generations. The main point of contention lay in the passage

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124 Bok, Beyond the Ivory Tower, 61.
125 Leslie, Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the “Age of the University,” 1865-1917, 1.
126 Bok, Beyond the Ivory Tower, 62.
127 Ibid., 217.
128 Ibid., 241.
129 Ibid., 116.
of learned information and academic culture from one generation to the next. Local residents requested more mechanical and scientific education, while many American institutions still offered a liberal European style of instruction. This cultural learning based on liberal educational ideals encompassed topics such as basic economic, political, and religious issues—topics that were considered of value by the institution not the students.\textsuperscript{130} Versey illustrates that between the Civil War and World War I, administrators of colleges and universities kept their institutions open by any means necessary. Versey states: “the only course of action which these men could urge was to hold on, perhaps making minor concessions, and hope that there institutions would be able to survive.”\textsuperscript{131} Times had changed, and with them, so had the kinds of curriculum requested by social environs. As colleges and universities managed to stay afloat, they would try to strengthen town and gown relationships.

Universities, surrounding cities, and social communities abound in mutual dependencies. An institution located within a small town might employ the majority of the town’s residents. Large universities in a major city opened their doors to the populous for tutoring programs, museums, recreational facilities, libraries, and other such services.\textsuperscript{132} Coalition such as those mentioned previously and the development of partnerships or networks have become a factor in institutional survival.\textsuperscript{133} Bok, in his book \textit{Beyond the Ivory Tower}, explains that in efforts to increase goodwill between the town and gown, institutions generated service projects and outreach programs aimed at

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{130} Ibid., 237.
\textsuperscript{131} Laurence R. Veysey, \textit{The Emergence of the American University} (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965), 9.
\textsuperscript{133} Pfeffer and Salancik, \textit{The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective}, 29.
\end{footnotesize}
community groups and projected institutional identities and missions. Bok continues by stating:

All universities are prominent members of their communities by virtue of the vast complex of libraries, laboratories, classrooms, and offices they require to carry on their work. Try as they may, they can not go unnoticed by their neighbors. With their legions of students and their impressive buildings, they are all too visible to those who live and work nearby. . . . Despite their high visibility, it is not clear that academic institutions have many ethical obligations to the community that other kinds of institutions do not also possess . . .

A considerable problem occurred when institutions did not perceive social obligations, external social reliance, and institutional interactions in the larger surrounding society. An example of society pressing institutions of higher learning to increase social obligation is the Flexner Report of 1910. The Flexner Report demonstrates the need for improved medical education. The failure to perceive such dependencies in turn can create conflict. Rapport explains how this conflict can occur in the following quote:

Organizations may underestimate their dependence on, or the potency of, various external groups or organizations; and, organizations may not even perceive the complex relationships their activities have on other groups and organizations in the environment.

In response to researchers like Rapport, Pfeffer and Salancik have developed three factors that determine an organization’s dependence on another. First is the importance of resources from the controlling organization. Second is the extent to which the controlling organization has delegation power over resource dissemination. Third is the extent to which alternative suppliers affect control structures. A weakening factor exists between town and gown when the scope of an institution’s mission grows beyond the

134 Bok, Beyond the Ivory Tower, 236.
135 Ibid., 217.
136 Pfeffer and Salancik, The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective, 79.
137 Leslie, Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the “Age of the University,” 1865-1917, 255.
138 Ibid., 80.
139 Ibid., 45.
wants and needs of the town and contends with the larger society.\textsuperscript{140} Organizations, on the whole, avoid being controlled by other organizations in their environments. Generally, organizations seek to avoid dependencies and retain their autonomy.\textsuperscript{141}

Edward Shils argues that universities need to attend to the affairs of surrounding communities but must first attend to their own intellectual responsibilities, thus maintaining an autonomous identity and mission.\textsuperscript{142} With the need to maintain a unique status as an autonomous college or university high, survival for many institutions depends on the ability to acquire support from like-minded individuals and organizations that agree with the overall purpose of the institution.\textsuperscript{143} Universities, public or private, conformed to national regulations issued the central governments. With the cost of research and teaching high, colleges and universities rely on government subsidies, which in turn, make colleges and universities responsive to political forces for additional financial support.\textsuperscript{144} A method of conforming to national standards is through the admission of an institution into an accrediting body or application for a state charter. This process is known as legitimacy.

Pfeffer and Salancik explain that organizations are mere components of larger social systems and depend on those surrounding systems for their continued existence. In order to justify an organization’s existence to the larger social environment, it must become “legitimate” in the view of the environment. This process of becoming legitimate

\textsuperscript{140} Shils, “The University, the City, and the World: Chicago and the University of Chicago,” in \textit{The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present}, 229.
\textsuperscript{141} Pfeffer and Salancik, \textit{The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective}, 261.
\textsuperscript{142} Shils, “The University, the City, and the World: Chicago and the University of Chicago,” in \textit{The University and the City: From Medieval Origins to the Present}, 211.
\textsuperscript{143} Leslie, \textit{Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the “Age of the University,” 1865-1917}, 11.
\textsuperscript{144} Claval, “Politics and the University,” in \textit{The Urban University and its Identity: Roots, Locations, Roles}, 29.
is bound to social norms and values and does not always correlate with law or economic viability. But the ability of an organization to become legitimate via regional means of accreditation or certification can improve an institution’s standing in the surrounding environment. Overall, externally perceived legitimacy, at some level, is required for the survival of any institution. Governing bodies outside of an institution control this conferred status of legitimacy and it becomes a survival issue when an institution is performing in a manner disapproved of by the local social environment. When organizational legitimacy is a problem for survival, the college or university may adapt to expectations placed upon it by a larger organization or achieve legitimacy through the approval of the surrounding environment. According to Pfeffer and Salancik, “While organizational survival is enhanced by legitimacy, it is also enhanced by economic viability in the case of private organizations.” An example of legitimacy in the American South would be the application and admittance of institutions of higher education to accrediting bodies such as the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS).

Van der Wusten discusses this thread of legitimacy by illustrating the mutual growth of the town and gown. Symbiotic town and gown growth, in its own way, plays into the acceptance of institutions by their surrounding environments via mutual growth. Van der Wusten explains with the following quote:

Politically, universities may affect cities in different ways. As an important land user, and to the extent that this applies as a perceived strategic asset, universities may well be important players in local politics where physical planning issues are concerned. They may also play a part in local growth coalitions as knowledge providers and to secure their own future health. Universities historically have

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146 Ibid., 26.
147 Ibid., 194 & 202.
played a role in the generation of new political ideologies and programs. They are also a recruiting ground for political personnel and a staging area for political movements.148

Despite the mutual growth between the town and gown, cities can present large problems to institutions. Towns do not always know exactly what they want from a college or university other than education but still make demands, and institutions are left to their own devices to determine potential solutions in order to survive.149 One way in which early New York University solved a potential problem of enrollment was to communicate its educational access to the community by appealing to Protestants who wished to attain greater respectability in the mid-19th century, depart from their inherited working class culture, and rise in status. Despite its openness to Protestant America, the university was resistant to curricular demands of local workers and embarked upon a curriculum to educate its students for a more liberal training for higher professions such as law.150

Whatever issues ultimately affect institutional survival, it is up to the college or university to find ways to address them. The concepts of institutional identity and mission become viable or detrimental factors when they run in accord with or in contrast to the surrounding society. The identity and mission of Jesuit colleges have played crucial roles in the development of town and gown relationships. Little has been written about the effects of Jesuit institutional identity and mission on their colleges and universities. What has been written has been relegated primarily to Jesuit institutions in the Northern and Western American states. A few publications discuss Southern Jesuit colleges; however, the mentions of hardships felt by the interaction with surrounding societies in the South

148 Van der Wusten, ed., The Urban University and its Identity: Roots, Locations, Roles, 5.
149 Bok, Beyond the Ivory Tower, 240.
do not make direct correlations between the identity and mission of Jesuit institutions and their survival.

**Adaptability, Criticisms, and Difficulties**

Jesuit colleges and universities, are chartered by the state but owned by a corporation of Jesuits that determines the characteristic identity of the college or university. The distinctive identity of this corporation is important to understand when examining the larger institutional identity of a Catholic/Jesuit institution. In order to establish a university, a charter must to be granted by both the State and the Papal authority. The same is true with Catholic institutions across the United States and in the American South. For example, Spring Hill College is one of the oldest Jesuit institutions in American and the first college in Alabama. Mobile’s Catholic population has been attributed to its historic connection with New Orleans as both cities provided the Jesuit Fathers with support.

Following his placement as Superior of Spring Hill College, Father Maisonnabe secured a charter for the education of students in religious and literary education from the State of Louisiana. This charter accompanied a Papal mandate, thus acknowledging the approval of state, regional, and clerical leaders. As well, after the establishment of St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, Archbishop Blanc turned his attention to the city of New Orleans and the need for an educational institute for boys. With the arrival of the Ursuline Sisters and various other female religious, young women in the city had an

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established network of Catholic schools. Young men, on the other hand, had none. Blanc, once more, turned to the Jesuits and invited them to establish a parish in New Orleans and open a college for young men. In June of 1848, the foundation was laid for the College of the Immaculate Conception, an adjoining church, and a residence for the Jesuit Fathers; approval was granted by the state and the Holy Father.156

Even though these Southern Jesuit institutions received approval from civic and clerical leaders, they were poorly supported by commercial agencies. Instead, these institutions petitioned their local communities and church followers to provide support for institutional survival.157 After establishing the Society’s presence in New Orleans, Father Maisonnabe published a personal appeal to the citizens of New Orleans. The appeal carried the sentiments of the Society as they strove to build a Jesuit college in the city and requested donations for the construction of the college and adjoining church. Despite the solicitation for financial assistance, response was low, consisting of only two donations from the public totaling $50. In response to low public support, the city’s Catholic Clergy provided $2,350 and the Ursuline Sisters, who had been long supporters of the Jesuits in New Orleans, lent, interest free, $20,000.158

As Albert Biever has presented, “All works of God begin in lowliness and are beset by many tribulations. The work of the Society of Jesus . . . was not to prove any exception.”159 Criticism abounded regarding Jesuit institutions. These criticisms often centered on the claim that Jesuit colleges and universities served as bastions of Catholic

157 Leslie, *Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the “Age of the University,” 1865-1917*, 255.
tyranny. Other criticism regarded the ambitious and fast expansion of the Order. Jesuits loomed large in the minds of American Protestants. According to Mahoney, even in the early days of the Jesuit restoration to America, leeriness of the Order permeated American society. Mahoney goes on to explain that, “For many, every Catholic steeple, every Catholic immigrant—every Jesuit and his school—was cause for concern, providing incontrovertible evidence that the Protestant Kingdom of God [America] was still in the making, its very existence tenuous.”

Schwickerath gives a series of factors that caused anti-Jesuit sentiment in America. It was propagandized that the founder of the Society, Ignatius Loyola, was first a soldier and that military vestiges crossed into the Society, creating a religious order bent on societal domination. Second, the Society of Jesus was denounced as plotting to overthrow the governments of Europe, including England, and was accused of having had a direct connection to Guy Fawkes and the Gunpowder Plot of 1605. Preached against as the authors of war, the teachers of dishonesty, and held in suspicion by Puritans, the Jesuits seemed to have been viewed with contempt the world over. Even Elizabeth I of England and other European monarchs condemned the Society of Jesus for being too powerful, religiously heavy-handed, and overly ambitious.

This widespread crimenation crossed the Atlantic Ocean and took root in America. Even members of the Catholic Church criticized the Jesuit order and their educational institutions; however, the mission of such Jesuit institutions attempted to remain firmly rooted in service to students, their families, and the larger community. According to

162 Ibid., 239.
Robert Schwickerath, in the early 20th century, “Religious, above all, try to impart a religious, a Christian education.” The goal was to impart an education imbued with religious theology that would dispose students to a life devoted to participation in the Catholic Church.

Bishop Durier, seeing the further need for Catholic education in North Louisiana, invited the Jesuits to establish an educational institution in Shreveport. Their response was the creation of St. John’s College in 1902. It is important to note that the Jesuits in the American South were invited to develop parishes, churches, and colleges in other areas of the South. In 1874, the Society was called to Augusta, Georgia where they opened a college in 1900. In 1884, the bishop of Galveston, Texas, gave St. Mary’s University to the Society, and in 1889, the Right Rev. J. Moore, bishop of St. Augustine called the Jesuits Fathers to Florida. In Florida, the Jesuits established a church and educational an institution in Tampa.

A Catholic university, such as a Jesuit institution, stands for a long tradition of combining faith and reason; however, delving deeper into historic missions of Catholic institutions, one can find aspects regarding the safeguarding of Catholic students from the dangers of modernity. Despite the adaptive efforts of the Jesuits, their attempts were slow to formulate, and Catholic students in lower socioeconomic classes began to drift away to forms of higher education that could provide practical job-related education and training. In the late 19th century, the Society of Jesus contended with edicts established

163 Ibid., 89.
164 Baudier, The Catholic Church in Louisiana, 470.
165 The Catholic Church in the United States of America: To Celebrate the Golden Jubilee of His Holiness, Pope Pius X, 195.
by the New York State Board of Regents concerning the qualifiers for a higher education institution. The Order, despite its difficulty with the rulings of the New York Regents, took this contention as a sign to adapt, and across the nation, Jesuit higher education began to align itself more closely with Protestant and secular institutions. Despite its continued dedication to the spirit of the Ratio Studiorum, the American branch of the Society of Jesus began to echo American educational trends and present themselves actively through engagement in the broader academic community.\textsuperscript{167}

As Morton Hill demonstrates, “When there is failure it is admitted. There are no coated enthusiasms. Most encouraging of all is this: nowhere do Jesuits blame the Ratio for their failures in education, any more than they would blame the Exercises for their failures in the things of the spirit. Jesuits have confidence in their heritage.”\textsuperscript{168} This would have been an excellent quote for lay readers to take into account when reviewing Jesuit higher education throughout its development throughout the world and America; however, the publication in which this quote is printed, The Jesuit Educational Quarterly, was a private publication and was explicitly labeled “for private circulation” in Jesuit houses alone. Only recently has this peer-reviewed publication become open to the public via libraries and archives.\textsuperscript{169} Even though the Society of Jesus faced explicit hardships, which can be linked to aspects of societal relationships and criticisms regarding the identity and goals of the Society of Jesus, there is still success to be recorded. At the end

\textsuperscript{167}Mahoney, \textit{Catholic Higher Education in Protestant America: The Jesuits and Harvard in the Age of the University}, 147-148, 203, & 226.

\textsuperscript{168}Ibid.

of the 1930s there existed some 244 Jesuit colleges and secondary schools, enrolling approximately 375,954 students worldwide.\textsuperscript{170}

**Review in Summation**

This presentation of published literature pieces together aspects of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships to illustrate how each can potentially affect the progression and potential survival of colleges and universities; however, there is no direct literature presently existing that directly discuses the correlation between these aspects and college/university survival. Also, there is a plethora of published material that addresses Jesuit higher education globally, as well as in the United States, but there is relatively little literature that discuses its presence in the American South. The few books that discuss Jesuit colleges in the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus mention societal issues occasionally but never directly address whether the identity and mission of each Jesuit college in the South affected its ability to survive. These books were also published in the early 20th century, and no follow-up research has been accomplished to date.

The combination of literature on the aforementioned concepts, Jesuit issues, and the few citations concerning Jesuit education in the South, along with the historical compendium of the Society of Jesus and their educational foundations from chapter two of this study, make up the bulk of literature that is relevant to this research. From this collection of literature and its review, this study can move forward with a clear guide as to the information required to complete this research. Certainly, aspects regarding institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships will become evident in

the collected Southern Jesuit college data. In the following chapter, the various methodologies required to compile data to address overarching questions from chapter one will be presented. These methodologies, along with the established Jesuit educational history and review of relevant literature, will guide the collection, formulation, and analysis of historiographically-constructed cases.
CHAPTER FOUR: HISTORIOLOGY, ARCHIVAL RESEARCH, AND THE HISTORIOGRAPHICALLY-CONSTRUCTED CASE STUDY

A further considerable gain for both the author and the reader of historical studies of education lies in the opportunity they offer to ponder the nature of continuity and change in education and the societies with which it interacts. This core task of the historian—serves also to illuminate the possibilities for action and understanding in the present. - Gary McCulloch and William Richardson

In pursuit of progressive studies concerning educational history, via the need for interdisciplinary inquiries, a combination of methodologies aids this study in the attempt to breathe life into historical situations that may add to existing concepts of institutional survival. Research methods pertaining to the field of history, archival data analysis, and the analysis of collective case study are conjoined to form a unique methodological approach. Through the combination of historiographic analysis, archival data collection, and case study a collective set of cases are constructed to represent a series of educational institutions administered by the Society of Jesus in the American South. Primary documents are analyzed for their validity, reliability, and relevance then interwoven to generate each case; however, this form of case development admittedly leaves out oral history due to the absence of living individuals present at events related to relevant data. Once developed, this collection of cases, which depict the development, existence, and survival, of a select group of Jesuit colleges and universities are finally collectively compared and analyzed to detect trends and themes that may add to the overall understanding of college/university survival based on concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships.

The goal of this chapter is to introduce methods of historiography, archival data collection, and case study both in the singular and collective. With an understanding of these research tools a methodological amalgamation will be presented in order to justify historic research through archival data in a case study format that allows for the analysis and comparison of cases.

Through the study of history and case research, a greater understanding of forces that affected education in the past, both external and internal, may lead researchers to illicit foundational reasons underlying the survival, modification, and/or disappearance of educational institutions and practices.² Despite the fact that historical case studies examining educational institutions often make extensive use of a range of primary sources and time consuming searches through archives, the fruits of such labor allow for a detailed and introspective examination of identifiable traits, trends, and societal relationships that may have played a role in college or university survivability.³

According to Gary McCulloch and William Richardson, “professional historians generated a substantial historiographical literature but in a large majority of such works there is little or no reference to education as a field of enquiry. . . . More commonly education is all but omitted from the frame of reference.”⁴ In universities where education as a field of research flourished, the study of educational history failed to establish a substantial foothold; however, in the 20th century, educational history has seen an increased interest on the part of educational researchers. In America, classical historians have criticized educational histories written by educational researchers. In light of such

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² Sharan B. Merriam, *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis* (San Francisco, California: Josey Bass, 2002), 434.
³ McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 104.
⁴ Ibid., 20.
criticisms, it was Bernard Bailyn, with his critique of American educational historiography from 1891 to 1960 that presented the need for research in educational history due to its obscure place in classical history and the import that the analysis of historical data can provide to the field of education.\textsuperscript{5}

Over the past decades, educational researchers have become concerned with social trends that have a direct affect on the larger society and how education plays a part in these transitional periods or is affected by them.\textsuperscript{6} Also, educational researchers, dissatisfied with classical historiography have engaged in post-revisionist history to better understand historical principles and themes in education. One such emphasis of post-revisionist historiography is the examination of relationships that exist or have existed between education and society.\textsuperscript{7} Not only was the reanalysis of historical educational movements imperative for educational researchers to decipher but also foundational attempts were being made to understand trends and themes, as they occurred in order to attempt application to the understanding of modern educational institutions.

Now, educational historians are taking advantage of historiographic methods in order to ascertain deeper understandings of personal and cultural histories that shaped or were shaped by regional events. An example of this form of enquiry would be the emergence of microhistory. Through the course of historical research, macrohistories, or grand narratives that attempt to explain broad events, have served as literary pillars in this field of research. Currently, historians are more engaged in research pertaining to smaller

\textsuperscript{5} Ibid., 36-38.
\textsuperscript{6} Ibid., 53.
\textsuperscript{7} Ibid., 42.
The fact that microhistory has been heralded for its usage to analyze political conflicts, social movements, and cultural trends, is not without criticism.

The four major criticisms of microhistory are as follows. First, microhistory reduces history to anecdotal antiquarianism; second, it romanticizes past cultures; third, it deals with cultures unaffected or that refuse to deal with the modern world marked by rapid change; and finally, it is incapable of dealing with broad-spectrum politics. With these criticisms in mind, educational researchers need to take into account historical perspectives dealing with large-scale trends in order to establish the environs a particular microhistorical subject matter or event may take place within. When regarding research that explores macrohistory in conjunction with microhistory research it becomes apparent that researchers can utilize one to strengthen the other. Keeping aspects of revisionist history, macro, and microhistory in mind, George Iggers explains the responsibility of the researcher in regards to these forms of history with his statement: “It should be the task of the historian to explore the connections between these two levels of historical experience.” In connecting macro and micro histories in the field of education, researchers can generate new explanatory knowledge that contributes to the larger body of existing literature.

With these enquiries at the forefront, one must take into account the role of the educational researcher in the field of history. The current view of educational history research is one where educational researchers can and should explore this research venue

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9 Ibid., 113 and 104.
while combining historical and social science methodologies to answer pertinent research questions. As research in the history of education progresses, educational researchers interested in historiography need to be familiar with methods employed in history research, sociological methods of enquiry, and their combination. Educational historians must understand not only historiographic and sociologic modes of enquiry but must be familiar with the history of education as a field of study and its application to modern education to support its place in the larger field of study.

**Historiography and the Study of Education**

The study of educational history clashes between two ideals, the study of the past for its own sake and the study of the past to understand modern issues. Warren Button, in his article “Creating More Useable Pasts: History in the Study of Education,” illustrates that the study of educational history can be incorporated with modern research initiatives to improve educational institutions and systems. Button explains that the historiographical study of foundational attempts to develop educational institutions and the understanding of evolutionary changes pertaining to existing institutions can serve as a platform for research with the potential to directly impact the establishment of present educational systems. Ultimately, the purpose of research conducted in educational history is to reconstruct past events and shape interpretations in order to better understand how educational systems developed into current forms and affect the improvement of modern designs.

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10 McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 49.
11 Ibid., 121.
13 Merriam, *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*, 432.
But what is historical research? Historiography is the term used to describe research methods pertaining to historic enquiry and involves the posing of questions, the collection of source materials, the analysis and interpretation of those materials, and the presentation of interpretive results. The significance of historical research lies in the uncovering of answers directed by research questions that try to identify relationships, record and evaluate the actions of individuals, agencies, or institutions, and aid in the understanding of societies in which educational institutions function and strive to survive. Through the study of historic issues and trends researchers can transcend the “static isolation of one’s time period” to better understand the present. Bruce Berg compares this transcendence to the H. G. Wells’ book, The Time Machine. Berg states:

When the protagonist arrives in the distant future, a near utopia seems to exist. Yet the people of the future millennia are actually raised as the slaves and food of a group of mutant creatures. When the protagonist tries to learn how such a situation could have developed, no one can tell him. They have no sense of their history. How things had come to be as they are and how things might be changed were concepts lost on these people. They were oblivious to their past, living in isolation of a single time period – their present.

This example from the writing of H. G. Wells holds sway in the field of educational enquiry. We must study and learn from the history of education if the field is to progress and justify its existence as a progressive field of study and practice.

In explaining present issues surrounding higher education or educational systems in general, historical research can be rewarding for both researcher and reader illuminating themes and trends in the development of schools, colleges, and

16 Ibid., 162.
17 Ibid.
universities.\textsuperscript{18} The educational researcher, with the proper understanding of historiographic methods, has the tools to inform and fill in the gaps of existing literature by not only participating in the creation of new forms of knowledge but through the addition of research methodologies via the incorporation of concepts and theories. The combination of educational history and conceptual or theoretical frameworks can increase a study’s plausibility and aid in the generalization of new information to the broader field.\textsuperscript{19}

In addition to conceptual and methodological collusion, those in the field of education have argued that educational researches should conduct more studies based on historiologic methods. McCulloch and Richardson claim that in conducting research pertaining to educational history, traditional historians may lack understandings regarding the field of education and that historical research based on educational systems or institutions may benefit from those practicing in that particular field of enquiry.\textsuperscript{20} With that noted, the field of education can apply historical facts and conclusions in its own research; however, in utilizing historiographic methods, the educational historian must understand the application of historical research to the field of education but must also understand the methods of conducting historic research in general.\textsuperscript{21} Increased interest in the area of educational history has the potential to illuminate themes that have an affect on present systems and future endeavors. Much can be garnered from a clearer understanding of educational history, the roots of educational systems/institutions, and

\textsuperscript{18} McCulloch and Richardson, \textit{Historical Research in Educational Settings}, 125.
\textsuperscript{20} McCulloch and Richardson, \textit{Historical Research in Educational Settings}, 123.
their relations to present controversies.\textsuperscript{22} In regards to this study, which examines concepts of institutional survival, identity, mission, and societal relations pertaining to Southern Jesuit institutions, the focus is to illustrate and amplify a conceptual framework through the establishment of past events and lived experiences in order to develop an additive theory of catalytic factors that affect a college or university’s ability to survive.

In developing additions to or clarifications of concepts or theories, this study possesses a qualitative research orientation with the aspiration of developing a theoretical model describing catalytic factors that affect institutional survival. To construct this theoretical model this study, in essence, relies on qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis via historiographic research venues.\textsuperscript{23} In beginning any historical study, as with other forms of qualitative or quantitative ventures, the educational historian must first frame a set of questions that will serve as guideposts for the research. Also, the educational historian has the option to focus on particular periods of time.\textsuperscript{24} The selection of dates is common practice in historical enquiry to define a unique set of events and its specific era linked to the study and helps to define a chronological boundary.\textsuperscript{25} For example, this study includes several established time frames. Each time frame is congruent with the individual institution being studied. Due to the comparative nature of this study several time frames will be used to analyze each separate Jesuit college or university.

To clarify the process of conducting a study framed by historiography, Sharan Merriam indicates that historical research follows a three-step process. First, the

\textsuperscript{22} McCulloch and Richardson, \textit{Historical Research in Educational Settings}, 125-127.
\textsuperscript{23} Merriam, \textit{Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis}, 432.
\textsuperscript{25} McCulloch and Richardson, \textit{Historical Research in Educational Settings}, 41.
educational historian must identifying historical sources; second, sources must be validated; and third, historic data are combined and interpreted. This process forces educational historians to seek and discover data rather than create it. Methods of constructing historical research include the careful analysis of published and unpublished documents stored in archives or special collections. These collections of primary sources have been underutilized in educational research and can relay an array of information that can in turn answer many questions currently existing in the field of education.\footnote{Ibid., 50.} These archives and special collections house unpublished primary sources, published primary material, data sets, visual sources, written accounts, and other forms of historic evidence that can aid in the generation of historiographic studies.\footnote{McCulloch and Richardson, \textit{Historical Research in Educational Settings}, 128.} These primary sources, otherwise known as archival documents, are important to the researcher not only for what they tell but also for what they reveal about students, teachers, administrators, and educational institutions. Archives can also contain secondary source material that contains descriptive data just as important as primary sources. Each source must be verified for authenticity and relevance to the study at hand in order to present a dependable representation of past events.\footnote{Good, “Historical Research in Education,” 11.} As George Iggers states in his book, \textit{Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge}:\footnote{Iggers, \textit{Historiography in the Twentieth Century: From Scientific Objectivity to the Postmodern Challenge}, 140.}

\begin{quote}
The [historical researcher’s] labor is dependent on archival research and, while his sources do not present themselves in unambiguous form, they are nevertheless subject to criteria of reliability. The historian is always on the look out for forgery falsification and thus operates with a notion of truth, however complex and incomplete the road to it may be.\footnote{Ibid., 50.}
\end{quote}
Igers’ statement certainly details the arduous labor involved in historiographical research. More important, is the amount of effort and resources devoted to the verification of data used in a study.

**Examining and Analyzing Archival Data Sources**

When reflecting on research questions educational historians seek out repositories of supportive data. Based on data located within archival facilities, studies are shaped in such a way that they address questions while relying on relevant source material to support an argument.\(^{30}\) Essentially, all primary source materials are observations that cannot be repeated. The analyses of documents that convey historic observations can be repeated but the act that was observed can never be duplicated.\(^ {31}\) This is an important point to understand, as many research questions are not answerable through archival material alone. The educational historian must probe the archives to ensure that enough data exists to answer all posed research questions.

As previously mentioned, when analyzing archival documents it is important to note that there are primary and secondary sources. There are two essential differences between primary and secondary sources. Individuals who were directly involved with, connected to, or served as witness to the events recorded produce primary sources. Secondary sources, however, are documents produced as accounts or interpretations of events. These documents are fashioned at a distance from the actual event, may be subject to author detachment, and can be influenced by the assumptions and problems of the society and context in which they are written. Many books can be considered both

\(^{30}\) Merriam, *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*, 435.

\(^{31}\) Good, “Historical Research in Education,” 9.
primary and secondary as the text may utilize other primary sources to tell a story but
encapsulate the ideas or attitudes of the author and society regarding the subject.\textsuperscript{32}

The educational historian must analyze every primary and secondary source
carefully, line by line and statement by statement, in order to confirm the authenticity and
credibility of the source as well as its relevance to the study.\textsuperscript{33} In order to determine the
authenticity of particular primary sources, researchers may collect additional information
to support the source in question. This supportive documentation can illustrate how
someone else could or could not have been involved in the creation of the document.\textsuperscript{34} As
well, the interpretive bias referred to as presentism must be avoided when attempting to
analyze terms and concepts presented in archival material. Presentism is the
interpretation of past events based on modern concepts. Historians must search for the
former usage of concepts in the document’s own time period and avoid attaching modern
meanings.\textsuperscript{35}

An example of committing presentism would be associating the modern meaning
of the term “college” with its Renaissance era definition. When used in reference to
colleges established by early Jesuits, the term meant a house or residence where students
lived and studied. This word’s period definition was applied to all colleges during the
Renaissance. This residence was located close enough to a university so that students
could easily walk back and forth. The term today means a division of a larger educational
institution where a field of study takes place.\textsuperscript{36} The term “college” was later redefined,

\textsuperscript{32} McCulloch and Richardson, \textit{Historical Research in Educational Settings}, 79-80.
\textsuperscript{33} Good, “Historical Research in Education,” 18.
\textsuperscript{34} Merriam, \textit{Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis}, 439.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 440.
\textsuperscript{36} George Ganss, \textit{Saint Ignatius’ Idea of a Jesuit University} (Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Marquette
regarding Jesuit institutions, to match American notions of higher education by the
American Assistancy of Society of Jesus through the end of the 19th century.\textsuperscript{37}

\textbf{Insuring Validity in Archival Research}

Along with avoiding presentism, there is a great need to determine the validity of
each document or record relating to a historical study. In determining the validity of
historic documents for inclusion in a study the researcher must rely on external criticism.
Merriam states:

The process of external criticism is concerned not with the content of the primary
source but with whether the apparent or claimed origin of the source corresponds
to its actual origin. The term \textit{origin} refers to such matters as author, place of
origin, date of publication, and publisher or sponsoring institution, all of which
are usually found in citation for a primary source.\textsuperscript{38}

Citation data may appear clear but problems may still exist. Some records, such as
speeches, may be ghostwritten by someone other than the identified author and; in some
cases, authors may use pseudonyms to conceal their identity. Multiple authorships may
cause consistency issues with the source relating to who actually wrote specific portions
of the text. In some cases, forgery can become a concern.\textsuperscript{39} In summation, external
criticism determines the validity of primary sources by asking questions related to the
authorship, timeframe, and author affiliation to the event being reported.\textsuperscript{40}

In the attempt to increase the likelihood that primary sources are valid internal
criticism is used in addition to external criticism. Merriam goes on to explain that “In
doing internal criticism, researchers ask questions about the material. Is it likely that

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\textsuperscript{37} Report of the Meeting of the Inter-Province Committee on Studies With the Decisions of the Provincials of the American Provinces on Each Number of the Report, 1921, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library, New Orleans, Louisiana.
\textsuperscript{38} Merriam, \textit{Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis}, 438.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{40} Good, “Historical Research in Education,” 16.
\end{flushright}
people would act in a way that the writer described? Is it physically possible for the events described to have occurred this close together in time? Do the budget figures mentioned by the author seem reasonable?” Internal criticism requires the educational historian to determine if the primary data being examined is trustworthy. Criteria utilized in determining the trustworthiness of a document are the author’s presence or absence during the event being described, the authors involvement in or observation of the event, the authors qualification to describe the event, the level of emotional involvement elicited by the author regarding the event, and the degree of vested interest the author might have in the event. Educational historians must be aware of author bias. Factors regarding ethnic background, political and/or religious affiliation, and social status are a few examples of background issues that must be checked to determine if the facts presented by the primary material’s author are more likely to be less biased. Also, in checking for bias, the author’s use of emotionally charged or intemperate language can reflect commitment to particular positions, thus creating bias.41

As the educational historian continues to determine the validity of a source causal inference may be used to explain past events. At times, historians can not make direct correlations as to why certain events occurred, but assumptions can be drawn that underline inferences between data or events. In using causal inference, historians may reference events to key persons, the operation of ideologies, advances in science, or to economic, geographic, sociological, or psychological factors.42 When attempting to make inferences datasets can add supportive evidence in making correlations.43 For the

41 Merriam, Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis, 439.
42 Ibid.
43 McCulloch and Richardson, Historical Research in Educational Settings, 111.
purposes of understanding the institutions analyzed in this study, quantitative data sets
have been established through Jesuit populations gathered from provincial catalogues.
Quantitative materials are recorded and preserved in some print form, such as catalogues
or log-books. As Merriam states: “Census records, school budgets, school attendance
records, teachers’ grade sheets, test scores, and other compilations of numerical data can
provide useful data for historians.”  

In addition to determining validity, to avoid research that could be construed as
invalid or loosely generalized, educational historians must be clear in the description of
their sources both primary and secondary, how these sources were accessed, and the
nature of the source as it applies to the study. As with other forms of research,
educational historians must take care as to avoid generalizing their findings beyond the
scope of their study but remain true to the original research questions and intent of the
use of historiological enquiry. As stated by Button:

Historical research in education is not an analogue of empirical quantitative
research in education. The results of historical research in education are useful,
but must be used in their own ways. History has limits, because it cannot provide
the degree of certainty which comes from testing hypotheses. History has its
strengths; wide perspectives, and long views, rich sources and rich data. History is
not solely utilitarian; it could not be, it should not be. But history has been used
and should be used for the improvement of education.

Despite Button’s caution to the researcher of educational history it should be remembered
that without historical perspectives, educators and educational researchers can get caught
up in a web of research only focusing on the present without concern for developmental
causes. This failure to understand how systems of education came to be could, in its own

44 Merriam, Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis, 438.
45 Ibid., 79.
46 Ibid., 432.
way, prevent the field of education from learning essential lessons from its past and moving forward.\textsuperscript{48}

**Archival Research, Source Material, and Data Collection**

In order to fully understand historic situations in their entirety and answer formulated research questions, material items, such as archived primary sources, are studied.\textsuperscript{49} As it has been alluded to before but must now be sternly established primary documentation is the single most important form of source material in the performance of historical research. Many documents that could support valuable research have been lost to time or destroyed. Of those remaining, educational historians can carefully construct them into cases for analysis, individually or collectively, to detect trends or themes. It is important for the researcher to sift through all available documents relating to the study in order to determine which existing documents are supportive and which provide limited information. Archived documents that provide information for educational history can include, college logbooks, pupil records, photographs, newspapers, university magazines or catalogues, textbooks, administrative records, etc. In addition, records, such as diaries, letters, memos, and notes prove to be sources of rich data. Many of these documents are stored in private university collections and are accessible only after agreeing to restrictive conditions.\textsuperscript{50}

Newspapers can also serve as a major form of published material for educational historians as reporters of local magazines and newspapers disseminated information regarding institutions of higher education. When using published primary sources, certain

\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 447.
\textsuperscript{50} McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 85-86 and 103.
issues must be examined to qualify the source as useful for a study. Issues that must be examined include: authenticity of the text, the author’s relevancy to the subject written about in the source, context of the source, who was the material being written for (the audience), the influence of the source on its intended audience, the process involved in producing the published primary source, and the interest the source serves in regards to interactions between different groups and individuals relating to the researcher’s study.\textsuperscript{51} Some published documentation that can also provide useful insights are published reports or treatises on education.\textsuperscript{52} Such is the case with Jesuit education, e.g. the \textit{Constitutions of the Society of Jesus} and the \textit{Ratio Studiorum}. Other forms of important published information regarding Jesuit education include visitation reports. These reports serve as recommendations to Jesuit provinces or missions and are disseminated from Rome after a Jesuit Visitor makes a physical review of religious members (priests, brothers), missions, educational endeavors, finances, populations, and so forth.

Educational historians must work arduously in the collection of source material. The extensive collection of primary sources aids in the establishment of a cohesive understanding of the situation being studied; however, it is also important to recognize the relevance of secondary sources. Secondary sources provide a means to peruse inaccessible primary sources. According to Berg: “Many different pieces of information— both primary and secondary—will be necessary before the researcher can adequately fit them all together into a cogent exposition.”\textsuperscript{53} Important secondary sources that contain period rich material are school and college textbooks. Textbooks can be used

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\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{51} Ibid., 89, 91-92.
  \item \textsuperscript{52} Ibid., 88.
  \item \textsuperscript{53} Berg, \textit{Qualitative Research Methods for the Social Sciences}, 2nd ed., 166.
\end{itemize}
along with other forms of evidence to provide meaning to what is being researched. Textbooks can bring to light institutional biases and add to the validation of documents and records. When examining texts to support primary sources, the text must be scrutinized for its own validity as it pertains to the sources utilized to generate the text.\textsuperscript{54} Period textbooks and institutional catalogues also give a telling story of the kinds of curriculum being offered at particular institutions. These books contain important information pertaining to an institution’s purpose. Also, the information gathered from these documents reveals what issues were deemed important to present in the curriculum.\textsuperscript{55}

Other forms of source material that have garnered greater usage over the past years are visual sources. Examples of visual sources include paintings, construction plans, photographs, cartoons, television shows, and media files. For this research, photographs play a large part in understanding the contextual elements of individual institutions.\textsuperscript{56} Photographs present one view of an object or situation.\textsuperscript{57} The inclusion of relevant photographs can increase the depth of a historiographically-constructed cases and allow the reader a chance to witness what is being explained in the text. For example, when regarding institutional identity in Jesuit colleges and universities it is important to note the physical construction of their campuses. In these situations colleges are constructed in conjunction with a church. These churches, affiliated with the Society of Jesus, display symbols that refer to Jesuit spiritual apostolates and Catholicism.

\textsuperscript{54} Holder, “The Interpretation of Documents and Material Culture.” 704.
\textsuperscript{55} Good, “Historical Research in Education,” 10.
\textsuperscript{56} McCulloch and Richardson, \textit{Historical Research in Educational Settings}, 109-110.
\textsuperscript{57} Good, “Historical Research in Education,” 9-10.
Figure 4.1 Detail of the Church of the Sacred Heart, Galveston, Texas. 58

The photograph above is of the rebuilt Church of the Sacred Heart in Galveston, Texas following the 1900 hurricane that severely damaged the city. The original church was destroyed by the storm and rebuilt by the Society of Jesus and adorned with Jesuit symbols. 59 By dissecting the photograph of the Church of the Sacred Heart it can be determined that the college building is connected or in close proximity to the church and the identifiable Jesuit symbols of IHS and AMDG at the top center of the church building provide relevant information as to the governing religious order. This connection of the church to the college building informs the viewer that the two entities worked in tandem.

58 Church of the Sacred Heart, Galveston, Texas, detail of a photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
59 University of St. Mary, Galveston, Texas: Souvenir Volume of the Silver Jubilee of the College Under Jesuit Administration, 1884-1909 (Clarke and Courts, MFG. Stationers, Galveston 1909), 10-15
The symbols on the church designate who’s authority the church, and subsequent college functioned under.

As well as the information provided by photographs, relics also contribute to the development of historiographically-constructed cases. Relics are objects that provide supportive historical information. Physical structures such as a college administration building or student desks are examples of relics that can be examined for information regarding the educational practices of an institution.\(^{60}\) Records, including photographs and relics, left behind by deceased individuals can be of significance to the educational researcher. This information, passed on by individuals long since departed, can be pieced together to construct examinable cases of institutions that have long since been closed or demolished in order to understand the phenomena that took place there.

McCulloch and Richardson state: “Personal collections can contain a wealth of evidence not only about the role of the individual concerned but about their wider relationships and the contexts in which they worked.” At times, these records can be the accumulation of an entire person’s life work or a selection of papers detailing one instance. In many cases, these records are retained by some family member and donated to an archive at some point in time. In other cases, an individual may will their documents to a special collection.\(^ {61}\) In the case of Jesuit archives, all papers belonging to a priest or brother who was a member of a particular province are sent to provincial archives upon his death. The archives then sort and organize the papers and documents relevant to the priest or brother’s life long body of work. Regarding access to any individuals’ records that are archived, McCulloch and Richardson go on to state:

\(^{60}\) Merriam, *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis*, 438.
\(^{61}\) McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 107.
Unpublished primary documentary sources in restricted access in public or private collections may . . . be divided into three general categories: those relating to educational policy and administration; those of individual educational institutions such as schools and universities; and those comprising the personal papers of teachers, educational reformers and others whose work has related specifically to education at a particular stage in their lives.\(^\text{62}\)

However, this is not always the case. Material entering a collection may be sifted through to determine historically relevancy to the collections nature. Documents that do not pertain to the focus of the particular archive may be discarded or sent to other collections. In some cases, archival material regarding an educational institution or series of institutions is not always available, as records could have been ruined from a college being moved, destroyed, or merged with another institution. Sometimes, there simply is not enough storage space and records are discarded.\(^\text{63}\) Also, when reviewing primary documents, many sources fall under a “year rule.” This year rule indicates a certain amount of time that must elapse before a document can be utilized for research and publication. In many cases the rule is 30 years.\(^\text{64}\) Year rules are established to enforce ethical considerations. Researchers of educational history need a full understanding of policy regarding the publication of materials provided by archives, special collections, or educational institutions. In many instances these agreements regard publication rights concerning individuals reported on in the source material. If the individuals being reported on are still alive then the researcher must be sensitive to the individuals want for anonymity or acquire permission to use their identification in the research.\(^\text{65}\)

\(^{\text{62}}\) Ibid., 97-98.
\(^{\text{63}}\) McCulloch and Richardson, *Historical Research in Educational Settings*, 102.
\(^{\text{64}}\) Ibid.
\(^{\text{65}}\) Ibid., 104.
The Archives of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus, housed within Monroe Library at Loyola University New Orleans has such a year rule as well as a detailed list of regulations pertaining to who may gain access to the materials and for what purpose. The Provincial archives are accessible by researchers and students with documentation that verifies their employment or enrollment in an educational institution. All personal files regarding Jesuit priests and brothers are subject to a 40-year rule and may not be accessed until that time limit has past postmortem. Material collected by the archive pertains to institutions and deceased Jesuits who belonged to the New Orleans Province. Also, materials printed on the lives of Jesuits in the American South are also stored in the archives.66 A second rule has been established regarding events relating to the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus. Sixty years must elapse after an event has occurred before a researcher may view documents relating to the event. These year rules are established in the endeavor to ethically separate individuals from the event being studied. The superiors of the New Orleans Province and officials of Loyola University, New Orleans, have maintained legal contracts regarding year rules.67

Now that a description of historiography, archival material, and the establishment of validation in those methodologies has been presented, there is a need now to formulate a way of constructing individual reports and interpreting those reports for trends and themes related to this study’s research questions that center on institutional identity, mission, town and gown relationships, and how they affect institutional survival. The

67 Mark Lewis, April 15, 2008, *Loyola University Monroe Library Department of Special Collections and Archives New Orleans, Louisiana: Renewal of Loan if material of New Orleans Province Archives for Ten Years*, Archives of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
proposed method of constructing these reports and their interpretation is through individual and collective case analysis.

**Case Research, Purposes, Illustrative Nature, and Collective Case Study**

In the words of Robert Stake, “As a form of research, case study is defined by interest in individual cases, not by the methods of inquiry used. . . . With its own unique history, the case is a complex entity operating within a number of contexts—physical, economic, ethical, aesthetic, and so on.” As a methodology, the case study contributes to an understanding of individuals, organizations, social groups, political phenomena, etc. Case study research has the ability to be both exploratory and explanatory of the subject matter. As well as examining individual modern situations, case studies can be used, via archival materials, to explain historic phenomena. With its ability to examine events, the case study relies on many techniques similar to historic research. In Robert K. Yin’s book, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, Yin states:

> Frequently, when one speaks of cases, persons interpret that to be an in-depth study of a single person or group. Often these take the form of a narrative life story, career, or the handling of a personal crisis. But a moment’s reflection tells us that a case can also be a study of a business organization, an African village, or a public celebration. Whether the research is analyzing a single organization or several, the process of analysis remains the same if using this methodology.

If anything, the intrinsic aspect of case study is choosing the case or cases themselves. Individual cases are chosen to serve as the best possible example to illustrate themes or address research questions. Even when engaging in collective case study multiple cases are chosen due to their uniqueness and opportunity for intensive study. Case researchers

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develop cases based on their own observations and utilize data to develop reports. It is up to the researcher to provide grounds for generalization and validation of observations.  

The same is true in this study. Through the gathering of archival material, historical evidence is woven together to present a series of individual institutional cases. Research based on case construction and analysis is aligned with a conceptual framework. These concepts guide the construction of cases on thematic lines. Educational researches examine the individual nature of each case in order to determine which concepts increase the understanding of broader themes. The case researcher ultimately decides what story will manifest through the cases. This story illustrates the selected themes that guide the research.

In case study research, a detailed account of one or more cases is provided in order to address exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory enquiries. Case research can rely on qualitative data, quantitative data, or both and focus on individual situations as they exist or existed in a particular context. Case researchers define a case as a bounded system. Meaning that a case details what happened within a particular system. All systems are made up of components or parts. The assemblage of those parts to understand the greater whole is the main purpose of case research. Educational researchers view each case as having internal and external content. Internal content may refer to the administration, curriculum, or student body of a college where as external content may examine how a university interacts with its surrounding society, functions within a

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72 Ibid., 440-441.
geographic location, or is situated within a larger system of other institutions, i.e. a university system.\(^{74}\)

Stake describes three forms of case study. The first is intrinsic case study, where a researcher examines one case to better understand it. The second form is instrumental case study. This form of case study examines insights into issues or attempts to redraw generalizations. The case itself is viewed as secondary but still facilitates the understanding of an issue. Finally, collective case study allows for the study of multiple cases to investigate a phenomenon, general condition, or population. Collective case study is utilized when the study of multiple cases may lead to theorization or better understandings that could be applied to an even larger body of knowledge.\(^{75}\)

Collective case study is a process that utilizes primary sources to construct individual cases, similar to the process of developing historical research, and can be limited to a small number of cases due to the possibility of limited primary material.\(^{76}\) In order to understand a phenomenon across cases multiple cases can be utilized to create a better understanding; however, individual attention must be given to each case study. Each case brings its own individual information that can be compared to other cases to better address the issue being studied.\(^{77}\) The strategic usage of collective case study allows for generalization where the single case study only examines the individual setting making it hard to apply the findings to the larger field.\(^{78}\) It is imperative when constructing collective case studies that the unit of analysis always remains the primary

\(^{74}\) Ibid., 406-407.
\(^{75}\) Stake, “Case Studies.” In *Handbook of Qualitative Research* 2nd ed., 437.
\(^{77}\) Stake, “Case Studies.” In *Handbook of Qualitative Research* 2nd ed., 436.
\(^{78}\) Shkedi, *Multiple Case Narrative: A Qualitative Approach to Studying Multiple Populations*, 25.
focus of case development. The unit of analysis is the subject of each case and its relation
to the broader body of knowledge. As for this study it is the individual Jesuit colleges
of the New Orleans Mission and later Province that make up the collective/intrinsic case
bases for this study.

Understanding, Analyzing, and Interpreting Cases

In approaching the methodology of case study the educational researcher must
understand that case research is both inductive and interpretive, utilizes primary data and
validation through triangulation, examines individual cases before comparison, and can
include multiple case studies but, according to Asher Shkedi, it is not advised to include
more than ten cases as the study can become unwieldy. When using multiple cases each
case must be examined in total, and then different cases can be compared in a cross-case
analysis. Patterns (as well as differences) that cut across cases are studied and presented
to portray multiple viewpoints and themes existing in the cases. There are benefits to
studying multiple cases. A comparative study can be conducted in which multiple cases
are analyzed for similarities and differences. Also, observing multiple cases can more
accurately test or generate a theory or model. Finally, through multiple case analysis
there is a greater likelihood that results can be generalized. When utilizing a series of
intrinsic case studies to track phenomenon, comparison can be made through the
collective approach. Comparisons allow the reader to mentally digest each case with its
own complexities and issues and then cross-reference it with other cases to view

79 Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 31-32.
80 Shkedi, Multiple Case Narrative: A Qualitative Approach to Studying Multiple Populations, 26 and194.
81 Johnson and Christensen, Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Approaches, 409.
82 Ibid., 408.
similarities.\textsuperscript{83} The benefit of using collective case research is that each case is analyzed individually for its own uniqueness then compared to others.\textsuperscript{84}

The nature of collective case study is constructive in nature. In order to ensure this constructivist nature, the researcher needs to ensure reliability through the use of interwoven primary sources and retrievable databases that contain information gathered from primary sources, the preservation of analysis conducted on primary documents, and the maintenance of evidence as it is presented in the individual case studies. This chain of ensuring reliability through the construction and maintenance of primary evidence allows data to be validated through documentation and triangulation. It is important that the study is able to switch between conceptual frameworks and the individual perspectives governing each case.\textsuperscript{85} In this study concerning Jesuit higher education the perspectives would be that generated by the primary sources, which in the majority of instances pertaining to this study, have been created by members of the Society of Jesus.

It is now apparent that methods including historiography, archival data collection, and collective/intrinsic case research have a multitude of similarities including validation processes. By combining these methods of enquiry the educational historian can collect relevant data, weave it together and present it in a series of historical vignettes related to the overarching research questions, and compare each historiographically-constructed case to develop an interpretation of events. This interpretation not only has the ability to answer the posed research questions but can also do so while ensuring reliability and validity. This method of historically constructing case studies can reveal other issues that

\textsuperscript{83} Stake, “Case Studies.” In \textit{Handbook of Qualitative Research} 2nd ed., 444.
\textsuperscript{84} Shkedi, \textit{Multiple Case Narrative: A Qualitative Approach to Studying Multiple Populations}, 21.
\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 187-188.
may be attributed to institutional survival as it relates to Jesuit colleges in the New Orleans Province.

**Combining the Methods: Understanding the Historiographically-constructed Case Study**

According to Yin, data that aids in the construction of cases are to be collected from existing people and institutions allowing the researcher to integrate events. However, with historiographically-constructed case studies that focus on earlier time periods, data must be harvested from written, printed, and material items as events being examined may have happened so long ago that those people relating to the events have passed away. The collection of their written materials, letters, diaries, and other forms of archival data generate the case and supporting sources such as newspapers, books of the period being examined, and relating documents help construct the social milieu the subject matter existed in.86

When creating historiographically-constructed cases data garnered from primary source material must be synthesized. Synthesis refers to the selection, organization, and analysis of collected materials.87 Collecting and documenting data to construct case studies takes time, and even more so for analysis and write-ups.88 Tabular materials may contribute to the depth of descriptive date displayed in a case study. In addition to the cases presented in this study is a graph that details Jesuit populations in the New Orleans Province. This information has been collected through Provincial catalogues that recorded yearly populations for the Province as well as information pertaining to each

86 Yin, *Case Study Research: Design and Methods*, 73.
college in the Province. The data is collected via a database and is then converted into a detailed graph.89

This study attempts to mimic methodological combinations of historiography and case study analysis as used in published studies such as Gentlemen and Scholars: College and Community in the “Age of the University” by Bruce W. Leslie. Leslie’s study combines historiographical research methodologies, case construction, tabular material, multiple case analysis, and a wealth of archival materials in order to produce an analysis of social and cultural roles in American institutions of higher education after the Civil War.90 Similarly, this study attempts to produce a series of cases via historiographical means to examine the affects of institutional identity, mission, and societal relationships on a series of Jesuit institutions in the American South. Such studies as this and the published work of Bruce Leslie allow for the construction of a narrative via factual evidence to illustrate developmental trends in colleges and universities.

Establishing Validity in Historiographically-constructed Cases

In constructing cases using historic documentation there are six sources of evidence utilized to triangulate validity. These are documentation, archival records, interviews, direct observations, participant observations, and physical artifacts. As stated previously, when developing a historiographically-constructed case, the time frame being examined may not allow for any direct contact with living individuals. Although some forms of case construction may use audio-recorded interviews the archives used to collect data for this study did not posses any. Therefore, the data collection in this research relies

89 Yin, Case Study Research: Design and Methods, 100.
completely on documentation, archival records, interviews (recorded via typed text), and physical artifacts. Despite the obvious limitations presented by only utilizing four of the six suggested forms of data collection, the ability to collect multiple primary sources via the four aforementioned collection techniques aids in the establishment of validity and reliability in each case presented.\(^91\)

Even with the collection of primary materials, tabular references, and other archival materials. Case study methodology and historiography have another common thread, the need for reliability and validity. Like historiography, case study utilized internal and external validity to ensure its reliability. Yin states:

> The goal of reliability is to minimize the errors and biases in a study. . . . The general way of approaching the reliability problem is to make as many steps as possible as operational as possible, and to conduct research as if someone were always looking over our shoulder. In accounting and bookkeeping, one is always aware that any calculations must be capable of being audited. In this sense, an auditor is also performing a reliability check and must be able to produce the same results if the same procedures are followed. A good guideline for doing case studies is therefore to conduct research so that an auditor could repeat the procedures and arrive at the same results.\(^92\)

A practical method used to increase reliability in historiographically-constructed case research is the detailed citation of primary data. This descriptive format for the physical location of primary documents and materials in archives allows any researcher the opportunity to track down documents used in this study to their exact location.

As with the other presented methods, historiographically-constructed case study must take validity, both internal and external, into account. When regarding internal and external validity the educational historian must be careful to make sure that all conclusions based on evidence presented within the historiographically-constructed case

\(^{91}\)Ibid., 73, 85-95.  
\(^{92}\)Ibid., 45.
study make a correlation between cases and that the information reported can be
generalized via a theory or concept to a greater body of knowledge.\textsuperscript{93} The concern over
internal validity, for case study research, may be extended to the broader problem of
making inferences. Basically, a case study involves an inference every time an event
cannot be directly observed.\textsuperscript{94} This presents a problem with case studies that are
constructed through historical data, as the event is not so much witnessed as it is pieced
together from a series of primary materials. The documents must be analyzed and pieced
together chronologically to construct a case that is valid. In this instance, in order to
increase validity, case researchers employing historic documentation must make use of
redundancy of data. Redundancy of data allows a form of checks and balances regarding
supportive evidence and provides a form of triangulation that uses multiple perceptions to
clarify meaning and perceptions of themes and trends.\textsuperscript{95}

These trends are presented via interpretation. All history research requires
interpretation. Interpretation illuminates the meanings and intentions of primary and
secondary source authors.\textsuperscript{96} The ultimate validation in historiographically-constructed
case study lies in the interpretation of each case and cross case interpretation. The
interpretation relies on an accurate account of the situation reported by the researcher. It
is imperative that the actual account of events be depicted to allow for proper
interpretation. Validity relying on interpretation refers to the depiction of inner and
external worlds relating to the situation being studied. These worlds can be accurately
described by using low-inference descriptors, which are phrases written by the researcher

\textsuperscript{93} Ibid., 42-43.
\textsuperscript{94} Ibid., 43.
\textsuperscript{95} Stake, “Case Studies.” In \textit{Handbook of Qualitative Research} 2nd ed., 443-444.
\textsuperscript{96} Barzum and Graff, \textit{The Modern Researcher, 5th ed.}, 148.
but account for the primary source author, written phrases, and purpose of detailing the historic event.\textsuperscript{97} It is the interpretation of case study through data validity, internal and external, that allows for generalizability of the topic to other existing concepts or theories.

When combining the methods of historiography with the collective format of case study generalizability remains a concern. If generalizations are made via case study it must be understood that the generalization is based off some theory or conceptual framework and cannot stand-alone.\textsuperscript{98} According to Robert Yin, case studies are generalizable to theoretical and conceptual perspectives; however, the most important purpose of the case study is to explain causal links in reality and to describe the context in which the situation being observed occurred.\textsuperscript{99} In most existing case studies, explanation building has occurred and is reliable when referring back to a theoretical or conceptual framework.\textsuperscript{100} However, the concept of case-to-case generalization calls for an adoption of the meaning of generalizability to focus on the degree to which the situation studied matches other situations in an individual’s particular field.\textsuperscript{101} According to Shkedi, case-to-case generalization is possible as long as the case descriptions are detailed and include an understanding of the situation’s contextual background in order to present more grounded cases. Along with case-to-case generalization, analytic generalization can be employed in order to expound theoretical or conceptual understandings regarding larger issues.\textsuperscript{102}

\textsuperscript{97} Johnson and Christensen, \textit{Educational Research: Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Approaches}, 277.
\textsuperscript{98} Yin, \textit{Case Study Research: Design and Methods}, 38.
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid., 21 and 25.
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 113.
\textsuperscript{101} Shkedi, \textit{Multiple Case Narrative: A Qualitative Approach to Studying Multiple Populations}, 190.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., 191-194.
Defining Place, Time Frame, and Data Sources

Educational historians wishing to explore Jesuit education and higher education are fortunate. The Society of Jesus maintains extensive records on the past activities of each Province. This was the vision of the first secretary of the Society of Jesus, Juan Alfonso do Polonco. This 30 year old man from 16th century Burgos envisioned a system of recorded documents saved for future generations of Jesuits to review and learn from. His plan included the development of a great archive in Rome. Latter, separate Provinces would develop their own archives but the point was clear, save everything of value to insure the unity, identity, and mission of the Society of Jesus. This recording of documents for the spiritual unification, history, identity cohesion, and motivation of missions became a large part of another Jesuit motto, Nurstro Modo de Proceder (our way of proceeding). This way of proceeding has allowed for the creation of the Archives of the New Orleans Province and thus the maintenance and storage of a plethora of primary and secondary sources that provide rich data for this research.

In addition to including the archival data used in this study it is also important to identify the subjects of each historiographically-constructed case as well as their time frames (See table 4.1). Although the Society of Jesus had other educational institutions across the South, these institutions were chosen because they had a clearly defined higher education division of study along with a lower studies department. The enrollment of college level students has been proven via an examination of the New Orleans Provincial Catalogues.

103 Nicolas R. Verastegui S. J. Scriptis Tradere Et Fideliter Conservare: Archives as “Place and Memory” Within the Society of Jesus (Rome: General Curia, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2003), 25, 30, 32-33.
There are several justifications for the use of Jesuit institutions in this study. First, colleges and universities managed by the Society of Jesus are based on an established and presented identity and mission that dates back to the first Catholic European colleges established by Jesuits. All institutions in this study follow the educational methods laid down by St. Ignatius and the first group of Jesuits. Second, the Society of Jesus, along with their educational institutions, faced a Southern mind-set that was supportive of the Catholic Church in particular areas and heavily anti-Catholic in others.\(^{104}\) As well, the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus was operating educational institutions through the higher education transition of colleges and universities in the South from institutions that focused on European liberal arts structure and teaching methodology to post-Reconstruction models based on mechanical and agricultural sciences.

**Table 4.1 Jesuit Institutions and Time Periods.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Institution</th>
<th>Founding</th>
<th>Closure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>St. Charles College: Grand Coteau, Louisiana</td>
<td>1837</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spring Hill College, Mobile, Alabama</td>
<td>1847</td>
<td>Currently Open</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The College of the Immaculate Conception: New Orleans, Louisiana</td>
<td>1849</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Mary’s University: Galveston, Texas</td>
<td>1884</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College of the Sacred Heart: Augusta, Georgia</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1917</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyola College: New Orleans, Louisiana</td>
<td>1904</td>
<td>1912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loyola University: New Orleans, Louisiana</td>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Currently Open</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As previously discussed in this chapter, the establishment of a time line aids in focusing historical research; however, the time frame for this study is not singular but plural. Each case study has its own established time line based on the institution in question from foundation to closure, if applicable. Five of the seven institutions chosen for this study will be studied within the time frame of their existence. For example, the time line of study for St. Charles College ranges from 1837 to 1922 whereas the College of the Sacred Heart has a time line starting in 1900 and ending in 1917. Only two Southern Jesuit institutions of higher education are currently in operation. These are Loyola University New Orleans and Spring Hill College. The time frame for both of these institutions will begin with their founding date and end when they were included in the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools (SACS).

Along with the established list of institutions and time frames, archival data types used in this study, including letters, journals, log-books, newspaper articles, private periodicals, provincial catalogues, college catalogues, photographs, unpublished manuscripts, state charters, recommendations of Jesuit Visitors, as well as other forms of primary and secondary data used to formulate each historiographic case. The following is a brief description of the major sources of primary data used in this study and what they contribute to the research.

Letters

During Polanco’s secretarial administration he strongly encouraged written communication and records. He believed that constant communication between Jesuits and reports to the superior general were of the utmost of importance to keep the Society
of Jesus unified in identity and mission. The greatest example of this urged communication was the sending of letters and their proper archival storage so that future Jesuits could learn from them.\textsuperscript{105} Many such letters are used in this study and cover an array of descriptive discourses. Many of these letters were written in order to update and inform superiors about the nature or situation of a particular Jesuit institution. These letters also contain information regarding how the public reacted to the Jesuit colleges. Several letters contain information regarding plans for the further development of Jesuit colleges in the South. As a form of primary data the letters provide an interesting introspection not only into the workings of Jesuit colleges but illustrate how Jesuits felt about the apostolic work of education and how the establishment of a Jesuit college manifested and developed. Another important use of letters for this study would be the letters from the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools to Loyola University and Spring Hill College as each institution attempted to gain admission to the association. These letters are of particular interest as they represent the perception of neighboring institutions of higher education and mark the end of the established research time period for Loyola University and Spring Hill College.

\textbf{Journals}

One particular form of archival data that has proven important to this study are the journal’s of Albert Biever. “Given a nickel for carfare, and told to go uptown [New Orleans] and to start a University [Loyola University]” Father Biever’s four journals detail his life, American missionary work, and efforts as an administrator and educator.\textsuperscript{106}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{105} Verastegui, \textit{Scriptis Tradere Et Fideliter Conservare: Archives as “Place and Memory” Within the Society of Jesus}, 30.
\end{flushleft}

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Out of the seven institutions included in this study Biever was employed at six. Not only did he teach at these institutions he was responsible for founding two of them. His journals give a candid and detailed account as to what it was like to be an instructor at these colleges, the support and opposition to the presence of Jesuit institutions, and how the Society of Jesus organized these colleges to address the mission of the overarching administration of the Society of Jesus. Along with Father Biever’s journals is the Patrick A. Ryan journal that explains, along with other issues, the foundations of Loyola University and the relationship between Loyola University New Orleans and neighboring Tulane University. These journals have played an integral part in the formation of this study and the data garnered from their pages are seminal to the creation of the historographically-constructed cases.

**Log-Books**

Log-books, or house diaries, provide this study with data relevant to understanding where students came from, how much they paid for enrollment and materials, and the everyday administration of the colleges. Also, log-books provide a series of numerically descriptive data that aids in the examination of how student populations affected the ability to financially support the Jesuit institution in question. These detailed accounts of day-to-day actions, lists materials purchases, crops or livestock sold by the college, sickness, such as yellow fever, and even land purchases.

**Newspapers**

Newspaper articles function as an excellent source of published primary and secondary source data. In particular are those newspaper articles that describe the nature of relations between Jesuit colleges in the South and the cities in which they were
situated. For this study several newspapers were drawn from but two in particular where heavily scrutinized. These two newspapers are the *Times Picayune* and *The Morning Star*. The *Times Picayune* was first published in 1837 and has continued as the predominate newspaper for the Greater New Orleans area.\textsuperscript{107} From this newspaper information can be drawn concerning many of the Jesuit colleges, their advertisements, and the reactions of local society. The second newspaper is *The Morning Star*. Published from 1868 to 1930 *The Morning Star* was the longest running Catholic newspaper in the city of New Orleans and was the only Catholic newspaper printed in English throughout the American South.\textsuperscript{108} *The Morning Star* stemmed from the archdiocesan perception that the city of New Orleans needed an easily accessible Catholic publication that would report on religious topics in the South after the Civil War.\textsuperscript{109} By examining *The Morning Star*, as well as other prominent newspapers, the social climate of the South in regards to Catholic education can be ascertained.

**Private Periodicals**

*The Woodstock Letters*, a private publication of the American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus, published at Woodstock College in Woodstock, Maryland, from 1872 to 1969, was the idea of Father Joseph E. Keller, S.J. Keller envisioned a private publication by Jesuits and for Jesuits. Only members of the Society of Jesus viewed this private publication. These quarterly publications were filled with firsthand accounts and

\footnotesize


memories of Jesuits and sent out to rectories in the hope of bettering fellow Jesuits. The purpose of this compendium of experiences was to unify the American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus through communal understandings of experiences undertaken by Jesuits. These publications of accounts covered the history of the Society in America; it’s attempts at mission work and education, and included biographies, obituaries, novice descriptions, and curriculum and enrollment data pertaining to Jesuit colleges. The most important aspect of this publication was its privacy.110 Published for “Ours Only” these publications, when opened, included a small slip of paper explaining the private nature of the Woodstock Letters. The slip indicates:

Ours are reminded that The Woodstock Letters are for private circulation only, and hence should on no account be shown to externs, nor left where strangers visiting our houses may see them. This is the order of Rev. Father Provincial. Permission to publish extracts from The Letters can be given by Father Provincial alone, and when such permission is given the Editor should be notified, who will then supply sheets containing the matter required, so that the entire number may not be put into the hands of externs.111

Despite their descriptive status as a private publication, in recent years The Woodstock Letters have been made public via microfilm and bound collections of original manuscripts are located in several Jesuit archives throughout America. The information within these Letters has proved invaluable to this study as it helps triangulate data sources by confirming events that happened in the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus.

**Provincial Catalogues**

When collecting population data there was no source more helpful than the catalogues of the New Orleans Mission and Province of the Society of Jesus. The catalogues report information pertaining to all activates of the Society in the South via a year-to-year published manuscript that went out to all Jesuit rectories. At the end of every calendar catalogue is an updated list of all Jesuit colleges in the Province. These catalogues detail information pertaining to how many students where enrolled, what kind of programs were offered, how many students where considered “college age” and how many were in preparatory studies for college courses. Also, Jesuit populations acquired from these catalogues helped explain the amount of Jesuits priests and brothers available to support all apostolates of the New Orleans Mission and Province.

**College Catalogues**

In reviewing information printed about the individual institutions, college catalogues proved helpful in determining the instructional nature of each institution. These catalogues not only included curricular information but also detail what kinds of services were rendered for students, tuition and fee amounts, what kinds of programs were offered to the public, the Jesuit nature of the institutions, awards, graduate names, and traditional Jesuit symbols. Of the seven colleges includes, catalogues from all seven were retrieved and have supplied ample data for this study.

**Photographs**

One of the most fascinating pieces of archival data to analyze has been Jesuit college and university photographs. Currently there exist numerous photographs of each institution in the provincial archives. These pictures not only depict the physical structure
of each institution, but also show students that enrolled in the colleges and universities, as well as the Jesuit priests and brothers that taught and worked at each institution. The photographs selected for inclusion in each historiographically-constructed case study aid in the description of institutional identity and mission. Photographs are analyzed via a dissection process examining each photograph for descriptive data as previously stated in this chapter.

**Unpublished Manuscripts**

As with letters, Jesuits were instructed to write accounts of activities in their provinces. Polanco believed that the history of the Society of Jesus was inseparable from the Order itself. In many cases this urge to write meant the generation of books. However, there have been several instances where a Jesuit passed away before the book was complete. In these cases the unfinished manuscript is collected along with the priest’s other papers, sent to the Archives of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus, and filled away in boxes labeled with the priest’s name. In particular is an unfinished manuscript by Michael Kenny, S.J. Kenny published one book concerning the history of Spring Hill College but before completing his second book *Jesuits in our Southland 1566-1946: Origin and Growth of the New Orleans Province*, he passed away. This manuscript, referred to as the “Kenny Papers” by the archives, provides material that describes the circumstances surrounding many institutions listed in this study. It, along with other unpublished manuscripts serve as rich data points in the formulation of each case study.

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112 Verastegui, *Scriptis Tradere Et Fideliter Conservare: Archives as “Place and Memory” Within the Society of Jesus*, 33.
State Charters

State charters contain a wealth of descriptive material. Not only does a college charter dictate the kinds of degrees an institution can confer but also list standards the State placed on an institution such as student admission criteria, governing board members, curriculum requirements, state appropriated funds, institutional title, location, and so on. Even more telling than the charter itself is the lack of a charter. The first Jesuit college in the New Orleans Mission was established under the Constitution of the Catholic Society of Religious and Catholic Literary Education, an organizational charter not a college charter. The New Orleans Province still uses this notorial document to validate their educational purposes; however, the confirmation of degrees via this act caused problems for Loyola College as well as Loyola University. The information collected from State charters and the notorial act listed previously depicts legislative changes regarding higher education and provides an understanding as to the role of the State in these Catholic institutions.

Recommendations of Jesuit Visitors

Of particular interest in understanding the effects of identity, mission, and town and gown relationships on institutional survival are the recommendations of Jesuit Visitors. A Jesuit Visitor is an emissary from Father General in Rome. His duties are to travel though out the Mission or Province and determine what needs improvement. A Visitor’s recommendations can include educational issues, parish concerns, and even recommendations on the individual lives of priests and brothers. Visitor documents used in this study are the reports of Father Norbert de Boynes S.J. His recommendations affected the entire province especially when it concerned higher education. As it will be
shown in the historiographically-constructed case studies, it was the recommendation of the Jesuit Visitor in 1921 that forced the closure of several Jesuit colleges in the South and established the current physical system of higher education in the New Orleans Province. The compliance to the recommendations of this emissary of Father General illustrates the hierarchy of the Society of Jesus and how the colleges of the Society can be changed via recommendations that attempt to solidify the identity and mission of the Society of Jesus.

**Of Archives and Data Sources: Meditations on Historiography in Education, Institutional Survival, and the Jesuits of the New Orleans Province**

In combining these primary sources along with published primary sources, and secondary sources, the historiographically-constructed case of each selected Jesuit institution can be formulated. This case formulation allows the educational historian an opportunity to review all available archival materials to construct a story as it relates to the events that took place, the development of the institution in question, and the analysis of each singular case to determine if collective themes can be detected. These themes, analyzed for their affects on institutional survival are based on a framework encompassing concepts of institutional identity, institutional mission, and societal relations (town and gown relationships) and ultimately reveal if an additive theory can be joined with existing concepts of institutional survival based on resource dependence and institutional leadership. Overall, case analysis drawn from historiographical research methodologies allows this study to verify the existence of additional components to institutional survival models that may have a catalytic affect on resource attainment and management.
As much as this research draws on existing literature on institutional identity, mission, and societal relationships; and focuses on institutional survival, it also examines the possibility that educational history plays a large part in the further study and understanding of the field of education and higher education. As with Bernard Bailyn and his critique of American educational historiography, this study attempts not only to explain additional factors that affect institutional survival, it also demonstrates the pertinence of historical research to the understanding of factors that have affected Catholic/Jesuit higher education. As well, this research is situated within particular points of interest, those being Jesuit education and the American South. These two aspects present a series of interesting venues for study and several difficulties to performing proper historiographic research.

In the case of Jesuit higher education several difficulties arise. First, is the problem with establishing which institutions functioned as an actual institution of higher education. Jesuit colleges followed a six-year model that included younger students as well as “college-age” students.\textsuperscript{113} The provincial catalogues, college log-books, and house diaries help establish a form of triangulation to ensure that the institutions chosen were indeed functioning as institutions of higher education. Also, it is essential to understand the history and nature of the Society of Jesus, its founding, and European development, along with the American Assistancy and educational endeavors in the New Orleans Mission/Province. Although this is a rich history, at times it is difficult to peel back the layers of tradition, terminology, and religious fervor to discover the true nature of each institution. An example of this would be the descriptive term given to lay students

\textsuperscript{113} Thomas H. Clancey, \textit{The Last 150 Years}. http:/norprove.org/identity/last150yrs.htm, (accessed November 24, 2009).
to separate them from religious students. Many students attending these colleges where training to be priests themselves and were referred to as novices or scholastics. Those lay-students who were enrolled for classes without clerical ambitions were referred to as externs. The separation of these types of students is important to the interpretation of the function of the college or university. Without externs a Jesuit college ceased to function as a formal American college or university.

In understanding the nature of these Jesuit colleges and universities the societal milieu of the South must also be taken into account. Despite Southern anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit sentiment, presented by Cash and other authors, negative sentiment alone cannot always be said to be the case throughout the New Orleans Province. This sentiment often waxed and waned depending on a myriad of factors from political control to clergy and lay-Catholic populations. In the following chapters the historiographically-constructed case studies of each institution will be presented. In these cases aspects of Jesuit institutional identity and mission will become apparent. Also the relationship between the institution and the surrounding society will be shown including any pro or anti-catholic sentiment that was recorded and archived. These aspects, and their affect on college/university survival will be collectively compared and interpreted. Above all, as it will show in the cases, the presence and actions of the Society of Jesus, not only in the New Orleans Province but also from abroad, will be apparent in each case. As Polonca believed, so shall it be presented, that the history of the Society and its actions were inseparable, and through historiographic analysis, archival material, and the construction of collective/intrinsic cases there exists the ability to demonstrate the nature of events that

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114 Ibid.
led to the success or failure of each institution presented based on their identity, mission, and the relationship between the institution and its surrounding environment.
CHAPTER FIVE: FAILURE TO SURVIVE

. . . closing has been a constant feature of the life of the [New Orleans] mission and province . . . – Father Thomas Clancey

The following historiographically-constructed cases have been pieced together through a variety of primary data and source materials. Each case includes a detailed description of particular Jesuit institutions pertaining to the existence and ultimate failure of St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana; St. Mary’s University, Galveston, Texas; and the College of the Sacred Heart, Augusta, Georgia. Through the presentation of each case and their subsequent analysis via the concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships; catalytic principles that affect the survival of each Catholic institution will be brought to light.

**St. Charles College: Grand Coteau, Louisiana**

“Destined to rise into fame:” This is how the American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus described St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, at the end of Reconstruction. While illustrating the then short history of the institution in the 1876 edition of the *WoodStock Letters*, Jesuits compared St. Charles College to other successful Jesuit institutions, including Woodstock College in Maryland. Despite this herald of success and potential future glory, the college faced many hardships and was privy to external upheaval, fire, and war. With the establishment of the college by the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, St. Charles College (the first Jesuit college in the American South) was subject not only to the trials and tribulation of the Jesuits but also struggled to adapt to the changing ideological and academic climate of rural Louisiana.

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Even though the college faced numerous hardships, the presentation of the history of St. Charles College alludes to many facts and trends that may lend themselves to the understanding of how concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships affected its ability to survive.

By the invitation of Archbishop Anthony Blanc, French Jesuits returned to New Orleans in 1837, after 51 years of suppression to found a college and aid in the propagation of the Catholic faith. Upon their arrival, the Jesuits attempted to acquire a site for a college. Blanc suggested the city of Iberville due to his familiarity with the territory, but the Jesuit Fathers rejected his proposal. Various other localities, such as Houma and Mandeville, Louisiana were visited but could not, on account of lack of funds, be considered. Donaldsonville was also considered, but due to blatant anti-Jesuit outcry from the community, the Jesuits decided against it.³

While sites for the new Jesuit college were under consideration, Grand Coteau, Louisiana, was nominated due to its high Catholic population and the successful work of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart in their academy for young women. The Jesuits concluded that the sugar and cotton planters would possibly support a similar college for boys close to the Sacred Heart Academy and provide the new Jesuit institution with their sons and financial support. The discovery of Grand Coteau proved most fortunate, as the previous sites of Iberville, which was prone to yearly floods, and Donaldsonville, where the


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populous had publicly announced their opposition to the Jesuit Fathers, had been turned down.  

After visiting Grand Coteau; however, the Jesuits expressed doubts about the location due to the difficulty in reaching the small city. The town was, and still is, surrounded by swamps and marshlands. Taking note of the Father’s hesitance, the Sisters of the Sacred Heart encouraged the construction of the Jesuit college and sponsored the Fathers $1,000. This heartening support, along with $10,000 and 800 acres provided through the efforts of the Archbishop, as well as an additional $2,000 left by an influential Grand Coteau resident, Charles Smith (who left money for the establishment of a college in his will) prompted the Fathers to settle on the small town. It was not long before the Jesuits and the Sisters of the Sacred Heart struck up a strong, supportive relationship. To aid the Sisters, the Jesuit Fathers in Grand Coteau said mass and gave retreats for the Sisters and their students.

With the support of the Sisters of the Sacred Heart and positive encouragement from local Catholics the Jesuits moved to the acreage designated for their new institute. With Archbishop Blanc’s blessing, a ceremony was held at the church next to the college site, and the college cornerstone was laid. Michael Kenny, in his unpublished manuscript, illustrates the founding ceremonies of the college:

On the Feast of St. Ignatius, 1837, Most Rev. Bishop Blanc addressed the people in the parish Church in the spiritual educational blessings which the accession of the Jesuits promised to themselves and their children. Following a long procession and a chanting choir to the chosen site, his Excellency, with solemn ceremony

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5 Ibid., 35.
6 Jean Baptiste Maisounabe, diary, 1847, Maisounabe Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
laid the cornerstone of St. Charles Borromeo College. He then signed with Father Point the new contract by which the Bishop of New Orleans ceded to the Jesuits St. Charles College and Church besides the full parish properties and revenue . . . with right to rent, cultivate, and build at pleasure in the college and boarding school thereon and assume charge of the Church and parish of St. Charles.\textsuperscript{7}

With all contracts signed and corner stone in place construction was underway.

According to Father Albert Biever, “a four story brick building ante bellum [\textit{Sic}] was immediately erected. Heavy Doric columns supported wide gabled verandas. Over the upper veranda was placed in large gilt letters the inscription: ‘\textit{Deo et Patriae}’ [underlined in original].” As the students increased in numbers, it was found necessary to add another three-story building. The Jesuit novices occupied the older building, and the college students were housed in the newer edifice.\textsuperscript{8} Before long, an imposing structure soon dominated the landscape, rivaling the adjacent Catholic church in height.

Not only was the physical plant impressive, the large gifts of land afforded the production of agriculture and livestock. In land acquisition maps concerning the college property, it appears that the property slowly enlarged through the cobbling together of donated lands. Maps indicate that the property was controlled by the parish but was to be used exclusively by the Jesuit Fathers for their college. Other additional pieces of land were given “in payment of tuition by Humbert Perrodin for Charles and Theodore Perrodine,” donated to the parish through wills, or deeded by residents of Grand Coteau.\textsuperscript{9} Through these various land donations, the college developed a farming system to garner additional capital. On the south side was the large farm filled with corn, sugar cane, and cotton. This 4000-acre farm produced more than was necessary to sustain the college and

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{7} Kenny, 1946, \textit{Jesuits in our Southland 1566-1946: Origin and Growth of New Orleans Province}, 35.
\item \textsuperscript{8} Biever, \textit{Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915}, 59.
\item \textsuperscript{9} P. F. O’Donnell, “Digest of Land History of Catholic Property in Grand Coteau of Consequence to the Jesuit Fathers From 1837 to 1930” [ca. 1950], AR Files, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
\end{itemize}
its inhabitants.\textsuperscript{10} The institution was indeed fully self-sustaining. Along with produce, cows, hogs, and chicken were raised in abundance.\textsuperscript{11}

\textbf{Figure 5.1} St. Charles College: Grand Coteau La. \textit{Deo et Patriae}.

The majority of Grand Coteau’s population consisted of Catholics from old French families and immigrants, many of which were educated by the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. The town was described as having a peaceful attitude with a low crime rate,\textsuperscript{13} along with what seemed to be a cheerful dispositions and rich Creole histories.\textsuperscript{14} According to the description from J. Maritruages:

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\textsuperscript{10} Biever, \textit{Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915}, 59-62.
\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 64.
\textsuperscript{12} “St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, Louisiana,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
\textsuperscript{14} Ibid.
Grand Coteau received its name from the early settlers because of its position on the crest of a sloping hill about sixty feet above sea level. The northern limits of the college estate are watered by Bayou Teche flowing through a picturesque country immortalized by Longfellow. The inhabitants of these sections were known under the name of Creoles. The origin of their name, and history of their ancestors were of no small interest to us.\textsuperscript{15}

Such an environment, rich in land, and heritage; typified by the observance of the Catholic faith; and supported by the local community was deemed a proper locale to impart the Jesuit mission of education and allow for the re-growth of the Jesuit order in Louisiana. From 1836 to 1840, St. Charles College was under the control of French Jesuits serving the Mission of Lyons. In 1840, the college passed to the jurisdiction of the Vice Province of Missouri, but in 1847, Father Maisounabe returned the college to French control and in 1852, the state of Louisiana empowered the institution to confer degrees. In 1872, the college became the novitiate for the training of Southern Jesuits. This clerical department was maintained along with separate college instruction for lay students.\textsuperscript{16} Such an amalgamation strengthened the identity of the institution as a Jesuit college not only for the instruction of young men but for the formation of new Jesuits.

In an advertisement sent out to the community of Grand Coteau and surrounding areas, it was announced that St. Charles College was situated in a healthy and beautiful landscape far removed from the threat of yellow fever. The advertisement was crowned with a detailed illustration of the existing campus as well as depictions of planned additions to the facilities. Readers were informed that all students who enrolled would be treated to a curriculum divided by classical and commercial studies. Those students not of age or not prepared for the classical/commercial curriculum were to be placed in the preparatory department. Also, is was reported in the advertisement that English, Spanish,

\textsuperscript{15} Biever, \textit{Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915}, 36.
\textsuperscript{16} Ibid., 62-63.
French, German, and Italian would be taught in addition to Music and Drawing. The preparatory department accepted students from nine to 14 years of age, and the price of boarding was $200. In the advertisement, families were notified that during regular semesters all students participating in either the preparatory department or the classical/commercial courses were to remain at the college until the end of term without leave unless permission was granted due to extraneous circumstances.\(^{17}\)

With the establishment of the college and the Jesuit presence noted in Grand Coteau, it was not long before criticism was felt regarding the very identity of the religious order administering the college. An Opelousas newspaper published articles inciting anti-Jesuit sentiment and called for the expulsion of Jesuits from the town and region. Threatening letters were sent to the Fathers giving them 15 days to leave Grand Coteau and abandon their college. The lay-residents of Grand Coteau took aggressive action to meet these threats to the Jesuits they had come to support.\(^{18}\) In his rehashing of this history of St. Charles College, the Jesuit Father Michael Kenny gives the following account:

> When the threats of the enemies to their now beloved Jesuits became serious, they armed themselves with guns and let it become widely known that any injury to the fathers or their prospective students would be attempted at the risk of the limbs or lives of the assailants. They actually kept armed watch night and day before the opening [of the college]. . . \(^{19}\)

With the protection and support of the local community, the Jesuit Fathers began to expand their college, taking in more students and reaching out further in an effort to secure legitimate acceptance of the educational practices performed at the college.

\(^{17}\) Prospectus of St. Charles College, n.d., Grand Coteau Early Photos (A-1), Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.


\(^{19}\) Ibid.
On December 15, 1847, an act of legislation in the city of New Orleans confirmed that an association entitled *The Catholic Society for Religious and Literary Education* was formed by four Jesuits—John Baptist Maisonnabe, Francis Abbidie, Hypolite Gache, and Louis Roccefort—and signed into being by the Louisiana Governor Isaac Johnson in order to establish a college for the education of young men in Louisiana. The newly-formed constitution declared that its purpose was the “forming and operating of colleges, schools, and other literary and scientific institutions in this state [Louisiana], as well as to build and administer in the same churches of the Roman Catholic worship.” This constitution explicitly described the Catholic nature of Jesuit institutes and the scope of their administration.

In the following years, according to the New Orleans newspaper *The Daily Picayune*, “the college was incorporated by the State of Louisiana on July 13, 1852 and endowed with the full powers and privileges of a university.” The college’s charter greatly resembles the wording of the *Constitution of the Catholic Society of Religious and Catholic Literary Education* in that the college’s main purpose was the dissemination of knowledge that pertained to literature, scientific information, and religious morality. The charter was accepted by the city officials of Grand Coteau and was signed by the Louisiana Secretary of State, Charles Gayard.

With the incorporation of the college, the student population increased, drawing young men from a variety of locations. Most students originated from the Southern coastal States, Louisiana in particular; however, several students were brought by the

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22 Charter of Saint Charles College of Grand Coteau, 1852, AR Files, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
Jesuit Fathers from Mexico to study at Grand Coteau. The trip to St. Charles College during the 19th century was an arduous one. Students would converge upon the city of New Orleans where they would convene at the train station. Supervised by Jesuits from Grand Coteau, the students would board a train for Berwick Bay, a section of the Lower Atchafalaya River. There the students and Jesuits would take a steamboat to New Iberia, Louisiana, and then in horse drawn carts, the travelers would continue to Grand Coteau via Lafayette, Louisiana. The total travel time was tantamount to several days.

According to Albert Biever:

There were no railroads to Grand Coteau at that period, and the journey often prolonged over four and five days had to be made by water transportation from New Orleans to Port Barre or Washington in St. Landry Parish . . . At the sound of a bell, a deafening whistle was heard and the “Fleta” left its mooring and swung into mid River [of the Mississippi]. The Fleta left the Mississippi and swung into Red River. From the Red River, we launched into the Atchafalaya. Then we left the Fleta and went aboard a miniature little stern wheeler [sic] that brought us up Bayou Courtableau to Port Barre. . . . The vehicles were waiting for us . . . and our wagon pulled by two sturdy mules was in water up to the hubs of the wheels . . . the worse came when we crossed the frail bridges of the Bayous . . . At last we reached the foot of Grand Coteau’s hill . . .

Indeed, a criticism that followed St. Charles College through its existence was related to geographic access and the distance of the college from larger cities.

In his diary, Father Maisounabe confesses the difficulty of transport to the college, his considerations to purchase the defunct Jefferson College, and thoughts on the relocation of St. Charles College, students, and staff to Convent, Louisiana in order to relieve the arduous access issue. Jefferson College, located halfway between New Orleans and Baton Rouge and situated on the banks of the Mississippi river, offered a tempting solution to the isolation issues of St. Charles College. As Maisounabe continued

24 Biever, Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915, 28 & 32.
to explore the Jefferson College idea, his opinions on the matter seem burdened with the thought of the purchase and the disposal of St. Charles College. Maisounabe did not believe that the two colleges could coexist with the small number of Jesuits present to administer each site. In time Maisounabe did indeed decide to purchase Jefferson College and foster an institutional move for the amount of 80,000 Italian piastres; however, due to encumbering financial difficulties, the Jefferson College issue was dropped and all hopes were placed upon the continuation of St. Charles College. An exasperated Father Maisounabe notes in his letters:

College at Gr. Coteau; difficulty of access to it, amazement at the choice of this location. Historical details concerning the project of settling at Iberville, Donaldsonville, the choice of Gr. Coteau; presumed reason for the selection of this spot. Then what strange terms were agreed on! I believe it is the intention of divine Providence to humiliate us in this way and thus preserve us from the danger of riches; just as St. Ignatius obtained for us the grace of persecutions, some other saint of the Society must have obtained for us the grace of being dupes in financial matters and business affairs.

In a letter from Father Jordan to Father Abbadie, we can see that Jordan had similar hopes for the purchase of Jefferson College. St. Charles College was clearly demanding the majority of Jordan’s time and effort, even to the point of neglecting Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama. The exhaustive efforts of stabilizing the college at Grand Coteau were taking their toll on Jordan, and he states his preference for Jefferson College over St. Charles: “Spring Hill out to open—had not counted on it and had concentrated on G.C. . . . Gladly would exchange G.C. for Jefferson . . .” Not only was locale becoming a cause for concern, but also the college curriculum had not adapted sufficiently to meet the needs of the populous. The majority of Jesuits teaching at St.

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25 Maisounabe, diary, 1847.
26 Ibid.
27 J. Jordan to Abbadie, October 8, 1847, AR Files: 1049E, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
Charles College were French, and although the area was populated by a large percentage of French speaking persons, the thought was still on adapting the Jesuit instructional style at St. Charles College and at its sister institute, Spring Hill College, to more closely resemble the instructional and linguistic wants of Southern Americans. But despite the efforts of the French Jesuits, their speed in adapting to English-speaking students was not fast enough, and the college enrollment, which had now reached 120, dropped to approximately 60 students.28

With the physical location of the college causing concern and the predominance of French-speaking instructors weakening the communal relationship between the college and town, any other blow to the institution might have destroyed it. In fact, such a blow was not far on the horizon. While the Jesuit Fathers operated their college, fire ripped through the main building, igniting books, destroying equipment, and leaving students and priests to watch their college collapse in flames. After the fire destroyed most of St. Charles College, a report was printed in the Varia section of the *Woodstock Letters* indicating the destruction of the college physical plant; however, it was explained that the Fathers were in the process of conducting a day school for the students. It was reported that approximately 50 students were enrolled;29 however, with a resurgence of ant-Jesuit sentiment in surrounding cities and communities, reconsideration was given to purchasing Jefferson College in Convent, Louisiana and having the staff and students

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relocated. This decision was later canceled due to the purchase of land in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, for the College of Sts. Peter and Paul.\textsuperscript{30}

Upon hearing of the Jesuit desire to close St. Charles College in favor of a new institution in Baton Rouge, the residents of Grand Coteau spoke out against the departure of the Jesuits and the end of the college. Several arguments were put forward to sustain the college, including one letter indicating that the land issued to the Jesuits for their college was actually owned by the parish, and so by closing St. Charles College the Jesuits would lose access to the property. Also, the letter conveyed to the Fathers that the town and vicinities dearly appreciated the Jesuits and did not wish their departure. The counterargument was given that St. Charles College was too isolated from larger populations and that stabilizing the needs of the college was difficult due to access. With the promise of a new railroad, the town urged the Fathers to stay with the assurance that communication and access lines would improve.\textsuperscript{31}

Despite Grand Coteau’s best efforts to retain the Jesuits, the Fathers had indeed decided to close St. Charles College in favor of an institution in Baton Rouge and were determined to move all of their resources to the capital city. Perhaps the Society of Jesus felt its higher education fortunes might improve in such a largely populated city and that a fresh start might place them in a more communal environment with the State government; however, these hopes of relocation did not please Grand Coteau residents. Upon the Jesuit resolution to leave, the citizens of Grand Coteau rallied together and held

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\textsuperscript{31} Ralph J. Smith to Jesuit Fathers, St. Charles College, 1853, AR Files: 71, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
\end{flushleft}
a meeting imploring the Jesuits to reconsider. The following sentences are excerpted from the minutes of the meeting:

The Chairman, having declared the object of the meeting to be, and expression of the public sentiment on the discontinuance of the Saint Charles College . . . Be it resolved that we the citizens and inhabitants of Grand Coteau and vicinity have learned with astonishment and regret, the determination of the [Jesuit] Superiors to discontinue the college . . . and institution we have aided to erect with our means, and cherished and such justified by all the contributions in our power. . . . we do most solemnly protest . . . and still hope . . . such a reconsideration be given by the proper authorities as to change their determination and resend their orders. . . . in parting with the President and Professors at the present time, (if part we must) we sincerely regret the necessity that takes them from our midst, and tender them our heartfelt thanks for their attentions and kindness to us and Ours, and wish them health and happiness wherever be their stations hereafter.32

As expressed by the communities of Grand Coteau and Lafayette, Louisiana, the area had greatly benefited from the education of so many businessmen and professionals via instruction received at St. Charles College. The Jesuits offered spiritual solace to the communities when the need had arisen and the community extended its thanks to the Fathers.33

The Jesuit administered College of Sts. Peter and Paul opened in Baton Rouge in 1849 despite heavy opposition from the populace and Methodist church in the Louisiana capital city. This new college was intended to replace St. Charles College; however, due to local opposition, yellow fever, low attendance, and predicted hindrance to Spring Hill College via the reception of boarding students from Alabama, the College of Sts. Peter and Paul did not last long.34 The townspeople of Grand Coteau wrote numerous petitions to the Jesuits, their Father Superior in Rome, rectors, and the archbishop in New Orleans

urging the Jesuits to return. In light of their efforts, St. Charles Colleges was closed only for a short while as yellow fever and strong opposition to the Jesuit Fathers in Baton Rouge made it necessary for the Fathers to return to St. Charles College to the pleasure of Grand Coteau residents. Upon their return, the Jesuit Fathers sold adjacent properties in order to remodel the current buildings, refurnish the existing facilities, and purchase new instructional instruments. Renewed student enrollments demonstrated the enthusiasm of the locals as 150 students registered for courses.  

The communal relief of Grand Coteau citizens on the return of the Jesuit Fathers was short lived. The following year Louisiana seceded from the Union, and Civil War was ignited. Older students left colleges across the region to enlist in the Confederate army, and St. Charles College was no exception to this exodus. As Kenny explains,

Some of the larger boys dreamed of the freedom of camp life, and military glory, and united to join the army even against the will of their parents. They only sought for an occasion or a pretext to escape the burden of college life.  

Although some of the older students ran away to join the Confederate army, many remained at the college. Worry turned from the student population to conscription policies regarding the lay-faculty and Jesuit scholastics. Community leaders of Grand Coteau obtained the right to keep lay and scholastic college staff from conscription due to the indispensible nature of the college. The Confederate authorities agreed to keep the college open, as it was now the only Southern college open west of the Mississippi. This support was partly due to the closure of the Louisiana State Seminary of Education and Military Academy. The academy had previously been under the administration of

36 Ibid., 36-37.
William T. Sherman, but after his departure due to Louisiana’s secession, the Seminary was without direct leadership and closed for the remainder of the war.\textsuperscript{37}

With decreased enrollments and the incorporation of new Confederate dollars, the Jesuit Fathers raised tuition in order to stay financially viable. At the onset of the Civil War, the college opened with tuition set at $500. This was later increased to $1200 due to the rise in Confederate currency value to the American dollar in gold.\textsuperscript{38} The Jesuits of St. Charles College, realizing the low security in Confederate monies, invested them quickly in cotton and a steam grinder used to mill corn. The latter proved most useful in fortifying the loyalty of the community and army troops during the war, as both Confederate and Union soldiers occupied the territory at different points in the war. Also, with the discovery of salt deposits in New Iberia, the Jesuits sent one of their own to collect salt for the college and the local community, which enhanced the bond between the community and institution. Later, after obtaining permission from General Butler of the Union armies, the Jesuits became transporters of a variety of goods and livestock into Grand Coteau to the relief of city residents.\textsuperscript{39}

During the Confederate occupation, St. Charles College, and subsequently the town of Grand Coteau, was offered protection by the army. This protection safeguarded the faculty, workers, and students. After the fall of Vicksburg, Grand Coteau and the surrounding Louisiana parishes were overrun with Union troops on the march to New Orleans. With the arrival of several Methodist and Baptist preachers, a flurry of anti-Catholic sentiment arose as Protestant leaders preached to former slaves instructing them

\textsuperscript{37} Ibid., 38.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid., 37.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid., 39-41.
that “the Protestants had liberated them whilst the Catholics kept them in bonds.”\textsuperscript{40} Many ex-slaves from across the South followed soldiers and Protestant missionary movements to the large port city of New Orleans without provisions. Many of these ex-slaves died of starvation.\textsuperscript{41}

Despite the loss of older students, St. Charles College remained open primarily due to its preparatory department, which during the war, made up the bulk of the student population. Despite the efforts of the Order to maintain the efficacy and sustainability of their institution, the college emerged from the war with heavy debts, which increased during the years of Reconstruction.\textsuperscript{42} At the close of the war in 1869, the Jesuit Visitor, Father O’Neill, decided that St. Charles College should close, as it was too difficult to sustain high enrollment numbers, and constrained the human resources of the New Orleans Mission of the Society of Jesus. The lack of Jesuit Fathers and scholastics was given as the predominate reason for the closure. Fortunately for St. Charles College, in 1870, Father General in Rome overturned the O’Neill decision and declared that the college should reopen to house the students and Jesuits of Spring Hill College who had lost their facilities to a fire.\textsuperscript{43} The Alabama students were housed and educated in Grand Coteau until Spring Hill College was rebuilt, but troubles did not end for St. Charles College. The 1878 outbreak of yellow fever in New Orleans caused the town of Grand Coteau to quarantine itself from outsiders and remain on military guard to prevent the town from infection. The college, like the town, was provided the same protection. Such protection also kept foreign students from attending St. Charles College and decreased

\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 42-43.
\textsuperscript{41} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid., 48-49.
\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 124.
enrollment. War, disease, low resources, and anti-Catholic/Jesuit sentiment had damaged the college severely, but the Jesuit Fathers were not about to give up and soon the college was up and running once more. The *Woodstock Letters* of 1885 provide a candid account of the state of affairs at the college:

> Formerly very prosperous, it had some time after the late [Civil W]ar undergone a nearly total eclipse, when in the year 1881, the college being in a fair way of again rising to its former pre-eminence among Southern educational institutions, it was reorganized and has ever since yielded most consoling results by developing filial devotion to Mary and frequent reception of the Sacraments even among the students who do not belong to the Sodality.\(^{45}\)

With the college on the mend and support coming from the local community, the Jesuits were able to continue the promotion of their method of instruction and religious mission of Catholic education, while attempting, albeit slowly, to adapt and match curricular offerings at secular institutions.

> Unfortunately, such adaptability also conformed to the local racial ethos regarding students and men of color. Father Biever wrote in his journal about an instance dealing with a Jesuit scholastic from South America who traveled with Biever to study at St. Charles College. From Father Bievers’ notes concerning this Jesuit, known then as Mr. Koch, the following is ascertained:

> After mass we were ushered into the dining hall of the [college] students and breakfasted with them. All eyes were turned towards us especially towards Mr. Koch . . . The faces of the students showed surprise and dissatisfaction, and sundry remarks were passed which I did not understand. When dinner bell sounded, the students refused to enter the dining hall, stating that they would never sit at the same table with a Negro. In fact, Mr. Koch was of dark complexion, had kinky hair and possessed other symptoms peculiar to the Negro race. Our European Superiors, not knowing the social conditions of the Southern States where the Negro had just emerged from slavery, thought that Mr. Koch because of his dark complexion and South American origin would prove a most

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\(^{44}\) Biever, *Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915*, 118.

valuable subject. Unfortunately this was not the case. The house doctor was called in for consultation and after close scrutiny declared Mr. Koch to be of the colored race. Poor young man who but yesterday was supremely happy in the hope of that he had reached the goal of all his ambitions had now to pack up and tearfully resume the return trip to Europe. Mr. Koch himself stated that his father was a German physician and that his mother was a colored woman. On his arrival in Europe, he entered the Belgian province of the Society of Jesus for the mission of Calcutta where he was ordained priest and named secretary to His Grace Archbishop Gothals. His biography which has appeared recently shows him to have been a man of great holiness and learning.46

Such racial tension limited the number of students that could be instructed at St. Charles College and defined the acceptability of any Jesuit who wished to learn or teach in Grand Coteau completely along the color line. Such a limitation further stretched the resources of the institution, and with the 1900 hurricane that decimated Galveston Texas, Jesuit instructors, who were greatly needed by St. Charles College, did not arrive to relieve overworked Jesuits in south Louisiana.47

In the years that followed, the college stabilized as student enrollments slowly increased, and the number of Jesuits was maintained to cover all curricula offered. But this stability did not last long. A second fire, resulting from chimney sparks, ravaged the campus of St. Charles College in 1907. A drought had caused the roof shingles to become particularly flammable, and the result was the second destruction of the main campus building. Local assistance made it possible to rescue books and educational apparatuses; however, what the fire did not destroy, a rainstorm finished, and those saved items were damaged as the fire was quenched by the ensuing storm.48 The college minister’s diary elaborates:

46 Biever, Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915, 34.
47 Minister’s Diary, St. Charles College, 1891-1917, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
July 8, 1907: A very sad day for G. C. While at dinner and at first course . . . cries of fire from outsiders were heard. The shingle roof near the kitchen was ablaze, no doubt from a spark from chimney . . . The tolling of the Church bell brought together a fabulous crowd of people (black and white) who toiled like Trojans to save whatever could be saved from the doomed historic building . . . All those who could not help in any way, owing to sex or age, were on their knees praying under the guidance of Father Bovan, About two o’clock a heavy rain fell which interfered greatly with fire workers, who up to this had been frantically trying to save the Church close by and succeeded . . . The heat from the fire was terrific and several were prostrated and others fainted from over exertion . . . Offers from all for hospitality and meals were greatly appreciated by Ours but none of the venerable fathers could be urged to take advantage of them. 49

After the second destruction of the main building, the New Orleans Mission Superiors resolved to rebuild the college on a larger and more modern plan and revive the institution. Many of the St. Charles students were sent to Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama, until St. Charles College was rebuilt. 50

With the complete reconstruction of St. Charles College, students re-enrolled, and a plethora of new students enlisted for studies. Support surged as the institution grew and rounded its 70th anniversary. A telegram sent from the Louisiana Governor J. Y. Sanders to Father Maring at St. Charles College indicates the following congratulation on a successful commencement and 70 years of educational work at Grand Coteau:

“Congratulations and best wishes for today’s auspicious event, another link in the Golden Chain of Jesuit progress and enlightenment for present and future generations.” 51 Upon the college’s 75th anniversary, alumni banded together to form an association to support the institution and agreed that the association would meet every year on commencement and aid in plans for college and curricular expansion. 52

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49 Minister’s Diary, St. Charles College.
50 Biever, Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915, 65.
51 Sanders to Maring, telegram, March, 23, 1909, AR Files, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
Figure 5.2 Reconstructed St. Charles College\textsuperscript{53}

A report in the Varia section of the *Woodstock Letters* in 1913 indicates that St. Charles College had expanded its campus to include a physical and chemical laboratory in order to better lay the foundations for a scientific/technical wave of educational regimes in the South. Also, the college advertised its connection with a wireless telegraph station that tied the institution to other cities in the region. The report described a proposed seismographic observatory and explained vast improvements to the campus, including new walkways, improved facilities, and a swimming pool.\textsuperscript{54}

\textsuperscript{53} “St. Charles College and Novitiate, Grand Coteau, Louisiana,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.

\textsuperscript{54} “Grand Coteau,” *Woodstock Letters* 42 no. 1 Varia (1913): 123.
Even though the college had been rebuilt and expanded, curricular issues between the state and the institution persisted. By 1916, the State of Louisiana acknowledged that several graduates from St. Charles College had become teachers and that many more wished to do the same; however, at this time in Louisiana’s history, policies were established regarding the educational requirements for all who wished to teach in Louisiana. The following letter to Rev. M. A. Grace, president of St. Charles College, from the Department of Education in Baton Rouge, explains the situation as it applied to the Jesuit college:

Dear Sir:

I wish to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 18th inst. as well as that of Father Brooks giving information about the courses of study of St. Charles College.

Graduates of the Classical Course of your institution who earn a Bachelor of Arts Degree upon the completion of four years’ course will be exempted from examinations for teachers’ certificates. The graduates of the Non-Classical Course upon whom you confer the B.S. Degree cannot be granted teachers’ certificates under the provisions of the law which requires a full four years’ college course over and above their high school work.

Trusting that you understand thoroughly the conditions under which college graduates are exempted from examinations for teachers’ certificates, and with best wishes for the continued prosperity of your college, I am,

Very sincerely yours,

J. P. Conniff
Chairman.  

Along with such policy changes regarding teacher qualifications, curriculum in Southern colleges had adapted through the years following the Civil War to meet scientific and agricultural needs. The Jesuits deferred adapting their curriculum and relied on the classical educational models utilized by the Society of Jesus via the Ratio Studiorum.

This delay would cost them dearly as enrollment began to drop in response to

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55 J. P. Conniff to M. A. Grace, September 22, 1916, AR Files, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
instructional stagnation. In an effort to reinvigorate the institution, the Jesuit Fathers began to slowly adapt the curriculum at St. Charles College. These changes and curricular additions are stated in the Varia section of the 1917 edition of the *Woodstock Letters*. In the following passage, an air of concern over the religious nature of agricultural instruction in non-Catholic institutions and its effects on student development are presented as a cause for concern:

There is on foot a plan to introduce in our college a Scientific Agricultural Course, as soon as ways and means have been devised. There is no doubt that this course will prove a valuable addition to our curriculum. Most of our boys’ parents are wealthy planters and farm owners and the boys themselves look forward to the time when they in turn will follow in their fathers’ footsteps. But in this age of improvement one studies farming on scientific lines and on leaving us the boys generally go up for a course of Agriculture in some non-Catholic college or university. Who does not see the world of good that such a course works in a Catholic college? We could keep those boys in the right paths and avert evil influence bound to be brought upon them in non-sectarian colleges and universities.\(^\text{56}\)

Regardless of curricular changes, enrollment continued to decrease, and support waned as the local population could no longer supply enough Catholic students to meet the financial needs of the college. As financial disparity became more evident in the lives of their students, the Jesuit Fathers noted with some degree of enthusiasm that oil companies had taken an interest in the vicinage of St. Charles College. The excitement was heightened by corporate negotiations concerning the possibility of drilling for oil on the college property. The possibility of finding oil on the college grounds, as stated by the Fathers, “would change very materially, the conditions, not only of the surrounding country, but of the college, and should the precious liquid be brought to the surface on our own property, it would afford a soothing remedy for the monetary wounds that harass

those responsible for the finances of the college.” Yet again, misfortune struck. Oil, in any immense quantity, was not discovered and so the chance for capital via petroleum was not acquired.

At the beginning of the 20th century, spiritual retreats (held twice yearly) for the community of Grand Coteau and surrounding Louisiana populous took place in the college where students studied. These retreats were held in order to increase local support for the college and increase lay-Catholic presence on the campus. Secular clergy were invited to attend and assist with the retreats, and it was found that priests from other parishes had been very supportive of the Jesuit presence and educational missions in Grand Coteau. As the Jesuit Fathers describe,

An admiral feature of our success here is the friendliness and hearty co-operation of the Secular Clergy. The secularly clergy in the nearby parishes supported the religious fervor, spiritual retreats, and educational endeavors the Jesuit father pursued and promoted at St. Charles College. There support was not only verbal but also extended to increasing the college enrollment by encouraging parish families to send their sons to St. Charles College. Such encouragement was too late to provide any major assistance to the declining institution. In 1921, the Jesuit Visitor Norbert de Boynes arrived, reviewed the college, and presented the future plans for education in the New Orleans Province. St. Charles College was evaluated, and it was decided that it should be closed and disposed of; however, the novitiate in Macon Georgia burned, and the old Grand Coteau college

buildings became the cumulative site for both Louisiana and Georgia novitiates and remains so to this day.\textsuperscript{60}

Father de Boynes’ visitation was the last blow to St. Charles College as an academic institution for lay-students. De Boynes deemed it necessary that all Jesuit colleges in the South, with the exception of Loyola University New Orleans and Spring Hill College, shut down so that all efforts could focus on those locations.\textsuperscript{61} Following Father Visitor’s recommendations, St. Charles College was closed in 1922. The secular clergy in Lafayette, Louisiana were consulted about the closure, and despite their wish for the college to continue, the secular religious agreed to the decision.\textsuperscript{62} Even though lay-education had been removed from St. Charles Colleges the Jesuit Fathers still provided their assistance and the use of the physical campus for the aid of the community. This aid was apparent during the Mississippi river flood of 1927 when the college buildings were utilized by the Red Cross to provide relief for the people of Louisiana.\textsuperscript{63}

St. Charles College was the first attempt of the Society of Jesus to construct and maintain a Jesuit institution in the New Orleans Province. The institution saw the effects of war, was occupied by Union and Confederate soldiers, and was closed more than once. In its 85-year history the institution educated young men from Louisiana, from across the South, and from varying countries. The college also served as the training ground for many Jesuits who worked along the Gulf Coast educating lay-students and performing mission work for the Province. With its closure, St. Charles College left a legacy of

\textsuperscript{60} Biever, \textit{Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915}, 65.
\textsuperscript{62} Thomas Clancy to Mike Alchediak, March 29, 1978, Clancy Papers.
Catholic based education that can still be witnessed through the multitude of Catholic icons and statues that cover the campus today, not to mention the campus presence and identity as the Jesuit seminary and local for the New Orleans Province cemetery where numerous priests and brothers have been buried since the antebellum period. The third edifice of St. Charles College still stands in Grand Coteau, serving as Jesuit novitiate, religious house of retreat, and spiritual center for all who wish to visit.

**Case Analysis: St. Charles College**

In collusion with this historiographically-constructed case, the survival and ultimate failure of St. Charles College can be viewed through the conceptual lenses of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships. Granted, the Jesuit-administered institution did face a plethora of hardships, including destruction, war, and a wavering student population; however, some of these events may have been related to and triggered by the catalytic principles of identity, mission, and societal relationships.

First, institutional identity was expressed by the Jesuit Fathers via Catholic icons, statues of saints, adorning crosses, and religious phrases that proclaimed the Catholic nature of the institution. For example, in a photograph of the first campus of St. Charles College, the main academic building was inscribed with the Latin phrase *Deo et Patriae*, meaning “God and country.” Not only was the Catholic identity of the institution clearly visible, so was the religious nature of Jesuit instructors. All Jesuits at St. Charles College during its existence wore cassocks and vestments marking them as clergy and members of the Society of Jesus. Such clear demarcation of the identity of the college an affect on surrounding communities. From this presented case, it can be derived that the immediate community was supportive of the Catholic/Jesuit college, but neighboring communities
were not and voiced their opposition to the presence of the college. Such anti-Catholic/anti-Jesuit sentiment may have led to a restriction of resources, including students that could have helped the institution financially.

Second, the French Jesuit Fathers were reported as problematic due to their inability to speak fluent English. In time, the college garnered a public identity that instructors could not properly instruct students due to the language barrier. This identity caused enrollment numbers to drop, and eventually the Society of Jesus replaced the French Fathers with Jesuits who were fluent in English. Also, the existing coeducational nature of lay-students and Jesuit scholastics increased the religious identity of the college. The training of students and “Jesuits-to-be” may have contributed to further anti-Jesuit sentiment from neighboring communities due to the possibility that lay-students may choose the life of the cloth instead of returning home after the completion of studies.

Third, it would be amiss to only indicate those aspects of identity that contributed to the downfall of the college. Certainly, the identity of the Society of Jesus at St. Charles College rallied alongside the Catholic identity of the residents of Grand Coteau, as well as garnered support from the Sister of the Sacred Heart. Both local residents and Sisters aided the college financially.

Regarding the mission of St. Charles College, the Jesuit Fathers made a point to constantly inform the public about the driving purpose behind the Catholic institution. Several advertisements were created that explained religious aspects pertaining to curriculum and instruction. Also, the college charter indicated that the institution was rooted in the training of religious morality. This projected mission may have increased
negative sentiments toward the college and hindered enrollment numbers, thereby affecting capital gain.

Along with the analysis of affecting factors regarding institutional identity and mission, the relationship between the college and surrounding community (town and gown) must also be examined. We can extract from the St. Charles College case that the local community was very supportive of the college. Not only did the residents of Grand Coteau supply land and resources, they also protected the college when outside communities threatened its existence. The case also indicates that the communal relationship was strong between the Jesuits, Sisters of the Sacred Heart, and the secular clergy of Louisiana. Such relationships may have further fostered the town and gown relationship as the presence of both Catholic orders meant the education of young women and young men. Also, the relationship between the Jesuits and secular clergy meant additional support and encouragement by the clergy who governed the Holy See of Louisiana. In addition, throughout the Civil War, the college provided a source of sustenance via the intersession of the Jesuit Fathers to supply resources and protect the younger sons of the community through the continued operation of the institution. Even when the Jesuits wished to leave, the community clung to the Fathers, wishing them to stay. When the Jesuits did leave and subsequently returned to Grand Coteau, the community welcomed them and the college back without any sign of hesitance.

So, if there was enough local support from the adjacent community and the identity and mission of the college were relatively supported, how did these catalytic principles affect its closure? The possible answer lies outside of the community of Grand Coteau. As previously presented, communities outside of Grand Coteau did not support
the college and forced the Jesuit Fathers to import students from other states and
countries to add to the student population. Also, the internal identity and mission of the
Society of Jesus served as the final reason for the closure of the college. As the case
presents, the college was straining the human resources of the Province. With the
visitation of Norbert de Boynes the decision was made that in order to strengthen the
identity and mission of Jesuit education throughout the New Orleans Province, St.
Charles College had to be sacrificed so that Loyola University and Spring Hill College
could benefit from the additional Jesuit numbers. With the aforementioned case points in
mind, it can be seen how the foundational principles of institutional identity, mission, and
town and gown relationships may have served as factors that led to low student
enrollments and periods of difficult financial gain, thus affecting the overall survivability
of St. Charles College.

St. Mary’s University: Galveston, Texas

From the founding of Galveston, Texas, the religion of choice, adopted by law,
was Catholic. Such religious leanings elicit an understanding behind the public outcry
for a Catholic college. In 1854, the call for a college was finally answered with the
establishment of St. Mary’s University for boys and young men of Galveston. A two-
story building was erected adjacent to the Church of the Sacred Heart with funds obtained
by the Oblate Fathers. With the approval of Texas legislators, St. Mary’s University
became the first state-charted institution for higher education in Texas. According to a
souvenir volume of the silver jubilee of the institution; however, it was recorded that

64 University of St. Mary, Galveston, Texas: Souvenir Volume of the Silver Jubilee of the College Under
Jesuit Administration, 1884-1909, Clark & Courts (MFG. Stationers, Galveston 1909), Loyola University
New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, 8.
65 Ibid., 9.
“few educational institutions have had more precarious existence than St. Mary’s University.”66 When the Society of Jesus came to Galveston, via the request of Bishop Gallagher, they found a community of Catholics in an established parish, although according to the Jesuits, there was much work to be done. The parish was disorganized and the church poorly attended. In the coming years, the city seemed pleased with the work of the Jesuit Fathers at reorganizing the parish and increased church attendance. As a result of the Jesuits’ progressive parish work, St. Mary’s University was entrusted to the Society of Jesus to administer in 1884.67

The bishop of Galveston, Right Rev. Nicholas Aloysius Gallagher, concluded the arrangements for the Society of Jesus to take control of the college and on the Feast of St. Ignatius, the bishop, local clergy, and Jesuit Fathers dinned to celebrate the transition.68 In the Woodstock Letters the transition of the college into the hands of the Jesuits was stated as follows:

. . . Rev. Fr. Butler, then Superior of the Mission, finally accepted St. Mary’s University at the urgent request of Right Rev. Bishop Gallagher. This institution had been successively in the hands of various religious bodies all of whom quickly resigned their charge. The Jesuits were looked upon as a last resource. If they should fail there was no hope for Catholic education in Galveston; and the loss of Galveston would be the loss of Texas.69

The Society of Jesus clearly believed that Galveston was the key to ensuring their religious and educational work throughout Texas. As well, Jesuits believed that Galveston would become one of the most prominent port cities in the United States.

66 Ibid., 7.
Prior to the Jesuits administration, the university had been governed by the Fathers of Minor Conventuals and later the Brothers of the Holy Cross. After the Brothers of the Holy Cross were recalled by their superiors to Indiana, the Sisters of Divine Providence took control, and the college buildings were expanded to accommodate a growing student body.\textsuperscript{70} Once before, in 1860, it was thought that the Jesuit Fathers would assume control of the university, but due to their low numbers in the South, this did not take place.\textsuperscript{71} With the 1884 offer, the Jesuits now had control of an expansive parish, church, and adjoining university that was situated at the East end of Galveston on Avenue 1 and 14th Street, approximately 12 blocks from the shore line.\textsuperscript{72} In time, this location would prove most detrimental to the Jesuits.

The parish contained approximately 1,600 Catholics, with the church and university centrally located in the city. According to the Jesuit Father John B. Quinlan in his predictions regarding the progress and future of the college and parish, “Even greater success, I trust, is in store for us here in the near future, for Galveston is the key to the grand and developing State of Texas, where there will be found many souls ready to embrace the sweet yoke of Christ.”\textsuperscript{73} To the surprise of the Jesuits, the mission alignment of their newly acquired institution to Jesuits principles was simple enough. The college charter so aligned with the Jesuit philosophy of education that no amendment was made when the Society of Jesus took over the institution. Set forth in 1856, the charter of St. Mary’s University states the following:

\footnotesize
\textsuperscript{70} University of St. Mary, Galveston, Texas: Souvenir Volume of the Silver Jubilee of the College Under Jesuit Administration, 1884-1909, 10-15.
\textsuperscript{71} Ibid., 10.
\textsuperscript{73} Quinlan, “Galveston, Texas,” 282-283.
That the objects and purposes of said corporation are hereby declared to be, the instruction of male youths, in all those branches of literature, science and the acts which are now, or may hereafter be taught in the higher classes of Seminaries in the United States of America, and . . . power to confer academic degrees, as generally conferred by universities in the United States . . .

With the identity of the institution reconfigured to Jesuit administrative and educational ideals and the mission set forth, other problems, such as low enrollment and institutional competition, could be addressed.

Finally, in 1884, the college opened with 50 students. Despite the low enrollment, the Jesuits made the most of the student population, and by the close of the year, the students of St. Mary’s University performed a well-received play to over 1500 Galveston residents. When the Jesuits began the next term’s instruction, they learned that the student body numbered approximately 100 students; however, the educational merits of the students were far lower than the Fathers had expected, and in the coming years, the Jesuits steadily increased instructional expectations to the standards matching other existing American Jesuit institutions.

An additional difficulty facing the Jesuit institution in Galveston was the presence of other local Catholic schools. Since the Jesuit model relied on younger students of a high school level to make up a large percentage of the student population it was difficult for the Jesuits to build their preparatory department and thus, in time, stock the college courses. To better suit the preferences of local Catholic families, the college was transformed from a boarding college to a day institute. With this small change the Jesuit Fathers found that they could rely heavily on the city to support the university financially,

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74 University of St. Mary, Galveston, Texas: Souvenir Volume of the Silver Jubilee of the College Under Jesuit Administration, 1884-1909, 47.
75 Ibid.
76 Ibid.
and Galveston families responded positively.\textsuperscript{78} Using financial gifts from community members, the Jesuits modernized the institution’s educational equipment and had a new building erected.\textsuperscript{79} On July 4, 1887 shipments of bricks arrived for a new church designed by Brother Otten. The new church of the Sacred Heart arose next to the college building with similar architecture, although much more grand then the previous church and was physically connected to the college buildings.\textsuperscript{80}

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\caption{St. Mary’s University (Left) and the Church of the Sacred Heart (Right).\textsuperscript{81}}
\end{figure}

As the college continued to grow, the Jesuit Fathers played host to many guests, both local and from abroad, including the Papal Delegate Cardinal Satolli, who praised the educational efforts of the Galveston Jesuits and the academic abilities of their students. Soon, the college was in need of further physical expansion, and a new wing

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\textsuperscript{78} University of St. Mary, Galveston, Texas: Souvenir Volume of the Silver Jubilee of the College Under Jesuit Administration, 1884-1909, 7.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid., 18.
\textsuperscript{81} “St. Mary’s University and the Church of the Sacred Heart,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
\end{flushright}
was constructed to add additional class space.\textsuperscript{82} In 1893, a cadet corps was organized for the students; however, the following year saw the temporary removal of arms due to work strikes in the city. The Fathers handed over the student corps’ rifles to be kept by the city authorities.\textsuperscript{83} In 1896, the college provided post-graduate courses for those who wished to enroll and opened the classes to the public. Prominent town leaders, men, and woman attended the classes, which were held on Monday nights.\textsuperscript{84}

By 1898, the Jesuit institution in Galveston was showing positive signs of growth. The enrollment had increased beyond 100 students, and plans were underway to construct even more additions to the existing college building. The church, with its stained glass windows from Munich, adjoined the college campus (and was used as an architectural reference for the Jesuit churches in Tampa, Florida; Augusta, Georgia; and Shreveport, Louisiana), and was opened for both students and the public.\textsuperscript{85} With the progression of the college and strong support from the community, the following sentiment was recorded regarding the institution’s success:

And so as year followed year for the space of a quarter century has St. Mary’s Collegiate department gone on in her work of imparting higher education to the Catholic community of Galveston. And though perhaps as a college she has not met that brilliant success that attracts the public eye, she has never ceased to do good, never lost heart in the good cause once begun.\textsuperscript{86}

Several Jesuits in their memoirs and historic accounts of the Galveston Parish and college also recorded such progress. None recorded the actions of the institution with such alacrity as Father Albert Biever.

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\textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 20 & 43.
\textsuperscript{83} Ibid., 19.
\textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 41.
\textsuperscript{85} “New Orleans Mission, St. Mary’s College, Galveston,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 27 no. 2 Varia (1898): 403.
\textsuperscript{86} University of St. Mary, Galveston, Texas: Souvenir Volume of the Silver Jubilee of the College Under Jesuit Administration, 1884-1909, 16.
\end{flushright}
After a stint at Spring Hill College, Father Biever was moved to Galveston where he was appointed vice-president of St. Mary’s University, professor of rhetoric, and confessor in the Church. As Biever states: “The College, or St. Mary’s University, as it was called in those days, prospered also. We had one hundred and fifty students on the roll. All the classes were in operation.”87 Father Biever not only serviced the educational and spiritual needs of the institution, he also gave public lectures to help solicit St. Mary’s University. These public lectures are recorded as helping the college “not a little.”88 In September of 1900, Father Biever was called away from Galveston to give a spiritual retreat in New Orleans. His exit was timely and may have saved his life, as on September 8, 1900 a hurricane made landfall at Galveston and decimated the lives and livelihood of the majority of city residents.89 According to Biever:

On leaving Galveston, Mr. Ott a devoted friend of mine accompanied me to the train. As we parted he said “Come back soon.” Jokingly I said I am afraid for one of these days you will be washed away. No danger, answered Mr. Ott, we have survived the storms of seventy-five years and we will survive those of seventy-five more years. After that we will leave the worry to others. I was unwittingly a prophet for a few days afterwards, the storm did come and well nigh wiped out the city of Galveston.90

The 1900 Galveston census indicated that an approximate 38,000 people lived within the city limits, but with the arrival of the cataclysmic storm, the population dropped bellow 20,000.91

On September 6th, the barometer reading fell and continued to fall until the 8th when winds began to pick up. Despite all indication that a massive hurricane was
looming offshore, the city did nothing to evacuate its residents. The belief was held that
the city was not located in a hurricane path nor was any tidal wall ever constructed to
prevent the city from flooding due to the geographic “shelving” formation of the beach.
These failures to develop preventative measures against the effects of a hurricane were all
noted in despair the morning of the 8th when the hurricane made landfall.92 In a letter
from Father Hogan to the New Orleans Mission superiors in 1900, we learn the
following:

. . . the boys were dismissed at noon, some never to return. At 2 O’clock people
began to come in from all the houses along the gulf, men, women and children,
some in boats, some in vehicles that were axle deep in the water, as they came
they were located in the club room—the storm went on increasing and the water
rising, at 5 O’clock it was up to your waist in the yard, and finding its way into
the club room, and the three or four hundred people within had to wade through
the water with the children in their arms across to the college . . . 93

Such an account does not give the full presence of the affects that would determine the
future of St. Mary’s University, the city of Galveston, and its residents.

As the storm raged, a multitude of people risked the wind and rain, leaving behind
their flooded homes, and took shelter in the Jesuit church. When the windows of the
church began to succumb to the high winds, the Jesuits made the decision to move the
refugees to the College Club building. Upon completely relocating the refugees, the
following event took place:

We crouch there [in the college building] in safety. The crash [we heard] was
caused by the fall of a costly Munch stained-glass window from a height of about
twenty feet above the altar [of the church]. It is clearly unwise to remain longer in
the sacred edifice. We hustle in a few remaining stragglers, and then abandon the
church to its fate. Is it not God’s own house, and is not the storm God’s own
storm? He can save, and He can destroy; let His will be done.94

93 Hogan to New Orleans Province, 1900, AR Files: 56, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library,
Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
As the hurricane bore down on the city, water began to pour into the College Club room. The Jesuits and refugees made a hasty retreat to the main college building only to have a repeat of the College Club flooding two hours later. The refugees, now comprising well over 200 persons, climbed to the second level of the building to escape the rising water. In the hours that followed, the number of refuges steadily increased to 400 persons while the water continued to rise in the college building. As the water made its way into the second floor, Jesuits and refugees crammed into the newly constructed west wing of the building that sat slightly higher than the rest of the college. The 400 plus individuals huddled together in close quarters as bits of the roof were stripped away allowing wind and rain to enter the cramped quarters.95 As the water rose in the college building, books, desks, tables, clocks, pictures, and all educational material were carried away into the Gulf of Mexico.96 While the hurricane raged the church collapsed, and the college was severely damaged. The people in the college would have died if left in the church, but their removal to the college buildings provided only momentary relief as the water filled the final floor of the two-story institution.97

With the uppermost section of the college serving as a last refuge Father J. A Hogan indicated that there was only one last place for the Jesuits and Galveston refugees to go: “into eternity.” The Jesuit fathers led the refugees in prayer for what seemed to be an inevitable end. Inside the college the water surged again, filling the highest college room where all were located. Classrooms that had been used earlier that day for instruction were now completely submerged, and water covered the city, destroying

97 Biever, Diary and notes on the New Orleans Province Mission Band, 1913-1932, 303.
homes, ruining the region, and killing thousands. Before completely overtaking the Jesuits and their refuges, the waters began to recede. Those inside realized their lives had been spared; however, the outside of the college lay in complete desolation. In the city’s east end where the college was located, 746 homes were destroyed. The Jesuit college did not feel the pull of the tidal current, as the college was protected by the massive church that stood directly in front of the institute. The ruined church, with its front steeples being all that remained, had protected the college building from the same fate as so many other structures. Following the storm the Jesuits converted the once-flooded classrooms into an emergency hospital for the sick and dying, and it remained in this function for three weeks.  

According to Father James O’Brien, the hospital wing illustrated the entire travesty of the storm: “This in one corner of the university, the whole effect of the tragedy is enacted; the hungry, the homeless, the ill, and above all these earthly miseries, the kneeling before the throne of God in submission and prayer.”

With winds topping 120 mph and floodwaters reaching 25 feet, the city lay in ruins. Despite the “carnival of death,” as one Jesuit described the scene, no Jesuit perished in the storm or the resulting aftermath; however, bodies filled the street and had to be disposed of via sea burial or cremation. Despite the massive loss of life and property, the destruction of the Jesuit church and damage to the college, the city began to rebuild and the Jesuits, too, attempted to reconstruct their educational institution. The cost to rebuild the Jesuits’ facilities, college, church, and parish was estimated at $125,000 and as the Jesuits began to rebuild, so, too, did the city. This time, city officials learned from the disaster and constructed a massive sea wall to protect the city from tidal

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flooding. With the reconstruction of Galveston underway, the Jesuits were not sure if it was entirely possible to reopen St. Mary’s University. In a letter from Father Hogan, his despair is evident as he states, “. . .it is not certain that our College will be reopened.”

In time, however, the zeal of the Jesuits returned when they realized the community still wanted the Catholic college and was willing to provide support. Despite the hurricane and subsequent flood, the Jesuits decided to chance a reopening of the college. On October 8, 1900, approximately one month after the storm, St. Mary’s University opened with 13 students. This number later increased to 30, all of which were Galveston residents and survivors of the disaster. The Jesuit Fathers in Galveston made their case known to the entire American Assistancy of the Society of Jesus with the following lines taken from the Woodstock Letters:

What the future has in store for us here, no one seems to know. Our college opened with some 30 boys, and, as the ground which many of our parishioners dwelt, was swept away in the sea by the great storm, the attendance in our temporary church has been proportionally lessened.

With the grand parish church destroyed, the Jesuits opened the large hall in their college building and converted it into a chapel for the survivors of the storm. The altar from the destroyed church was rescued and placed in the hall, along with a new set of the Stations of the Cross graciously donated by the College of the Immaculate Conception in New Orleans. By 1902, St. Mary’s University had an increase in enrollment to 75, and

101 Hogan to New Orleans Province, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
103 “Galveston, Tex.,” Woodstock Letters 30 no. 2 Varia (1901): 320.
ground was broken for a new church on Easter.\textsuperscript{105} Again, in 1904 the college was indicated as improving as the new church reached completion.\textsuperscript{106}

It was hoped, following the 1900 storm, that the Jesuit college, as one of the only educational institutions to survive the Galveston disaster, would thrive. Despite the rather quick renovation of St. Mary’s University, its student population did not return in mass. This low enrollment was probably due to the numbers of families who perished in the flood or moved away for fear of a similar disaster.\textsuperscript{107} The college catalogues of 1906 indicate that the college was indeed trying to continue its resurrection from the detrimental flood. The catalogue listed curricular offerings on the preparatory level and the college/higher education level with courses in philosophy, religion, mathematics, science, chemistry, logic, metaphysics, theology, psychology, ethics, political economy, mechanics, astronomy, and physics. As well, languages were offered including Spanish, French, and Latin, in addition to the classic curriculum of history, elocution, poetry, composition, drama, and geography. Every effort was made in the published college catalogues to emphasize the religious nature of the institution and the importance that all enrolled understood the college’s reliance on tuition dollars, as there was no endowment or state support. The college and academic course tuition per term is listed at five dollars, the preparatory course at three dollars, the use of chemicals for chemistry, ten dollars and the printing of a diploma upon graduation, an additional ten dollars.\textsuperscript{108} With the completion of repairs to the hurricane damaged college and the rebuilding of the parish

\textsuperscript{105} “Galveston,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 31 no. 3 Varia (1902): 483.
\textsuperscript{106} “Galveston,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 33 no. 2 Varia (1904): 254.
\textsuperscript{108} \textit{St. Mary’s University, College Catalogue, 1906-1907}, Knap Bros. (Galveston, Texas: Stationers and Print, 1906), Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
church, publications went forth and efforts were increased to spread the mission and identity of the institution to the still largely Catholic populated city of Galveston.

In 1909, St. Mary’s University alumni held a silver jubilee celebration that marked the anniversary of the Jesuit arrival in Galveston. With the exception of the Ursuline Academy in Galveston, St. Mary’s University was the oldest higher educational institute in Texas with the Jesuits serving as its administrators for the past 25 years.¹⁰⁹ That same year a souvenir booklet was printed and provided an account of the history of St. Mary’s University. The price for the souvenir volume was 25 cents. The booklet is covered with Jesuit symbols including their motto: *Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam*.¹¹⁰

![Figure 5.4 Repaired St. Mary’s University (Right) and the rebuilt Church of the Sacred Heart (Left).](image)


¹¹⁰ *University of St. Mary, Galveston, Texas: Souvenir Volume of the Silver Jubilee of the College Under Jesuit Administration, 1884-1909*, front cover.

¹¹¹ “7838. St. Mary’s University, Galveston, Texas,” postcard, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
When the souvenir volume was published, 41 local businesses, including banks, insurance firms, clothing stores, ice cream parlors, dry goods stores, and the like solicited in the publication along with a large advertisement for the Sacred Heart Academy administered by the Dominican Sisters and an equally large panel dedicated to St. Mary’s Infirmary and Training School for Nurses conducted by the Sisters of Charity. As well, the Jesuits of St. Charles College in Grand Coteau advertised the reopening of the “oldest Catholic College in Louisiana,” following its post-fire reconstruction. Also, the Jesuits of Spring Hill College took out an advertisement heralding its curriculum and new buildings.\footnote{112}

Supporters of the college included a vast number of Galveston citizens as well as C. R. Gallardo, Marquise of Guadalupe, Father Elguero, lawyer and former vice-president of the Mexican Catholic party, and E. Tamariz, minister of agriculture for Mexico. These men had fled their country due to civil unrest, resided in Galveston, and supported the educational work of the Jesuits.\footnote{113} In an effort to further promote the Jesuits in Galveston, a ladies altar society was formed and contributed to the renewal of the church and overall support of the Fathers.\footnote{114} Certainly, the college was well believed in by many residents of Galveston. One former student recounted in the \textit{Silver Jubilee Memorial of St. Mary’s University} that his grandfather insisted that he, his grandson, attend the Jesuit institution due to its Catholic identity and high level of individual instructional attention given to the students.\footnote{115}

\footnote{112} Ibid., 66-81. 
\footnote{113} “Galveston. St. Mary’s University. Refugees from Mexico,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 44 no. 1 Varia (1915): 130.
\footnote{114} “New Orleans Mission: St. Mary’s Church, Galveston,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 34 no. 1 (1905): 110.
\footnote{115} \textit{University of St. Mary, Galveston, Texas: Souvenir Volume of the Silver Jubilee of the College Under Jesuit Administration, 1884-1909}, 44.
As the Galveston Jesuits continued to promote and re-grow the college, the ideals of the Society of Jesus changed in regards to the strength of educational missions in the New Orleans Province. Following Father Visitor Norbert de Boyne’s recommendations, St. Mary’s University was closed in 1922. The secular clergy and residents of Galveston were consulted about the closure and raised opposition to the decision; however, the recommendations of Father Visitor de Boynes carried the strength of the superior general of the Society of Jesus in Rome, heralded the end of reconstruction efforts at St. Mary’s University, and formally shut down the institution. In reviewing Provincial correspondence, of which only Jesuits are given permission to read, Father Thomas Clancey discovered the seminal reasons behind the removal of the Jesuits from Galveston. The recommendation of Father Visitor Norbert de Boyne indicated that St. Mary’s University was to close on account of the want to retrench the efforts of Society of Jesus and redouble their educational efforts in New Orleans and Mobile where there was a higher Catholic population and the Order was already well established.

In 1977, when an anonymous Jesuit priest traveled to Galveston to research the history of the Jesuits in Texas he sent a postcard to Father Ed Bergan at the St. Charles College Novitiate picturing the Jesuit church in Galveston and stated that as he was “trying to get some authenticated history . . . I have been really getting an earful as I speak to people and say that I am a Jesuit.” Whether this “earful” was on account of the Jesuit egress from Galveston or the numerous accounts told to the anonymous Jesuit concerning the Jesuits and their work in the city, one cannot be sure; however, it seemed

116 Thomas Clancey to Mike Alchediak, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
118 Thomas Clancey to Mike Alchediak, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
119 Sacred Heart Church, postcard, 1977, Galveston Photograph Drawer, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
of importance to communicate to Father Bergan that there was a notable response on the part of Galveston citizens regarding the Society of Jesus despite their absence of 55 years.

With the closure of St. Mary’s University, the attempts of the New Orleans Province to expand their educational mission throughout the southwest came to an end. Originally, the Jesuits proclaimed that with the administration of the Galveston college came the opportunity to expand Catholicism and educational practices throughout Texas, rooting all further higher education attempts in St. Mary’s University. With the destruction of the Jesuit college via the 1900 hurricane, it is surprising that the Jesuit Fathers did not give up and retreat; however, they attempted in all earnestness to revive the college and succeeded in placing the institution on the path to recovery. As the New Orleans Province realigned its efforts based on the Visitor recommendations, it was suggested by Father Visitor Norbert de Boynes, that the efforts of the Order would be best met via the retrenchment of Jesuits to New Orleans and Mobile. Such a decision ended any chances of maintaining a Jesuit college in Texas and St. Mary’s University, which had survived so much, closed its doors.

Case Analysis: St. Mary’s University

This particular case, regarding St. Mary’s University, provides an interesting insight into the survival of an institution when not only the institution is destroyed but the surrounding community suffers a similar fate—in this instance, the affects of the hurricane of 1900. It can be surmised from this case that the institutional identity and mission of the university led to a slow and steady growth including increased student enrollments. The community seemed to have been in agreement with the identity and
mission of the Catholic/Jesuit institution, as no animosity was recorded as arising against the college.

Based on images of the college, it can be understood that the extremely close proximity and physical connection of the church to the college potentially fostered a public identity that labeled the college as Catholic; however, the abundance of Catholic institutions in Galveston led the Jesuit Fathers to adapt the boarding policies of the college and convert it to a day institution, thus creating an identity of accessibility without the student encumbrance of having to reside in the college buildings. Such a move may have strengthened the local relationship between town and gown, but it obviously hindered any potential student connections outside of Galveston, as any foreign student would not have been able to reside at the college thus keeping student populations low.

Institutional mission was understood, via the college charter. The Jesuit mission of education was well aligned with the previous Catholic administration of the institution. In fact, very few changes were required. This charter prompts the idea that the college mission, prior to the administration of the Jesuit Fathers was already accepted, so the Jesuits were able to continue with a similarly chartered mission. As time passed, the curricular mission of the college changed to include modern sciences. This may have been prompted by the impact of the 1900 hurricane resulting in a decreased student enrollment. The change in curricular mission may have been an attempt to draw a larger student population via varied course offerings. Certainly, curricular transitions had worked in the past as St. Mary’s University had incorporated public graduate courses much to the delight of the community.
It can also be extracted from this case that the town and gown relationship was strong and supportive of the college. It cannot be known what relationships were like between the secular religious and other religious orders managing neighboring Galveston schools; however, there are many instances in which the Galveston bishop and papal delegates supported the college and promoted its success. The town and gown relationship was certainly tested during the 1900 hurricane. The Jesuits used the college as a refuge for many Galveston residents, a hospital for the ill and wounded after the storm, and converted rooms into a Catholic chapel for the use of survivors. When the college and community began to revive from the storm, the Jesuit Fathers reopened the institution and those residents who could send students did so.

In the case of St. Mary’s University, it can be noted that the institutional identity and mission were well accepted by the community; however, the university was never able to draw students from outside of Galveston. Even so, the town and gown relationship appeared to be strong. Not only did the community financially support the college, it also aided in advertising the school in a silver jubilee booklet where a variety of local business owners advertised and contributed financially to the Jesuit run college.

Ultimately, as in the case of St. Charles College, St. Mary’s University was closed on the order of Father Visitor Norbert de Boynes. De Boynes declared that it was time to strengthen the identity and mission of Jesuit education in the New Orleans Province by focusing all Jesuit resources on two institutions located in cities with a much higher Catholic population than that of Galveston, Texas. If the 1900 storm had not reduced the population of Galveston so dramatically, then perhaps the outcomes might have been different; however, the internal mission of the Society of Jesus was redirected, inclining
the Jesuits of Galveston to relocate to New Orleans or Mobile and permanently close St. Mary’s University. St. Mary’s University did not necessarily experience negative external catalytic affects of institutional identity, mission, and societal relationships in its closure; however, the internal Jesuit identity and mission based on the hierarchical obedience of the Society trumped the attempts to strengthen the institution and resulted in its closure.

**College of the Sacred Heart: Augusta, Georgia**

In the years following the Civil War and Reconstruction, Bishop Gross of Augusta, Georgia, looked over his city, understood the low lay-Catholic presence, and regarded the negative sentiments towards Irish Catholics as a cause for concern. Gross deemed that a stringent Catholic college would address negative sentiments and perhaps increase the Catholic population of Georgia. From his conclusions, Bishop Gross invited the Society of Jesus to take up their educational mission and carry the city via the management of the parish and the establishment of a college. In 1873, Gross offered the parish that surrounded Augusta to the Jesuits. The Jesuits responded in the positive to the invitation and sent a small group of Fathers to Augusta.\(^{120}\) Despite the offer of Bishop Gross, in 1874, the Catholic clergy of Georgia conveyed concerns about the Jesuits opening a college in the state. It was believed that another Catholic college would put a strain on other Catholic educational institutions in Georgia. Therefore, a letter was sent to the New Orleans Province Jesuits on March 1, 1874, which indicated that they should not build a college until a seminary was constructed in Georgia for the training of their own to staff such a college. This order was followed and a novitiate was established in Macon,

Georgia. In a letter from Father William to the New Orleans Mission, he expresses the need for a Jesuit college in Augusta:

The need of a college here can be seen from the large number of young Catholics who are clerks, bookkeepers . . . and who in another city would not think of leaving college for several years. Many Catholics cannot understand the advantage of a full college education. This is very natural, for many parents had no more than a business education, and they thing and say, ‘What was good enough for us is good enough for our children.’ This accounts for the falling off in numbers after the Third Academic. . . . We have therefore a threefold end to accomplish: in the first place to raise the ambition of many whose talents warrant them to aim higher than a clerkship or a bookkeeper’s desk; secondly, to make those desiring to be engineers . . . realize that a liberal education is the very best foundation for their specialty; thirdly, to make non-Catholics especially, appreciate the fact that our diploma is of as much intrinsic worth as that of one of the State Universities.

Father Michael Kenny reported that with the arrival of the Jesuits, “they [the Jesuits] won the hearts of Augusta’s stout Catholics, predominantly Irish . . .” After the purchase of a 360 x 240 ft. lot on Mckinney and Ellis Streets, a church was constructed and dedicated by Bishop Gross on November 30, 1874. The new church, dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, had been constructed with the plan to adapt the infrastructure into that of a college when a new and larger church could be erected.

After the construction of a new church, under the same name of Sacred Heart, the old church building was converted into the first college building for the new College of the Sacred Heart. The old church building was renovated to house college classrooms upstairs with a gymnasium on the first floor. In addition, a second building was constructed near the old church to house additional classrooms. The Superior General of the Society of Jesus gave permission for the college to open in 1900 with the stipulation

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122 Ibid., 382.
124 Ibid.
that no parish funds should be used to finance the college. The Society of Jesus would cover the cost of construction, and tuition dollars would be used for operation costs.125 Soon adjacent properties were purchased and the campus grounds were expanded.126

The College of the Sacred Heart was the first Catholic institution to offer some form of higher education for white students in Augusta. Pain College, for the education of black students, had been established previously. The Jesuit college offered a baccalaureate of arts with a curriculum that more closely resembled a high school with an additional college level should students wish to continue their studies.127

On September 1, 1900, the Jesuit Fathers opened their College of the Sacred Heart with 70 students, but the number increased gradually to 83. With the want to “home grow” their own students, the college began with a college preparatory department only. When the students became of age, higher courses equivalent to college courses were offered with the ultimate goal being the A.B. degree (Arts Baccalaureate). Despite this want to grow their own students, the Jesuits were concerned that students would not want to stay so long in instruction and thus not complete the full degree. Also, there was concern over the religious nature of the students and their families as many were not supporters of the Catholic faith. In the first years of the college, Father J. O’Shanahan reported that “So far, we have encountered no serious difficulty; our boys are on the whole studios, and the parents are fully satisfied. . . . We do not expect to go far beyond 100 boys, and foresee that it will prove difficult here to get them to complete the course.

127 Cashin, The Story of Sacred Heart, 15.
We can only do our best.”

Having students understand the importance of maintaining an education through the collegiate degree proved a constant difficulty. For many, the curriculum was too lengthy and did not amount to a practical “job-related” training.

Despite retention issues, the college made itself known throughout the community through public plays. The community responded well to these student-produced plays that varied in theme from religious to patriotic. In 1901, a college brass band was organized and performed at various civic events. In addition to public performances, the Jesuits made a point to illustrate to the community the identity of their educational methods and the mission behind their new college. As stated in the 1903-1904 College of the Sacred Heart catalogue:

Education as understood by the Father of the Society of Jesus in its completest [sic] sense, is the full and harmonious development of all those faculties that are distinctive of man. It is not, therefore, mere instruction or the communication of knowledge. In fact, the acquisition of knowledge, though it necessarily accompanies any right System of Education, is a secondary result of education. Learning is an instrument of education, not its end. The end is culture, and mental and moral development. . . . The Jesuit system of education, then, aims at developing, side by side, the moral and intellectual faculties of the student . . . Moreover, morality is to be taught continuously, it must be the underlying base, the vital force supporting and animating the whole organic structure of education. It must be the atmosphere the student breathes . . . In a word, the purpose of Jesuit teaching is to lay a solid substructure in the whole mind and character for any superstructure of science, professional and special, also for the building up of moral life, civil and religious.

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129 Ibid., 384-385.
With the presentation of such publicly disseminated material, the college began to increase in enrollment. Soon, Augusta Catholics and Protestants alike were sending their sons to be educated by the Jesuit Fathers.

**Figure 5.5** The College of the Sacred Heart converted from the original church with campus expansions to the left of the main building.

By 1905, the college had garnered support and attendance from local Catholics and non-Catholics. In fact, a large percentage of the students (between 40 and 50%) were Protestant, some of which had transferred from the local county supported academy. Despite the college’s growth, Jesuits continued to feel difficulties. Augusta was a city largely populated by Protestants. *The Woodstock Letters* report that for every one Catholic, there were seven Protestants. In addition to a low Catholic population, the American Protective Association, an organization founded towards the end of the 19th

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century to combat the rise of Catholicism in America, held a strong presence in the city. Leaders of the A.P.A. held prominent positions in city offices, and the organization had, in previous years, successfully closed two public schools run by the Sisters of Mercy. With the awareness of the College of the Sacred Heart, the A.P.A. of Augusta, Georgia, printed encyclicals promoting the need for a college in Augusta without mentioning the existing Jesuit institution. When the solicitation reached the public, one Catholic individual approached the editor of the encyclical and asked the editor to accompany him on a tour of the Jesuit college. The editor accepted and upon completing the tour, he reported that he was indeed impressed with the college. The following day a new publication was released acknowledging the presence of the Jesuit institution and its complete readiness to provide higher education for the students of the city.¹³³

Despite the tentative success of the college, signs of foreboding appeared on an August morning. On August 26, 1908, the Jesuit Fathers watched in shock as a large drove of horses galloped wildly through the street in front of their college. The Jesuits believed that the horses had been spooked while a farmer was in the process of moving them to higher ground due to the amount of rainfall that had recently inundated the city. What the priests did not know was that the heavy rainfall had affected the local river, and it had now coursed beyond its banks, making swift progress towards the city. The following morning, August 27th, water began to stream from sewers and fill gutters. The morning paper had not been delivered to the Jesuit residence, nor had the baker arrived with his shipment of bread.¹³⁴

¹³³ Ibid., 383.
The Jesuits had not been alerted to any situation, so they sent one of their own to investigate. Shortly the priest returned with disturbing news. The streets running parallel to the college only a block away were completely submerged with muddy water. By 9:00 a.m., water had reached the street directly in front of the college, and just before noon the college grounds began to flood. With no students present, as the term had yet to begin, the Jesuits decided to quickly eat lunch, cook all food stocks, and prepare for the worst; however, mid-meal, water began to stream into the rectory, and the fires in the kitchen were extinguished, filling the lower floor with steam. By nightfall, the lower floors of the college were submerged. The Jesuits were kept awake on the upper floor listening to the gurgling of swift currents as water flowed through the college building. Fires broke out that night across the city, and by the next day, all plumbing pressure was lost, leaving no potable water. By the week’s end, the water had receded; however, the city lay in ruins, and many bridges that connected various parts of the city had been washed away, leaving lines of communication damaged.\textsuperscript{135}

The college, like so much of the city, had sustained damages. The lower floors had been filled with water and mud, and several large holes had formed around the foundation of the buildings due to the swift current. The worst damage, however, was the loss of students. The college was scheduled to open on September 1st. With much labor, it opened on September 8th but to only half of the expected student population. The Jesuit Fathers were hopeful that those families with financial means would contribute to the institution’s future success; however, this experience did not shake the Jesuits. Indeed, they were confident in their abilities to renew the college. Two of the priests employed at

\textsuperscript{135} Ibid.
the college had survived the Galveston storm at St. Mary’s University, and still another had survived both fires that destroyed St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana.\textsuperscript{136}

As long as the Jesuits knew they could count on their financial patrons and the capital investment of wealthy Protestant families who agreed with the liberal education provided by the Jesuits, the Fathers felt they would continue their educational work. In an essay written to explain the non-Catholic student enrollment dependence issue the following is given to explain further:

\ldots though its maximum regular of students has never exceeded 120,\textsuperscript{[enrollment]} may nevertheless be said to be a success when we take into account the relatively small number of Catholics compared with the entire population of Augusta now over 41,000. Though the bulk of the population is non-Catholic and abundantly furnished with non-Catholic educational institutions, our college has always been patronized by the children of non-Catholic parents of the better class.\textsuperscript{137}

Such patronage, however, was not to last, as the communal relationship between the Jesuit college and the social surroundings suffered not only from poor religious connections, but from misunderstandings of Jesuit identity and increasing anti-Catholic sentiment.

Misunderstanding, mixed support, and prejudice were felt throughout Georgia regarding the efforts of the Society of Jesus. For example, when the Jesuit novitiate in Macon, Georgia, caught fire, the fire brigade indicated the locale as the “Irish High School.” The fireman had misinterpreted the “IHS.” above the main entrance of the novitiate to mean “Irish High School” instead of its Latin representation of the name of Jesus. Although Catholic populations were low in Georgia when the novitiate burned, local hotels opened their rooms to the Jesuits, and citizens offered their automobiles for

\textsuperscript{136} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{137} Augusta College Essay, 1914, AR Files: 247, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
the use of the priests. The priests, after acceptance of such accommodations, decided, in reaction to anti-Catholic sentiment, to don suits instead of cassocks as they resided at the hotel in order to maintain a low profile.\textsuperscript{138} Such misunderstandings and rising negative social communion gave way to the following text printed in \textit{The Woodstock Letters}:

\begin{quote}
We cannot hope very well for non-Catholics, as religious prejudice is so strong, and state school have improved wonderfully in the last ten years. We are having a fight for our plainest civil rights just now. To combat prejudice we are organizing a ‘Catholic Laymen’s Federation.’ A convention was held in Macon, on Sunday, September 24, at which all parishes and societies in the state were present. We expect much good from this move.\textsuperscript{139}
\end{quote}

What good might have been derived from the initiation of the Catholic Laymen’s Federation cannot be speculated; however, the creation of a federation, supported by the Jesuit Fathers in Georgia might have attempted to strengthen Catholic support of Jesuit education in the state via expressing the goals of the Society of Jesus.

Whatever the outcome of the Catholic Laymen’s Federation may not be known. What is known is that Catholic student enrollments at the College of the Sacred Heart steadily declined where as Protestant enrollment increased. It was reported that the reputation of the Jesuit Fathers as excellent educators is what drew a number of Protestant students from wealthy families. By 1907, due to heavy Protestant enrollments, the student population had reached 138, thus weakening the local Richmond Academy, which saw a decreased enrollment due to the educational efforts of the Jesuits. With enrollment dropping at Richmond Academy, the academy transferred control to the Georgia Board of Education making itself a formal high school with free tuition to all students. This hurt the enrollment at the Jesuit college, and by 1914, the enrollment at the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{138} Thomas Shields, “Novitiate at Macon Destroyed by Fired,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 51 no. 3 (1892): 348-350.
\item \textsuperscript{139} “Augusta. Sacred Heart College,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 45 no. 3 Varia (1916): 447-448.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
College of the Sacred Heart had dropped to 45.\textsuperscript{140} With the decreased enrollment causing apprehension, the Jesuit Fathers seemed to be more concerned with the Catholic/Protestant student ratio. Reports indicate that,

Very nearly half this [student] number are Protestant. One of the many difficulties we have to contend with is to get the students to complete the course. Many of them would gladly receive the A.B. degree, but at the cost of less labor; and as we have no commercial course, and hence give no degree in science, our graduates are necessarily few.\textsuperscript{141}

As Catholic student enrollment continued to decline and Protestant students withdrew before completing the college course, curricular changes had to be considered, and the mission of the institution as a form of higher education had to be reconsidered.

By 1913, the college had degenerated to that of a high school with a lower preparatory department. With students no longer enrolling in college level courses, the Jesuits sought to capitalize on what they had and focus on high school level students. The college catalogue of 1912-1913 describes the institution as being made of up two parts: preparatory and high school. No college level is listed. The high school level offered a curriculum bolstering the classic languages of Greece and Rome, natural sciences, mathematics, geometry, poetry, history, rhetoric, mechanics, and geography. The catalogue of that academic year clearly indicates that, although Catholic doctrine infused the course work, the institution was not meant primarily for the Catholic students.\textsuperscript{142} As well, the Jesuit Fathers realized their dependence on Protestant families to send their sons to the college and made it clear in publications that the religious beliefs of all attending non-Catholic students would not be infringed upon.

\textsuperscript{140} Cashin, \textit{The Story of Sacred Heart}, 16.
\textsuperscript{141} Ibid., 406.
\textsuperscript{142} \textit{Catalogue of the Officers and Students of The College of the Sacred Heart: Augusta, GA., 1912-1913} (Augusta, Georgia: Chronicle Job Print, 1913), Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus
Despite the Jesuits’ attempts to re-advertise the former college turned high school as an institution with respect for varying religious beliefs and clear focus on lower preparatory and high school curricula, enrollment numbers continued to dwindle. Ultimately, the Jesuits had to consider the possibility of closing the College of the Sacred Heart. Father Salter, in an account of the need to close the Augusta college, describes how many students, especially those of Catholic families were choosing other academies over the Jesuit institution. Salter indicates that the secular institution in Augusta “whose course, perhaps, better meets the needs and the wishes of the greater part of our Catholic population.”

Indeed, the curriculum at the secular institute was more pragmatic, less focused on languages and the classics, promoted “job-related” skills, and was, as a state institution, far less expensive than the Jesuit school.

In 1915, the Jesuits had on their hands a poorly attended high school with close to $10,000 in debts. The Order decided to close the college, and Augusta Bishop, Benjamin Keiley, gave his consent; however, Father Ryan of the New Orleans Province tried to reopen the college by securing funds from the small Catholic population in Augusta. Ryan secured enough to cover all debts and reopen the college. Despite Father Ryan’s efforts, the Jesuit superior general in Rome had had enough of the failed attempts of the Jesuits in Augusta and in 1917 informed Ryan that “[he didn’t] want to hear anymore about Augusta,” and the college was closed for good.

The Jesuit College of the Sacred Heart was created at the behest of a bishop eager to see a strong Catholic college service the educational needs of August, Georgia. The college did acquire a public and student following, and despite an inundating flood the

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144 Cashin, The Story of Sacred Heart, 16-17.
college was able to remain open. With the change in public ideologies regarding the Catholic presence in Georgia, misunderstandings relating to the Jesuit Fathers’ identity and mission, and low Catholic population interest in the Jesuit college, the institution eventually failed. After the conflagration and destruction of the Jesuit novitiate in Macon, its removal to Louisiana, and the exit of the Fathers from Augusta, the presence of the Society of Jesus in Georgia came to an end. Today, the Church of the Sacred Heart still stands in Augusta, though not governed by the Society: a lingering testament to the former presence of the Jesuits and their college.

**Case Analysis: The College of the Sacred Heart**

The College of the Sacred Heart was a Catholic institution in a highly Protestant community, and such a discrepancy certainly lends itself to the understanding of catalytic factors surrounding institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships on the survivability of an institution. The case of the College of the Sacred Heart gives a candid account of the involvement of the Jesuit institution with its surroundings, its adaptability, and the final moment when it was realized that the college had to close. Student enrollment at the college was never exceptionally high, and as indicated in the text, the population of Catholic students to Protestant was disproportional. The greatest concern for the Jesuit Fathers, as it is relayed in this case, was the ability to communicate the mission of the institution to promote student success towards the A.B. degree; such prompting was often difficult and led to the reformation and redirection of the college.

The institutional identity of the College of the Sacred Heart often caused concern for the Jesuit college. The Catholic/Jesuit identity of the college and of the Jesuit Fathers played into the increasing anti-Catholic sentiment in the surrounding city. Even with the
support of the Irish Catholic community, the Jesuits had to find ways to reach out to Protestant elite in order to maintain enrollment numbers. Methods of relaying the identity of the institution were often conveyed through the published curricular mission of the college.

The college mission was promoted and advertised throughout Georgia; however, it was adapted to appeal to the Protestant population and deflect anti-Catholic sentiment. In the curriculum catalogues of the College of the Sacred Heart, we see the conveyance of words such as “religious” and “moral”; however, the word Catholic is not found. This case illustrates that the Jesuit identity was at times confusing to the populous and led to miscommunications about the nature of the Jesuit Fathers. Perhaps, by not overtly disclosing the Catholic nature of the college, the Jesuits felt they might have been able to secure larger numbers of Protestant students. After the Augusta flood, the enrollment numbers of Irish Catholics dropped exponentially. Irish Catholics no longer wanted a classical education and resorted to the area public schools where a more pragmatic curriculum was offered.

The factors of institutional identity and mission were difficult to navigate and adapt for the Augusta Jesuits. So, too, were societal relationships. The town and gown bond was often tenuous and given to extreme change. From this case, it can be noted that the Jesuits attempted to forge stronger links with the city via plays and musical performances. These attempts had some effect but ultimately the linkages that appeared to be the most important were those with elite white protestant families who could afford to send their sons to the Jesuit college and were more interested in formative education that would enlighten their sons to the noble status of their families. With the recession of
the floodwaters, many Catholic families could no longer afford to send their students to
the Jesuit school, as whole livelihoods had been erased. When the local Richmond
Academy was converted to a free public school the Jesuit Fathers realized their college
was lost and slowly converted the curriculum to that of a high school.

As can be seen, the identity and mission of the College of the Sacred Heart was
difficult to express and even more difficult to adapt. These factors hindered the
enrollment of the college, financial gain, and created weak links between the Catholic
populous of Augusta, thereby forcing the Jesuits to turn to the Protestant community.
Societal relations were equally difficult, and in time communal support did not match the
needs of the Jesuit college. External factors of identity, mission, and town and gown
relationships served as factors that led to the failure of the College of the Sacred Heart.
Also, internal factors relating to the Society of Jesus affected the survival of the college.
In the final days of the college the Jesuit superior general in Rome had given up on
Augusta and ordered the Jesuits of the New Orleans Province to cease and desist their
educational work in Georgia, thereby sealing the fate of the institution.

**Institutional Failure in Review**

The cases of St. Charles College, St. Mary’s University, and the College of the
Sacred Heart present a myriad of details relating to each institution’s evolution and
failure. Also, each case reports factors confronted by the Society of Jesus at each college,
as well as the communal relationships between the town and gown. When examining and
comparing all three cases, certain similarities arise from these microhistories. These
similarities must be noted, as they not only illustrate the failure of the three Jesuit
institutions but also relay societal norms and the nature of the Society of Jesus.
Similarities include the predominance of communal support as it relates to student enrollment and financial gain. In two cases (St. Charles College and the College of the Sacred Heart), external societal relationships were strained via anti-Catholic sentiment, thus limiting the pool of students that could be enlisted for attendance. Also, in the case of St. Mary’s University, the need to convert the college to a day school, in order to remain competitive with other Catholic institutions, limited student accessibility to city residents, thus barring students from beyond Galveston or abroad to enroll. Another similarity is the reliance on other religious (nuns, priests, bishops) to support each institution.

Regarding the institutional identity and mission of all three institutions, it is clear that each Jesuit college was intent on conveying who they were and what factors rooted their educational methods. Catalogues and advertisements were used to communicate to the public the nature of institutions and to recruit students. In addition, the Catholic identity of each college was evident, as photographs clearly illustrate. Catholic icons, symbols, and imagery adorn the college buildings, and in all cases, the Jesuit-run Catholic church was situated near, if not connected to, all three institutions.

The expressed identity and mission in each college case study promoted some form of relationship between the town and gown, resulting in greater or diminished support. The cases of St. Charles College and St. Mary’s University demonstrate how certain communities bonded with the institution and supported the educational mission and Catholic/Jesuit identity. In other instances, anti-Catholic/anti-Jesuit sentiment hindered the growth of the institutions in question. Clearly, external aspects of institutional identity, mission, and societal relationships played their role in the
development and failure of each institution. What is even more telling, as shown in all three cases, is the internal affects of Jesuitical identity and mission in shaping the future of each institution.

Priests and brothers of the Society of Jesus are sworn to a series of vows. In these cases, the most affecting vow is that of obedience. When the decision was made to close St. Charles College and St. Mary’s University, it was done via the directions form of a Father Visitor who carried with him the authority of the Jesuit superior general in Rome. Father Visitor de Boynes surveyed all Jesuit colleges in the New Orleans Province, and for two of the three colleges presented in this chapter, de Boynes decided that they should close so that the educational identity and mission of the Society of Jesus would be strengthened in cities that had higher Catholic populations and were more supportive of the Order. In the case of St. Mary’s University, obedience was still the final factor. When Father General ordered the closure of the Augusta college, the New Orleans Province Jesuits followed suit and returned their priests and brothers to Mobile and New Orleans. The ultimate result was the failed survival of three Jesuit institutions and the retrenchment of Jesuit education into heavily Catholic cities.

This chapter, with the inclusion of cases focusing on St. Charles College, St. Mary’s University, and the College of the Scared heart, has focused on the presentation and analysis of institutional failure. These three Jesuit institutions all suffered closure from a variety of reasons that can be traced, in ways, back to institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships. In the next chapter, cases of institutional closure and program amalgamation will be presented for continued analysis. With the presentation of historiographically-constructed cases regarding the College of the
Immaculate Conception and Loyola College, both located in New Orleans, Louisiana, similar factors of identity, mission, and societal relations will be examined to add to chapter five’s analysis of institutional failure.
CHAPTER SIX: CLOSURE AND AMALGAMATION

This departure, [from old college methods to new] made imperative by our plans for the development of a great University, will eventually work unto the benefit of all. – Father Albert Biever

This chapter consists of two case studies representing the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College, both in New Orleans Louisiana. Although located in the same city, neither shared the same geographic region, and the impetus for the founding of each institution was particularly different. The archival data gathered and assembled in these cases includes available sources that, when woven together, breathe life into these two institutions that no longer exist. As the concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships are applied in case analysis, the reasons for their closure and curricular amalgamation into a newer singular Jesuit university will be presented.

**College of the Immaculate Conception: New Orleans, Louisiana**

Imagine if you will receiving a letter emblazed with a collegiate seal bearing Mary the mother of Jesus at the forefront of the crest. Clouds surround Mary with light streaming from her hands while her head is haloed with stars. Scripted above the seal is, “Mary, conceived without sin, pray for us, who have recourse to thee.” This was the common letterhead and seal of the College of the Immaculate Conception in New Orleans, Louisiana. But before there was a seal there was the foundation of a Jesuit residence in New Orleans and later a college for the education of young men.

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1 Albert Biever, *Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914*, Albert Biever Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, 158.

2 College of the Immaculate Conception, letter head, January 18, 1862, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
According to the diary of Father Jean Baptiste Maisounabe, communications regarding a Jesuit residence and college in New Orleans had already been established with Archbishop Anthony Blanc in the first years of the Jesuit return to New Orleans (1837). This project was delayed, however, due to inadequate funds. Eventually, through the efforts of Father Maisounabe, property was purchased on the corner of Common and Baronne Streets in New Orleans. The purpose was to build a Catholic church and rectory for the Society of Jesus, as well as a college for the instruction of young Catholic men in the city. Despite petitions to the Catholic populous for financial support, none was given; however, in November of 1848, the Society of Jesus in New Orleans borrowed from the Ursuline Sisters the sum of $2000 for the construction of a college next to their Barrone Street church. The Ursulines, who had been brought to New Orleans by the Jesuits in the 18th century, held a strong alliance with the Fathers. Over the course of 56 years, the Ursulines loaned the Jesuits an additional $28,000. In total, the Sisters loaned the Society of Jesus $30,000 completely without interest. All of the money went towards the betterment of the college and the Jesuit residence.

Seated on a portion of the property once given by Bienville to the Jesuits for their New Orleans plantation and later confiscated through the colonial Jesuit expulsion, the Fathers began their new college in New Orleans. With the visitation of Father John Cambiaso, it was decided that the architectural style of the college should match that of the Jesuit church, Moresque. Cambiaso was enthusiastic about the development of the

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3 Jean Baptiste Maisounabe, diary, 1847, Maisounabe Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
5 J. J. Obrien, Account of the Ursuline Loans to Jesuit Fathers, AR Files, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
college and added to the Maisounabe purchase on Common and Baronne streets with an additional plot of land on Common Street valued at $10,000.\textsuperscript{6} Not only did it provide some sense of satisfaction to return to an original land area once held by the Society, newly arrived Jesuit Fathers, originally from European countries, marveled at New Orleans with its features so like the homelands they had left behind for the service of God. As Albert Biever indicates in his journal,

> On arriving at New Orleans, the first Jesuit we met was good Brother Ignatius . . . who guarded the college door and who of all those who came to New Orleans in 1849 remained through all the changing years and witnessed the gradual growth and improvement of the Church and College of the Immaculate Conception . . . The College buildings were modest, but the church . . . was superb. Baronne Street was still paved with cobblestones, and the street was lined with stables . . . We were allowed to stay in New Orleans some days . . . We were surprised to notice the remarkable likeness between New Orleans and the cities of Europe, and were more surprised when we heard French spoken almost everywhere. Even in the Church of the Immaculate Conception on Baronne Street, we had the privilege of hearing a fine French sermon . . . and the singing of the choir at the High Mass was entrancing. Who could have believed that a country that I had pictured to myself as half civilized, was able to produce music the like of which we had not heard in any church in Europe.\textsuperscript{7}

Such a reminder of their homelands encouraged many Jesuits to entrench themselves in their educational work and aid in the development of the College of the Immaculate Conception with an ever-increasing attendance and rigorously enforced student schedule.

The “order of the day” was indeed strenuous. Students were admitted to the inner college courtyard at 7:30 a.m. No later than 8:30, all students were required to be seated in the church for morning mass and in classrooms from 9:00 a.m. until 12:00 p.m. By noon, all students had experienced one fifteen-minute recess. At lunch, students were free


\textsuperscript{7} Albert Biever, \textit{Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915}, Albert Biever Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, 27-28.
to join their families at home. Upon the close of lunch, classes began again at 1:30 p.m. with no further interruptions or breaks until 4 p.m. Including any student organization time, students spent on average six hours inside the walls of the college. This schedule was maintained throughout the 19th century, and attendance ranged from 200 to 300 students in the earlier years, but with the growth of New Orleans populations and shortened school hours, enrollment numbers increased.\footnote{Kenny, 1946, Jesuits in our Southland 1566-1946: Origin and Growth of New Orleans Province, 67.}

![Image](image_url)

**Figure 6.1** The College and Church of the Immaculate Conception, corner of Barrone and Common Streets.\footnote{“The College and Church of the Immaculate Conception, corner of Barrone and Common Streets,” lithograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.}

As the institution progressed, the Jesuit Fathers issued full encyclicals to the public regarding the nature of the college and its curricular legitimacy in the eyes of the State of Louisiana, as well as the accepted Jesuit curriculum based on the *Ratio Studiorum*. According to the 1910/1911 college catalogue,
The College of the Immaculate Conception, conducted by the Father of the Society of Jesus, was founded in December, 1847; and in March, 1856, was endowed by the Legislature of the State of Louisiana, with the full powers and privileges of a University. The plan of studies embraces the Doctrines and Evidences of the Catholic Religion, Logic, Metaphysics, Ethics, Astronomy, Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, Mathematics, Rhetoric, Composition, Elocution, History, Geography, Arithmetic, Penmanship, Book-keeping, Stenography, Typewriting, the Latin, Greek, English, French, German and Spanish Languages.10

In fact, the legislation utilized by the Society of Jesus to confer degrees was formulated under a corporation known as The Catholic Society for Religious and Literary Education, the same corporation established to aid in the confirmation of degrees at St. Charles College in Grand Coteau. Even so, at the end of the 19th century, the College of the Immaculate Conception began to stretch its curricular offerings and expanded into the realm of graduate coursework.

Passing through the Civil War unscathed, due primarily to the early surrender of New Orleans, the Jesuits began promoting public classes and lectures for adults and college graduates. In 1886, the College of the Immaculate Conception advertised a formal graduate/professional curriculum for those students who graduated from the Jesuit institution or any other institution of equal standing. The courses were offered sparsely and mainly comprised sociology, political economy, international law, and general physics. Upon completing a course cycle of seven years, graduate students could receive a Masters of Arts degree.11 As student enrollments increased via high school, college, and graduate courses, the need for a larger facility became apparent. Under the regime of Father Butler in the 1880s, the College of the Immaculate Conception was expanded and

remodeled to include newer buildings constructed to more closely resemble the Jesuit church including a new three-story main building. These expansions sufficed until 1900, when the student population swelled to a point at which an even larger structure was required. When this structure was completed, the architecture again mirrored that of the Jesuit church.

Figure 6.2 Final construction of the College of the Immaculate Conception.

As the college continued to grow in New Orleans, the experiences and effects of the city encroached on the Jesuit Fathers, none as strong as yellow fever. In 1897, yellow fever descended on the city of New Orleans causing fatalities citywide. The College of the Immaculate Conception felt the effects as a student succumbed to the disease. As the

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13 “The College of the Immaculate Conception,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
effects of the disease on the city increased, the New Orleans Board of Health decreed that all educational institutions must close. The College of the Immaculate Conception complied, and to the dismay of the Jesuit Fathers, some 300 students were released until further notice. Not only did the disease close the institution, but also the priests were sent forth into the community to aid the sick and perform the last rights for dying Catholics. This exposed the Jesuit faculty to the same disease that had killed so many.  

Yellow fever was an annual occurrence in the city. Relegated to the warmer months of the year, the fever never fully stopped Jesuit educational efforts. Indeed, residents of New Orleans had taken note and shared in the celebrations and success of the Jesuit college. As new structures on campus were being completed in 1901, the city prepared for a visit from President McKinley. The college too had reason to celebrate as its military cadet division had been requested by city officials to act as a special honorary guard to the president. Upon McKinley’s visit the cadets escorted him to the historic Cabildo Building in New Orleans’ Jackson Square. That year was a record high for the college as the student population had grown to 470. The college cadet battalion, known as the Jesuit College Cadet Corps, wore regulation West Point fatigues but was under no obligation to be called upon for military service by the State or Federal government. The use of a cadet/military model may have held two purposes: to solidify a form of discipline and to provide a service like those military forms of education held at other Southern institutions.

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The college had become extremely well known and enjoyed by the New Orleans community. With the ever-increasing number of graduates, a Jesuit alumni association was formed and elected Paul Capdeveill, mayor of New Orleans, as the organization’s president.\(^\text{17}\) As the college continued to forge links between itself and its surrounding community, the students were asked to participate in additional public events heralding the identity of the Jesuit college. At the celebration of the Louisiana centennial in 1903, the college’s cadet corps was asked to march in a grand parade. One of the centennial event speakers was the Jesuit Father E. de la Morinier, who spoke about the intertwined history of Louisiana and the Catholic Church. The event’s attendants were a mix of Catholics, Protestants, Jews, and nonbelievers, as reported by the *Woodstock Letters*, who received de La Morinier’s speech with enthusiasm, despite the original objection to the proposed speech by nonsectarian members of New Orleans. Also, many Catholic organizations, such as the Catholic Knights of America and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, began to utilize rooms in the college for spiritual retreats directed by the Jesuit Fathers.\(^\text{18}\)

As the years passed, changes occurred in the legitimacy standards for accrediting colleges and schools. The three-year collegiate course, previously used at all Jesuit institutions for college instruction, was reorganized into a four-year curriculum to match the changing trends in American higher education.\(^\text{19}\) For those enrolled in commercial courses, a certificate of proficiency was developed and given upon course completion; however, with the addition of Latin or Greek, those same commercial course students


\(^\text{19}\) Whelan, “Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana,” 2.
could receive a Baccalaureate of Science degree. All college graduates, who completed the classical curriculum, received an A.B. degree, and those who pursued post-graduate study and completed an approved list of courses received an A.M. degree. Even with the adaptation of curriculum standards, the Catholic identity and mission of the college was unwavering. In the college catalogues, the following quote expresses the religious nature of the institution:

The College authorities are convinced that, without Religion, there can be no education in the true sense of the word, that is to say, no complete and harmonious development of the intellect and heart of man. They hold, furthermore, that religious truth, being definite and certain, like any and every other truth, is as susceptible of teaching as the science of language, or the theory of numbers. Hence, the Catechism of Christian Doctrine is a text-book in every class, and lectures on it are given twice a week. In all the classes the day’s work begins and ends with prayer. The Catholic Religion alone is taught, but non-Catholics will also be welcome and their religious opinions studiously respected. Catholic students go to confession on the Saturday previous to the third Sunday of each month, and on the following day, in the Church annexed to the College, hear Mass and receive Holy Communion.

With the outpouring of public materials describing the identity and mission of the institution, enrollment numbers increased. The Catholic population had strong ties with the college and regarded it as a success for the city.

The college was frequently visited by prestigious alumni and military figures who gave orations and lectures to the student body heralding their connection with the Society of Jesus and boasting of the great work of the Fathers. One such guest was Admiral Schely, who informed the student body “that he attributed any success he might have had in his career to the solid training as a boy at [the Jesuit administered] St. John’s Institute,

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20 Ibid., 3.
22 Ibid.
Fredrock[, Maryland].”23 Local support for the College of the Immaculate Conception from donors was, at times strong. During years of rebuilding and expansion of existing portions of the college, donations made up the bulk of the construction money. Messers McClosky of New Orleans contributed $15,000 for a new building to be erected around the Baronne Street church, with the stipulation that the architecture was to match the church exactly. Also, the widow of Thomas J. Semmes (Thomas was an alumnus of the college, ex-officer in the Confederate armies, and former Louisiana politician) donated $10,000 for the construction of a college chapel, which was dubbed the Thomas J. Semmes Memorial Chapel.24 At the dedication of the Semmes Memorial Chapel, locals attended en masse, including Bishop Rouxel, representatives from the secular and ordered clergy of New Orleans, the McClosky brothers (donors who contributed to a new hall on the campus), and Lawrence Fabacher, a great supporter of the Jesuits.25 Not only was the college being philanthropically supported, it was also being academically promoted. Faculty presented public lectures to anyone that would attend. In fact, in 1905, the Woodstock Letters report that the College of the Immaculate Conception played host to lectures on the nature and spread of yellow fever.26

As the academic side of the College of the Immaculate Conception flourished, so, too, did its alumni. In 1906, the Jesuit Alumni Association for the college was reported as growing and containing a large portion of the leading Catholic gentlemen in the city. That year, Major Dickman from Washington examined the college cadet corps. He had

previously reviewed the cadets at the Louisiana State University at Baton Rouge and reported that he was highly impressed with the cadets at the College of the Immaculate Conception. Later in the year, the cadets were asked to participate, and did so, in the Rex parade of the New Orleans Mardi Gras celebration.\(^27\) As the academic rigor of the institution increased, efforts and staff were reallocated to attend to the intellectual regime of the college. As a result “the Cadets Corps which . . . [had] been a feature at the College of the Immaculate Conception, New Orleans, [was] disbanded. It was found that the time given to drilling could be spent more advantageously in study.”\(^28\) This end to the cadet corps did not have an effect on enrollment. Numbers continued to increase, and the city of New Orleans continued to support the institution.

As the city grew and curricular legitimacies changed, the need to further alter the system of Jesuit higher education in the New Orleans Province became apparent. Thus, in 1912, the college department of the College of the Immaculate Conception on Baronne Street was transferred to the newly created Loyola University New Orleans on St. Charles Avenue. In 1908, Father Biever wrote to Father General Xavier Werntz in Rome requesting the college-level courses at the College of the Immaculate Conception be transferred to Loyola College, leaving the old College of the Immaculate Conception as an accredited high school.\(^29\) The high school division remained at the College of the Immaculate Conception. In return, the high school division of Loyola College was

\(^{27}\) “Immaculate Conception College,” *Woodstock Letters* 35 no. 1 Varia (1906): 262.


\(^{29}\) Biever, *Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914*, 157.
transferred to the Barron Street campus while the new Loyola University on St. Charles Avenue absorbed the college division.\textsuperscript{30}

The high school division, which remained at the College of the Immaculate Conception, was expanded to include physics and chemistry in order to compete with public schools. The Jesuits reported via the \textit{Woodstock Letters} that the separation of high school and college was advantageous, parents and community members approved, and there was a large increase of students at both the high school and new Jesuit university.\textsuperscript{31}

When the decision was made to separate the high school and college departments into separate campuses the following letter was sent out to all students and parents:

Dear Sir:

The President and Faculty of LOYOLA UNIVERSITY beg to inform you that after mature deliberation, and pursuant to the original purpose for which this site was purchased and the Marquette Association for Higher Education founded, it has been decided to discontinue the Academic Department which hitherto has prepared for the College.

This departure, made imperative by our plans for the development of a great University, will eventually work unto the benefit of all.

Whilst we fully appreciate the disappointment this change may cause to our boys and to their parents, we also believe that the lofty motives that underline our conduct will renew and increase the active interest, patronage and generosity of the friends of the Society of Jesus, and the noble cause it represents. The College of the Immaculate Conception on Barrone Street, will adjust courses of studies so as to prepare its students for the entrance requirements of Loyola. Bespeaking then for the University, the same loyalty and support which the College has shared, we remain,

Yours very cordially,

THE PRESIDENT AND FACULTY\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{30} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{32} Biever, \textit{Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914}, 158.
In conjunction with the above letter, the 1911/1912 catalogue for the College of the Immaculate Conception announced the institution’s transition from a college based on the European curricular system to an American high school:

In the fall of 1911, on the completion of the college building, Marquette Hall, of Loyola University, the Faculty transferred thither the College classes, retaining the High School, and on account of its location, being within a distance of only a few paces from all important street cars in the city, while two of the principle car lines pass in front of the Baronne street entrance. GENERAL PLAN. – The High School Department is primarily a school preparatory for admission to Loyola University, and leads naturally to the College course at Marquette Hall. At the same time the course offers as full and complete a training as can be had in any of the best High Schools in the country; and while a long and varied experience has shown that no Academy or High School can supply what is essentially the work of a college in preparing for the higher studies of a University, the entire training and the graded courses of studies pursued in the High School Department offer to every student as thorough and complete an education as can be obtained within the short term of a high school course.\(^{33}\)

The course of high school training was still described in the 1911/1912 catalogue as being one based on Catholic doctrine. All high school students would be admitted on proof of good character and primary school attendance. Students were subjected to a course schedule that included Latin, English, Greek, algebra, geometry, physical geography, biology, chemistry, physics, and elocution. All of these courses were mandatory if a student wished to receive a certificate of high school completion. According to the catalogue, “All these studies are compulsory, and necessary as a condition for obtaining the certificate, the Faculty being convinced that the system of allowing young boys [to] select their own course of study is an experiment often tried and long ago found wanting.”\(^{34}\)


\(^{34}\) Ibid.
Jesuitical model of education and maintained a curricular system that justified certification upon course completion.

In 1926, with the establishment of a new facility on South Carrollton Avenue, the remaining high school division at the old College of the Immaculate Conception campus was transferred to create Jesuit High School, and the remnants of the old college died away. With the completion of the new Carrolton facility, the high school division located at the Baronne St. campus was transferred. An ever-increasing student population prompted the move, and the new high school campus could hold approximately 1000 students. The archbishop of New Orleans and Judge St. Paul of the Louisiana Supreme Court both gave speeches praising Jesuit education and the efforts of the Society of Jesus in the city. Mr. Prevost, a wealthy New Orleans resident, made a donation to the new high school in memory of his son who died while attending the College of the Immaculate Conception. The monetary gift of Mr. Prevost allowed for the establishment of a scholarship to provide students with “a chance to earn a place in the world through education.” The scholarship provided free education for 320 students to attend four years of study at the new Jesuit high school. Regarding the curriculum of the high school, it was reported in the Woodstock Letters that, “The high school course is strictly a college preparatory course, in accordance with the ideals of the time honored Jesuit curriculum.”

In 1946, the Jesuit Fathers received a letter from Fred W. Rickert, the president of Rickert Rice Mills, Inc. Rickert’s letter describes a donation of $250 to the National

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37 Ibid.
Jesuit Fund, an educational fund intended to further Jesuit education in the United States, along with his reasons behind the donation. Rickert explains:

I am an alumnus of the Jesuit Fathers’ schools, having been educated in New Orleans in the College of the Immaculate conception. . . . during the time I was in the Jesuit school I received my education and finished in 1895, and learned to respect and regard the Jesuits as the finest educators I have ever had the experience to meet. . . . It was my pleasure to have not only a recollection but the knowledge of what a real education is, not particularly in the elementary part of the school but in the higher branches. Above all, the religious training and the principles taught by the Jesuits in their religious training, have no doubt built a large part of the character of the men of this country because one who does not develop character under a strictly Jesuit training in a Jesuit school, certainly will be an impossible subject anywhere else.38

The alumni base of the old College of the Immaculate Conception never really died away. Today, Jesuit High School on Carrollton Avenue supports a full alumni office with staff dedicated to keeping all graduates connected with the school.

With the demise of the College of the Immaculate Conception, the city saw the rise of two new institutions geared towards a more Americanized standard of education: Loyola University and Jesuit High School. These institutions would continue to service student populations of New Orleans and still display classic Catholic/Jesuit symbols. In fact, the Semmes Memorial Chapel at the old Baronne Street campus was disassembled piece-by-piece and reconstructed at Jesuit High School, thus establishing a distinct and impressive connection with the first Jesuit college in New Orleans. As for the old College of the Immaculate Conception, it was torn down to make way for a high-rise structure known today as the Pere Marquette building. The high rise building, named after the Jesuit explorer of the Mississippi river, Pere Jacques Marquette, was built over the former

foundation of the college and sits next to the still existing Church of the Immaculate Conception on Baronne Street.

**Case Analysis: The College of the Immaculate Conception**

The College of the Immaculate Conception provides a very different scenario from the previous Jesuit college cases. Unlike several of its peer institutions, the College of the Immaculate Conception was well liked and supported by the populous of New Orleans and suffered no physical damage to the campus during its existance. Drawing on the large Catholic population of New Orleans, the Jesuit Fathers were able to increase enrollments far beyond that of any other New Orleans Province college. How was it that this Catholic college, unlike other institutions of the Society of Jesus in the South, achieved such success only to close anyway? Were there influential factors pertaining to external institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships, or was the reason something else? A careful review of this case will bring the answers to light.

The Jesuit Fathers of the College of the Immaculate Conception certainly made the institutional identity and mission clear to the public. Whether it was through very specifically worded advertisements, college catalogues that detailed the Catholic nature of the college and its curriculum, or the matching architecture between the church and college, the public knew exactly what the college stood for and who was running it. From the images presented in the case, it can be noted that from the early construction of the institution until its final physical form, great pains were taken to ensure the architectural similarity between the church and college. In fact, many Catholic symbols echo from one structure to the other and convey a sense of institutional uniformity between the two.
facilities. Even the seal of the college represented the institution’s patron saint, Mary, a clear demarcation of Catholic affiliation.

The mission of the college was also clearly presented to the public and well received, as evidenced by the fact that the student population only decreased when yellow fever was present in New Orleans. Otherwise, the enrollment numbers constantly increased and forced several expansions to the college campus. As time passed and educational norms changed, the College of the Immaculate Conception matched those changes but continued to focus on liberal education. With the addition of physics and other sciences, the college progressed and enhanced its course offerings to include graduate studies and public lectures, thus meeting the needs of more modern New Orleans residents who wished for professionally centered curricula. The Jesuit Fathers even added military aspects to the college in order to match the disciplinary and structural regimes of public colleges in Louisiana. The student cadet corps in full military regalia, accompanied by a cassock-wearing priest barking orders, led several parades in New Orleans and spread the identity of the institution.

The town and gown relationship between the College of the Immaculate Conception and the residents of New Orleans began roughly. As the college opened, no financial support was provided from the social milieu; however, through the positive relationship between the Ursuline Sisters and the Jesuits, the Fathers were able to acquire the capital required to begin their New Orleans college. In time, the city responded more positively to the Jesuit Fathers. Donations were made, and eventually a strong alumni base was generated that constantly expressed its appreciation of Jesuit education and gave back financially to the college. Other lay-Catholic organizations utilized the college and
developed a strong bond with the institution. With such strong ties between town and gown why did the College of the Immaculate Conception close? Why did the Jesuits make the decision to divide the high school and college divisions and relocate the college level curriculum to Loyola University? Why not remain in the same location next to the Church of the Immaculate Conception?

The ultimate issue that affected the closure of the College of the Immaculate Conception lies in the modernization of American educational standards and the internal Jesuit mission to survive via adaptability. As the Jesuit wave of education began to retrench from across the South back into Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana, the need to maintain an educational mission and identity fostered by a Jesuit staff located in substantial facilities that could better house the increasing number of students and match new educational standards, forced the closure. When the College of the Immaculate Conception closed, the high school division was eventually moved into a larger facility, and the curriculum adapted to match other public high schools. Also, with the removal of the college department to the new Loyola University, the college curriculum amalgamated and adapted to meet changing higher education standards. Ultimately, the closure and amalgamation of the college department was due to the Jesuit mission of educational adaptability. The old facility and its limited space could not house the changing educational regime and increased student enrollments, while the newly created Jesuit High School and Loyola University could. Therefore, the college closed and was absorbed into a new regime with separate physical structures, adding to a more modernized system of Jesuit higher education in the New Orleans Province.
Loyola College: New Orleans, Louisiana

With much pomp and circumstance, the World’s Industrial Cotton Centennial Exposition opened in New Orleans and entertained the populous from 1884 until 1886. Amidst the fanfare and celebration, people swarmed the exhibits to witness mechanical marvels, agricultural achievements, new methods of transportation, geological samples, and a host of displays brought from around the world. In addition to modern science, a high priority was placed on displaying educational merits. The American Bureau of Education capitalized on this feature of the exposition. John Eaton, the commissioner of the Bureau, in a letter to the secretary of the Department of the Interior, described the prospects provided for education at the exposition:

It was early manifested that the exhibit would present a rare opportunity for the promotion of the advancement of education. The desire on the part of the management to improve this opportunity to the utmost was expressed in the most explicit and emphatic terms by the director-general. Hon. E. A. Burke, when he declared that they sought not only the exhibit should be thoroughly national and international and in all its aspects educational, but that education itself, its systems, institutions, principles, methods, and results should be shown as far as possible by its literature and appliances, by models, by graphics, by actual class work, and by papers and discussions from the ablest educators.  

No doubt, the commissioner of the Bureau of Education was intent on utilizing the whole event to draw attention to American education. Exhibits and lectures not only displayed classical studies and industrial education but would also present the merger of the two.

The World’s Industrial and Cotton Exhibition was a clear example of the times and changes the nation was undergoing. Indeed, education seemed to be at the forefront of the exposition. In the reports of Herbert Fairall to the Governor of Iowa, he states,

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40 Ibid., 85-142.
The Educational exhibit was one of the most complete and attractive features of the Exposition. The Department of Education occupied the greater portion of the immense gallery of the Government and States Building, and comprised the display of foreign educational systems and institutions; that of the United States Government and those of several States and Territories, supplemented in many instances with exhibits of private academies schools.\textsuperscript{41} Clearly, educational exhibits were meant to demonstrate and compare the educational fortitude and progress of national, international, and private education. In fact, educational exhibits from religious-based schools and colleges were present. Religious orders such as the Christian Brothers, an Order originating with John Batiste de La Salle, whose members are devoted to education, were present to display the achievements of their literary and technical instruction in their colleges and schools.\textsuperscript{42} The event was so large and its effect on the growth of New Orleans so great that it attracted the attention of a particular group, the Society of Jesus.

The Jesuit involvement in the New Orleans Cotton Exposition was not restricted to taking stock of educational materials or marveling at impressive forms of machinery. The Jesuits had their own exhibit: a pipe organ that was considered one of the largest and finest in the United States. According to a booklet published in 1928 to celebrate the history of the Church of the Immaculate Conception, William Pilcher and Sons of New Orleans built the organ at the bequest of the Society of Jesus for their church on Baronne Street. Its maiden performance premiered at the Cotton Centennial Exhibition before it was installed in the Jesuit church.\textsuperscript{43} Its genesis notes filled the music auditorium, entertained the public, and represented the presence of the Society of Jesus at the

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\textsuperscript{42} Eaton, \textit{Special Report by the Bureau of Education: Educational Exhibits and Conventions at the Worlds Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition}, 151-152.
\textsuperscript{43} Wogan and Bernard, \textit{The Story of the Jesuits’ Church Baronne St., 1847-1928} (New Orleans, Louisiana: Church of the Immaculate Conception, 1928), 18-19.
\end{flushright}
exhibition. But where were the Jesuit educational exhibits? Where were the examples of student and faculty efforts from the New Orleans Province colleges? Nowhere in the *Special Report by the Bureau of Education: Educational Exhibits and Conventions at the Worlds Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition* is the Society of Jesus reported as having any educational presentations or otherwise except for their pipe organ.

Despite the Jesuits’ lack of educational participation, the exposition did have an effect on the formation of another Jesuit college. As a result of the New Orleans exposition, the city expanded outward towards the festivities, and the increase in population attracted the Jesuits. Indeed, it was this expansion that formed the impetus for the Society of Jesus to purchase and develop a large tract of land near the exposition, situated above Napoleon Avenue.\(^{44}\) As the population increased around this newly purchased tract of land, John O’Shanahan, then Superior of the New Orleans Mission, was becoming aware of the increased residential growth.\(^{45}\) In an account of the purchase of the uptown property, Father O’Shanahan explains that his reasons behind the acquisition were fourfold. First, the acquisition would allow for the establishment of a new Jesuit parish near the Carrolton area of New Orleans. Second, it would allow for the possibility of a future Catholic college. Third, religious retreats for laypersons could be offered in this new parish, and finally, this uptown property might afford some respite for the faculty of the College of the Immaculate Conception by drawing students away from

\(^{44}\) Albert Biever, *Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914*, Albert Biever Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, 10.

\(^{45}\) Ibid., 2.
the downtown college.\textsuperscript{46} O’Shanahan urged the archbishop of New Orleans, Francis Janssens, to write to the Prefect in Rome for permission to purchase the required land.\textsuperscript{47}

A reply was sent to Archbishop Janssens in the form of a Beneplacitum for the establishment of a new parish under the Society of Jesus, which approved the purchase of land that would aid in the incorporation of the Jesuit run parish, a church, house of retreats for the clergy, and most importantly, a college for the education of young men.\textsuperscript{48} Biever’s diary provides a translation of the Latin Beneplacitum from John Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect, to establish a parish and college:

As the most Reverend Francis Janssens, Archbishop of New Orleans in the States of North America, appealed to this Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith for the purpose of obtaining and giving to the fathers of the Society of Jesus the permission to have a parish near the city of New Orleans, to exercise therein the care of soul[s], and to establish a house of retreats for the clergy, and moreover to erect a college for the education of the youth, this Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith grants to the Most Reverend Archbishop the favor expressed in the above petition.

Given at Rome this December 6th 1890
John Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect\textsuperscript{49}

With the acceptance of the Beneplacitum, Archbishop Janssens offered the western region of New Orleans to the Jesuits. The acquired land, measuring 447 ft. on St. Charles Avenue opposite Audubon Park and running 12,196 ft. in lessening width to the Illinois rail tracks, was purchased for $22,500.\textsuperscript{50} Once the land was purchased a church was erected across from Audubon Park.\textsuperscript{51}

\textsuperscript{46} John O’Shanahan, Account of the Purchase of the Uptown Property, December 19, 1904, AR Files: 253, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
\textsuperscript{47} Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914, 2.
\textsuperscript{48} Ibid., 10.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{50} Kenny, 1946, Jesuits in our Southland 1566-1946: Origin and Growth of New Orleans Province, 155.
The purchase, however, was difficult. The Varia section of the *Woodstock Letters* indicates that, “The person who owned the proposed site was utterly opposed to Catholics in general and to Jesuits in particular; so a close friend of Ours [The Society of Jesus] undertook to purchase the desired spot. He spoke to a Protestant friend, and the result was the sale of what was known as Jesuits Place.”\(^5\) The purchased land included all of the territory now occupied by Loyola, Tulane, and Sophie Newcomb Universities as well as the neighborhood known as Audubon Place.\(^5\) After the land was purchased, the church was erected; however, it would take another 14 years before a college would be opened.

\(^{52}\) “Church of the Most Holy Name. St. Charles Avenue. 1892,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.

\(^{53}\) Ibid.

\(^{54}\) Biever, *Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914*, 2.
The need for a college in this uptown portion of New Orleans was justified in the New Orleans newspaper the *Daily Picayune*:

Considering the territorial extent of the city of New Orleans and its large population, it has become evident to the Jesuit Fathers that one Jesuit school or college is inadequate to meet the demands of the times. The college on Barrone and Common Streets, is overcrowded, having at the close of the session 1903-04 over 400 pupils. The school uptown will not be a branch of the College of the Immaculate Conception, but will be independent and distant from it... there will be no preparatory department . . . Later on the Jesuits will erect a modern, spacious stone edifice . . .

As plans were heralded in local papers, the Jesuits set forth to begin their college in modest lodgings until such time that capital could be acquired to expand the facilities.

In 1904, the Rev. William Power S.J. superior of the New Orleans Mission believed that the time for educational work had dawned. He appointed Father Albert Biever, Father Augustine E. Fields, Father William Salentine, and Father Lawrence White to found and staff the new institution next to the wooden Church of the Most Holy Name. Two lay brothers Edward McCarten and Emanuel Arizbalaga joined in the endeavor to attend to the material needs of the institution. Such work was often arduous as indicated by Father Biever: “Pioneer work is always difficult. The aspirations of the college faculty were high, but the material resources were extremely limited.”

From the purchased land originally used for the Cotton Centennial Exhibition, portions were sold to raise funds for Loyola College. A section was sold to John Morlas for $8,000 and a section to Tulane University for $1500, leaving the Jesuits with 15 acres on which to construct their college.

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56 Biever, *Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914*, 43.
Figure 6.4 Loyola College. House purchased form Judge McGloin.58

The need for a building to house the college was filled by the purchase of a house from a New Orleans judge and supporter of the Jesuits. The former home of Judge McGloin became the first building of the college.59 The house was purchased on January 26, 1902 for $7,075.60 The house was disassembled and moved to the Jesuit tract of land.61 Desks and educational materials were obtained, and the building was furnished with the necessities to house students until a larger building could be constructed.

Published advertisements solicited the nature of the college and its ability to provide

58 “Loyola College,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
60 Judge McGloin’s Property, 1902, AR Files: 166, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
private tutoring sessions to all who enrolled. The college opened on September 6, 1904 with nine students. Applicants for the new college came as far as Georgia; however, the new college would not possess a preparatory department like its sister institutions. This decision limited the number of students who could apply. Despite the low enrollment, hopes were high for Loyola College; as reported in the Woodstock Letters, “If the uptown sister of the Immaculate Conception thrives as well as the college on Baronne Street, there will be every cause to feel satisfaction that Loyola College has been started.”

The college opened with a curriculum practically identical to the downtown college. In fact, so closely aligned were the two institutions that faculty members were often interchanged. The main difference between the two institutions was that they served different sections of the city. In order to continue the expansion of Loyola College, an even larger portion of the originally purchased uptown tract of land was to be sold off.

The same year that the college opened, an advertisement ran in the Daily Picayune:

An unusual opportunity for investment and speculation. Grand sub-Division of the rear portion of the ‘Jesuit Tract,’ in the rear of St. Charles Ave., extending from Freret St. to Claiborn Ave., and comprising about 300 splendid building lots in the most promising and rapidly growing section of the sixth district. At public auction, Tuesday, May 24th, at 12 O’Clock M., at the real estate exchange, No. 311 Baronne Street.

The land was sold to neighboring Sophie Newcomb College for $150,000. Later, Sophie Newcomb and Tulane University would exchange properties, and the land passed to the ownership of Tulane University. The revenue drawn from the sale of land created a foundation capital set forth to promote the growing needs of the small college.

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64 “Auction Sales,” Daily Picayune, May 1, 1904.
65 Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914, 90-93.
As the college progressed and expanded, the Jesuit Fathers sent out advertisements to Catholic and Protestant New Orleans families in order to increase enrollment. The advertisement details the identity and mission of the institution. It reads as follows:

You attention is respectfully invited to the new school opened by the Jesuits in the garden district of the city, on St. Charles Avenue near Audubon Park. . . . [Educational] methods based on long and accurate observation and sound psychology, and embodied in the famous “Ratio Studiorum,” will be followed as closely as the times permit in Loyola College . . . Besides the religious and moral training of pupils . . . great stress will be laid on the development of the manners of a perfect gentleman . . . Non-Catholics will be admitted and their religious opinions scrupulously respected, nor shall they be debarred from any College honors or distinctions because of their religious tenets.66

It was the intent of the Jesuits that the intellectual, physical, and spiritual development of the students was amply provided for via the instructional methods of the Ratio Studiorum;67 however, clearly, the Jesuit Fathers wanted to communicate that the religious tenants of the Catholic faith would not be imposed upon students of differing religious faiths.

This change to the normal Catholic regime in Jesuit education reflected the need to extend their grasp and enroll a higher number of students, regardless of those students’ religious preferences. Despite this change, the Jesuit Fathers intended to maintain the Jesuit heritage and history of education in the South. As indicated in the Journals of Father Biever,

At the approach of spring, Loyola had its first Arbor Day . . . tiny oak trees were obtained from St. Charles College Grand Coteau, La. Father Biever in his address on that occasion touchingly alluded to this fact. By a strange coincidence, he said, the trees planted today by the 28 pioneer students, are the descendents of the first

66 Loyola College: St. Charles Avenue Audubon, Park, 1904, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.

67 Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914, 64.
sturdy oaks planted by Jesuit Fathers nearly a century ago at St. Charles College La. May you young Gentlemen grow strong and sturdy even as these oak saplings do and show to the world the deep rooted principles of religious faith and justice that are planted in your hearts in the institution. 68

Not only was the history of the Jesuit Fathers imparted to students as well as citizens of New Orleans, icons too were created to more widely circulate the identity of the institution. Such an example was the seal of Loyola College. The seal was circular in nature with the Latin phrase *Collegium Loyolaeum Neo-Aurelian. -MCMIV* cyclically framing a large shield. Half of the shield is covered in diagonal stripes, while the other half is emblazoned with portions of the Loyola/Ognez family crest. The center of the shield contains the Jesuit IHS, and atop the shield rests the Louisiana Pelican feeding her nest of chicks. 69 Such indicators as historic markers and collegiate iconography communicated the breadth and history of Jesuit traditions in education and imparted this identity to the public.

The plan was that this new college on St. Charles Avenue would only accept high school graduates and other college students who wished to attend; however, out of necessity, Loyola College eventually allowed the enrollment of high school students in order to increase enrollment and thereby garner additional capital through tuition dollars. 71 The tuition at this “uptown” Jesuit institution was ten dollars a month, as opposed to the six-dollar tuition of the “downtown” College of the Immaculate

68 Ibid., 51-53.
69 Loyola College Catalogue, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
70 Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914, 43.
Conception. Father Ryan supposed that this difference was due to the economic difference of families located in the different districts of New Orleans.\footnote{P. A. Ryan, October 28, 1956, \textit{An Eye Witness Account of Loyola University’s First Beginnings and Pioneer Days}, AR Files: 292, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.}

The 1905-1907 Loyola College catalogue gives an interesting glimpse into the existence of this institution. First, student enrollment was selective so as to enhance the individual attention given to each student. This selectivity, so far, had not existed at the other Jesuit institutions of the Province. Third, the catalogue clearly states, “The plan of studies at Loyola is the same as that followed in other colleges of the Society of Jesus,” and goes on to explain the religious and moral training that students would receive. Finally, and most telling, are the mentions of further construction plans for the college. At this time, the college was situated in a few wooden structures; however, the Jesuits had plans to enlarge the physical structure of the college through the development of new brick buildings.\footnote{Loyola College Catalogue, \textit{St Charles Avenue Opposite Audubon Park, New Orleans, Louisiana, 1905-1906}, Box, Loyola University New Orleans, Varia, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.} Such construction would require additional capital. To aid in fundraising a lay-Catholic association was formed.

The Jesuits of Loyola College took special care in the 1905 catalogue to acknowledge the aid of the Marquette Association for Higher Education in securing financial donations to the new uptown college.\footnote{Ibid.} The Marquette Association for Higher Education was formed with the express purpose of advancing Jesuit higher education in New Orleans through fundraising, donations, and solicitations. Also, the meetings of the...
association were publicly advertised in city papers. It was the belief of one of the lay-
members of the Marquette Association that the word “failure” did not exist in the
vocabulary of the Jesuits and that the city of New Orleans, as well as the rest of the
South, should support Loyola College. In response to this belief, members of the
Marquette Association contacted successful Catholic commercial and industrial
businessmen. These businessmen were aware of the struggles and difficulties of the
Jesuits in the education of students in the sciences and spirituality. The Marquette
Association plied their public connections and solicited via a variety of published means.
Such publications included the following sentiment:

    If the Catholics of New Orleans will give their support to the proposed college,
    they will receive the blessings of God and will perform an act that will forever
    stand to the credit of the earnest Catholicity of the city.

Due to the efforts of the Marquette Association, many residents of New Orleans endowed
Loyola College with monetary gifts ranging in the thousands.

    With funding on the rise and enrollment increasing, Loyola College conferred its
first academic degrees in 1908. Three candidates had successfully completed the
prescribed course of studies and were now prepared, according to the Jesuit college, for
the work force or continued study in graduate/professional programs. As Loyola
College had no State charter, it conferred degrees under the titles granted from the

75 Charter of the Marquette Association for Higher Education, 1907, Box, Loyola University New Orleans,
Varia, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of
Jesus.
76 Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University
New Orleans, 1904-1914, 72.
77 Ibid., 73.
78 Ibid., 76.
79 Ibid., 62.
College of the Immaculate Conception. At the time, the Jesuits believed this arrangement to be legal and that it would not present any problems for their graduates; however, this was not the case. Due to the lack of a formal State charter and the lack of a published curriculum, news circulated to neighboring institutions that the college faced an immense difficulty regarding institutional legitimacy.

In 1910, the Jesuits were notified that Tulane University was refusing Loyola College diplomas as sufficient to enroll in Tulane graduate programs. Father Ryan, after learning of the situation, sent a letter to Dean Miller of Tulane apparently reminding the dean that Tulane had been receiving boys with only high school diplomas into medical and law courses with the only formality being the presentation of a high school diploma. Ryan posed this question to the dean: “How in reason then can you refuse to accept the college diploma of Loyola College which represents four years of college work in addition to high school work?” Following this correspondence, the graduates of Loyola College were admitted into Tulane’s graduate programs. The reason presented to Father Ryan for the refusal to admit Loyola College graduates lay in Tulane’s inability to gage what curricula students from Loyola had taken during their years of Jesuit education.

Tulane requested a course catalogue from Loyola College; however, the Jesuits were not printing catalogues for that year and instead sent a catalogue from Spring Hill College, as the curriculums between Loyola College and Spring Hill College were identical at the time. As this catalogue seemed to satisfy the academic questions from Tulane regarding Jesuit education, Loyola College students, as well as Spring Hill College students were

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informed of their ability to apply for and be accepted into Tulane’s graduate programs henceforth.\textsuperscript{81}

With this hurdle cleared, the time had come to address other issues regarding legitimacy in education. Standards for American higher education were changing, and with resources limited, the Jesuits intended to reorganize the system of higher education in the New Orleans Province. As Father Ryan indicates, “The school year of 1910-11 was a sort of transition for it marked the last of the small college and was a forerunner of the university . . .”\textsuperscript{82} Thomas Clancey describes the events that outlined the dismantlement of Loyola College to make way for a bifurcated system of Jesuit education in the South, one in which high school departments and college-level curriculum were separated. As Clancey states:

It was in the beginning of the 20th century that Loyola [College] . . . was started, first as a six year, school just like the College on Baronne Street. But it was decided in the second decade of the 20th century to make Loyola the College department and to transfer the High School Department to Jesuit High School which finally located on Carrollton Avenue.\textsuperscript{83}

With this change came a new wave in the development of Jesuit higher education in the Province. As the curricular and physical changes were implemented, the Jesuit Fathers announced their educational adaptations to the American Assistanity via the \textit{Woodstock Letters}.

The \textit{Woodstock Letters} explain that Loyola College was founded in 1904 as a highly selective institution priding itself on low student enrollment for optimal student/teacher interaction; however, in 1912, the college would close its doors to allow

\textsuperscript{82} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{83} Thomas Clancey to Mike Alchediak, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
for a reorganization of Jesuit education in the province. Thus, on the same site as Loyola College, Loyola University sprang forth. Loyola University would, in time, possess departments of arts and sciences, dentistry, pharmacy, pre-medical, post-graduate medical school, and law; a school of commerce and finance, a school of civil engineering, a school of architecture, and a school of auto-mechanics. 84

Loyola College was, in and of itself, a transformational step for the Jesuit Fathers. Although the original plan for only accepting high school graduates did not come to fruition, the seed was planted for academic realignment to more closely match the changes occurring in American educational standards. The closure of Loyola College marked the end of the old six-year system of Jesuit education and gave birth to a new stratified system via Loyola University and Jesuit High School. Such a change placed the Jesuit Fathers in line with the academic needs and wants of modernizing communities while satisfying the legitimacy requirements of the changing educational ideologies in America.

Case Analysis: Loyola College

Like the College of the Immaculate Conception, Loyola College experienced similar situations. When examining the college’s case via the concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships, a picture emerges that resembles the Barrone Street College. Loyola College was well supported by the public, and the institutional identity and mission of the college were clearly advertised; however, Loyola College never achieved the high enrollment numbers of the College of the Immaculate Conception. What reasons made it difficult to increase the number of students attending Loyola College, and were these factors related to the need to close the college? The case

of Loyola College presents the answers when combined with the conceptual framework of this study.

First, the identity of Loyola College was a cause for concern. Although highly supported by the Catholic population of New Orleans, the majority of Catholic boys and young men were already enrolled in the College of the Immaculate Conception, which had an identical identity to Loyola College. The major difference was locale. Loyola College, on St. Charles Avenue, was surrounded by, at that time, an area of New Orleans that was less populated than the downtown region, which hosted the College of the Immaculate Conception. Acknowledging the wealth of St. Charles Avenue residents, the “uptown” Loyola College raised its fees to garner capital lost from low enrollments.

Also, as was presented in the case, Loyola College reverted to the old Jesuit model of recruitment, enrolling high school in addition to college level students to offset low enrollments. Because the institution did not stay true to its original mission of being a modern college that only accepted high school graduates, Loyola College was placed in a position to be closed once a new university was established that aligned with modern educational trends. This wavering mission ultimately caused the institution to shut down in lieu of a new university that would service students with an American higher education curriculum directed towards higher learning without preparatory departments.

Second, the direct purpose of Loyola College was to service the Carrolton region of New Orleans and provide relief by siphoning some of the student numbers from the College of the Immaculate Conception. Although there is no existing data to support the possibility that Loyola College took students from the Barrone Street college, it can be surmised, via the low Loyola College enrollments and the steadily increasing enrollments
at the College of the Immaculate Conception, that this transfer of students did not happen. In servicing the Carrolton area, Loyola College accomplished that goal in tandem with the wooden Church of the Most Holy Name by providing a college and educational institution for the new region of New Orleans. In essence, Loyola College established a foundation for further developments in Jesuit higher education by creating a physical presence on St. Charles Avenue and allowed for the continuation of the old six-year model of education until the time came to establish a Jesuit university based on new standards including a standardized four-year higher education curriculum.

Third, the town and gown relationship was certainly present and enhanced via the development of the Marquette Association; however, this development was accomplished too late to be of any lasting worth to Loyola College. By this time, the Jesuit Fathers of the New Orleans Province had begun plans for a new Jesuit University. With the public announcement that the Jesuits were in preparation to launch a new university, the efforts of the Marquette Association were redirected in order to raise funds and increase support for the new Jesuit initiative.

Although Loyola College was supported by the community and possessed an institutional identity and mission that were well received, it was constructed during a period of educational transition for the New Orleans Province, and like the previously reviewed Jesuit institutions, it suffered the same blow as other southern Jesuit institutions; the responsiveness to the Jesuitical mission of adaptability and the identity of the Society of Jesus reinforced through the vow of obedience. On the command of the provincial superior, Loyola College was closed, as the educational mission of the New Orleans Jesuits began to adapt its purposes and redesign its network of higher education.
Review of Closure and Amalgamation

In the cases of the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College there are a variety of similarities yet subtle differences that infuse each case creating an interesting analysis of intertwining events that affected the closure of each institution as well as the amalgamation of college departments from the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College into the new Loyola University New Orleans. Despite the shared city aspect and similar institutional identities/missions, the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola University had their own unique histories and roles in the revision of Southern Jesuit higher education.

Similarly, both the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College were established to aid in the education and development of Catholic boys and young men in the New Orleans area; however, whereas the College of the Immaculate Conception was meant to serve the entire city, Loyola college was created to aid the Carrolton area, and if possible, to relieve some of the student population from the Baronne Street campus. Ultimately, the Society of Jesus decided to close each institution. The curricular similarities between the two colleges allowed for an easy departmental transfer of college-level courses into the new Loyola University. Also, the visible identity and propagated mission of the two Jesuit institutions except for one aspect, led to a furthered public perception of Jesuit education.

The major difference between the two institutions regarded the religious openness of Loyola College. The public promotion of Loyola College made it clear that non-Catholic students were accepted as well as Catholic students and that the beliefs of non-
Catholic students would be respected. This comment was never made in the publications of the College of the Immaculate Conception. Nevertheless, the population differences between the “uptown” Loyola College and the “downtown” College of the Immaculate Conception may have prompted this subtle adaptation. It is possible, though data has not been uncovered, that the uptown region of New Orleans (the Carrollton area) was not as highly populated by Catholic families as downtown New Orleans might have been. This difference would account for the slight derivation and promoted missions of the two institutions.

Town and gown relationships were strong at both institutions, although potentially stronger at the College of the Immaculate Conception, given its longer history in the city as compared to Loyola College. With the aid of the Marquette Association, ties between the public and Loyola College were strengthened, albeit a bit too late, as Loyola College was certainly established during an era of Jesuit educational reform. This era of reform, as shown through previous cases, as well as the two cases presented in this chapter, was typified by the adaptation of curricular missions. As well, it is important to note the sacrifice of colleges in order to strengthen the Jesuit educational identity and mission of the New Orleans Province by retrenching Jesuit efforts into the cities of New Orleans and Mobile where Catholic populations were higher and support was stronger. These college sacrifices and retrenchment efforts will be further demonstrated in the final chapter of this study.

The public identity of each institution was commonly known as Catholic- and Jesuit-run. Indeed, the architectural similarity between the two colleges and their adjacent churches linked the identities of church and college in the public eye. Such visual
representation of the Catholic origins of both institutions affected societal interactions. Also, both institutions presented college seals adorned with Catholic icons representing patron saints and Catholic/Jesuit symbols. This visually promoted identity did not hinder either institution. In fact, it most likely strengthened the bonds between the Catholic population of New Orleans with both the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College. Certainly, the shared Jesuit identity of both institutions was meant to enhance the reciprocity of faculty, as was presented in the Loyola College case via the transfer of Jesuit instructors from the College of the Immaculate Conception to Loyola College and vise-versa.

Mission-wise, both the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College clearly presented and followed their mission of religious Catholic-based education rooted in moral holistic development. This mission sustained both institutions and was slightly adapted over time to include varying courses in the sciences, as well as a military division at the College of the Immaculate Conception. This externally perceived and collegiately utilized mission was not the downfall of these two Jesuit institutions. As has been previously argued, the educational standards in America and the South were changing, and the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus was on the move to adapt to match these changes. In the end, it was the Jesuitical mission of adaptability that caused these institutions to close; however, remnants of the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College were indeed amalgamated into Loyola University and Jesuit High School.

With the closure of these two New Orleans Catholic colleges, one era of Jesuit education passed away, giving birth to a new university that would strive to match
changing trends and the needs of New Orleans residents. In the following chapter, the case of this new university, Loyola University New Orleans, and the case of the now 181-year-old Spring Hill College will be presented for analysis. With the presentation of Loyola University and Spring Hill College, both of which are still open today, this study will attempt to present the history of Jesuit higher education in the New Orleans Province as an educational system affected by and responsive to aspects of institutional identity, mission, and societal relationships.
CHAPTER SEVEN: INSTITUTIONAL SURVIVAL

The apostolate of the Society [of Jesus] must needs be greatly influenced by the conditions of Catholicity in the South. It had to adapt itself to such conditions and it has done so. – Father Norbert de Boynes

In the cases that follow, historical data has been combined to present examples of Jesuit administered Catholic institutions of higher education in the New Orleans Province that have managed to survive to present day. These cases pertain to Loyola University New Orleans and Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama. Even though both Loyola University and Spring Hill College have survived to pass into the 21st century, the cases concerning each institution leave off, historically, in the 1930s. The justification for these early case conclusions lies in the fact that by the 1930s Loyola University and Spring Hill College had conformed to new standards and educational trends regarding university legitimacy. Also, with the closure of all other existing Jesuit colleges in the South by the 1920s Loyola University and Spring Hill College became the remaining and adaptive forms of higher education representative of a Catholic/Jesuit identity and mission that have developed together as the current dual-institutional system of Jesuit higher education for the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus.

Spring Hill College: Mobile, Alabama

The Vicariate Apostolic Territory of Florida that ran along the Gulf of Mexico was a section of the American South that Father Michal Portier was charged to govern by the Holy See. Portier, the founder of Spring Hill College was given the title Bishop of Oleno and was responsible for the religious development of the Vicariate Territory in

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1825. Bishop Portier decided that Mobile, Alabama, would be the religious seat of his territory due to its large Catholic population. Once established, Portier moved quickly with his plans to develop the region.²

In 1833, the Visitation Monastery and Academy was established for religious instruction, and in 1835, the construction of a Cathedral for Mobile was underway. But before any of this was complete, Portier had established a Catholic college for the region. Spring Hill College, then being six miles west of Mobile, was constructed on a one-mile square tract of land surmounted by a large hill with a natural spring. The United States Congress had ceded the land to Mobile,³ and funds for the purchase of the property and erection of simple wooden college buildings were supplied from France by the Propagation of the Faith (*Congregation de fide Propaganda*) in Rome. With this financial assistance, 122 acres were purchased on April 17, 1830, and soon an additional 380 acres were acquired from the city of Mobile.⁴ This site was selected for the college due to its close proximity to the Pascagoula Highway, which connected Washington D.C. with New Orleans.⁵

With land acquired and construction under way, the immediate need was the acquisition of additional funds to complete construction. Watching from his exile in Rome, the uncle of Napoleon Bonaparte, Cardinal Joseph Fresch (archbishop of Lyons), contributed 30,000 francs towards the construction of Spring Hill College. Archbishop Fresch had known Bishop Portier in the Lyons’ Seminary and was keenly interested in

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³ Ibid.
⁴ *Annals of Spring Hill College: Mobile, Alabama, 1830-1914*, Spring Hill College, Burke Library, Spring Hill College Archives and Special Collections, 1-2.
Portier’s work in America.\textsuperscript{6} With the completion of the first set of wooden structures, Spring Hill College opened in 1830 and was announced as the first college in Alabama. On January 9, 1836, the Alabama legislature granted Spring Hill College a State charter, thereby confirming the institute’s ability to confer degrees.\textsuperscript{7} In 1849, Pope Gregory XVI bestowed the college with the right to confer degrees in divinity and canon law.\textsuperscript{8}

From 1839-1841, the Fathers of Mercy administered the college, and from 1841-1846, the Eudist Fathers, another Catholic order, directed the institution. After the egress of the Eudists, Bishop Portier resumed the presidency of the college but sent a priest to Europe to hunt for another religious order to direct the college. The directive was given to ask anyone except the Jesuits. The reason for this exception is not expressly known; however, when no other religious group accepted the college, the Society of Jesus was contacted and agreed to take command of the institution.\textsuperscript{9} In a report concerning the Jesuit acceptance of Spring Hill College, the following statement is found:

> In the light obtained from the many failures already experienced in the administration of the College, Bishop Portier saw on the one hand the necessity of giving the institution a more regular, stable and enduring government, whilst on the other hand the increasing needs of his diocese no longer permitted him to devote a sufficient number of his priests for the management of the college.\textsuperscript{10}

The Jesuits confirmed that they would indeed take over the administration of the institution and lighten the Bishop’s responsibilities.

> With the acceptance of Spring Hill College Father Francis Gautrelet and several Jesuit companions reached New Orleans and concluded negotiations with Bishop Portier, the bishop was pleased with the Jesuit acceptance of the institution and remained a friend

\textsuperscript{6} Widman, “Springhill College,” 268-276.
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Annals of Spring Hill College: Mobile, Alabama, 1830-1914}, 5.
\textsuperscript{8} Widman, “Springhill College,” 268-276.
\textsuperscript{9} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{10} \textit{Annals of Spring Hill College: Mobile, Alabama, 1830-1914}, 7.
to Father Gautrelet and the college. The resulting contract between Bishop Portier and the Society of Jesus gave the Jesuits full control of Spring Hill College.\textsuperscript{11} The college opened under Jesuit administration on September 1, 1848 with 17 boarding students. The tuition for day students was set at 50 Italian piastres per term and 130 piastres for boarding students.\textsuperscript{12} In 1847, with 86 students (reported as being mixed denominations of Catholics, Protestants, and Jews), Father Gautrelet became president of Spring Hill College, and worked in conjunction with St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, under the Mission of Lyons (established in 1848), to further develop both institutions.\textsuperscript{13}

When Father Maisounabe arrived in Mobile to aid in the transfer of Spring Hill College, he found that Father Gauttrelet had already attended to it. Maisounabe, relieved of purchasing negotiations, turned his attention to the lack of Fathers who could speak English fluently and who could teach additional languages required for the Jesuit curriculum. This need for polyglots was not only for lay students but also for the instruction of novices already on their way to becoming Jesuits. Several of the first students at Spring Hill College had enrolled with the hopes of becoming priests, and so Maisounabe had a care not only for the opening of the college but also for the education of those who wished to follow the religious life.\textsuperscript{14}

The year of 1852 saw growth in student enrollments, and for the first time, two lay-instructors were hired at the Jesuit college to cover the subjects of science, rhetoric, and composition. That same year, the faculty of Spring Hill College, was given a doss of rivalry between students groups. Several of the older students had formed two cliques:

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid., 8.
\textsuperscript{12} Jean Baptiste Maisounabe, diary, 1847, Maisounabe Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
\textsuperscript{13} Ted Widman, “Springhill College,” 268-276.
\textsuperscript{14} Maisounabe, diary, 1847, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
those from Louisiana called themselves the “Creoles,” and those from various other areas bound together to form a rival group known as the “Americans.” Animosity grew between these two factions, and soon a fight erupted on the grounds of the college. Faculty members were unable to separate the students; however, with the appearance of the college president, Father Gautrelet, the fight was broken up, as Gautrelet proclaimed that any who continued to fight would be expelled immediately. With the fight over, the college president announced that the cliques’ usage of the terms “Creoles” and “Americans” was prohibited and that all students were Americans and should remain united.\(^{15}\) It was reported that after Gautrelet’s intersession, no other fights broke out between the students.

Fights between students, however, were the least of the Jesuit Fathers’ concerns. In February of 1853, scarlet fever broke out in Mobile, and two of the college students died of the disease. Others were affected, and the decision was made to temporarily close the college until April of the same year.\(^ {16}\) When the college reopened, a new institutional name was promoted. Several documents reveal that the Jesuit Fathers attempted to change the institution’s name from Spring Hill College to St. Joseph’s College Spring Hill. A letter from Michael Portier illustrates how the name of the college evolved over time. In Portier’s letter, he indicates the following:

> Ever desirous of supporting, to the best of our means, the wants of our Catholic population in Mobile, we could not but feel, that the continually extending limits of our prosperous City, and the rapidly increasing number of its inhabitants, demand another Catholic Church, especially for the convenience of those that are at a greater distance from the Cathedral and the Church of St. Vincent of Paul; we have therefore committed to the Fathers of the Society of Jesus of St. Joseph’s College Spring Hill the care of erecting a Church in the vicinity of the Hospital; and we authorize them herewith to appeal to the charity of our generous Public,

\(^{15}\) *Annals of Spring Hill College: Mobile, Alabama, 1830-1914*, 10.

\(^{16}\) Ibid, 11.
by way of subscriptions and collections, for the necessary means of executing their plan. We hope and wish sincerely that their zeal and devotedness will meet with the desired success.

Mobile on the 31st of May 1857.
Michael, Bishop of Mobile.\(^{17}\)

The letter not only depicts the religious evolution of the college’s name, St. Joseph’s College Spring Hill, (Dedicated to the college’s patron saint Joseph and the name of the village that surrounded the campus, Spring Hill) it also acknowledges the growing faith in the Society of Jesus of Mobile to govern their own church separate from the college. But as with so many institutions, the name was disjoined and became Spring Hill College and remains thus to this day.

With the college name established, publications were sent out to the local community describing the nature of instruction at the Catholic college. In the higher classes, the professors specialized in science, mathematics, and history. Philosophy was taught in Latin. Father Albert Biever adds a telling description to the expression of learned materials by the students of Spring Hill College. Biever states: “Even in my own days the examiners were surprised to hear the Collegiate students speak Latin so fluently and so readily. Visitors to the college were surprised as to the ease in which students could recite and translate the Greek edition of the Acts of the Apostles.”\(^ {18}\) As the local community began to enroll additional students in the college, the curriculum and physical plant were expanded.

During the 1859 school year, the west wing of the main building was erected, and the regular curriculum continued with the addition of commercial courses. In the

\(^{17}\) Michael Portier to the Jesuit Fathers, Spring Hill College, May 31, 1857, AR Files: 1, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.

\(^{18}\) Albert Biever, *Diary and notes on Spring Hill College, Mobile, 1878-1885*, Albert Biever Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, 168.
commercial course, pragmatic curriculum such as simple engineering and woodworking, were taught instead of Latin and Greek. Concerns over the new commercial course arose amongst the Jesuit Fathers, as there was still trouble organizing the classic liberal arts courses according to the Ratio Studiorum. According to Biever,

> Whatever advantages maybe derived from the new system, I doubt whether the men trained in this system have the mental formation and intellectual grasp of the momentous questions that men of today have to meet. These old educators and deep students were very versatile and progressive, and though there may be more show and glare in our present methods of education, they certainly are not as solid and effective.\(^{19}\)

Along these same lines regarding the concerns of effective instruction, teaching languages seemed to be a problem for the Fathers, as English was not their native tongue. Those Jesuit instructors who could converse with students in English were encouraged to do so, and those who could speak French or Spanish were put in charge of students whose primary language was the same. According to the diary of Father Albert Biever,

> The Modern languages such as French, German, [and] Spanish [were taught] . . . As soon as the boys were sufficiently advanced, the teacher conversed with these students in the tongue they were trying to acquire. English of course was taught by experts in this language. . . . Father de Carriere being very conversant with Spanish became automatically the spiritual Father of the Cuban and Mexican boys. As such, he accompanied them to Cuba and brought them back from Havana in time for the opening of classes.\(^{20}\)

As the college was still in its early years, the firm establishment of organization, continuity, and the religious identity and mission of the college was paramount. Jesuit instructors were expected not only to teach their students but also serve as confessors. According to the correspondence of Father Superior Louis Curioz, “. . . it is proper that each professor have charge of his own [student penances]. This is the practice in our

\(^{19}\) Ibid., 168.
\(^{20}\) Ibid., 164 & 168.
Such religious rights were often paired with a curriculum that was slowly adapted to local practices.

Figure 7.1 Spring Hill College, pre-Civil War.22

In the years preceding the Civil War, Father Gautrelet attempted to “Americanize” the college so as to adapt the curriculum to the needs and customs of Southern Americans. This was particularly difficult for the Jesuits at Spring Hill College as most were French and spoke their native tongue far better than the English of Southern Alabama.23 Not only was the introduction and maintenance of the English language important to the Jesuit Fathers, the holistic development of their students, including nutrition was taken into consideration. Father Maisounabe communicated to his colleagues at Spring Hill College, with some amount of levity: “The daily fare for

21 Louis Curioz, Superior’s Correspondence, New Orleans Mission, 1859-1862.
22 “Spring Hill College,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
students should also be good and varied as possible; a good cook is what really makes a college, they say in this country.”

In the years preceding the Civil War, the enrollment reached 180 students, stretching the limit of the facilities, the instructors, and college resources. In a letter from Father Curioz, the effects of the increased enrollment are noted along with the need to balance the attention given to both St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana and Spring Hill College. Curioz states,

. . . several of our young men [Jesuits] are somewhat fatigued. Very soon Springhill will have no place. There they are now with 220 students, and there is no indication that this is going to stop. It will soon be time for the direction to be towards Grand Coteau. It is possible that this may become a la mode when the railroad begins operation.

In 1859, the college enrollment was listed at 200. This increase did nothing to relieve the stress of the Jesuits. Despite the over-enrollment, the pupil products of Spring Hill College were attracting attention across the South. Alumni included senators, governors, judges, lawyers, bishops, priests, and university professors at other Southern institutions. It was reported that there was not a state in South that had not sent a student to study at the Jesuit college in Alabama. As the college gained fame, the enrollment leapt higher. Father Curioz finally called a halt to the “open door” nature of the college and indicated that “there [was] no more room at Spring Hill. They [then had] 250 students.”

With enrollment still on the rise, Father Superior Curioz continued to push for the modernization of the college, the reliance on adaptability, and the need to forgo old models of education and subscription to the cultural and social surroundings. Father

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24 Maisounabe, diary, 1847, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
26 Ibid.
28 Louis Curioz, Superior’s correspondence, New Orleans Mission, 1859-1862.
Curioz presents his authority in such matters: “Here is the one [plan] proposed by the notables of your house and which seems to me quite rational... This plan appears to me to be simple and very good, and I believe you would do well in adopting it. The others can disappear without inconvenience.” 29 This command demonstrated the hierarchy of the Society of Jesus and Father Provincial’s place as the final decision; 30 however, such plans were not always followed to the letter, and derivations were made that did not meet with the Superior’s approval.

In the years prior to the Civil War, local interest in having a military cadet corps at Spring Hill College grew, and thus the Fathers put together a uniformed regiment of students for military training under the direction of a lay-instructor, Mr. R. S. Sands. 31 With tension in the air regarding disunion and the talk of war from the local populace, Father Superior Curioz expressed his concern with the military trainings at Spring Hill College:

... [The] idea of introducing the... military, the uniforms, etc, is for me, dangerous. Almost everywhere it had been introduced they have found reason to repent of it. The number of accidents multiplied a bad spirit among the young people that I am altogether abhorred to the introduction of such a custom... As regards your military company I do not change my opinion. They began at Spring Hill before consulting me. I hear that hardly an hour passes but they talk of their great difficulties, a company according to rule with rifles, uniforms, etc. Already many parents complain of this expense... And they will have many other inconveniences if a bad spirit develops. You will do well to wait. It is possible that experience will prove reason to be on my side. 32

Indeed, a “bad spirit” developed, and with the succession of Alabama the Jesuit Fathers found themselves playing host to more military men than students.

29 Louis Curioz, Superior’s correspondence, New Orleans Mission, 1859-1862.
30 Ibid.
32 Louis Curioz, Superior’s correspondence, New Orleans Mission, 1859-1862.
The college continued to progress and organize itself according to the Jesuit style; however, by the start of the following year, trouble was in sight. When news of the Confederate election of Jefferson Davis and the succession of Virginia from the Union reached Spring Hill College, the students were visibly excited but the faculty were concerned. College enrollment plummeted as the war began, and several Jesuits took leave of their teaching duties to serve as chaplains in the Confederate army. As the enrollment dropped, so did the spirit of the younger students who remained in the preparatory department of the college. With the fall of New Orleans, the Jesuits at Spring Hill College found themselves cut off from much needed supplies normally shipped from the Crescent City. All communication between the Jesuits and the Society in Europe ceased, and when the sacramental wine was finally exhausted, the Jesuits made use of wild grapes, otherwise known as scuppernongs, to prepare wine for communion. With fears running high and student numbers low, the Jesuit Fathers’ concerns turned to the future of the college, but in 1864, the college opened with an increased number of students, primarily due to local families’ fears that their sons would be drafted into war unless enrolled. Despite their parents’ best efforts, many students ran away from the college to enlist in the Confederate army.33

Even as the war raged, the Jesuit Fathers recorded that “the very soul of this system of education was the spirit of religion and patriotism. During the Civil War when the Yankee army was occupying the high plateau near Spring Hill College, the military army would come at the eve and play Northern airs beneath the windows of the dormitories. The larger boys would smart under the humiliation. 34 Such students’

34 Biever, Diary and notes on Spring Hill College, Mobile, 1878-1885, 169.
attitudes were often difficult to manage. The Fathers felt that these attitudes stemmed from, “the belief that they [the students] can succeed in life and get rich without work; of the weakness of the parents, who tolerate and encourage everything . . .” Following the Civil War, this attitude changed as family lives altered, and the need to work instead of relying on family wealth became apparent in student personalities.

During the war, attempts were made to enlist lay members of the faculty and older students, but these were soon put to rest as Father Guatrelet made a direct visit to the President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis, and had all army solicitation and consignment at the college stopped. Despite Gautrelet’s efforts, the war affected the student population although the institution remained open.

Father C. M. Wideman, in the Woodstock Letters reported the following:

> All through the war, the college was protected with equal kindness and efficacy by the federal and confederate authorities. After the war, it gradually resumed its former prosperity, and though the southern boys, owing to the financial decline of the country, became fewer, they were replaced by students from Cuba, Central America, and Mexico.

Following the end of the Civil War Spring Hill College resumed classes as it had done every semester during the war. Despite the renewal of the institution, disaster struck in the form of a devastating fire.

On the night of December 26, 1868, the college fire alarm sounded. As the Jesuits ran out of the rectory, they discovered that the second story of the main college building was engulfed in flames. In the course of a few hours, the main college building, adjacent class buildings, and church were reduced to ashes. All students, lay-workers/instructors,

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36 Ibid., 268-276.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid., 273.
and Jesuits were saved, but the college was reduced to ash and ruble. Some students returned home, whereas the bulk of the students were transferred to St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana, where they finished out the academic year. With such a loss the Jesuit Fathers had to consider if it was at all possible to reopen the college. As they deliberated over the possible closure of the institute, the second bishop of Mobile, Rt. Rev. John Quinlan, arrived on the scene, spoke with the Fathers, and promptly announced that he would not stand by and watch Spring Hill College fall. Quinlan renounced all debts the Society of Jesus owed to the diocese and donated a large sum for the rebuilding of the college. With Quinlan’s assistance and an additional $30,000 gained from the insurance claim, Spring Hill College rose from the ashes. The new central college building was larger than the first, although it resembled the old one architecturally. The college reopened to boarding students on December 8, 1869 with a celebration mass attended by faculty, students, and Mobile residents.\(^3^9\) Reconstruction costs exceeded $90,000, which left the institution with a $50,000 debt. Despite the debt, the college opened with students from across the American South as well as South America with an average annual enrollment of 125 students. Through an increase of yearly tuition to $400 and further donations from the community, Spring Hill College was free of its $50,000 debt in ten years.\(^4^0\)

In 1889, the *Woodstock Letters* reported that Spring Hill College was expecting a record year with a high enrollment of students. Despite the Jesuits’ high expectations, yellow fever broke out in New Orleans. As many students who attended Spring Hill College were either from New Orleans or convened upon the city to travel via train to the

\(^{3^9}\) *Annals of Spring Hill College: Mobile, Alabama, 1830-1914*, 16-18.

Alabama institution, the quarantine of New Orleans due to the fever could detrimentally affect the college. Quarantine was indeed established in New Orleans, and all transportation ceased, leaving the students stranded. Nothing could be done but to send the students home and wait for the quarantine to be lifted. The Jesuits of Spring Hill College, bereft of a large percentage of their student body, considered closing the institution; however, it was decided to begin the term as scheduled with no more than 28 students and wait for the remaining students to arrive. Several of those students, barred from traveling to Mobile, enrolled in other institutions. By the onset of December of 1889, the quarantine was lifted, and the student population rose by approximately 50 students. The fall term had been difficult with a low student population, yellow fever in New Orleans as well as Mobile, and the extension of the term through Christmas holidays to make up for days missed. Even so, Spring Hill College was untouched by the disease due to its location away from the larger city and its supply of fresh running water. This fact was highly advertised in the years to come and contributed to the overall celebrated status of the institution by local community members.\(^41\)

With the reopening of the college, new Jesuits were enlisted to aid in teaching and administration. Father Albert Biever gives a candid account of his teachings, student population, and adherence to Jesuit instructional methodologies in his journal:

My first task was to teach the Third Commercial. This class corresponded to the Third Grammar in the classical course and was looked upon as a preparatory class for the Commercial course. Twenty-four boys followed this class. Only three Americans were among my students. The balance were all Cubans and Mexicans. . . . Father F.X. O’Connor, S.J. the Vice-President and Prefect of Studies at the meeting of the teachers commended my method which after all was drawn from the “Ratio Studiorum.” This little praise encouraged me greatly. I was young,

only nineteen years, and inexperienced. At the end of the school year I was appointed teacher of the Third Grammar . . . 42

With the performance of the Jesuit instructors on the rise, student populations also increased reflecting pre-Civil War numbers. In 1901, the Varia section of the *Woodstock Letters* reported that the enrollment at Spring Hill College had increased to 155 and that a gift from Major P. C. Hannon of Mobile, a marble statue of St. Joseph, the patron saint of the college, had been placed on the grounds. 43 In addition the local community and alumni had begun to show support for the college en masse.

In May of 1902, 650 New Orleans residents representing the Jesuit Educational Alumni Association visited Mobile to celebrate Jesuit education, the success of Spring Hill College, and the progress of the South. With the addition of Mobile residents to the New Orleans visitors, the sum total was estimated at 3,000 persons on the campus grounds for the event, including notable Spring Hill College alumni representing both Mobile and New Orleans. 44 The nature of the event was explained as follows:

The general trend of the sentiments expressed was directed to the central idea of the magnificent gathering of alumni—the idea that no education can surpass that given by the Jesuits, because they combine solid instruction with the inculcation of principles of honor, virtue, and religion; that a Jesuit alumnus is essentially, and by reason of his education a “virnobilis,” a gentleman; that the Jesuit alumni have occupied, now hold, and will ever shine in the best walks of life; and that the alumnus comradeship is always a pleasing thought. 45

With alumni support, the college continued to expand physically and drew students from across the Atlantic Ocean. In 1903, three students at Spring Hill College were from Spain, and the institution had extended its property holdings by purchasing two tracks of land adjacent to the campus. Also, a new boiler house had been installed to increase the

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42 Biever, *Diary and notes on Spring Hill College, Mobile, 1878-1885*, 142-143.
heating and hot water supply, a much-enjoyed improvement by all who resided on the campus. The Woodstock Letters also indicate that, in 1903, doctorates in divinity, music, and fine arts were bestowed at the annual commencement.46

As the college entered the 20th century, a wave of modernization was imposed. Old roads were laid with new cobblestones, drainage was improved, walkways added, new residence halls were completed, and the campus dining hall was rebuilt to accommodate the increased student numbers. As dust from construction and refurbishment settled, Alabama’s Senator Morgan visited the campus in 1903 to a fanfare of “Dixie” played by the student brass band. Morgan surveyed the college, and with alacrity, he turned to the Fathers and declared that Spring Hill College should become Spring Hill University.47 This proclamation of respect and veneration was met with great celebration. The name of “college” may have been retained, but the institution’s legitimacy had certainly risen in the eyes of the State.

Again, in 1905, yellow fever broke out in Mobile and New Orleans, but the college, reportedly being the only institution along the Gulf Coast to open on its scheduled day in September, was unaffected. Again, this healthy state of the institution kept it in high regard with students and families, although the college did suffer a decrease in students from New Orleans due to quarantine. On opening day, only 62 were in attendance; however, the enrollment increased to 162.48 As student numbers increased yet again, local support for Mobile’s Catholic college was apparent. In 1908, with student enrollment above 220, the Knights of Columbus, accompanied by local members of the Catholic fraternity, demonstrated their support to the college with a visit and

46 “Spring Hill College,” Woodstock Letters 32 no. 2 Varia (1903): 278-279.
47 Annals of Spring Hill College: Mobile, Alabama, 1830-1914, 22.
celebration. But as in so many cases, celebration and support were often followed by disaster. For a second time, Spring Hill College was decimated by fire.

On the morning of January 16, 1909, a fire was discovered in the chapel stairwell. Before the fire could be doused, it had spread throughout the main building and had leapt to the roof of the campus church. Before the fire was finally subdued by time and dismal efforts, the main building had once again been destroyed, along with the church and dormitories. The Jesuits sacrificed their own rectory to house many of the junior and senior college students, trudged forward, and held classes that afternoon in the campus infirmary. With the loss of some 2,000 volumes from the library and the majority of the campus in ruins, the Jesuits made up their mind that they would, once again, rebuild. This time it was the citizens of Mobile who rose to the aid of the institution. The public donated $12,500 and the insurance company awarded the Fathers $35,000. Rebuilding began at once, and new buildings, once again resembling the old, were constructed. By the start of the fall term, the college was opened larger than before, and soon a new church was completed that complemented the architecture of the college buildings. This time, the church and college buildings were joined by a series of breezeways making the edifice a complete square with a central quad.50

With the college rebuilt, it was the new president, Father E. E. Cummings, who wished to open the doors of the institution to the public for spiritual retreats following the instruction of the Spiritual Exercises by Ignatius Loyola. The first attempt at a public laymen’s retreat found 30 Mobile residents in attendance.51 As religious functions for the community were fortified, it was decided in 1915, via orders from the Jesuit superior

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50 Ibid., 28.
51 Ibid., 30.
general in Rome, to establish a Sodality of the Blessed Virgin at Spring Hill College. The purpose of the Sodality was to spread instruction about the Virgin Mary throughout the parish and extend it to other Jesuit colleges in the New Orleans Province. Subsequently, the Sodality helped fortify the Catholic identity and mission of the college.\(^{52}\)

![Bird's Eye View of Spring Hill College, Mobile, Ala.](image)

**Figure 7.2** Rebuilt Spring Hill College.\(^{53}\)

At this point in the history of Spring Hill College, the institution had suffered disease, fire, and war but enjoyed steady enrollment and a constantly reinforced institutional identity and mission, as well as strong support from the local populace. The need now was to increase academic legitimacy from accrediting agencies. In 1922, in the Spring Hill College vice president’s house diary, it is recorded that on Thursday, January 7th, Spring Hill College was formally admitted into the Southern Association of Colleges

\(^{52}\) “Spring Hill Ala.,” *Woodstock Letters* 44 no. 1 Varia (1915): 128-129.

\(^{53}\) “Bird’s Eye View of Spring Hill College, Mobile Ala.,” postcard, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
and Schools. Letters of assistance from Tulane and Vanderbilt University accompany this entry and demonstrate the acceptance of peer institutions towards the Jesuit institution. In the years that followed, the college was admitted to the Catholic Education Association. This connection with a larger accrediting organization secured Spring Hill College’s legitimate standing amongst other Catholic institutions. The letter reads as follows:

To the Registrar:

It gives me great pleasure to inform you that your college was placed upon the standard list of accredited colleges of the Department of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Catholic Educational Association at a meeting of the Commission on Standardization which took place in Chicago on December 13th.

Yours very Sincerely,

J. W. R. Maguire C.D.V.
Sec. Commission on Standardization,
Catholic Educational Association.

Even after Spring Hill College had received the confirmation of legitimacy from peer institutions and accrediting agencies, other forms of peer acceptance resulted in the welcoming of the college into the ranks of fellow colleges and universities. One such example of acceptance took place in 1930 when Spring Hill College was allowed to play host to the annual convention of the Southern Intercollegiate Athletic Association. Representatives from 40 colleges and universities were in attendance, and a banquet was held in the college dining room to welcome the guests to the convention and to Spring Hill College.

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54 Vice President’s House Diary, Spring Hill College, 1911-1943, Spring Hill College, Burke Library, Spring Hill College Archives and Special Collections, 174.
55 J. W. R. Maguire to The Registrar, Spring Hill College, January 7, 1926, Spring Hill College, Burke Library, Spring Hill College Archives and Special Collections.
56 Juniors’ Newsletter, January 1930, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
In 1931, a letter arrived at the Jesuit college from the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities in Rome and posed a series of questions regarding the Catholic nature of Spring Hill College. The letter demanded answers to questions including what precautions were being taken regarding the mixture of Catholic and non-Catholic students, what advantages Spring Hill College gleaned from admitting non-Catholic students, what harm would be done if the college only admitted Catholic students, what danger existed to the faith of Catholic students in mixing them with non-Catholic students, what criteria were used in the selection of non-Catholic instructors, what precautions were taken to keep non-Catholics from corrupting the faith of Catholic students, and whether non-Catholic students participated in Catholic religious services.\textsuperscript{57} This letter was, in essence, a way of ensuring the Catholic alignment of the college to the Holy See.

In response to the Sacred Congregation’s letter, the president of Spring Hill College, Father J. M. Walsh explained that the college’s State charter forbade the exclusion of students based on religion and that the mixture of Catholic and non-Catholic students had never caused any harm but had served as a method to decrease bigotry and prejudice towards Catholics in the surrounding communities. Also, the financial support from Catholics, Protestants, and Jews had been helpful during previous financial difficulties. In particular, Walsh states that the mixing of students of diverse religious backgrounds aided in the development of “support . . . against attacks through non-

\textsuperscript{57} Sacra Congregatio de Seminariis et Studiorum Universitatibus to the Rector, Spring Hill College, March 20, 1931, Spring Hill College, Burke Library, Spring Hill College Archives and Special Collections.
Catholic men educated in [the] College.” Walsh goes on to explain that in admitting only Catholic students, the State charter would be forfeited, and the good will of the community that the Jesuit Fathers had worked so hard to foster over the years would be lost.

Walsh also explains in his reply that non-Catholic students were not required to attend Catholic religious services but were free to do so if they chose and that most did. Regarding instructor selection, several lay-instructors had been hired to aid in teaching of the large population of students, and these non-Catholic instructors were selected only when Catholic instructors of excellent teaching quality were not available. Walsh concludes his letter by explaining that the inclusion of non-Catholic instructors had served the college well and had strengthened the relationship between the college, Mobile, and surrounding communities. Rome seemed pleased with these answers and allowed the Jesuit Fathers to continue their work unabated. Spring Hill College persisted on its path, enrolling greater numbers, and garnering support from the city of Mobile, as well as the State of Alabama.

At the centennial celebration of Spring Hill College, several notable speakers presented their views on the college. Included were Dr. B. L. Parker from Peabody College, Rev. Albert Biever S.J. founder, and first president of Loyola University New Orleans, and Governor Bibb Graves. Governor Graves presented some cause for concern due to his connection with the Ku Klux Klan. The Klan’s anti-Catholic stance had been felt across the South; however, Graves praised the college and the educational work of

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58 J. M. Walsh to Cajeton Cardinal Bilseti, Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, Rome, Italy, June 22, 1931, Spring Hill College, Burke Library, Spring Hill College Archives and Special Collections.
59 Ibid.
60 Mulhern, “Spring Hill Observes Centennial,” 337
the Jesuits. The governor spoke about the importance of religiously-founded education in
the South. He presented Spring Hill as “our oldest daughter of education” in Alabama
and stated to the crowd that the college was “. . . one of God’s lighthouses on the shores
of time, a beacon conscientiously fingering the turbulent seas of time showing men the
way to God.” Such positive remarks from Governor Graves probably eased tensions on
the part of the Jesuit Fathers due to his Klan connections.

With the inclusion of Spring Hill College into SACS and the apparent approval of
the Jesuit Father’s educational merits from Rome, the New Orleans Province continued to
align the college with American college and high school requirements. In 1936, Spring
Hill High School, the remnants of the preparatory class, which adjoined the college, was
closed. The college retained its position as an accredited institution of higher education,
and no additional high school was established.

As the city of Mobile grew, other forms of higher education were established,
such as the University of South Alabama, but Spring Hill College still maintained a
steady enrollment with a large percentage of students who claimed the Roman Catholic
faith. The college, beautifully adorned with religious symbols, statues, and the iconic
Jesuit IHS, reflects its Catholic/Jesuit heritage, a heritage which all enrolled students and
alumni are aware. Adjoining the campus is one of the two Jesuit cemeteries of the New
Orleans Province. (The other located at St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana.)
There, and on the surrounding hillside, students stroll and study in the midst of the oldest
institution for higher education in Alabama and the third oldest Catholic college in
America.

61 Ibid., 345.
Case Analysis: Spring Hill College

With the foundation of Spring Hill College, it is apparent that the want for a Catholic college was highly sought after by the first Mobile bishop, Portier. As such, the identity of Spring Hill College was established as Catholic. Despite the wavering name change between Spring Hill College and St. Joseph’s College Spring Hill (the former name locale-based and the later overtly Catholic), the institution was promoted as a religious institution with the purpose of moral training for young men. The enrollment was not exclusive to Catholics; Protestant and Jewish students enrolled. The college did not discriminate via religious lines even though the identity of the institution as a Jesuit-administered Catholic institution was announced via published materials, Catholic symbols, as well as physical connection between the college buildings and church. Such visual examples can be drawn from the postcard illustration provided in the case.

After the Society of Jesus accepted Spring Hill College, the case indicates that there was a degree of difficulty aligning the curricular mission with that of the Jesuit Ratio Studiorum. Perhaps this difficulty was due to the slow adaptability of the Jesuit Fathers to their social surroundings or to the constant concern over the language barrier between the French-speaking Jesuits and their English-speaking students. As the years passed, the institutional mission was enhanced as the methods of the Ratio Studiorum were adapted and applied. Also, the Catholic identity and mission of the institution was publicly accepted and promoted via lay-retreats, as well as the housing of Catholic organizations and religious student organizations. This increased promotion of the Catholic identity and mission of Spring Hill College did not seem to dampen enrollment
numbers and perhaps even strengthened the bond between the institution and the local Catholic community.

In efforts to create a strong communal interaction between the town and gown, the geographic location of Spring Hill College must be taken into account. By placing the college near the Pascagoula Highway, which connected Mobile to Washington D.C. and New Orleans, Bishop Portier intended for the institution to remain in the public eye and draw students from across the American South. Also, such a connection allowed the Jesuit college to stay in close contact with Jesuit superiors in New Orleans, as well as providing some form of access to St. Charles College in Grand Coteau, Louisiana. This college connection was incredibly important when Spring Hill College burned and the student population was transferred to the Louisiana college. As societal relationships were strengthened between the institution and the surrounding community, student enrollments increased, and public support was often present. The case indicates several examples of community support through gifts, acceptance of the college via local and regional organizations, and festivities generated by the public in honor of Spring Hill College.

Unlike its predecessors and peer New Orleans Province institutions, Spring Hill College has managed to survive due to a plethora of reasons. First, Jesuit Fathers relied heavily on a relatively large and supportive Catholic population to provide for the college. Also, Spring Hill College, as the case indicates, drew students from Mobile, the community of Spring Hill, surrounding states, and from abroad. Like the college’s peer institutions, the reliance on the preparatory department helped keep the college open during the Civil War, and networks between the Jesuit Fathers and Confederate officials
aided in keeping army solicitors from recruiting too many students and staff. This reliance on strong community relations via an established Catholic identity and Jesuit educational missions not only provided for the needs of the institution but also allowed for its continued survival.

In addition, the survival of Spring Hill College was fortified via enhanced legitimacy through its acceptance into accrediting agencies such as the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and the Catholic Education Association. Such inclusion demonstrates that the Jesuit Fathers of Spring Hill College were adapting their curriculum to meet the changing educational practices, and with the removal of the high school department from the college division, the institution managed to become a publicly accepted and modern form of Catholic higher education in the vicinity of Mobile.

Finally, in response to the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities in Rome concerning the Catholic nature of Spring Hill College, the response was overt: The Catholic identity and mission of the college were retained, but severing ties with the Protestant community would have been detrimental to the college and would infringe upon the college charter established by the State of Alabama. In essence, Spring Hill College was widely accepted, and its Catholic/Jesuit identity and mission were upheld. In addition, representatives from other educational institutions rallied alongside Spring Hill College and supported its continued survival.

With the realignment of the Jesuit higher educational system in the New Orleans Province, it was determined that all colleges, with the exception of Loyola University New Orleans would close; however, Spring Hill College was allowed to remain open due
to the fact that it was highly supported by surrounding communities, maintained its Catholic identity, but remained adaptable to the changing educational practices. With the continued presence of Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama, Catholic higher education progressed alongside several secular colleges and universities, and the Jesuit Fathers maintained the Mobile institution as part of the American chain of Jesuit colleges and universities.

**Loyola University New Orleans: New Orleans, Louisiana**

A printed public announcement from the Society of Jesus proclaimed that the Jesuit Fathers had decided to respond to the Catholic population of New Orleans and the archbishop’s wish for a Catholic university in the city and were to begin construction of a strong religious institution in a region populated with secular forms of higher education.63 This new Jesuit institution would imbue religious underpinnings into scientific and literary curriculum and award a Bachelor of Arts or a Bachelor of Science degree to its graduates. Also, the Society of Jesus made it known that those students who were not Catholic would be respected and not reproached or chastised for their beliefs. Furthermore, any student with a high school diploma could enroll, and individuals who wished to attend schools of law or medicine were strongly encouraged to attain a baccalaureate degree before pursuing a professional course of study, as it would better equip them for such studies.64 The ultimate purpose behind this new university was the education of the people of New Orleans.65

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63 A. Biever and P. A. Ryan, Announcement: Loyola University, New Orleans, LA., August 24, 1911, AR Files: 1372, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.

64 Ibid.

In order to increase public support, Father Biever, the rector of Loyola College, spoke at various events around the city and promoted the need for a Catholic university in New Orleans equal to that of other American universities. He solicited his planes for the new university, which would later be known as Loyola University New Orleans. Likewise, he gave presentations to the Marquette association and Ladies Auxiliary. In order to more closely link the identity of the university with the Catholic Church, Biever put forward plans for a large church on the campus of Loyola University facing St. Charles Avenue. With motivation high, Father Biever said “the Jesuits, as well as the Marquette Association and Ladies Auxiliary, feel encouraged with the remarkable progress thus far made, and there are the brightest prospects for the building to go on until the goal of their ambition is reached.” New Orleans newspapers reported that the Marquette Association and Ladies’ Auxiliary were created with the sole intent to raise funds for Loyola College and would now do the same for Loyola University. Eventually the Marquette Association and Ladies’ Auxiliary raised $100,000 in donations before construction of the first building of Loyola University had begun.

New Orleans residents continued to give in abundance. Colonel William G. Vincent left in his will the sum of $500,000 in real estate to the Marquette Association for the betterment of Loyola University. Father Biever described another substantial gift for the new church to be joined with the university:

A handsome Catholic church edifice, costing $100,000, the gift of Miss Kate McDermott, will be erected on the Loyola University grounds, in memory of Miss

67 “Marquette Association Plans New Church at Loyola College,” Picayune, January 26, 1912.
68 “Movement for Great University Launched by Priests and Laymen,” Times Democrat, March 27, 1907.
69 Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914, 80.
70 Ibid., 165.
McDermott’s late brother, Thomas McDermott. . . . Miss McDermott’s gift is the largest ever received by the Jesuit Fathers in this city.71

This church, named after the original Church of the Most Holy Name, was adorned in Tudor Gothic architecture as to closely resemble the university buildings and establish a strong tie between the church and university. With the inclusion of the college divisions from the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College, the Jesuit curriculum was reorganized in the Province, and Loyola University became the recipient of all students who wished to attend the Jesuit institution and had completed a high school education.72

Figure 7.3 Loyola University New Orleans and the Church of the Most Holy Name.73

71 “Miss McDermott Gift of Church to Loyola,” *Daily Picayune*, March 12, 1913.
73 “Loyola University New Orleans,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
On July 31st, the feast of St. Ignatius, 1910, the citizens of New Orleans witnessed the groundbreaking ceremony for the new Loyola University. Archbishop Blenk shoveled out the first spade of earth, and Father O'Shanahan; the Jesuit Provincial Father O’Connor; and Mr. Behrman, the mayor of New Orleans gave speeches. The mayor spoke on the need for a Catholic university in the city and of the work of the Jesuits in the South. Behrman continued by expressing his high hopes for the future of the institution and wished it well in its ability to educate citizens of the South. Archbishop Blenk concurred with the mayor, indicating that a religious-based institution would be of great use to the city, and along with the mayor, Blenk had great expectations for the future of the new Jesuit institution.74

With the presence of a papal delegate, Archbishop Diomede Palconio and 11 other bishops, the corner stone of Loyola University was laid in 1911. An estimated 3,500 individuals attended the ceremony. As the first pile drivers steamed into action, thanks and praise were given to Father Albert Biever, congratulating him on his efforts to establish the new university. Of those present who personally thanked Biever, there was the Louisiana Governor Sanders and New Orleans Mayor Behrman, as well as the Jesuit Provincial O’Connor.75 Several New Orleans newspapers chronicled the event. One such report came from the Times Democrat and reported the supportive speech of the Louisiana Governor Jared Y. Sanders. Sanders presented the following speech to a crowd of receptive lay-persons and religious:

I accepted with much pleasure the invitation of the President of Marquette University, Rev. Albert Biever, to assist at this ceremony today . . . Higher education is the use to which the structure you are to erect here will be dedicated,

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and higher education means better citizenship . . . The time is ripe for such an institution, and it is with special pleasure that I join you on so momentous an occasion. The Exposition movement to celebrate the opening of Panama, will today have a more logical point added to the reasons why such a celebration should take place here. South America which is peopled by those of the Catholic faith, will soon be looking in our direction, not only for trade, but for social relationship. The youth of the many Republics to the South of us, will desire to know our language and to study our institution. What better vehicle can we offer than the Marquette University [Loyola University], cared for by Jesuit Scholars and equipped with all that science offers, to instruct and fit these boys for the future of American citizenship, which will be theirs in their own countries-patterned after the United States, and peopled in the future years by our kind of citizenship . . . A gathering, such as we have here today, is of great moment [sic] to Louisiana. Distinguished prelates, clergymen and laymen for all over our country and from Europe are all come together for this great event and I take much pleasure in officially welcoming this representative body of gentlemen of Louisiana and in extending the felicitations of a State two-thirds of whose citizens are of the Catholic Faith.76

Other speakers echoed the governor’s aspirations for the future of Loyola University.

Hopes were high that the Jesuit Fathers would develop an institution that would serve the public, draw attention from the nation and around the world, and aid in the progress of scientific instruction motivated by the guiding Catholic mission, directed by the Jesuit motto, “to the greater glory of God.”77

It was announced that the new university would open in the coming weeks and that “its opening will mark the disappearance of Loyola College which it absorbed.”78

Advertisements described that the downtown Jesuit institution, the College of the Immaculate Conception, “which for more than half a century has furnished educational facilities for many men who have been prominent in local, State and national life,” would

76 Albert Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914, Albert Biever Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, 134 and 136.
77 “Turns Earth for Great University,” Times Democrat, August 1, 1910.
78 “Faculties Announced: Corps of Jesuit University and College Determined,” Times Democrat, August 18, 1911.
become a formal high school and serve as a feeder institution for Loyola University.\textsuperscript{79}

The newspapers described that the Jesuits had plans to inaugurate graduate courses in law, medicine, and engineering as a response to the public want for such professional education. The newspaper went on to describe that “it is intended to make Loyola University in this city the equal of Georgetown University at Washington D.C. which is no considered the foremost Catholic university in the United States and which also is operated under the auspices of the Jesuit Order.”\textsuperscript{80} Such newspaper articles circulated throughout New Orleans making the plans of the Jesuits well known.

Despite such proclamations of Loyola University’s potential, it was soon discovered that the institution could not confer degrees under the old charter of the College of the Immaculate Conception, as the former Loyola College had done. This charter did not fill the particular description of the new university and was not recorded in the state archives of Louisiana. In response, the Marquette Association of Loyola University moved to establish a charter for the university. Members of the association were politically connected and intended to establish a university charter that allowed for the granting of degrees in all areas of learning.\textsuperscript{81} According to Father Ryan,

Since Loyola did not receive its state charter until March 1912, one may ask by what authority was the A.B. degree conferred. The degree was conferred by virtue of the charter which the College of the Immaculate Conception on Baronne St. was supposed to have from 1847 on. This charter was never challenged until 1911 when George Michel, A.B. graduate of the Immaculate Conception, applied for a position as teacher in the public schools of New Orleans. He sent in his diploma with his application and soon he, as well as the Jesuit Fathers, were amazed to learn that the College of the Immaculate Conception was never empowered to confer degrees. It seems that the Jesuits when they returned to New Orleans in 1847 applied for a business charter only but with the understanding that this

\textsuperscript{79} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{81} Biever, \textit{Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914}, 150.
charter could be later amended as their work and activities grew. But, as often happens, later Superiors never were alerted to the fact that their charter was merely a business charter.82

The Louisiana House of Representatives passed the charter act for Loyola University; however, the Senate moved the act onto the Committee of Education. Once there, the Chairman, Mr. Butler, who, according to Father Biever, “though representing Houma a Catholic Constituency was not favorably disposed towards the Jesuits. As a result the act was killed in the Committee.”83 It was not long before news of the charters denial reached the Jesuit Fathers in New Orleans.

Figure 7.4 Father Albert Biever, first president of Loyola University, on the steps of Marquette Hall.84

82 Ryan, journal, 6.
83 Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914, 152-153.
84 “Father Albert Biever on the Steps of Marquette Hall, Loyola University New Orleans,” photograph, courtesy of Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Loyola University Monroe Library.
After learning of the failure to approve the charter, Father Biever, now president of Loyola University, contacted local supporters, as well as Archbishop James Blenk. Blenk, in support of Loyola University, contacted Senator Brousard in Washington and other senators in Baton Rouge to rally in support of the young institution. Biever and other Loyola University supporters boarded a train for Baton Rouge and attended a hearing on the university’s charter. Finally, the charter was established under the condition that the new university match the standards of other recognized institutions of higher education in the country.\footnote{Ibid.}

During this tumult, Archbishop Blenk of New Orleans had expressed a personal interest in the success of Loyola University. In a letter from Blenk to Father Biever, Blenk indicates that he is eager to witness the university rise and aid the South. Blenk states in his letter, “It is high time for the South to awake from her long inglorious silence,” and he certainly meant for the Jesuit institution to play its part in rousing the sleeping region.\footnote{James Blenk to Albert Biever, March 14, 1912, AR Files: 1431, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.} With the encouragement of Archbishop Blenk, and through his political contacts, the way was made smoother for Loyola to receive its charter.\footnote{Ryan, journal, 17.}

The new charter was granted, and the Jesuit Fathers made sure to indicate its longevity over the previous antebellum corporation charter that had sustained the College of the Immaculate Conception, St. Charles College, and Loyola College. This replacement of the old corporation with the new charter is represented in the following charter statement: \ldots the parties [Jesuits of the New Orleans Province] \ldots declare that, availing themselves of the laws of this State, relative to the organization of Corporations

\footnotesize{\bibitem{Ibid.} Ibid.\bibitem{James Blenk to Albert Biever, March 14, 1912, AR Files: 1431, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.\bibitem{Ryan, journal, 17.}}
for Literary, Scientific, Religious and Charitable Purposes, they, the said parties, have covenanted and agreed . . . to form themselves . . . into a Corporation [Loyola University]. . ."88 With the state charter secured, the college department of the College of the Immaculate Conception was recognized and fully merged into Loyola University.89

After the passage of the charter, Archbishop Blenk’s excitement over the new Jesuit university did not cease. Blenk pushed for articles to be written about Catholic education, in particular Loyola University, in The Morning Star, the Catholic newspaper of New Orleans. Blenk saw great advantage, as he explained to the Jesuit Fathers in advertising Loyola University as much as possible.90 From this effort came the following passage in The Morning Star Newspaper:

Loyola University, the Benjamin of our great American Universities, yet an institution which, in a short space of a few years, has risen to a prominence which might well excite envy among many others of decades of growth . . . Loyola . . . is known not only throughout the length and breadth of our own great republic, but has acquired world-wide celebrity, by reason of the remarkable series of reports that have been sent forth from its seismographic observatory, which is already one of the most noted in the world.91

Such supportive phrases were echoed in other newspapers stating that, “Loyola in her new development is young and formative, but behind its growth is strength, and in its development there is purpose.”92 Journalistic support was high, and the local populous was receptive. The new Loyola University had launched itself from the foundational history of Jesuit education in the South and made strides to fortify its educational claims with meritorious acts. The Jesuits stocked classrooms and labs with modern scientific

88 Charter of Loyola University, 1913, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
90 James Blenk to Albert Biever, May 15 1912, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
91 “Catholic Education in Louisiana,” The Morning Star, June 29, 1912.
92 “Loyola University, Times Democrat, October 26, 1913.
equipment, such as X-ray, telegraphs, and telephones; which included an expansive curriculum inculcating botany, biology, chemistry, and physics, all with lab components that provided more than the theory of the lecture hall. Finally, there was the proclamation of the university’s prize machine: “the seismograph, the wizard machine . . . which registers an earth shock though it happens 12,000 miles away.”93 The Jesuits spared no effort in advertising their contemporary New Orleans university far and wide.

Such heralds of success were followed by curricular competition with peer institutions. The Jesuit Fathers had become aware that other colleges were allowing high school graduates to forgo a formal four-year college education and enter into professional fields of law or medicine without a background of higher education study. The Times Democrat reported the following phrase for the Loyola University Jesuits:

\[\ldots\text{Loyola’s faculty desires a distinct advance of standard. The faculty would create a sentiment in favor of a college education before entering the professional schools. At present this is not required. A young high school graduate may step directly into the law school or the medical college. The fathers do not believe that a high school graduate is properly equipped . . .}\]94

The Jesuits had redeveloped their method of education, adapting it to new standards, and saw with a certain amount of annoyance that their peers had not done the same. At the same time, the Jesuits held fast to their curricular standards and fortified their new system of Jesuit higher education. In addition, the Jesuit Fathers ensured that the public perception of the institution was one based on religion.

A reporter for the Times Democrat posed this question to the Fathers of Loyola University: “then religion is emphasized?” The Jesuit response was as follows: “A non-Catholic might spend a year here and not feel disturbed by the religious element . . . we

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93 Ibid.
94 Ibid.
have boys who are not Catholic. What religious features we have can do no harm to no one. It is mostly a matter of surroundings and atmosphere." So important was the religious atmosphere of the institution that when the Loyola University president, Father Biever, was invited to join the New Orleans Academy of Science, he declined due to the election of the academy’s president, Benjamin Smith, who had published a book containing offensive material to the Catholic faith. Father Biever did not want his association with Benjamin Smith to negatively affect either the Catholic faith or the educational endeavors of the new university. After declining the membership offer from the Academy of Science, Father Biever began to promote graduate courses at Loyola University.

Post-graduate courses in major and minor logic, mental philosophy and social and scientific topics were eventually offered. All lectures were open to the public. By 1913, Loyola University New Orleans conferred master of arts, master of science, and doctor of philosophy degrees. In 1914, a school of law and school of dentistry were opened. These schools were originally housed at the campus of the College of the Immaculate Conception but soon moved to Loyola University. At the start of the law school, classes were offered at night. This course schedule made it possible for many working individuals to proceed through the program, an advantage to the law program that helped with enrollment numbers. The first dean of the law school was Judge John St. Paul. A graduate of the Jesuit college on Baronne Street and a devout Catholic, the Jesuit Fathers

95 “Loyola University, Times Democrat, October 26, 1913.
96 Biever, Diary and notes on the Church of the Most Holy Name, Loyola College, and Loyola University New Orleans, 1904-1914, 139-142.
98 Ibid., 41.
99 Ryan, journal, 19.
looked upon him with favor and asked him to assume the dean’s position.\textsuperscript{100} The

\textit{Woodstock Letters} listed the following report on the nature of law school:

With a staff of distinguished jurists whose names are eminent in the history of law
in Louisiana among its faculty, the launching of the law school of Loyola
University on Monday evening, October 5, 1914, was an event of immense
importance in law and educational circles. That this importance is recognized by
the community was evident by the splendid audience of prominent men and
women who attended the formal opening ceremonies, which were held in Alumni
Hall. . . . Mayor Behrman’s presence lent civic dignity to the occasion, and a
cordial greeting was sent by Governor Hall.\textsuperscript{101}

The following day, October 6th, saw similar celebrations as the university opened a new
dental department. The entire fourth floor and a large portion of the fifth of the main
building, Marquette Hall, was allocated for the dental program and was fitted with the
required appliances to best suit the training of students.\textsuperscript{102}

That same year, Chief Justice White of the U. S. Supreme Court visited Loyola
University and recounted his boyhood spent at the College of the Immaculate
Conception. His fondness for the Society of Jesus, support of the Jesuits, and pride in the
education he received in his younger years was evident. White stated, “You know not
how great was the consolation drawn by the feeling that, although many who were dear to
me had gone to their reward, the [Jesuit] Community remained unchanged in its
kindness.”\textsuperscript{103} Such warm and appreciative sentiments were often heard regarding the
Jesuit efforts in New Orleans, and praise was offered for the continued success of the
university. Such praise led to the amalgamation of additional professional programs with
Loyola University.

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid., 17.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{103} “New Orleans. Loyola University Annexes the New Orleans College of Pharmacy,” \textit{Woodstock Letters}
42 no. 1 Varia (1913): 123-124.
In 1913, Loyola University and the New Orleans College of Pharmacy became affiliated. The 13-year-old pharmacy college was the first in a planned wave of professional education that the Jesuits had hoped to launch upon. The pharmacy college, once located at St. Charles Avenue and Terpischore Street, eventually moved to the main campus of Loyola University and brought with it 100 students. The name of the pharmacy college was retained, as well as its faculty. In addition to the pharmacy college, the Jesuits also planned for a medical program. According the Father Biever:

The success of the College of Pharmacy . . . is due to its splendid staff of teachers and we of Loyola have not only the hope, but the conviction, that it will soon be the best not only in the South, but also the best in the entire country. . . . the College of Pharmacy . . . never had a parent and now, after thirteen years of parentless existence, Loyola said to it ‘Come, I will be a mother and father to you.’ The college came bringing with it ninety-nine students . . .

The course of study at the pharmacy school originally lasted two years, but in attempts to increase its acceptance in the larger academic field, the term was increased to three years in 1925 and then four in 1932.

In 1914, a dental school was organized, and in 1915, with the law and dental programs now comfortably affixed in Marquette Hall, Loyola University opened a medical school to applicants. Despite slight damages to the campus from a hurricane, the Jesuit Fathers felt that the general outlook for their professional programs, as well as the whole of the university appeared positive. That same year, preparations were being made for the construction of the new church that would complete the physical edifice of the

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106 Timmreck and Janssen, Loyola University New Orleans: A Compendium of Historical Information to Approximately 1974, 41.
campus. The new church took the same name as the original wooden church of Loyola College: The Church of the Most Holy Name.\textsuperscript{108}

In the continued expansion of professional programs, a wireless telegraph school was begun in 1913 but closed due to World War I. A school of oration opened but only lasted three years. Pre-medical courses were started in 1912 and were soon followed by a graduate school of medicine in 1916, administered by Dr. Joseph A. Dana; however, the school was dissolved in 1925. While functioning, the graduate school of medicine offered a certificate in midwifery to eliminate dangerous birthing conditions in Louisiana, but the course was discontinued in 1917. Soon, a college of nautical sciences, marine architecture, and marine engineering was established in 1918, as well as a school of mechanics and a school of commerce and finance. These divisions eventually failed, but as a result, an evening division was established to offer courses to the public. This “night school” eventually became known as City College. In the final attempts to establish successful forms of professional education, a school of civil engineering and school of architecture were established in 1920; however, both were closed in 1922.\textsuperscript{109}

Passing through World War I and the great depression, the Jesuit Fathers claimed that a large part of the institution’s ability to survive teetered on night courses offered to the general public who worked during the day.\textsuperscript{110} Indeed, perceivable public support for the Jesuit university was high during this period of national upheaval. During the First World War, a speech was given at Loyola University with the intention of venerating Catholic men who were fighting overseas and applauded Catholic women working in Red

\textsuperscript{108} “Loyola University,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 44 no. 3 Varia (1915): 440.
Cross hospitals in Louisiana and abroad. The secondary intent of the speech was to promote the Jesuit system of education, its evening courses, adherence to American patriotic ideals, and its impact on those men who were instructed via the Jesuits to sacrifice what was required for God and country.\footnote{Charles Duchauf, speech given on the Jesuit System of Education and the Participation of American Catholics in the First World War, on June 16, 1918, to the Jesuits of the New Orleans Province, Jesuit Alumni, and Citizens of New Orleans, AR Files: 1063, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.}

The 1920s and 30s seemed to be a stable time for Loyola University. Operating four professional schools in arts and sciences, dentistry, law, and pharmacy (and later in music after the amalgamation of the Music Conservatory of New Orleans in 1932), the university attempted to directly meet the needs of the surrounding society. In the continued attempt to meet the needs of the populous, courses had to conform to the standards of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. In addition, all graduate courses had to be standardized to meet accreditation requirements.\footnote{Timmreck and Janssen, \textit{Loyola University New Orleans: A Compendium of Historical Information to Approximately 1974}, 61.}

With praise garnered from the American Dental Council for the new school of dentistry, the administration of Loyola University hoped that lay-support and financial assistance would increase. In a letter to the Carnegie Corporation in New York, the Jesuits indicated the following: “The South is poor, and the needs of education are very great.”\footnote{Regent of the Dental School, Loyola University to Mr. Leonard of the Carnegie Corporation, October 20, 1922, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.} In June of 1920, a drive for $1,000,000 was planned for the purpose of constructing a new chemistry building that would also house biology, pharmacy, and temporarily, law. The Jesuit Fathers and lay leaders were optimistic that the general public would willingly respond to the call for financial support; however, only $282,000
was donated. The reasons for the lack of support were never recorded, however, Father Cummings of Loyola University released a public statement proclaiming his disappointment in the failure of New Orleans citizens to support the cause for Loyola University. Instead of the grand construction project a smaller construction project was outlaid and completed.  

As the institution’s student population outgrew the facilites, Loyola University began another solicitation campaign in 1921 to raise approximately $1,500,000 to expand the college campus via the construction of five new buildings. The buildings were intended to house the departments of chemistry, dentistry, physics, engineering, pharmacy, and a gymnasium. The new structures would improve the campus and replace older structures. Solicitations for the campaign were done via letter, newspaper advertisements, tracts, and radio announcements, as well as strong reliance on social networks between the university and various businesses and city social groups. The growth of the student body and success of the academic courses attracted not only the attention of the public but also of Jesuits around the world. In a letter from the 1921 Father Visitor, Norbert de Boynes, he encouraged the New Orleans Fathers to pursue accreditation and strengthen the teaching staff:

A cordial parting letter addressed by Father Visitor [Norbert de Boynes], October 23, 1921, to all members of the Province carried significant counsel. While lamenting the then lack of vocations that restricted and overburdened college teachers, he urged biennium and special study years so as ‘to raise’ schools and colleges ‘to the standard acquired by the Ratio Studiorum and the College Associations,’ and he asked ‘why could not Loyola University be the center and focus of all such activities.’ Accordingly Loyola and all our eligible schools

115 “Loyola Launches Drive for Funds For 5 Buildings,” *The Times Picayune*, December 4, 1921.
accepted the requirements of the Southern Association of Colleges and High Schools and obtained entrance.\textsuperscript{116}

The New Orleans Jesuits took heed and shouldered the suggestions of de Boynes, but the continued need for campus expansion and a crafty campaign slogan created by a seventeen-year-old city resident provided a venue for the continued growth of Loyola University.

In an attempt to devise a motto for the Loyola University building campaign, students from city schools were allowed to compete for a $25 cash prize awarded to the creator of the best advertisement slogan. Margaret Hart, a 17-year-old, penned the phrase “Loyola University will be big enough if your heart is.” The campaign administrators congratulated Margaret and indeed used the slogan with the hopes that it would encourage the citizens of New Orleans to donate.\textsuperscript{117} In fact, Margaret Hart’s slogan adorned the Knights Templar archway on Carondelet Street when the Masonic Lodge converted their archway, which spanned the streetcar line, into a large public notice that demonstrated the building campaign’s progress. The Masonic emblems were removed (replaced with the founding and current year of Loyola University), the archway was adorned with the campaign slogan and the iconic horse, which crowned the archway, was covered by a large clock that indicated monetary sums in thousands that the campaign had generated.\textsuperscript{118}

Advertisements continued to circulate throughout New Orleans, several of which featured female students in professional courses. Pictured in \textit{The New Orleans Item} was Catherine Tomeny, one of the female students enrolled in the dental program at Loyola


\textsuperscript{117} “Slogan for Loyola Building Campaign,” \textit{The New Orleans Item}, April 23, 1922.

\textsuperscript{118} “The Clock Should Go Fast,” \textit{The Times Picayune}, May 10, 1922.
University, stooped over a patient examining his teeth. The university sent forth many such publications announcing the enrollment of women into the professional programs, perhaps to solicit to females and help increase the university enrollment.\footnote{Encroaching in Man’s Field,” The New Orleans Item, May 14, 1922.} The \textit{Times Picayune} also advertised the immense participation of women in the building campaigns of Loyola University indicating that “social activities given by women workers for the benefit of Loyola University in its $1,500,000 building campaign are netting large sums, and plans are underway to continue the gatherings through the summer and fall.”\footnote{Women Active in Loyola’s Aid: Plan to Continue Gatherings in Behalf of Fund for Buildings,” The Times Picayune, May 31, 1922.} So much solicitation and public announcement, coupled with the continued growth of the university, led Father Cummings, president of Spring Hill College and future president of Loyola University, to proclaim that Loyola was “the wonder school of the South . . . With a meteoric rise in scholastic and athletic activities, Loyola University is the most discussed university in America.”\footnote{Timmreck and Janssen, \textit{Loyola University New Orleans: A Compendium of Historical Information to Approximately 1974}, 49.}

In 1927, following the plans to reorganize Jesuit curriculum in the New Orleans Province coupled with the need for a high school campus to replace the city’s business district campus of the College of the Immaculate Conception, Jesuit High School was opened on Carrolton Avenue and Bank Street. In celebration of the new Loyola University and Jesuit High School facilities, Judge St. Paul of the State Supreme Court gave a speech detailing the entry of the Jesuits into the American South, as well as their work in education. Judge St. Paul stated that,

The Jesuits rendered immense service to civilization, partly by organizing a system of education far superior to any yet seen in Europe. In no university could there be found a scheme of instruction so comprehensive as theirs, and certainly
was their displayed nowhere such skill in the management of youth or such insight into the general operation of the human mind.  

After the comments of Judge St. Paul, the celebration continued with additional speakers, all heralding the educational work of the Jesuits in the South.

Such celebrations became commonplace and included a long list of speakers. In fact, lists of commencement speakers for Loyola University included community and regional leaders such as bishops, archbishops, attorneys, medical doctors, lawyers, judges, congressmen, senators, professors from secular universities, academic deans from other Jesuit institutions, and in 1928, the Louisiana governor Huey P. Long. The crowning achievement for Loyola in its attempts to establish itself as a viable university, with its foundational identity and mission still rooted in Jesuit ideals, was its inculcation into the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools on December 5, 1929. In fact, in 1930, Father P. A. Roy, president of Loyola University New Orleans, was elected as the president of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, thus more deeply establishing the institution’s identity as an American Jesuit institution amongst its peers of religious and secular colleges and universities.

During the annual convention of the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools held in Lexington, Kentucky, on December 7, 1929, Loyola University was introduced as a new member of the accrediting body. This admission carried with it a rating that guaranteed universal acceptance of the degrees awarded from the Jesuit institution. A second recognition (which potentially held special significance to the Society of Jesus) took place in that same year. The North Central Association of Colleges

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124 Ibid., 66.
and Schools convened in Chicago, Illinois and proclaimed that “... the extensive training of Catholic priests, especially the Jesuits, was given formal recognition. In its legislation, the association interprets this training in terms of a Ph.D. degree- ‘That all Jesuits had training equivalent to a Ph.D. at least for the purpose of teaching evidences of religion and subjects of a philosophical and ethical character.’”\textsuperscript{125} Such acknowledgements further steeped Jesuits in academic legitimacy.

The Jesuit Fathers admitted the importance of receiving legitimate standing in SACS but also upheld the historic development and mission of Jesuit education. The \textit{Junior’s Newsletter}, a publication for Jesuits in training, informed the Fathers and novices that,

\begin{quote}
Although the degrees of our University had already been recognized almost unanimously prior to the securing of membership, nevertheless this admission carries with it a technical rating, which [guar]antee [sic] universal acceptance and places Loyola upon an equal basis... with every university in the country.\textsuperscript{126}
\end{quote}

Along with the promotion of the new SACS membership, Loyola University embarked on a series of programs to further increase enrollment and propagated the ideals of the Society of Jesus. In an attempt to increase a positive association between students and the Jesuit identity and mission of the Catholic university, a “freshman week” was established for the incoming classes. In 1931, this program prompted students to join such religious organizations as the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin Mary, reminded students of their required courses in religion, encouraged students to attend spiritual retreats and chapel exercises, and to approach the Sacraments at least once a month. The intended outcome was quite possibly threefold: an increased sense of institutional identity, a deeper

\textsuperscript{125} “Recognitions,” \textit{Woodstock Letters} 59 no. 2 Varia (1930): 279-280.
\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Juniors’ Newsletter, January 1930}, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
understanding of Loyola University’s Catholic based mission, and an overall attempt to increase student retention. Also, extracurricular activities were solicited to students including drama, band, music, and glee club, all of which incorporated Jesuitical underpinnings.\textsuperscript{127}

As New Orleans residents plied for enrollment, new academic needs were found and met. To address the growing need for teachers and social service workers, Loyola University initiated a school of social services and a school of education. Neither succeeded, as student interest turned out to be low. But efforts to create an accredited department of medical technology were successful, and in 1935, this new department was added to the university’s College of Arts and Sciences and accredited by the Council on Medical Education and Hospitals of the American Society of Clinical Pathologists. Many of these departments would ultimately fall away due to lack of student interest or the loss of students to competing programs such as those developed by Tulane University and the Louisiana State University.\textsuperscript{128}

In a 1937 edition of the \textit{Times Picayune}, the Silver Jubilee marking 25 years of Loyola University was celebrated. Institutions like the Louisiana State University, Spring Hill College, Ursuline College, and Holy Cross College paid for large print sections in New Orleans newspapers in order to offer their congratulations to Loyola University on its anniversary.\textsuperscript{129} By 1932, the New Orleans Conservatory of Music and Dramatic Arts

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item[\textsuperscript{127}] Timmreck and Janssen, \textit{Loyola University New Orleans: A Compendium of Historical Information to Approximately 1974}, 59-60.
\item[\textsuperscript{128}] Ibid., 62.
\item[\textsuperscript{129}] “Silver Jubilee of Loyola University,” \textit{The Times Picayune}, April 10, 1937.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
became affiliated with the university.\textsuperscript{130} The music school later became the college of music, and in 1936 was recognized by the National Association of Music Schools.\textsuperscript{131}

As academic programs died away and new programs were added, the Jesuit Fathers of Loyola University made an interesting decision. In order to enhance the academic nature of the institution, football was discontinued in 1939. The program had been running an annual deficit of approximately $200,000. The Jesuits felt that by removing the sport, the university could better allocate funds to existing academic departments in order to remain intellectually competitive with other institutions.\textsuperscript{132} Such a decision may have temporarily damped the school spirit of students, but enrollment was not affected.

The university continued to grow and enhanced its emphasis on student learning and propagation of Jesuit identity and mission. To further the Jesuit identity of Loyola University, the Jesuits created and issued a seal for Loyola University that reflected its Catholic, Jesuit, Basque, and Louisiana heritage. The seal of Loyola University not only contains Jesuit symbols, such as the Jesuit IHS, but also symbols from the Loyola family crest, including wolves and a cauldron. Also, the seal contains the Louisiana State symbols of the pelican feeding her chicks blood from her breast (a symbol that also doubles as a Catholic representation of sacrifice) and the regional symbol of the \textit{fleur de lis}.\textsuperscript{133}

\begin{enumerate}
\item Whelan, “Loyola University, New Orleans, Louisiana,” 9.
\item Timmreck and Janssen, \textit{Loyola University New Orleans: A Compendium of Historical Information to Approximately 1974}, 66.
\item Ibid., 56.
\item Seal of Loyola University New Orleans, 1929, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
\end{enumerate}
By the close of the 1930s, Loyola University had become a lasting presence in the city of New Orleans. Passing through the 20th century, the institution witnessed the enrollment of an increasing number of female students and the racial integration of New Orleans colleges and schools. Today, the university continues to promote Jesuit ideals in education and has embarked on the creation of a Jesuit center for the enhancement of institutional identity and mission. Tom Benson, owner of the Saints professional football team, endowed the university with $8,000,000 for the creation of the center. Currently, the financial gift is being used to renovate the original campus library into the new Jesuit center.\footnote{Martha Carr, 2010, \textit{Tom Benson Gives Loyola $8 Million for Jesuit Center}, available from file:///Users/ericplatt/Desktop/Dissertation%20Docs/Dissertation%20Chapter%20Seven/benson_gives_loyola_8_million.html, (accesed April 16, 2011).}

Building on the foundation of Jesuit education in the New Orleans Province, Loyola University learned from its peer institutions and fellow Jesuit institutions, sacrificed programs when such needs arose, and managed to survive via the adaptation of its curricular mission. With a heavy reliance on Jesuit ideals in education and a dependence on supportive communal relations to raise funds for the institution, Loyola University New Orleans has progressed through the 21st century. Its presence is recognized nationally and internationally through its incorporation in secular and religious accrediting societies and via the support of the global Catholic order of the Society of Jesus.

\textbf{Case Analysis: Loyola University New Orleans}

Potentially the most important move made by the Jesuit Fathers of the New Orleans Province was announcing that Loyola University would allow for the inclusion of all religions. Even though New Orleans was a largely Catholic populated city, there
was still an equally large population of non-Catholics. With the inclusion of students outside of the Catholic faith, Loyola University allowed for a broad range of student enrollments that increased yearly. It is possible that this religiously inclusive aspect of Loyola University provided a sense of welcome that was dispersed among the population of New Orleans. Even with the enrollment of non-Catholic students, the Jesuit run institution maintained its Catholic identity.

In descriptions and photographs of Loyola University, religious and Catholic symbols adorn the facilities. From crosses to statues of Jesuit saints, the campus is dotted with icons that resonate the Catholic/Jesuit identity of the institution. Also, from the first published announcements to college catalogues, the mission listed for Loyola University was that of an Americana Catholic institution for higher education. With the inclusion of newspaper articles that detailed interviews with Jesuit Fathers concerning the identity of the university, it was made known to New Orleans readers that the university was firmly rooted in religious and moral training.

Through the promotion of Loyola University’s Catholic identity and mission, the Jesuit Fathers were able to draw upon the city’s Catholic population to supply students, support the college, and give financially. In fact, it was large gifts from wealthy New Orleans Catholics that aided in the construction of the main iconic campus building, Marquette Hall, and the brick Church of the Most Holy Name that so resembles Loyola University and is physically connected to the main campus buildings. Along with the identity of the institution, newspapers chronicled the mission of the Catholic college as being “for the greater glory of God,” a Jesuit theme that has carried through since the formative life of St. Ignatius Loyola, Ad Majorem Dei Glorium.
With a high public acceptance of the Catholic/Jesuit institutional identity and mission, public support swelled. These factors led to the continued sustenance despite the struggle to obtain a State charter as indicated in the case. When the institution was in need of support to secure the charter, New Orleans Catholics turned out to encourage its passage. As well, via the support of Archbishop Blenk, the secular clergy voiced their support, and the university was chartered, thus promoting its longevity. Town and gown relationships were constantly strengthened through the efforts of the Marquette Association and advertisements that solicited public support for building campaigns.

As presented numerous times in the Loyola University case, it was the town and gown relationship that ultimately led to the progress and survival of the institution. As the university was ushered into the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, it was legitimized in the eyes of the larger academic realm. This induction increased peer support for the university. The continued financial support of the Jesuit run university via the people of New Orleans, Catholic populations, and city/State officials kept Loyola University in the public eye, promoting it and communicating its purpose and adaptability to educational trends. If the surrounding societal structure had not accepted the institutional identity and mission of Loyola University, the communal relationships would have never been so strong. Indeed, the reliance on the Catholic population of New Orleans proved most beneficial for the university.

With the inclusion of the college departments from Loyola College and the College of the Immaculate Conception, Loyola University was able to adapt the higher education curriculum to better match educational trends and become an institution strong enough to win the admiration of Father Visitor Norbert de Boynes in 1921. De Boynes
asked, “Why could not Loyola University be the center and focus of intellectual Catholic activity, advantageous both for Catholics and non-Catholics alike?” Indeed, the recommendations of de Boynes strengthened Loyola University, as all other Jesuit colleges in the New Orleans Province (with the exception of Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama) were closed. This cooperation between the internal Jesuit identity and mission of obedience and adaptability proved successful, as it promoted the institutional identity and survival of Loyola University. Coupled with the public acceptance of the Jesuit university and the acceptance of the Society of Jesus in Rome, Loyola University was charted for continued growth and expansion.

**Institutional Survival in Review**

In the cases of Spring Hill College and Loyola University, similarities abound. Despite the age difference between the two Catholic/Jesuit institutions, correlations can be drawn via their historiographically-constructed cases that denote reasons behind their survival when other Jesuit colleges failed to survive. Through the examination of documents and archival data, it is expressed that the potential for survival seems to rely on community acceptance of institutional identity and mission, societal support, and adaptability.

Both institutions shared a similar institutional identity of Catholicity and Jesuitical characteristics. Both institutions were adorned with Catholic icons and symbols, both were connected to a Catholic church with similar architectural features, and both institutions proclaimed their Catholic/Jesuit identities through widespread advertisements. The perceived identity of both institutions seems to have been well

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accepted by the social milieu, as well as the larger Society of Jesus. Only in the case of Spring Hill College did the Jesuit Fathers have to defend the Catholic identity of the college to the Holy See in Rome due to the enrollment of Protestant students and hiring of non-Catholic staff.

The institutional missions of Loyola University and Spring Hill College are marked by trends of adaptability. These adaptations, although taking longer to enact in the case of Spring Hill College, allowed the two institutions some means of flexibility in their curricular offerings and expansions. It is clear in both cases that the institutional mission, though adapted to changing educational trends, still followed aspects of Jesuit educational methods; however, these adaptations made both institutions much more competitive with their peer institutions. The result was increased student enrollment and strong alumni support.

In reviewing similar aspects of the acceptance of these two Catholic institutions’ identity and mission through town and gown relationships, the cases provide a plethora of details. The large Catholic populations of Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana, provided a pool of individuals willing to support a Catholic college. Also, the support of local secular clergy, Bishops, and Archbishops seems to have played in favor of the educational efforts of the Society of Jesus promoted at both institutions. As well, the support from alumni, and the shared support of communities outside of the adjacent locale provided additional means to enhance both institutions via financial gifts, increased student enrollments, and overall institutional acceptance. It could be argued that the preexisting Jesuit educational presence in New Orleans (i.e., Loyola College and the College of the Immaculate Conception) provided a foundational base of support for
Loyola University, whereas Spring Hill College developed its own support over the span of its existence. Indeed, from the cases provided, both institutions fared well from the support garnered a la town and gown relationships.

With the survival and continued existence of Loyola University and Spring Hill College, this chapter has presented historical reasons behind their subsistence, ability to promote their institutional identities and missions and maintenance of supportive relationships between the institution and social environs. The survival of Loyola University and Spring Hill College provide lessons pertaining to the importance of adaptability in remaining viable and competitive. In addition to the previous two chapters, this study has presented cases of institutional failure, closure and amalgamation, and institutional survival of Jesuit colleges and universities in the American South. In the next and final chapter, additional archival data will be presented in order to compound the analysis presented for each historiographically-constructed case. Finally, chapter eight will present the results of this study, implications, and possibilities for further research and enquiry. Finally, the chapter will terminate in a conclusive section meant to summarize this study and enhance the understanding of historiography in the field of educational research, as well as the potential lessons that can be garnered by studying Jesuit higher education, institutional survival, and higher education trends in the American South.
CHAPTER EIGHT: COMPOUNDING DATA, SUMMARY, FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, AND IMPLICATIONS

It is . . . evident that a few colleges or schools, furnished with an able faculty and the necessary equipment, and measuring up to the recognized standards, will be much better fitted for the good formation of Catholic boys and young men, and at the same time reflect greater credit on the Society [of Jesus], than many colleges and schools that are deficient in teachers and in equipment. . . . – Father Norbert de Boynes

In chapter one, the hypothesis was presented that concepts of institutional identity and mission, regarding Jesuit colleges and universities in the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus, had and can have catalytic effects on town and gown relationships, thereby affecting survivability. Earlier chapters have also presented the history of the Society of Jesus and Jesuit education, as well as a literature review pertaining to institutional identity, mission, town and gown relationships, institutional survival, and published examples of Jesuit higher education as it pertains to the aforementioned concepts. Furthermore, the methodology governing this study has been described in order to detail how analyses and conclusions have been drawn.

With the addition of historiographically-constructed case studies related to the institutional failure of St. Charles College, St. Mary’s University, and the College of the Sacred Heart; the closure and amalgamation of the College of the Immaculate Conception and Loyola College; and the survival of Spring Hill College and Loyola University New Orleans through the 1930s: this chapter will compound existing case analysis with additional supportive data in order to represent overarching trends that affected the failure or survival of Jesuit institutions in the New Orleans Province. In addition, a summary of

this study, conclusions, and discussions will be presented to further illustrate the results of this research. Finally, any limitations to the study will be presented along with implications for practical application. In conclusion, this chapter will present possibilities for further research related to Jesuit higher education, college and university survival, and how historical inquiry in educational research can guide future studies.

**Overarching Issues and Supportive Material**

Through the formation, presentation, and analysis of historiographically-constructed cases, related to Jesuit higher education in the South, as offered in previous chapters, it will be demonstrated that a string of similar influences were felt to some extent by each Jesuit institution. The following supportive materials are provided in order to compound overarching issues and draw the seven cases together via events, cross-regional activities, and movements within and without the Society of Jesus. This additional data supports the explanations of holistic events that shaped the New Orleans Province system of higher education, forcing it to become what it is today. Examining this archival data aids in the understanding of the broader scope of events, pertaining to the Society of Jesus and the administration of their Southern institutions of higher education.

Even after Archbishop Blanc’s request was sent to the Jesuit Fathers in Europe, America was experiencing a heightened stage of anti-Catholic unrest. The Jesuits returned to the South during this period. Who these priests and brothers were and what their purposes might have been directed their responses to religious/ideological upheaval, as well as their institutional progress in the American South. In describing the antebellum period of anti-Catholic sentiment, Donald Crosby states:
The sectional and social conflicts which arose during the administration of Andrew Jackson (1828-1836) spawned a period of religious antagonism unparalleled in American history. Anti-Catholic societies and publications flourished, as nativists and Protestant groups organized to break the power of Rome.2

This period of negativity towards Catholics and Jesuits was felt more strongly in some areas than others. Even so, the Jesuits were well aware of their situation.

With the expansion of Jesuit institutions in America during the first half of the 19th century, Protestant groups exhibited steadily progressing fear in regards to the Society of Jesus and its educational institutions. One Protestant clergyman instructed his congregation, “We must build College against College . . . All experience has confirmed our anticipation, that America is a field on which the . . . Christian discipline of a Protestant College must annihilate the rival system of Jesuitical education.”3 At the dawn of the Civil War, anti-Jesuit groups such as the Know-Nothing Party died down; however, in the years following the war, organizations like the Ku Klux Klan would take up the battle against Catholics and Jesuits in particular. Waves of literature issued forth, depicting the Jesuits as corrupt and power-driven. Published encyclicals called for the removal of American Jesuit educational institutions.4 Even a majority of college textbooks during the 19th century explained to students that the Popes of Rome were using the Society of Jesus to stamp out Protestantism and take control of all nations through religious and political influence.5 With the spread of publications denouncing the Society of Jesus as a negative force, Jesuit Fathers in the South combated anti-Jesuit

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3 Ibid., 229.
4 Ibid., 239-240.
5 Ibid., 227.
organizations while attempting to address the linguistic issues facing their French Fathers as they taught sons of Southern families.

In the 1880s, Father Gautrelet and Father Butler acquired volunteers from Europe to serve the growing German and Irish Catholic immigrant populations. These Jesuit recruits spoke English and German more clearly than their French counterparts. As well, in 1880, Very Rev. Thomas O’Neil, S.J. ex-provincial of the Missouri Province, was sent to the New Orleans Mission as a Father Visitor. After due consideration, O’Neil encouraged the replacement of French Superiors who had founded the New Orleans Mission with Irish Superiors. Through these actions, the leadership of the New Orleans Mission went from being French dominated to Irish controlled. This new leadership aimed its efforts, although slow in movement, to adapt the cultural climate of their colleges to a more “American-friendly" regime centered on the curricular wants of Southern student populations instead of the liberal education-centered model that Jesuit colleges had followed in the past. The reliance on French in classrooms diminished due to the inculcation of English-speaking Jesuits. In fact, through the efforts of Father General in Rome, the Society of Jesus was sternly pressed to further adapt Jesuit colleges to social and linguistic norms in order to better meet the needs of the populous.

Following the Jesuit return to the American South in the early 19th century until the start of the Civil War, Father Thomas Clancy reported that less than three percent of all Jesuits working in the South were listed as American by birth. The majority were

6 Albert Biever, *Diary and notes on Spring Hill College, Mobile, 1878-1885*, Albert Biever Papers, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, 149.

immigrants from France or Ireland; however, the need to “home grow” Jesuit priests and brothers forced Southern Jesuit superiors to construct novitiates and import additional Fathers from Europe for instructional purposes. By 1880, increases in Southern Jesuit populations led to the separation of the New Orleans Mission from the supervision of the Province of Lyons. This separation made the Mission in the American South independent and reliant on its own means to survive. Despite this growth, Thomas Clancey, in a speech given at Georgetown University, admitted that one of the greatest struggles for Jesuit colleges throughout America was the ability to stock institutions with enough Jesuits. This lack of “man power” made it difficult to maintain the essence of a Jesuit university as the Order moved its colleges and universities into the 20th century. Clancey’s comments rang true throughout the American Assistancey; however, no region reflected Clancey’s comment as much as the New Orleans Province.

According to the Catalogues of the New Orleans Province, Southern Jesuits were slow to increase their numbers due to war, disease, and low regional Catholic populations. With the founding of the College of the Immaculate Conception in New Orleans and after Reconstruction, the Jesuit population began to increase. The provincial catalogues indicate that the period after Reconstruction through the 1930s was one of exponential growth as Jesuit populations in the South rose above 400 by 1935 (See table 8.1); however, the New Orleans Province was the largest geographic region out of 11 American provinces and would eventually include the states of New Mexico, Texas,

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Louisiana, Arkansas, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Tennessee, South Carolina, and Florida.\textsuperscript{11} This expansive territory, coupled with low lay-Catholic populations and high non-Catholic/Protestant numbers (estimated at 550,000 Catholics in 1915 but dropped to 329,351 by 1935\textsuperscript{12}) led to difficulties in recruiting Catholic men to become Jesuit priests and brothers.

Table 8.1 Jesuit Populations of the New Orleans Province, 1880-1935.\textsuperscript{13}

\begin{figure}
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{new_orleans_population.png}
\caption{New Orleans Province - Jesuit Populations}
\end{figure}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Year & 1880 & 1890 & 1900 & 1910 & 1920 & 1930 & 1935 \\
\hline
Jesuits & \textsuperscript{13} & \textsuperscript{13} & \textsuperscript{13} & \textsuperscript{13} & \textsuperscript{13} & \textsuperscript{13} & \textsuperscript{13} \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Jesuit Populations of the New Orleans Province, 1880-1935.}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{12} \textit{Catalogus Sociorum Et Officiorum Provinciae Lugdunensis Societatis Jesu, IMEUNTE ANNO MDCCCLXXX} (Lugduni: Ex Typis Catholicis, 1880); \textit{Missio Neo-Aurelianensis Societatis Jesu, Ineunte Anno 1898} (Woodstock: Typis Collegii SS. Cordis, 1898); \textit{Catalogus Provinciae Neo-Aurelianensis Societatis Jesu, Ineunte Anno 1908} (New Orleans, Louisiana: Perry & Buckley Co., 1908); \textit{Catalogus Provinciae Neo Aurelianensis Societatis Jesu, Ineunte Anno MCMXXIII} (El Paso, Texas: Ex typis “Revosfa Catolica,” 1923).
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid.
Due to such limited numbers, superiors of the New Orleans Province moved priests and brothers from location to location and from college to college. The following entries from the minister’s diary at the Sacred Heart Church and College in Augusta, Georgia, illuminates the relocation efforts made in order to meet the staffing needs of the college.

November 14, 1902 - Fathers Tyrell, Mattern, and Biever consulters of the Mission arrived here from Macon at 5:00pm
August 28, 1903 - Father Kenny arrived from Grand Coteau to teach here.
August 22, 1904 - Fathers arrive from Spring Hill and Grand Coteau to help with the college.14

Such constant mobility was undoubtedly taxing and did not provide a form of instructional or administrative consistency in Southern Jesuit colleges.

In 1897, with an insurgence from the State of New York to formally declare the major differences between high school levels and college admittance requirements, the Society of Jesus across America took notice. Stress was mounting to separate lower levels of instruction from the collegiate level and properly title all institutions based on the level of curriculum offered. The Regents of New York had determined, with rapidity across the nation, that no institution offering any form of high school or college preparatory curricula should be called a “college.”15 As well, the reports heralded that no student should be admitted to a college or university without having completed four years of high school instruction. Jesuit colleges across the country and in the American South were based on the Ratio Studiorum, however, which dictated that Jesuit institutions were to enroll students from the preparatory level all the way through the completion of

14 Minister’s Diary, Sacred Heart Church and College, Augusta, Georgia, December 2, 1900 – December 31, 1913, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
college courses. The effect of this decree from New York rang out across the country, and Jesuits slowly began to rectify their educational structures and physical campuses to remain competitive with their secular counterparts. The concern, however, was to remain true to the Jesuit identity and mission as they are asserted in the Ratio Studiorum. The answer was presented via the diffusion of lower grammar and liberal arts courses to span four years instead of the three requested in the Ratio Studiorum. Also, consolidation of college courses into physical campuses separate from high school campuses was promoted. With courses relocated, the transition had begun, however slow in progression. In the South though, this adaptation took even longer as Jesuit personnel were spread thin over several colleges and churches. The process was further slowed by the negative opinion of many Jesuit Fathers in regards to adapting their age-old system to new American standards. In reflecting on the Province’s history, a self-study committee at Loyola University New Orleans issued the following statement:

> It appears, indeed, that [Jesuit administrators at the turn of the 20th century] repudiated American higher learning of that period. The records indicate that these men clung to the notion of the traditional, intermediate, Jesuit, European educational system, and denigrated the existing American University system on the grounds that it was “godless.”

Even though progress was slow, and stubbornness hindered adaption efforts, the superior general of the Society of Jesus in Rome recognized the efforts and difficulties of the New Orleans Mission, and in 1907 elevated the mission’s standing to that of a province. In a letter from Father General Xavier Wernz to the Fathers and Brothers of the New Orleans Province Wernz states:

16 Ibid.
17 Chairman, Committee on University Objectives and Goals to Chairman of all Self-Study Committee, April 15, 1963, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
On this day [June 7, 1907], our New Orleans Mission . . . has been raised to the rank of a Province. . . . You are familiar with the saying ‘In union there is strength.’ Now in our Society there can be no union unless it consists of obedience and charity. Obedience will bind you to your superiors, and charity draw you closely one to another. . . . I am well aware . . . that many obstacles beset you in the service of God. Your Province composed of members from various nations, has within and without, men who are by nature opposed one to the other. This fact you cannot and should not forget in your labors, for the charity of God ought to urge you to have regard to the character of each . . . so treat those of other nations that all may see that great charity reigns among you everywhere, and moreover that, what is of rule in our Society, you give special proofs of love in the Lord, to those of other nations.\textsuperscript{18}

Father General Wernz made a point to emphasize that continued growth and strength would only be possible through unity, understanding of social surroundings, and most important to the Jesuits, the binding force of the vow of obedience. This vow served as the catalyst for many decisions, which ultimately affected Jesuit higher education in the Province.

In a letter to Mike Alchediak regarding the history of the New Orleans Province, Thomas Clancey states, “One of the continual struggles in the history of the Province and Mission is the struggle of those who want to expand and those who want to concentrate on fewer apostolates. In general Provincials like to expand and Generals like to contract.”\textsuperscript{19} Clancey was correct in his statement concerning the actions of provincial superiors and superior generals, especially as these actions related to the power behind and suggestions of Father Visitors.

As has been presented in many of the cases, the final influence that determined the closure or survival of several Jesuit institutions was based on the recommendation of

\textsuperscript{18} Father General Xavier Wernz to the Fathers and Brothers of the New Orleans Province, June 7, 1907, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.

\textsuperscript{19} Letter from Thomas Clancey to Mike Alchediak reviewing the Provincial Correspondence concerning the closure of St. Mary’s University, March 29, 1978, Clancey Papers, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Monroe Library, Loyola University New Orleans, LA.
a Father Visitor. No Visitor was as compelling as Father Norbert de Boynes. In 1921, Father de Boynes was sent to review the New Orleans Province. De Boynes was greatly concerned with the formation of the Order in the South and its overextended state. De Boynes and Father Cummings (former president of Spring Hill College, and at this time, president of Loyola University New Orleans) were in agreement that the only way to ensure the survival and sustained identity of Jesuit higher education in the South was to seek affiliation with the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools and close all New Orleans Province colleges except Loyola University and Spring Hill College.20

Father de Boynes acted on behalf of Father General in Rome and made a full inspection of the New Orleans Province and its Jesuit-administered colleges and churches. As a result of his inspection, de Boynes provided the Jesuits of the American South with a report of his visitation and his recommendations for improvement. The following is an abbreviated account of the 1921 visitation report as it concerns the colleges of the Province. De Boynes made a clear point to remind all Jesuits that they were responsive to the greater glory of God through their actions and are vow of obedience:

A true Jesuit, trained in the school of the Spiritual Exercises’, is a man of prayer, ever faithful to his daily spiritual duties and united by the bonds of the closest friendship to our divine Lord. Such a man’s aim in life is summed up by our motto: ‘Ad Majorem Dei Gloriam.’ He is determined to fulfill, according to the measure of God’s grace imparted to him, the solemn obligations he took upon himself on the day of his vows. . . .

The apostolate of the Society must needs be greatly influenced by the conditions of Catholicity in the South. It had to adapt itself to such conditions and it has done so. . . . In such an immense territory where Catholics are so few and far between, there are not many cities in which a strong Catholic influence can be exercised on a larger scale. . . . This is the reason why it is so difficult to find suitable cities for flourishing day-schools and colleges. . . . the Province has not been able for long years, to prepare specialists either for the classroom or the

20 Ibid.
pulpit. . . . St Ignatius founded the Society to promote the greater glory of God . . . He wanted his sons to give a thorough college training to their students and impart an education that will form leaders. . . . It is clear that a few men prepared for such work will do more good for the glory of God than a host of men who have all the good will on the world, but are lacking in the necessary preparation and knowledge. It is also evident that a few colleges or schools, furnished with an able faculty and the necessary equipment, and measuring up to the recognized standards, will be much better fitted for the good formation of Catholic boys and young men, and at the same time reflect greater credit on the Society, than many colleges and schools that are deficient in teachers and in equipment. . . .

Under these conditions it is impossible to raise the studies of your colleges and schools to the standard required by the Ratio Studiorum and the College Associations. Hence in spite of great efforts you can not bring about proper development in your education activities, nor make them, as they should be, models for other colleges of the South to imitate. . . . to express my thought completely, why could not Loyola University be the center and focus of intellectual Catholic activity, advantageous both for Catholics and non-Catholics alike. . . . you should adapt your plans and your work to the possibilities and the needs of the South, and not dream impossible things or build castles in the air. Your share of work such as we find it in the South, is splendid when we consider either the ordinary ministries of the Society among Catholics or the hard work of spreading the Faith among non-Catholics. It has been assigned to you by God Himself; do your work therefore with courage and zeal, and love it as you love the will of God. . . .

Commending myself to your holy Sacrifices and prayers, I am,
Your devoted servant in Christ,
N. deBoynes, S.J.
VISITOR OF THE NEW ORLEANS PROVINCE

Father Cummings, after communicating with de Boynes, realized that the fate of Spring Hill College might be thrown in with other institutions such as St. Charles College and St. Mary’s University.

Cummings acted quickly and convinced de Boynes that “the teaching powers of the Province must be centered on the development of Loyola University and Spring Hill College in compliance with the College Accrediting Associations, and to that necessity

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21 Norbert de Boynes, Letter addressed to the Fathers, Scholastics and Brothers of the New Orleans Province by Rev. Fr. Norbert de Boynes, S.J. At the Close of the Visitation, October 23rd., 1921.
the smaller institutions must be sacrificed.”^22 It is possible that Cummings was able to defend the continued existence of the Mobile institution due to his previous Spring Hill College presidency; however, no documentation has been found that describes the exact reasons as to how Cummings was able to sway de Boynes to spare the Mobile institution. Through Cumming’s intersession, the de Boynes visitation and recommendations led the Society of Jesus in the New Orleans Province to focus completely on Loyola University and Spring Hill College in order to strengthen the identity and mission of the Jesuit order and their higher educational efforts in the South. This decision to retrench and strengthen the Jesuit educational identity and mission in the Province, in effect, forced the closure of all remaining Southern Jesuit colleges, leaving a much-reduced system but one with a better chance of survival due to local support from highly Catholic communities.^23

In memorial notices concerning the recommendations of de Boynes, the Jesuits of the New Orleans Province were reminded that the spiritual identity and mission of Jesuit colleges would be enhanced by the appointment of a spiritual Father whose purpose in the institutions was to serve only as a counselor to students without the encumbering duties of teaching or administration. This spiritual Father would be available at all times to counsel and guide any student who sought him out. In this capacity, the spiritual Father would enhance the moral and religious training of young men in Jesuit higher education and further the grand mission of Jesuit instruction by helping to prepare students for spiritual battles they may confront after graduation.^24 Such provisions for spiritual

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^23 Thomas Clancey to Mike Alchediak, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.
direction had to be included in the balance of adapting curricula and maintaining the Catholic identity of Loyola University and Spring Hill College, but a new committee would soon be formed to address the changing face of American Jesuit higher education and would establish a plan for the future growth of all Jesuit colleges and universities in America.

On April 20, 1921, provincials from every American province assembled at Fordham College in New York to discuss adaptations needed to move Jesuit higher education in the United States towards a model that could be easily accredited. The goal of this meeting was to foster inter-province educational efforts and promote a singular ideal of what Jesuit higher education was and would become in the United States. The committee made several decisions. First, all high school and college curricula would be divided and reestablished on separate campuses; second, the name “college” would from that point forward only refer to institutions of higher education that did not offer high school or preparatory level courses; third, standard Jesuit curricula would be promoted throughout all American Jesuit institutions; fourth, all Jesuit instructors should adhere even more so now than ever to the teachings of the *Spiritual Exercises*’ and the *Ratio Studiorum* to foster a sense of spiritual identity and mission in all Jesuit institutions despite the need for more secular courses, and fifth; all colleges would sustain an enrollment of no less than 100 students and provide no less than eight distinct departments of study from the following: Ancient Languages, English and Literature, Modern Languages, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Philosophy, History, Political Science, Education, Psychology, Economics, and Social Sciences. Moreover, it was decided that no less than 90 course hours should be prescribed for a bachelor’s degree
and that each student must have a major with the option of at least one minor. Most important was the committee’s stance on the continuation of physical training for all students and moral education that should permeate all course materials to some degree.\footnote{Report of the Meeting of Inter-Provience Committee on Studies with the Decisions of the Provincials of the American Provinces on Each Number of the Report, April 20, 1921, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.}

The committee also made decisions on the training of Jesuits to better serve in their colleges. It was determined that all Jesuit instructors, regardless of field of study, should partake in courses regarding instructional training, that the \textit{Ratio Studiorum} should be closely studied for implementation and adaptation in all Jesuit-taught classes, and that all Jesuits who teach or will teach should pursue a terminal degree in a predetermined area of study such as the sciences or languages. Also, Jesuits instructors should attempt to publish textbooks or other scholarly works. Finally, the committee decided that henceforth, all materials deemed important to the process of restructuring or teaching in Jesuit colleges must be retained in archives for the future study by other Jesuits.\footnote{Ibid.}

The Jesuit Father Provincials were pleased with the committee’s decisions and issued the following statement:

\begin{quote}
The undeniable fact that the method of the Society of Jesus has achieved such marvelous success in the past warrants the conclusion that it is a most correct and efficacious method. We recommend therefore that the Ratio, wisely adapted to the times, be thoroughly explained and illustrated in practice to our young teachers in training. . . . The Jesuit system insists not only on the development of the intellect, but lays even more stress on the training of the will. The teacher, according to the Ratio, is not a mere instructor; he is an educator.\footnote{Report of the Proceedings of a Meeting On Studies: Held at Spring Hill College, August 1906, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus.}
\end{quote}
Even though new emphasis was placed on the teaching ability of Jesuit instructors, many Jesuit college administrators were worried about their particular institution’s survival due to the realignment of the preparatory departments and subsequent loss of younger students.

With a high concern revolving around the loss of student numbers due to the removal of preparatory and secondary courses, the Jesuits surmised their situation and compared their standing with their secular counterparts: “Some of our colleges which twenty years ago stood the proud rivals of local colleges and universities, have lost their old prestige on account of this predominance of small boys . . . But then there was not so exact a line of demarcation between the primary and secondary, and between the secondary and the collegiate courses. Even in this country fifty years ago these lines were not so exactly drawn.”\(^28\) This comment alone demonstrates the tardiness of the American Jesuit system of education in adapting to changing educational trends, as compared to secular colleges and universities.

In addition to enforcing the changes agreed upon via the meeting of provincials, the New Orleans Province formed its own committee on educational studies to reinforce the provincials’ decisions. From the report of the first meeting of the Committee on Studies of the New Orleans Province, the following statement is gleaned:

Attention is called to the recommendation of the INTER-PROVINCE COMMITTEE ON STUDIES regarding the use of the word COLLEGE or UNIVERSITY by schools not doing college or university work. It is recommended by this committee that this be carried into effect. In case the

institution is chartered as a college, the High School should be known as HIGH
SCHOOL DEPARTMENT of [the] College or University.\textsuperscript{29}

With lines of demarcation enforced, the superiors of the New Orleans Province turned
their attention to the de Boynes recommendation to enhance institutional legitimacy by
having Loyola University and Spring Hill College meet the requirements for accrediting
boards and gain admittance.

By 1924, the Department of Colleges and Secondary Schools for the Catholic
Educational Association enforced particular standards for all Catholic colleges.
According to the Catholic Educational Association, all colleges who wish for
membership in the CEA must grant bachelor’s degrees, accept only those students who
have completed a four-year high school curriculum, require 120 hours for college
graduation, not maintain a preparatory department (unless kept rigidly separate from the
main college), and place all emphasis on the character of the institution, its mission,
identity, and instruction.\textsuperscript{30}

In an effort to test the accrediting waters, a plan was hatched to submit Spring Hill
College first to the rigors of the accrediting boards, to learn from the experience, and to
ultimately submit Loyola University. A report of the Committee on the Revision of
Studies states:

Graduates of Spring Hill, having the B.S. degree, are admitted without condition
into universities such as Pennsylvania, Mass. Institute of Technology; into West
Point; and are given advanced standing in teaching by the Board of Regents, New
York. . . . The plan . . . adopted was that Spring Hill should seek for general
recognition of its courses and degrees with all southern universities as well as

\textsuperscript{29} Report of the First Meeting of the Committee on Studies of the New Orleans Province, September 1,
1921, Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of
Jesus

\textsuperscript{30} The Catholic Educational Association. Department of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Commission on
Standardization, Spring Hill College, Burke Library, Spring Hill College Archives and Special Collections,
1-2.
with the Government and National Associations; reporting to the other Colleges what requirements are demanded and what deficiencies noted; then all colleges having the same schedule approved of for Spring Hill will apply for like recognition and standing. It was urged that in the meantime all should try to gain as much recognition as possible with local schools, Colleges, and Associations.  

Following this plan, Spring Hill College and later, Loyola University were approved by accrediting agencies. This accreditation, as demonstrated through the case studies on Loyola University and Spring Hill College illustrates the continued adaptations of each institution along with their wishes to retain their Catholic identities per involvement with the Catholic Education Association.

In time, academic legitimacy with accrediting organizations was not enough. The public and peer institutions had to recognize that the academic work of the Jesuit Fathers was on par with other institutions of higher education. Father General Ledochowski encouraged these efforts in a letter to the Jesuit Fathers of the American Assistancy.

Ledochowski states:

"The modern educational world, as we know, calls for more publicity, for greater exterior evidence of scholarship that in the past. Teachers must have degrees, they must write books and articles of scientific value, give conferences and lectures that interest people, keep in contact with learned organizations. We cannot afford to ignore these requisites of the modern teachers, though we must try to direct them to the spiritual and supernatural end proper to our vocation. . . . I cannot sufficiently emphasize my conviction that the success of your future educational work will depend very largely on the cooperation of all in carrying it forward; cooperation of the Provinces among themselves, cooperation of the several colleges of each Province, cooperation lastly of all the members of the Province, old and young, Superiors and subjects, each unselfishly looking to the general good." 

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31 Report of the Committee on the Revision of Studies, n.d. Loyola University New Orleans, Monroe Library, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus
In the New Orleans Province, Loyola University and Spring Hill College continued their efforts to maintain academic legitimacy and positive standing in the public eye; however, as both institutions progressed through the 20th century, the number of Jesuits teaching and working at both institutions steadily decreased. Concerned with the movement of the New Orleans Province, Father Michael Kenney wrote in 1936 that,

> The hope of increasing vocations expressed in 1921 by Father Visitor de Boynes is being fulfilled, and they are almost entirely native and southern. In 1907, the new Province has one hundred and thirty-four priests, seventy scholastics and forty-nine coadjutors [Jesuit Brothers] totaling two hundred and thirty-three. In 1931, the respective figures were 172, 93, 44, total of 253. . . . In 1907 there were but twenty-five novices and juniors, and thirty in 1921; now there are fifty-five. The relative fewness of native vocations for the Brotherhood is not peculiar in the South, but the scholastic increase gives gratifying promise for the future.\(^{33}\)

Despite the expressed hopes of Father Kenny, the population of the Society of Jesus worldwide, like that of other religious orders, dwindled. Currently, as stated in chapter one, Loyola University New Orleans retains 14 Jesuits, whereas Spring Hill College has but 13.

These overarching trends, presented through additional archival materials weave together the seven presented institutions through a broader analysis of the administration and decisions-making processes of the Society of Jesus. The Jesuit hierarchy, mission of adaptability, and Catholic identity played roles not only in the individual institutions presented in this study but also affected the Society of Jesus’ ability to maintain their institutions and thrive as a religious organization in the American South.

The two remaining Jesuit institutions of the New Orleans Province retain a highly Catholic identity. Upon walking onto either campus, visitors are struck with a myriad of visual Catholic symbols, statues, and Catholic phrases etched into stone. Jesuit centers for

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the promotion of Ignatian ideals and educational missions are located on both campuses. Even with declining Jesuit populations, both institutions still retain their Jesuit identity and maintain a link with their surrounding communities. Although highly adapted from the Southern antebellum Jesuit institutions, Loyola University and Spring Hill College stand as functional testaments to the educational efforts of the Society of Jesus in the American South.

Supportive Material in Review

With the presentation of supportive archival material the failure or survival of Southern Jesuit colleges and universities can be viewed as more closely linked through societal interactions, changing educational trends, and the hierarchy of the Society of Jesus. As it has been demonstrated, the development of positive communal relationships between the town and gown was at times difficult due to anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit sentiment. In addition, the inability of French Jesuits to fluently communicate with students increased difficulties. With the removal of French Jesuits form the New Orleans Mission and the administrative replacement via the Irish Jesuits, educational practices concerning language barriers were improved. In addition, the number of Jesuits teaching in the South had a resounding affect on institutional subsistence.

Jesuit populations seem to have been a problem throughout the South and resulted in a myriad of decisions reliant on total numbers of priests and brothers. When the New Orleans Mission was separated from the administration of Lyons, Jesuits in the South were responsible for training local Catholic men in the ways of the cloth. The inability to exponentially increase Jesuit populations can be related to two factors presented in the cases and supportive materials. Low Catholic populations and the inability for non-
Catholic populations to garner a clear understanding of the identity and mission of the Society of Jesus led to a slow increase in Jesuit numbers. This inability to develop mass numbers of Jesuits led the Fathers to import Jesuits from Europe, such as Father Albert Biever, whose journals have proven to be of great value to this study.

Even with low populations, the Jesuits pursued their educational mission and developed a series of institutions across the South. Each college or university met with a series of difficulties and when education trends changed the Society of Jesus in the American South was reticent to relinquish their traditional stance on education and reliance on the *Ratio Studiorum*. Ultimately, through the intersession of the Jesuit superior general, via the visitation of Father Norbert de Boynes, several Jesuits colleges were sacrificed in order to strengthen the Southern Jesuit presence and continued existence of Loyola University and Spring Hill College. These two institutions were chosen due to their highly Catholic populated city locations, ability to retain supportive alliances, and secular clergy and female religious orders willing to promote Jesuit higher education. Thus, the Southern system of Jesuit higher education was retrenched into Mobile, Alabama, and New Orleans, Louisiana.

With the closure of several Southern Jesuit colleges and the amalgamation of collegiate departments from other New Orleans Jesuit institutions, Loyola University was fortified and Spring Hill College was allowed to continue its existence. Eventually, aspects of institutional and academic legitimacy were addressed through the application and acceptance of the remaining two Jesuit institutions into the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools. With this inclusion, Loyola University has continued to expand its graduate courses to better suit the needs of students. These arguments, pertaining to
institutional retrenchment and academic legitimacy of Southern Jesuit higher education, are further supported by the research of Kathleen Mahoney. Mahoney argues that academic retrenchment, for the Society of Jesus, was a positive and progressive act that sustained their educational mission. Mahoney states:

Despite the Jesuits slow, often begrudging responses to the rise of a new academic order, the history of Jesuits higher education in the twentieth century is not one of decline and retrenchment but one rather of substantial growth and gradual improvement. By aligning their colleges more closely with American standards and practices during the century’s early decades, the move toward academic respectability and institutional viability commenced. 34

In addition to college and university sacrifice and institutional retrenchment, as the data and case analysis attests, other contributing factors include the relationships of the Jesuits with secular clergy, female religious orders, and lay-communities, as well as the relationship between the Jesuits of the New Orleans Province and the Jesuit superiors in Rome that created this two-institution system. These three relational bonds—Jesuits to lay-community, Jesuits to secular clergy and female religious orders, and Jesuits to Jesuits were at the heart of extended relationships that shaped this Southern system of Jesuit higher education.

Summary

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to probe the history of Jesuit higher education in the South, attempt to formulate an understanding as to how a relatively large system of institutions and their Jesuit administrators retrenched into two still existing institutions, to present an educational history that has not been chronicled in the existing literature, and to theorize about affecting factors of institutional survivability as they may apply to

modern trends in higher education. Ultimately, this study attempts to present a possible explanation as to how concepts of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships act as catalytic factors in institutional survivability. While conducting this study, four research questions guided its progress:

1. Can the institutional identity and mission of colleges and universities affect their ability to survive?
2. What responses to historically hostile or hospitable social environments contributed to the survival of particular institutions of higher education?
3. How does the relationship between a college or university and the surrounding social environment contribute to its ability to persist?
4. Ultimately, can an examination of these factors, in tandem with historic examples, aid in the development of a theory that illustrates how institutional identity and mission contribute to the survival of institutions as they subsist in surrounding societies?

**Review of Procedures**

In order to address these guiding questions, this study has been conducted through qualitative research methodologies focusing on historiology, archival data, case construction, and case analysis. In this study, it was important to carefully analyze archival material in order to verify its importance for inclusion in the development of a series of case studies. Of particular importance were those pieces of data that illustrated the effects of institutional identity, mission, and town and gown relationships, and the development of Jesuit institutions.
Weekly visits were made to Loyola University New Orleans and the Jesuit Archives of New Orleans Province. On occasion, visits were made to the archives at Spring Hill College and the archives at Jesuit High School in New Orleans, Louisiana. The majority of data for this study was garnered from the Provincial archives. As the Jesuit Archives of the New Orleans Province are the repository for all Jesuitical material pertaining to priests and brothers who served the Province: journals, log books, letters, Visitor recommendations, and other materials were analyzed. Spring Hill College archives and the archives at Jesuit High School provided few; however, substantial resources.

From the collection and careful review of archival data relevant to this study, seven cases were generated based on the collusion of material in order to present a candid history of each college or university. In addition, archived photographs were scanned with the permission of the Provincial archives and utilized for pictorial analysis of architecture, Catholic symbols, and relational space between colleges and churches. Finally, an analysis of each case, cross analysis of those cases that have been grouped together, and a final presentation of overarching data all serve critical roles in the understanding of catalytic factors that influence the survivability of each institution.

Summary of the Findings

1. Can the institutional identity and mission of colleges and universities affect their ability to survive?

From the case studies presented, it can be concluded that institutional identity and mission can play a catalytic role in the survivability of a college or university. Granted, there are many factors that determine if an institution will close; however, given the
identity and mission of the Society of Jesus and its Catholic institutions positioned in a region of America that was highly Protestant populated coupled with periods of unrest concerning anti-Catholic and anti-Jesuit sentiment, it was certainly difficult to maintain a viable institution. More importantly, the ability to enroll Catholic students who identified with a Catholic college offering a liberal arts curriculum at a high enough population to financially sustain these Catholic institutions was difficult, unless the institution was located in a heavily Catholic populated and/or supportive environment. A major factor concerning the identity and mission of these institutions was the ability to adapt without losing the characteristics of Jesuit education. In the cases of Loyola University and Spring Hill College, the curricular missions were adapted to meet the needs of surrounding populations, while still informing the populations as to the institutions’ Catholic/Jesuit identities.

The mission of the Jesuit colleges and universities played a major role in their survivability. As mentioned previously, adapting the curriculum was imperative for survival. The need to provide practical education and to adapt the methods of the *Ratio Studiorum* culturally were of great importance to both Catholic and non-Catholic students. Also, as it has been presented, advertisements proclaiming the educational mission and acceptance of non-Catholic students, with religious rights respected, was an important turning point in promoting the inclusive nature of those colleges that survived or were amalgamated. Those colleges that failed to survive never published religiously inclusive advertisements like those of Loyola University and Spring Hill College.

A third factor becomes crucial when examining the case studies in collusion with the overarching data presented at the beginning of this chapter. The internal identity and
mission of the Society of Jesus played its own role in the survival of each Jesuit institution in the New Orleans Province. The overarching example of the permeating Jesuitical identity and mission is presented in the vow of obedience taken by all Jesuits. The visitation recommendations of Norbert de Boynes serve as the ultimate example for the affecting factor of obedience on Jesuitical identity, mission, and institutional survival. When de Boynes recommended the closure of colleges so as to fortify the Jesuit educational identity and mission in a highly Catholic city, it was done. The only exception is Spring Hill College. On account of Father Cummings’ connection and conversations with de Boynes, Spring Hill College was saved, whereas St. Charles College and St. Mary’s University were shut down. Also, when the Jesuit superior general sent the final order to close the College of the Sacred Heart in Augusta, the order was followed.

2. What responses to historically hostile or hospitable social environments contributed to the survival of particular institutions of higher education?

When regarding historically hospitable social environs, the best set of examples from this study are those related to Loyola College and the College of the Immaculate Conception. With a long history as the “downtown” Jesuit college, the College of the Immaculate Conception had garnered support, developed positive relationships with city officials, and had acquired a host of loyal alumni. Also, Loyola College had developed the Marquette Association for soliciting and fundraising purposes. Ultimately, these two colleges closed not because they had in any way promoted an institutional identity or mission that created a negative town and gown relationship. These two institutions were closed as a response to public want for a modern Catholic university in New Orleans.
Loyola University New Orleans, although not birthed from the College of the Immaculate Conception or Loyola College, profited from the amalgamation of Loyola College’s and the College of the Immaculate Conception’s college departments. From the inclusion of those students, staff, and curricula Loyola University began with a large enrollment population. Therefore, the positive, hospitable town and gown relationships between Loyola College and New Orleans and the College of the Immaculate Conception and New Orleans, as well as the Jesuit mission of adaptability, led to the formation of a university that had the combined support from the previous two institutions, a supportive surrounding social environment, the support of secular clergy, and the continued efforts of the Marquette Association and Ladies Auxiliary.

Concerning hostile environments, the strongest examples are the College of the Sacred Heart and St. Charles College. Although the local vicinage of St. Charles College was indeed supportive of the institution, communities outside of Grand Coteau were not. Due to this hostile environment, it was difficult for the Jesuit Fathers of Grand Coteau to draw student enrollments from outside the local community. If students came to St. Charles College form outside of Grand Coteau, they typically came from other states or countries. In the case of the College of the Sacred Heart, the surrounding population was highly Protestant and wealthy Protestant families enrolled their sons in the college courses due to the liberal arts nature of the curricula. On the other hand, Catholics who wanted an education were uninterested in a liberal education. Instead, Irish Catholics in Augusta wanted job training and did not wish to complete the college credit for an A.B. degree. In addition, anti-Catholic sentiment was high in Augusta, and the Jesuit Fathers had to be careful how they expressed the Catholic nature of their college. In
advertisements for the College of the Sacred Heart, the Catholic nature of the institution is not overtly described. Instead, the educational methods are depicted as rooted in moral instruction. At other Jesuit colleges in the New Orleans Province, advertisements clearly indicate the Catholic nature of the institutions. The difficult social environment in Augusta led to the deterioration of the college curriculum, eventual closure of the college department, and finally the complete failure of the institution.

3. How does the relationship between a college or university and the surrounding social environment contribute to its ability to persist?

In the cases of Spring Hill College and Loyola University, the town and gown relationships were extremely positive. These positive relationships fostered strong networks, allowed for financial giving, and developed communal relationships in which the identities and missions of these two institutions were understood and accepted. The Catholic populations of Mobile and New Orleans were highly supportive of these Jesuit institutions. Likewise, Mobile residents were supportive of Loyola University, and New Orleans residents were supportive of Spring Hill College. In addition, the case of St. Mary’s University in Galveston, Texas, presents a fascinating introspection into the development of a strong town and gown relationship via shared Catholic identities and a disastrous event: the hurricane of 1900. With the city of Galveston in ruins, the Jesuit Fathers opened the college buildings of St. Mary’s University to become a makeshift hospital and chapel for the city residents. This behavior, reinforced by the fact that the Jesuit Fathers used the college building to save some 400 Galveston residents from rising floodwaters, endeared the Society of Jesus and St. Mary’s University to the people. As
presented in the St. Mary’s University case via a postcard from the 1970s, even though the Jesuit Fathers had left the city years previously, citizens still remembered them.

In the case of the College of the Sacred Heart, however, the town and gown relationship was weak. The Protestant populous was often confused about the identity and mission of the Jesuit presence in Georgia, the Catholic community was not supportive of the liberal educational practices offered at the College of the Sacred Heart, and eventually, the Jesuit Fathers turned to the wealthy, white Protestant population to help fund the institution. Ultimately, without proper support from the social milieu, the college closed, and the Jesuits were dispersed throughout the New Orleans Province.

The case of Loyola University New Orleans demonstrates how this Jesuit university adapted to changing educational trends to better suit the curricular wants of students. Also, the university accommodated students via night courses so that full time workers could partake in classes in order to earn college credits. Further, Loyola University enforced the required undergraduate degree before the attendance of graduate or professional programs. This increased standardization, along with the acquired academic legitimacy through State charters and inclusion in the Southern Association of Colleges and Schools, formed the institution into a viable educational entity that not only extended educational opportunities to Catholics but also propagated an inclusive model of enrollment regardless of religious preference.

4. Ultimately, can an examination of these factors, in tandem with historic examples, aid in the development of a theory that illustrates how institutional identity and mission contribute to the survival of institutions as they subsist in surrounding societies?
This study, which examines the institutional failure or survival of Jesuit institutions in the American South, can indeed lead to the development of an additive theory pertaining to institutional identity, mission, societal relationships, and college/university survival. It is important to understand, as has been suggested through this study, that the principles behind institutional identity, missions, and town and gown relationships are concepts that have the potential to catalytically influence institutional survivability. As Thomas Bender states: “It may well be, however, that the demands of the comparative and interactive study . . . [of] the university and the city, may prompt the piecemeal development of such theory.”

In essence, this study does just what Bender claims. It presents the argument that a college or university’s internally- and externally-perceived identity and mission can affect its ability to survive by triggering the development of supportive or destructive relationships within the surrounding locale. This triggering then leads to other models of institutional survival, such as those presented by Jeffrey Pfeffer and Gerald Slancik in their book *The External Control of Organizations: A Resource Dependence Prospective*. Ultimately, if a college or university’s identity and mission are negatively perceived by external communities, then the ability to develop positive social relationships, and thereby gain financial support or student enrollment, is hindered, whereas a college or university with a preexisting identity and mission that is supported from the genesis moment can acquire strong communal bonds where positive public support is received. The total sum of this theory follows as such: A college or university has an internally- and externally-perceived identity, an externally-projected and

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internally-acted upon mission. The collusion of perceived, projected, and internalized concepts of identity and mission influence societal settings, thereby creating a positive or negative set of relationships. Positive relationships can allow for the garnering of capital and resources, contributing to viability and continued existence, whereas negative relationships can deny a college or university resources and detrimentally affect survivability.

**Conclusions**

As a result of this study, the following conclusions have been generated.

1. The identity and mission of Jesuit colleges and universities in the American South played catalytic roles in their ability to maintain positive societal relationships and sustain survivability.

2. The internal identity and mission of the Society of Jesus played a role in the closure of Jesuit institutions in the New Orleans Province.

3. The relationships between Jesuits and other Jesuits, between Jesuits and secular clergy or members of other religious orders, and between Jesuits and lay-Catholic and non-Catholic/Protestant communities affected the survivability of particular Jesuit institutions.

4. The ability to sacrifice particular colleges and universities in order to focus on Loyola University New Orleans and Spring Hill College in Mobile, Alabama, allowed for the survival and maintenance of Jesuit higher education in the South via retrenchment and refocused human resources.
5. Additive theories regarding institutional survival can be generated via the usage of historiology and case construction from archival data and applied to further the understanding of modern higher education trends.

6. Social environments, as demonstrated through the concept of town and gown relationships, can have a positive or negative effect on a college or university’s ability to thrive and ultimately survive.

7. Reactions to hospitable or hostile social environments can have a bearing on survival of colleges and universities and must be analyzed in their cultural contexts.

8. Institutional adaptability is an essential component in college or university survival.

9. The ability to acquire, develop, and maintain institutional legitimacy is of extreme importance for continued institutional viability and survival.

10. Educational research pertaining to historiology has an important consignment in the larger scope of educational leadership, research, and administration.

**Discussions**

From my experience with this study and spending time amongst members of the Society of Jesus, studying in the provincial archives, and reviewing a plethora of related documents, I have come to realize a heartening truth about historiographic research; it must be done in the field. Such a study as this could never have been accomplished without the immersive experience of working at and in Jesuit institutions (Loyola University New Orleans, Spring Hill College, and Jesuit High School, New Orleans). Educational historians must take time to become familiar with their subject matter.
through existing published literature, should get to know archivists and administrators of special collections, and must prepare themselves for hours of cloistered study in the walls of archives outside of their own college or university campus.

For over two years, I have made weekly trips to New Orleans from Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to research in the Jesuit Archives of the New Orleans Province. My experiences there, as well as my experiences at the Spring Hill College archives and the archives of Jesuit High School, New Orleans, have fortified my understanding of educational research through historiography by means of experiential discovery and self-directed learning. Asking questions never hurt, and the worst response I ever received to any query was “no.”

In particular, this study has helped to broaden my understanding of the historic and social context of the South, as well as the interaction of educational institutions, let alone Jesuit colleges and universities, within the surrounding and ever-changing culture of colonial, antebellum, Civil War, reconstruction, and early 20th-century American South. This study has strengthened my interest in educational history, institutional survival, and the development and administration of Catholic higher education. With these subject areas highlighted, I have no doubt that I will continue to research and write about issues concerning these particular genres.

As the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus and the Jesuit institutions of Loyola University New Orleans and Spring Hill College progress together, the need to align and strengthen the identity and mission of each institution with Jesuit concepts and ideals is imperative as they compete with their secular counterparts. Such an identity, as imposed by the Society of Jesus, could potentially aid Loyola University and Spring Hill
College in remaining unique in the larger context of higher education and might continue to strengthen bonds with alumni and local/global Catholic communities.

It is my hope that this study not only adds to the existing body of research concerned with institutional survival and Catholic higher education but that it serves as a compendium of Southern Jesuit educational history that can aid the New Orleans Province as a resource in the further analysis of its origins and developments. With this in mind, a copy of this manuscript will be donated to the Provincial archives at Loyola University to be kept with those primary source materials cited within these pages. Finally, this dissertation stands as a testament to the merits of educational history and its relevant place amongst other methodologies utilized to further the understanding and expansion of educational research, higher education, and educational leadership.

Limitations of the Study

This study, rooted in qualitative historical methodologies is, as Patton describes, “highly contextual and case dependent.”37 As such, this study might illustrate the same limitations as other studies that utilize case analysis, archival data, and qualitative methods. For this study I concentrated on seven academic institutions, all of which were administered by the Society of Jesus and guided, to a degree, according to Catholic/Jesuit educational identities and missions. In the construction of cases relevant to each institution, I relied on archival data, thus creating a historical narrative of each college or university. Despite the plethora of data utilized for this study, there is still more data regarding the existence and development of Jesuit higher education in the New Orleans Province; however, this data is included in provincial minutes and correspondence which

also includes personal information regarding the private lives of priests and brothers. Researchers who are not members of the Society of Jesus or employed to work in the Jesuit archives are not allowed access to these documents, as they are classified as confidential and sensitive. This confidential material might contain additional data that illuminates a broader picture as to the failure or survival of those colleges presented in this study.

The Jesuit institutions chosen for this study were selected based on data that confirmed that their college departments all enrolled students who, although may not have completed, were studying for an A.B. degree, B.S. degree, or higher; however, there were three additional Jesuit institutions that were not included in this study: St. John’s College, Shreveport, Louisiana; Sacred Heart College, Tampa, Florida; and Sts. Peter and Paul College, Baton Rouge, Louisiana. St. John’s College and Sacred Heart College were planned to become fully functional Jesuit institutions with preparatory and collegiate departments; however, according to the provincial catalogues, no students ever enrolled in college classes. Therefore, the Province realigned these two institutions and recreated them as high schools. St. John’s College is currently known as Loyola College Prep, and Sacred Heart College now goes by the name of Jesuit High School, Tampa. The inclusion of these two institutions and their failure to inaugurate college departments may have furthered the understanding of catalytic concepts that affected the Southern Jesuit system of higher education.

In addition, a deeper study of Sts. Peter and Paul College and its ultimate failure might have added to the depth of this study. This Baton Rouge college, sporadically mentioned throughout the previous chapters, felt immense anti-Jesuit sentiment, dealt
with changing internal ideals of the Society of Jesus, and met with the death of students and staff as a result of yellow fever. In fact, communal uprisings against the college were so strong that local anti-Jesuit organizations, in an attempt to deter the college’s construction, had a road laid through the college property before construction of the physical plant began. When Father Cambiosa, the institution’s rector, saw the new road he retaliated, realigned the college plans, and placed buildings on either side of the road. As a result, a threatening letter was sent to Cambiosa.38 Father Michael Kenny details the implications of the letter with the following:

When Father Cambiaso proceeded to build on one bisection and to clear the adjoining church premises for a new church, they [local anti-Jesuit representatives] sent him the message that they had a 5-barrel gun they would explode on him unless he quite forthwith. He [Father Cambiao] replied that should they assail him they would find good shooting from his own single-barrel more effective. Without further assault he had a pair of two story frame buildings set up . . .

Despite the existence of Sts. Peter and Paul College, primary sources indicate that college level courses were never implemented even though a preparatory department was in full operation with plans for future college curricula. Such information depicting blatant anti-Jesuit outcry and furtive responses form Jesuit Fathers provides a colorful illustration that could add to additional fortifying studies regarding this or other studies concerning Jesuit higher education in the South.

Implications

Academic research on institutional survival is of extreme importance as the current field of higher education is witnessing the closure of colleges and universities across the nation and abroad. Small colleges and several religious institutions in

39 Ibid.
particular are struggling to survive in the ailing economic climate. An example of such an institution is Cascade College, a Christian college in Portland, Oregon. In 2008, administrators of Cascade College publicly announced that the college would close due to an encumbered debt of $4,000,000 and low student enrollments.\footnote{Justin Pope, “More Colleges May Close in Ailing Economy,” Boston.com http://articles.boston.com/2008-11-17/news/29272837_1_colleges-university-business-officers-endowments (accessed April 21, 2011).} Another example of institutional failure is Dana College in Nebraska. Due to financial burdens, the administration of Dana College attempted to sell the institution to a private firm; however, accreditation standards would not apply to the firm, and the sale was canceled. As a result, the college has closed, leaving its students without an institution.\footnote{Charles Huckabee, “Dana College Announces it Will Close, Blaming Accreditor’s Decision Against New Owners,” The Chronicle of Higher Education, http://chronicle.com/article/Dana-College-Announces-It-W/66110/ (accessed April 21, 2011).} Such questions that could be poised to these institutions include similar ones from this study. What were the catalytic concepts that led to the institutional failure of Cascade and Dana College? Did the social environment play a part in the ultimate closure of these institutions? How did the institutional identity and mission of each college relate to the first moments of institutional downturn? Such questions are as relevant now as they were for the Jesuit Fathers of the New Orleans Province.

Despite research trends that examine institutional success and subsistence, there is very little literature regarding institutional survival and virtually no research that examines what causes institutions of higher education to completely shut down. With this literature gap in mind, educational researchers have an opportunity to direct their attentions to scholarly inquiry regarding institutional failure and survivability. This study has attempted to examine catalytic components that affect overall survivability, but larger...
studies need to be accomplished that chart the overarching process of institutional decline, failure, and warning signs pertaining to college/university decline.

By performing exhumations of closed institutions by way of their archived remains, researchers can reassemble the pieces and perform a metaphorical autopsy of the recomposed corpse of a failed institution. Through such research, as similarly performed in forensic science, the field of higher education can be strengthened through the improved understanding of factors that force the closure of colleges and universities. Herein lies the ultimate implication for such a study as this dissertation. By reconstructing the past and analyzing the corpus, the field of educational research and higher education administration can profit by understanding what closed former institutions and develop an awareness of markers that herald the end of an institution, as well as potential means to avert closure.

In addition, this study also makes note of the practical implications behind furthered research regarding town and gown relationships. These developed connections illuminate the nature of social networking beyond the singular individual and place a college/university campus on the larger scale of communal networking in order to forge alliances and build support. By studying the ways in which colleges and universities have accomplished this networking in the past, current institutions can glean understandings as to what other colleges/universities have done successfully or unsuccessfully to strengthen town and gown relationships.

Finally, the research implications behind the study of Catholic education and higher education in the American South leads to a series of practicalities that can be garnered and utilized in the administration of these regional/religious entities. Through
increased study of Catholic education in the South, these institutions can enhance their institutional identities and missions through the public presentation of their progression and purpose. Also, through the historiographic study of Catholic higher education, relationships between the town and gown can be strengthened via an increased understanding of Catholic higher education’s historic connection with local communities and surrounding environs. Ultimately, the use of research pertaining to institutional survival, educational history, Catholic/Jesuit higher education, and educational trends in the American South provides a venue that fortifies a base of knowledge from which researchers, teachers, and administrators can better guide colleges and universities through periods of change and redirection.

**Directions for Further Research**

The study of institutional survival points to a myriad of details, all of which require further study. Such research examples include (but are not limited to) curriculum transferability and its role in enhancing transfer student enrollment, identity perception in cross campus programs and organizations, structural adherence to institutional missions and its effects on survivability, and political alliances and institutional survival. The research possibilities are limitless. As any one cause may trigger a series of effects that ultimately leads to the demise of a living organism, so too exists catalytic causes that spur a chain of events resulting in institutional death.

As researchers latch onto these areas of study, particularly institutional survivability, it will become paramount that a variety of methodologies can be used to enhance the understanding of the subject genre. Quantitative materials regarding finances, student populations, demographics, internal and external perceptions, and
motivation can aid in the greater conception of what causes a college or university to close while a neighboring institution flourishes. In addition, oral histories and qualitatively coded interviews with administrators and educational leaders can enhance research by provided a finer lens to view the study of survivability.

Further research in Catholic and religious higher education could include a systematic study pertaining to the usage of religious symbols and iconography in marketing strategies. Also of interest would be studies relating to the nature of higher education facilities established for the training of religious men and women. Such studies regarding the educational curriculum and longevity of monasteries, convents, seminaries and the like are virtually nonexistent and should be included in the broader field of higher educational research.

More in depth research needs to be performed pertaining to racial elements and their affects on the development of Catholic/Jesuit higher education in the American South. For example, it has been recorded that Loyola University first accepted black students in 1951; however, the research of Joseph H. Fichter indicates that black students were first enrolled in Loyola University’s extension program for teacher education in 1921. As presented in the case on St. Charles College, when Mr. Koch was brought to the college in Grand Coteau for religious training, he was shunned by the

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43 Ibid., 374
students due to his dark, South American skin. Even though Koch was not of African origins, he was still deemed to be a race unwanted by Southerners.44

As has been noted, a major difficulty facing Jesuit intuitions of the New Orleans Province was low student enrollments. The inclusion of African American students would have possibly bolstered student numbers; however, given the ideological climate of white Southerners, such integration would have caused the removal of white students, resulting in a loss of income to the colleges. A fascinating study would be the examination and implications of the Society of Jesus’ statements of racial inclusion as depicted in the *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus* and the *Ratio Studiorum*. These founding educational documents call for the acceptance of all male students who wished to gain an education and were capable of study, however, the mission of adaptability may have been taken too far in the New Orleans Province, as Jesuit educational institutions inculcated racial standards of enrollment shared by regional secular educational institutions.

Also, studies pertaining to experiences of the first wave of female students entering Loyola University and Spring Hill College may be of interest in illuminating the nature of women’s inclusion in Catholic/Jesuit education. Again, little research has been published that focuses completely on the female experiences in Jesuit higher education. Forms of educational research pertaining to issues of race and gender in Jesuit education would help promote a broader understanding regarding the history of Jesuit higher education in America and in the South.

44 Albert Biever, *Diary and notes on St. Charles College, Grand Coteau, 1837-1915*, Albert Biever Papers, Archives of the New Orleans Province, Society of Jesus, Monroe Library, Loyola University New Orleans, LA., 34.
Finally, an expansion of this study could be done by further analysis of the continued survivability of Loyola University New Orleans and Spring Hill College as they progressed alongside other Catholic and secular institutions of higher education. This study finalizes in the 1930s, but continued elaboration of the two remaining New Orleans Province institutions could broaden the scope of this research. Future studies could also include the effects of the Civil Rights movement on Loyola University and Spring Hill College, the Jesuit movements in promoting educational access for African American students in the South, and the coeducational curricular movement in Jesuit higher education as opposed to high schools belonging to the Society of Jesus.

By relying on qualitative methodologies and historiography to illuminate practices and performances of societal relationships, institutional and public perceptibility, and hierarchical structures as in the Catholic Church and its effects on higher education, a research agenda can be developed to provide the field of higher education administration and research with new descriptions and illustrations. With the aforementioned plans for future study, the research genres of institutional survival, Catholic/Jesuit education, and higher education trends in the American South can provide an unending cornucopia of inquiry.
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APPENDIX A: LETTER OF PERMISSION FROM THE JESUIT ARCHIVIST OF THE NEW ORLEANS PROVINCE

10 February 2011

To whom it may concern:

Eric Platt, LSU doctoral candidate, has done scholarly research in the Archives of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus for the past two years. His area of research has focused on the unique attributes and the development of higher education by the Jesuits in the South.

Although the Jesuit Province Archives are a closed collection, they are available under staff direction to serious scholars.

Mr. Platt indicated early his sincerity of purpose and dedication to his chosen topic. During his weekly appointments he has read countless books, publications, reports and diaries related to this subject. The material he has accessed was with permission and under the supervision of staff.

(signed)
Rev. Francis W. Huete, S.J.
Archivist
New Orleans Province Archives
Society of Jesus
APPENDIX B: IRB EXEMPTION FORM

Application for Exemption from Institutional Oversight

Unless qualified as meeting the specific criteria for exemption from Institutional Review Board (IRB) oversight, all LSU research/projects using living humans as subjects, or samples, or data obtained from humans, directly or indirectly, with or without their consent, must be approved or exempted in advance by the LSU IRB. This Form helps the PI determine if a project may be exempted, and is used to request an exemption.

Applicant: Please fill out the application in its entirety and include the completed application as well as parts A-E listed below, when submitting to the IRB. Once the application is completed, please submit two copies of the completed application to the IRB Office or to a member of the Human Subjects Screening Committee. Members of this committee can be found at http://www.lsu.edu/screeningmembers.shtml

A Complete Application Includes All of the Following:
(A) Two copies of this completed form and two copies of part B thru E.
(B) A brief project description (adequate to evaluate risks to subjects and to explain your responses to Parts 1 & 2)
(C) Copies of all instruments to be used.
   If this proposal is part of a grant proposal, include a copy of the proposal and all recruitment material.
(D) The consent form that you will use in the study (see part 3 for more information.)
(E) Certificate of Completion of Human Subjects Protection Training for all personnel involved in the project, including students who are involved with testing or handling data, unless already on file with the IRB. Training link: (http://proximitytraining.com/users/login.php)
(F) IRB Security of Data Agreement: (http://www.lsu.edu/irb/IRB%20Security%20of%20Data.pdf)

1) Principal Investigator: R. Eric Platt
Rank: Doctoral Student
Dept: Educational Theory, Policy
Ph: 601-447-5196
E-mail: rplatt@lsu.edu

2) Co-Investigator(s): please include department, rank, phone and e-mail for each

Dr. Roland Mitchell, Assistant Professor, r.mitchell@lsu.edu

3) Project Title: Sacrifice and Survival: The Historiographical Role of Institutional Identity and Mission in Jesuit Higher Education of the New Orleans Province

4) Proposal? (yes or no) no If Yes, LSU Proposal Number
   Also, if YES, either
   ○ This application completely matches the scope of work in the grant
   ○ More IRB Applications will be filed later

5) Subject pool (e.g. Psychology students)
   *Circle any "vulnerable populations" to be used: (children < 18; the mentally impaired, pregnant women, the aged, etc.). Projects with incarcerated persons cannot be exempted.

6) PI Signature
   Date 1/11/2011

** I certify my responses are accurate and complete. If the project scope or design is later changed, I will resubmit for review. I will obtain written approval from the Authorized Representative of all non-LSU institutions in which the study is conducted. I also understand that it is my responsibility to maintain copies of all consent forms at LSU for three years after completion of the study. If I leave LSU before that time the consent forms should be preserved in the Departmental Office.

Screening Committee Action: Exempted X Not Exempted Category/Paragraph 4

Reviewer: S. Kim Macgregor
Signature: S. Kim Macgregor
Date 2/4/2011
VITA

Eric Platt was born in Mobile, Alabama, and raised in Lucedale, Mississippi. He is the son of Robert and DeWanda Platt and brother to Robin Haney. After graduating from George County High School, Eric attended Jones County Junior College in Ellisville, Mississippi, where he received an Associates of Arts degree in psychology. Later, he attended the University of Southern Mississippi in Hattiesburg, Mississippi, and received a Bachelor of Science degree in psychology and a Master of Education degree in adult education. After receiving his master’s degree, Eric continued his studies at the Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge and pursued a Doctor of Philosophy in educational leadership and research with an emphasis in higher education administration. In addition, he minored in history and studied the history of education and higher education in the American South. In the past, Eric has taught music and leadership courses to students from a variety of Southern high schools, undergraduate courses in psychology, and graduate courses in higher education. He has garnered administrative experience in continuing education, intersession course development, grant writing, and archival administration. Currently, Eric is employed by the Louisiana State University Division of Continuing Education and lives in Denham Springs, Louisiana.