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New England Province History

1986

Jesuit Province of New England: The Expanding Years

James Leo Burke S.J.

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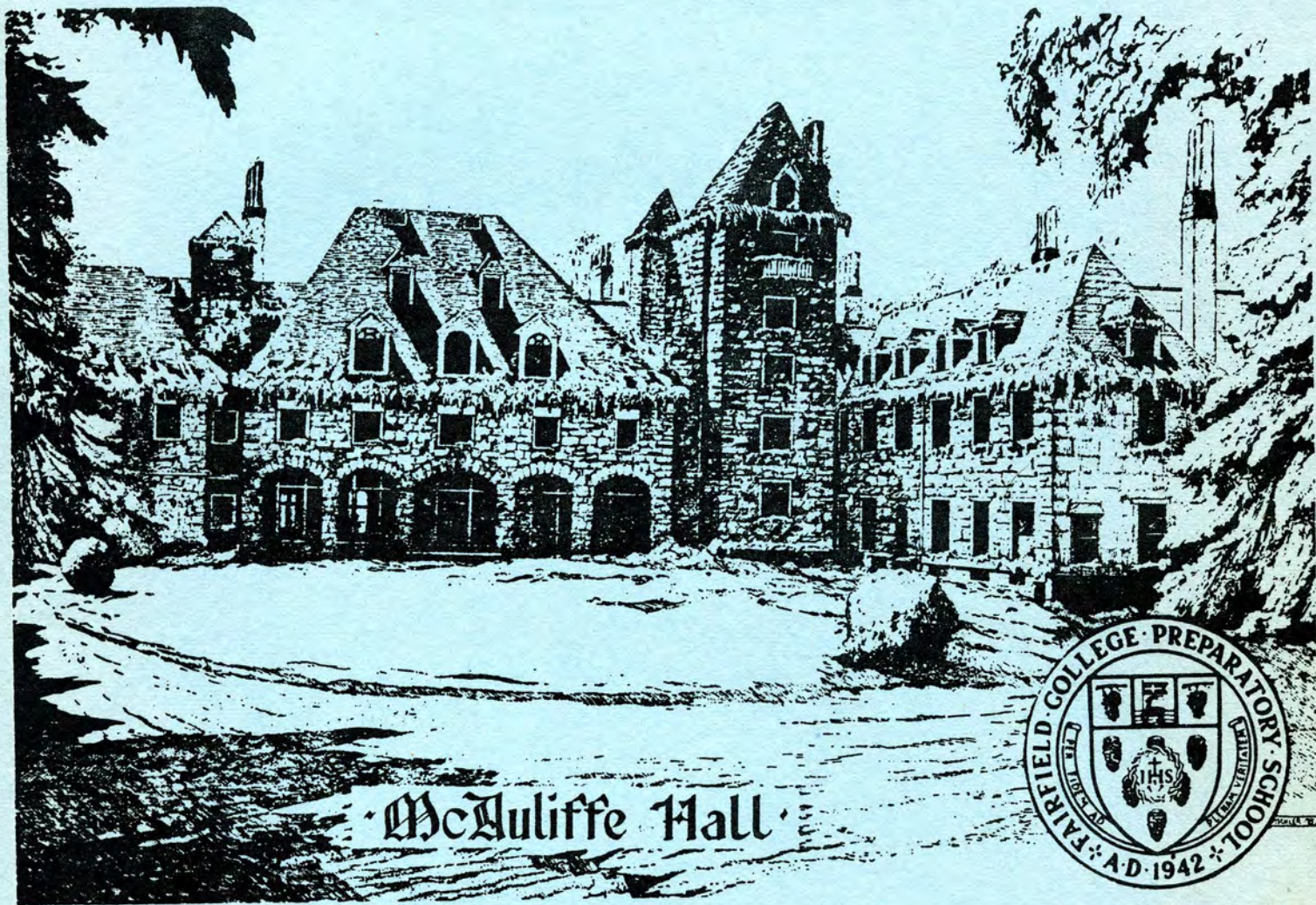
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Burke, James Leo S.J. and Lapomarda, Vincent A. S.J., "Jesuit Province of New England: The Expanding Years" (1986). *New England Province History*. 2.

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The
JESUIT PROVINCE
of
NEW ENGLAND



McDuliffe Hall

THE EXPANDING YEARS

James Leo Burke, S. J.

JESUIT PROVINCE
OF
NEW ENGLAND:

The Expanding Years

by

James Leo Burke, S. J.

with a forward by

Vincent A. Lapomarda, S. J.

Boston
The Society of Jesus of New England
1986

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Foreword

Rev. James Leo Burke, S.J. had served for many years as an administrator in the New England Province of the Society of Jesus. His knowledge of what happened in the past and why it happened indicates that he is a Jesuit exceptionally qualified to write the history of the province since its inception in 1926.

As a participant in many of the events that he has narrated, both in his first volume on the formative years, published in Boston in 1976, and in this second volume on the expanding years, Father Burke was in a unique position to give testimony and interpretation for the important events. As a professor who has taught historical method, he would be the first to concede that other viewpoints do exist, particularly with respect to such a controversial issue as the dissolution of the Jesuit apostolate at Xavier High School in Concord, Massachusetts.

The second volume of this work had been finished for about four years when I began to inquire about its status. It was not long after I had shown an interest in trying to dislodge the manuscript from oblivion that Rev. John J. Begley, S.J., Socius of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus, approached me in August of 1983 to see if I could put the manuscript in shape for publication.

The manuscript has its own peculiar history. While

Father Burke wrote it out in script, it had to be typed out by secretaries in the Provincial Offices in those periods when they had the free time for it. Given the inevitable shift in personnel not only on the provincial level but also within the secretarial staff, changes inevitably took place that tended to neglect a process of this type for the preparation of a manuscript.

Fortunately, Rev. James E. Powers, S.J., the Province Archivist, kept a handle on the work. Although there had been a change of secretaries, as well as in the location of the Provincial Offices, it was he who was able to bring the finished, typed pieces of the work together after having found them scattered here and there. I learned much about the confusion of this manuscript and what I found to be its missing typed parts from my own conversations with both Father Burke and Father Powers. Consequently, if one is looking for the author's original drafts, Father Burke's own papers constitute the point of origin of this process.

Nevertheless, in reviewing the typing of the secretarial staff, both Father Burke and Father Powers had gone over the manuscript before it came into my hands. When I saw it, I decided that it would be best to make an arrangement with the personnel staff at Holy Cross College to have it typed into a word processor so that I could more easily exercise my role as copy editor than if I were to restrict myself to working over

the typed draft of the manuscript. For this arrangement, the New England Province is indebted to the oldest Catholic college in New England which happens to be Father Burke's alma mater.

Still I should point out that my task in preparing the manuscript for publication was not altogether easy. Understandably, Father Burke suggested that I prepare the manuscript as closely to the typed draft as I could. While I have tried to follow this rule, it was necessary at times to swerve from it so that clarity would prevail, especially in the identification of persons and places that arise in his narrative. At the same time, I have cut down the lengthy paragraphs into shorter ones so that the logical development of the narrative could prevail. Since the individual chapters were submitted to Father Burke for his review, the final product remains his own work. What is published here is the whole manuscript except for the extended appendix on Joseph H. Rockwell (1862-1927), a Boston native who was the Jesuit Provincial at the time of the founding of the New England Vice-Province of the Society of Jesus in 1921.

As Father Burke himself has already indicated in his preface, his second volume does not complete the history of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus. My own work, The Jesuit Heritage in New England (Worcester, 1977) constitutes a different approach than what Father Burke has presented in his two volumes. However, the efforts of both authors can be viewed

personnel, an extended view is presented of special studies from 1945 to 1968.

Next to the last school expansion was at Xavier in Concord. Despite its academic excellence, it encountered disappointing registration, the diminution in Jesuit members, and

as supplementing one another. Still, with the approach of the 375th anniversary of the arrival of the first Jesuit in New England in 1986 and the 450th anniversary of the Society of Jesus in 1990, one hopes that a third historian will be able to complete those chapters that remain to be written in the history of the New England Province.

If it had not been for the interest of Fathers Richard T. Cleary, Edward M. O'Flaherty, and Robert E. Manning, the three provincials who have been in office during the development of the manuscript, this work would never have come to term. I am very pleased to have been able to make it possible for Father Burke and these three men, who have held the office of provincial during its development, to bring this second volume to publication.

Lastly, the reader should understand that Father Burke's narration goes down to 1979. Since that time, a number of Jesuits mentioned in this work have died and the property of the Cranwell School has been sold. If this perspective is maintained, the reader should find this history very informative.

Vincent A. Lapomarda, S.J.

Associate Professor of History

College of the Holy Cross

1 January 1986

Preface

This second set of chapters on the history of the New England Province is a story of development, retention and, in one notable instance, of withdrawal of Jesuit presence. The narrative begins in 1929 with the request of Father General Wlodimir Ledochowski for the foundation of a school in Baghdad, and carries the early arrangements up to the sailing on February 9, 1932 of the first two missionaries to Iraq. Next, it follows the efforts in 1936 of Fr. William J. Murphy to establish an overseas secondary school in Buenos Aires. The rapid expansion of school work at Cranwell, Fairfield, and Portland follow along with the moving of Boston College High School from James Street to Dorchester.

From expansion there is a pause while the former Weston College Scholasticate, threatened with removal to Dixville Notch, New Hampshire, remained at Weston. Since the history of Baghdad College is enshrined in the colorful pages of Al Baghdadi, the narrative here dwells for four chapters on possible and even temporary expansions in Transjordan and Iran. Because so many schools and allied activities required trained personnel, an extended view is presented of special studies from 1945 to 1968.

Next to the last school expansion was at Xavier in Concord. Despite its academic excellence, it encountered disappointing registration, the diminution in Jesuit members, and

the growing desire for other apostolic endeavors, all of which led to the final withdrawal of Jesuit presence in 1971.

Much, obviously, has not been covered in these years of attempts and inaugurations beginning from 1929. A few beginnings were covered in the original volume. When individual houses or property have been studied, the matter is confined as much as possible to province inauguration and initial support, while subsequent history is left to historians of each house or project.

Some topics were omitted because source material was inadequate or characterized by lacunae. This applied to some schools, retreat works, and special and important projects. The story of disposing of the villa at Keyser Island and the gradual acquisition of Sunapee and later of South Dartmouth was left partially typed because so much data was missing and there seemed no one able to supply missing links. It is hoped that some day another author can fill these many lacunae. No adequate documentation was available on the inauguration of Connolly High School at Fall River.

Appreciation is chiefly to two Jesuits--one living and one deceased. Fr. James E. Powers, the province archivist, was most diligent in ferreting out important collections of source material, in supplying small but crucial details, and in noting numerous minor errors in dates, initials, and spellings.

The late Fr. William E. Fitzgerald was one of the few who had inside knowledge and who was willing to share it in numerous conversations and in brief written memoranda.

Through Fr. Richard T. Cleary, the provincial secretarial staff was prepared to type my impossible handwriting. He also initiated the project of a province history and encouraged this second publication as he did the first. Bro. H. Francis Cluff was most prompt and thorough in supplying needed financial information. Fr. John F. Mullin was most kind in having parts of the total Xavier material taped for easier use by one member of the secretarial staff. Others whose aid on limited matter was crucial included Fathers Charles F. Duffy, Raymond J. Callahan, James P. Larkin. Always encouraging were the numerous inquiries and requests, heard since 1976, to have more of the province history written and made available.

If a dedication is not inappropriate in a preface, this work is dedicated in the first place to several of my novice contemporaries: James E. Risk, John J. Long (d.), John C. Ford, William J. Schlaerth (d.), John F. X. Bellwoar, James L. Harley, John P. Carroll (d.). It is also dedicated to a series of other Jesuits who helped to shape my ascetical and academic life: Gerald A. Dillon (d.), Edward P. Tivnan (d.), John M. Fox (d.), John F. X. Murphy (d.), James A. Cahill (d.), William J. McGarry (d.), and, finally, to one (somewhat) younger

Jesuit, now a jubilarian, who most profoundly and permanently affected my life's values--John J. ("Giovanni") Walsh.

Where the narrative approaches our own time more closely than did the events in Volume One, there will be different judgments on people and events than those herein expressed. For them the writer must accept responsibility.

This preface is dated March 10, 1979, the anniversary of the death in 1615 of St. John Ogilvie. He turned away the wrath of an angry, even abusive woman who deplored his somewhat homely face, by means of his simple blessing on her bonny face. May there be a bonny face on the narrative and the value judgments of this history through the merits and intercession of St. John Ogilvie.

James L. Burke, S.J.

St. Andrew Bobola House

Boston, Massachusetts

March 10, 1979

Chapter I

THE BAGHDAD MISSION BEGINS (1929-1932)

In a letter dated November 26, 1929, the feast of St. John Berchmans, Father General Wlodimir Ledochowski communicated through Fr. Edward C. Phillips, the Provincial of the Maryland-New York Province, with the other United States provincials concerning a possible mission in Baghdad, Iraq. For some nine years the Holy See had been bombarded with ecclesiastical requests that Jesuits, preferably Americans, inaugurate a school in Baghdad to shore up the weak religious conditions of the country's Christian people. When this project had first been brought to Fr. General's attention, he had fended it off on the score of the numerous and pressing commitments at home and abroad of the American provinces. But, by the close of 1929, the continued pressure on the General and his realization of the worthiness of the cause, influenced him to bring the matter to official American attention with the hope for a serious and generous response. In this first communication he added that a building and an annual subsidy were promised.

On February 15, 1930, Fr. Phillips divulged this request to the provincials of the other five provinces (New England, New Orleans, Chicago, St. Louis, and California) and urged an early reply. Two provinces (Missouri and New Orleans) indicated that they could not cooperate because of their own commitments. Chicago was prepared to send one man if other provinces did the same, but its provincial added that the release

even of one man would be a serious burden. California, Maryland-New York and New England agreed to send one man each. Fr. James M. Kilroy made this decision in the New England Province and then called it to the attention of his consultors in a meeting on March 26, 1931. After receiving the four favorable answers, Fr. Phillips relayed this information to Fr. General, and asked if four men would be considered a satisfactory beginning. Just two days prior to this letter of Fr. Phillips, Cardinal Luigi Sincero, Secretary of the Sacred Congregation for the Oriental Churches (hereafter referred to as the Congregation), again urged the project on Fr. General. Some time during April, 1930, Fr. General informed the Congregation of the plan to begin with four men, and the Congregation agreed to this arrangement.

At the same time the Congregation urged the sending of one man to Iraq as quickly as possible to investigate and to report his findings and conclusions to the Congregation. Such an envoy was first to come to Rome, obtain the blessing of of Pope Pius XI, and receive instructions from the Congregation which would underwrite the expenses of the survey. A name for an investigator was discussed in a New England province consultors' meeting on May 16, 1930. It was assumed at the time that whoever went would be the initial superior of any mission undertaken. While names for the post were discussed, no suitable candidate was settled on, and Fr. Phillips was so informed.

From other sources it would appear that a terna of names was prepared and sent to Rome. Fr. Edmund A. Walsh, the founder and regent of the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service, was selected and officially approved. Although earlier informed of his designation for this project, Fr. Walsh only on February 2, 1931 received his instructions from Fr. Phillips. The project, he was informed, was undertaken at the urgent desire of Pope Pius XI. The pontiff wanted information on the conditions for a school. A building and an annual subsidy could be counted on. Whatever Fr. Walsh learned was not the grounds for any decisions on his part. His findings were to go to the Congregation. On arriving in Rome, Fr. Walsh not only met with the Pope and the General, but he was given more specific instructions by the Congregation.

It is the instructions of the Congregation that must now be of concern. They were unexpected and limited. Fr. Walsh was not authorized to propose a school, but the possibility of setting up a boarding house -- a pensione -- for students in Baghdad. This house would be presumably for Iraqi, in and outside Baghdad, who attended the chief governmental schools at which graduates of secondary schools matriculated. These were chiefly the schools of law, medicine and engineering.

Why did the Congregation tie, in effect, the hands of Fr. Walsh, limit him to views on a pensione, and ignore what had been the desire of the ecclesiastics and lay leaders in Iraq? Perhaps it might be ventured that the Congregation believed that four men could more readily handle such a more limited work of

giving corrective instruction and supplying a religious atmosphere in a pensione than in inaugurating a secondary school. At least there was no facile recognition that the initial four and their early associates were giants. With these restrictive instructions, Fr. Walsh arrived in Baghdad on March 7, 1931, and resided, as did the first two fathers -- in another year, with the Carmelite Fathers.

When Fr. Walsh contacted the Apostolic Delegate, Msgr. Antoine Drapier, O.P., whose official headquarters were then in Mosul, and the heads of the various Christian rites (Chaldean, Syrian, Armenian, and Greek), they too were amazed at the instructions, so removed from all their hopes and requests. Fr. Walsh could ask for their comments. At an early stage at the insistence of the Apostolic Delegate, he visited well outside Baghdad. He went north to Mosul and its environs, and to Basra in the south. In all places he found all clamoring for a school.

Even before he had all the written responses to his instructions, Fr. Walsh wrote his initial findings on the desire for a school to the Congregation on March 27, 1931. When an answer came by telegram, its substance was cryptic. The project was approved, and Fr. Walsh should go ahead with the investigation as outlined in his original instructions. Since this telegram did not clarify what was the approved project, Fr. Walsh told no one in Iraq of its contents. He decided to await a clarification on his return to Rome. By the time this telegram arrived, Fr. Walsh had obtained all the responses from his Iraqi correspondents. All continued unanimously in favor of a school.

On his journey to Rome via Damascus, Beirut, Cyprus and Brindisi, Fr. Walsh completed his formal report.

In this report, Fr. Walsh agreed on the need and value of a school. He included possible methods on its incorporation, and a plan of studies. He stressed the point that a recent convention between the Iraq and U.S. governments made possible American schools in Iraq. That Pope Pius XI, in his audience, had indicated the project as a school was also included. As to finance, Fr. Walsh pointed out that funds could be made available from the Near East Welfare Association of which he had been an officer and fund raiser. Not long after Fr. Walsh's return to the States, sometime in May, 1931, news came that the project for a school had been approved.

For whatever reasons, perhaps because he had not been able or willing to carry out the pensione plan, Fr. Walsh appeared to have been in the dog-house of the Congregation. It was made clear to Fr. Phillips, in a interview in July, 1931, with the assessor of the Congregation, that Fr. Walsh's part in the project had ceased. He was not to deal with the Congregation on the subject, and he was not to be assigned any task of obtaining clearance for the school from the Iraq Government. He was likewise to understand that he had no jurisdiction over the disbursement of funds of the Near East Relief Association. Funds for the project up to \$50,000 would come from the Middle East Relief Funds, which were then under the management of Cardinal Patrick J. Hayes of New York. Requests for the funds were to be made directly by the American provincial in charge to the

Secretary of the Congregation. The Secretary would alert Cardinal Hayes about their dispersal. When Fr. General was informed of this impasse by Fr. Phillips, Fr. Ledochowski replied in a letter, dated August 3, 1931, acquiescing in these matters and indicated that there were people who feared Fr. Walsh. For many months after the visit, it was assumed and expected in Iraq that Fr. Walsh would head the first contingent of Jesuits to Baghdad.

After the plan for a school had been approved by the Congregation, Fr. General intimated to Fr. Kilroy in May, 1931, that the mission, once it had officially started, would come under the jurisdiction of the New England Province. Until that time, Fr. Phillips was to continue as the liaison provincial between Fr. General and the other provincials. Both to Fr. Kilroy and to Fr. Phillips, the General indicated his desire that they confer with them and Fr. Walsh and that he himself be informed of their projected plans.

The results of this conference were reported to Fr. General by Fr. Phillips in a letter dated July 10, 1931. It was proposed that, in view of the varied and at times rival Christian groups in Iraq, the school be above any partisan struggle by being placed under some special care of the Holy See. The legal direction of the school should be assumed (as Fr. Walsh had recommended in his official report) by some sort of a U.S. corporation consisting of representatives of some five or six U.S. institutions of higher learning. The function of this corporation would be to give prestige, but it would in no way be

authoritative.

The value of French for incoming missionaries was stressed because so many of the leading lay and ecclesiastical figures, while gradually learning English, were most competent in French. It would also be a help to know some Arabic to deal with tradesmen. Prior to their arrival in Baghdad, a stay for indoctrination would be helpful either at Rome or at Beirut. From the outset, the superior should have adequate money to obtain and equip both a residence and a school structure.

Perhaps it would be good to have Fr. Walsh return and arrange a governmental authorization for the school. Ironically, Fr. Phillips had to append in a postscript to this summary of recommendations, the news of his having been summoned to Cardinal Hayes' residence to be informed, among other things, that Fr. Walsh's part in the project was over and done, and that Near East Relief Fund money was outside his jurisdiction. In a final note, Fr. Phillips wondered whether the work in Baghdad could ultimately employ regents as well as priests.

Simultaneously with this conference work and report, and with the visit for instructions with Msgr. (later Cardinal) Amleto Giovanni Cicognani, the assessor of the Congregation, Fr. Phillips had to inaugurate correspondence about the exact four persons who were to begin the work. He sought the names so that these might be forwarded to Fr. General for approval. Fr. Charles H. Cloud, the provincial of Chicago, was the first to respond. On July 14, 1931, in discussing aspects entering into his choice, he indicated that he was considering Fr. Martin J.

Carrabine or Fr. Edward J. Hodous. But on July 25th, his choice was definite. The man was Fr. Edward F. Madaras, who was to be the originator of the newsy and valuable Al Baghdadi. Fr. Cloud wished to be able to announce this choice at a ceremony for other departing missionaries.

Fr. Phillips opposed such early announcement of the name, since all four names had to be approved by Fr. General. On August 1, 1931, Fr. Phillips indicated, in a letter to Fr. Cloud, that his own choice was theoretically between two people, one of whom appeared to describe his ultimate choice, Fr. Edward J. Coffey. Fr. Coffey was at that time returning from his tertianship in a French-speaking house after completing four years of theology at Lyons.

In early August, the California province had unanimously agreed on the designation of Fr. John A. Mifsud, about to begin his tertianship in Rome in September 1931. His linguistic competency was highly commended.

The last province to inform Fr. Phillips of its choice was New England. On August 27, 1931, Fr. Phillips informed Fr. Kilroy of the other three choices and urged the designation of someone with a good American name to balance such names as Madaras and Mifsud. He also intimated that the New England representative should be the superior, since once the missionaries had set out, the N.E. province was to be in charge.

It is hard to understand why Fr. Phillips as late as August 27, 1931, did not know the N.E. province choice, but it does appear that the man himself did not know of his own

selection until September 2. In a July 8th meeting, Fr. Kilroy informed his consultors that the N.E. representative was to be the superior. He asked for names with this consideration in mind. After a lengthy discussion, as the minutes say, Fr. William A. Rice, the rector at Shadowbrook, was selected. In the event that a second man might be required, Fr. James L. McGovern was to be, surprisingly, this choice. The choice of Fr. McGovern as a second possibility could have been influenced by a letter of Fr. Walsh in which, detailing the qualifications of men for Baghdad, he had indicated that one might be someone versed in secondary school education. Fr. McGovern, after one year as prefect of discipline at Boston College High School, had been its principal since 1920 and so continued until the late winter of 1936. In a letter of September 4, 1931, to Fr. General and, presumably, now including Fr. Rice's name, Fr. Phillips urged the appointment of a New England man as superior. It is interesting to note that the name Rice had become the family name when the French-Canadian father of Fr. Rice had changed it from Raiche to Rice.

On September 30, 1931, Fr. General responded to the report on the requested meeting of Fathers Phillips, Kilroy and Walsh. The date for the superiorship to pass to New England was settled as the time when the first two men left the U.S. While approval as missionaries was given to the four designated fathers, Fathers Kilroy and Phillips were between them to choose a superior, and this choice would be eo ipso approved by Fr. General.

The initial journey was to be made by two of the four, the superior and one available man, either Fr. Madaras, or Fr. Coffey, as selected by the two provincials. Fr. Madaras was selected in October and so informed. Fr. Coffey was to be in residence at Georgetown as a purchasing agent and a student of Arabic and of Iraq history. On the journey, there was to be a stop at Beirut, but none at Rome. Fr. Walsh could acquaint them with whatever information he had as a result of his exploratory trip.

As far as the amount of \$50,000 was concerned, the method indicated by Msgr. Cicognani should be followed. Fr. General did, however, recall that, as of May 26, 1929, the Congregation had promised an annual subsidy. A plan, which Fr. Walsh had proposed for raising an additional \$50,000 from American Jesuit schools, was vetoed. Too much affluence should be avoided.

Obtaining the promised \$50,000 was somewhat of a long drawn-out affair. In view of Msgr. Cicognani's instructions and Fr. General's acquiescence in them, it seems strange that the initial request was made by Fr. Phillips to Cardinal Hayes on November 20, 1931. On that date Cardinal Hayes was informed that preparations for the journey were well laid out, and that funds promised by the Congregation from the Near East Relief Association would be appreciated. The Cardinal replied on November 24, that he had no such instructions from the Holy See or from the Congregation. He was, moreover, without discretion in allotting these funds. Normally the money was sent to Rome

for distribution from there.

On December 2, Fr. Phillips expressed his regrets at bothering Cardinal Hayes. He had presumed that, since it was from Cardinal Hayes that the funds were to be obtained, he had written directly to him. Then on December 10, 1931, a letter in French was sent to Cardinal Sincero requesting, in view of the pending departure, that authorization for disbursement of funds be given to Cardinal Hayes.

In early January, there had been no news from Cardinal Sincero. However, on December 29, 1931. Cardinal Sincero, by letter, had authorized Cardinal Hayes to supply the funds. On receiving this news, Cardinal Hayes wrote on January 15, 1932, that at the moment he could hand over only \$25,000 if loss of funds was not to result from an immediate sale of securities. This letter was acknowledged on January 18, with the added hope that, beginning with March, some added sum might be released each month. As a matter of fact, Cardinal Hayes paid the whole remaining sum of \$25,000 on March 28, 1932. It was the receiving of the first sum in middle January that prompted the earliest possible sailing of the two missionaries on February 9, 1932.

In the minds of some, the delay in departure, hoped for by the end of 1931, was attributed to an awaiting of a favorable reply from Iraq on the establishment of a school. On January 28, the Chaldean Patriarch wrote that he had learned, through a Chaldean priest visiting in the United States, that a delay in departure was being caused by the expectation of a favorable reply to an official governmental request to begin a school in

Baghdad. Fr. General was also apprised of this alleged reason for slowness in departure and on the basis of it he wrote to both Fr. Phillips and Fr. Kilroy a strong letter of his sorrow and embarrassment. Although the reception of a favorable governmental reply concerning a school was not an inhibiting factor in regard to the departure, the request was somewhat slow, it would appear, in being formulated and dispatched. It should be noted that Fr. Walsh might have made provision for this placeat on his visit, but the narrow character of his mandate made such a request impossible.

Despite the considerable abundance of documents on initiating the Baghdad Mission once Fr. General had officially authorized it, it is not evident when the formulation of a request to the Minister of Public Instruction in Iraq was begun. In a letter as late as December 20, 1931, Fr. Walsh informed Fr. Phillips that he would have a rough draft of this letter for approval before Christmas. Such a letter in its final form could arrive in London by January 10, 1932, and then be forwarded to Baghdad by January 15 to 17. With the money soon hopefully available, the missionaries could leave by mid-January and receive details on Iraq's permission when at Beirut. In the event that no news had come from Iraq when Fr. Rice arrived in Beirut, he could and should go on to Baghdad to care for the permission personally. Thus it was clear to Fr. Walsh that there was no need of delay once the funds were at hand.

When Fr. Phillips replied to this letter on December 23, he urged that, since an American corporation, as planned, had not yet been set up, the request should be made in the name of the separate sponsoring colleges. He indicated too, that the only grounds for delayed departure would rest on the reception of the Congregation's funds. The promised letter of Fr. Walsh was submitted through Fr. Rice due to Fr. Walsh's absence in Minneapolis. Fr. Phillips had proposed, on December 29, that Fr. Rice's name be either in the text or on the signature as the appointed local superior.

The copy of the final letter was signed only by Fr. Walsh but Fr. Rice's name was involved in that Fr. Walsh recounted at length his visit to Iraq and his findings. He mentioned a sponsoring group of American Jesuit Universities without referring to them as yet in incorporated form, and gave references to establish their educational standing. The proposed school was briefly described and the readiness expressed to follow Iraq educational regulations as outlined in the convention signed between Ambassador to London, Charles G. Dawes, and the Iraqi Ambassador at London. The favor of a cabled reply was requested. But the letter ends with the odd statement that the first two accredited representatives of the American schools would start as soon as a favorable reply was obtained. The start toward Iraq which Fathers Rice and Madaras were to begin on receipt of a favorably reply could be understood not as beginning from New York, but from some point enroute. Nevertheless, it was an odd statement.

The letter, when formulated, did not go at once in early January, but was to await news of the grant of funds. But Fr. Phillips wished the letter to go out once to London and then to be forwarded to Iraq when London was apprised by cable of the time to send it. With favorable news of the \$50,000 grant reaching Cardinal Hayes on January 15, Fr. Walsh, on January 18, cabled London to send the request air mail to Baghdad. Fr. Rice then made early arrangements to begin the journey. On January 26, the date for sailing had been set for February 9, 1932.

Simultaneously with these arrangements for travel had come the complaints of the Chaldean Patriarch who could have been able to say that a request had not even been made of the Iraqi government. Hence, too, the sending of the belated and non-germane "dolens audivi" letter of Fr. General on February 3, 1932. On February 2, a similar complaint had been sent to Fr. Kilroy by Msgr. Cicognani. On receipt of it on February 11, Fr. Kilroy planned to write that the departure date had been February 9. As of that date, Fr. Kilroy placed in the official files a brief notice, that in accordance with Fr. General's instruction, the mission of Baghdad passed over to the sole jurisdiction of the New England Province.

Clearing up this matter, on the alleged delay due to expecting some Iraq government clearance, took some little time but it was finally done. On February 17, Fr. General, who had been alerted to the departure, informed Cardinal Sincero of the exact date when sailing began and informed him that the pending required permission from Baghdad, was not a cause for delay. He

also informed the Cardinal that, contrary to the expectation of Iraq churchmen, Fr. Walsh was not a member of the departing group. This was hardly news, since Cardinal Sincero's Congregation had insisted that Fr. Walsh's part was finished after his report on the exploratory visit to Iraq. While Fr. Walsh's counsel had been utilized, Fr. General indicated to the Cardinal that there had been unwillingness to sever him from this important work.

On March 1 (one day after Fr. Rice and Fr. Madaras had reached Beirut), Cardinal Sincero expressed his joy to Fr. Phillips that the journey had begun and asked patience with the Chaldean priest who had ineptly and erroneously given rise to misapprehensions. The Cardinal had just written to the Chaldean Patriarch urging him to admonish the priest paternally lest he continue to judge what was not his affair. That all would end well, Fr. Walsh was informed by cable early on the morning of February 20, that on the preceding day the Iraq government had approved the school subject to the usual condition of following governmental regulations and policies.

Even after the sailing and the transfer of jurisdiction to the New England Province, there were loose ends to be tied. The corporation of American Jesuit schools had not yet had its constitution drawn up. On March 13, Fr. Walsh forwarded to Fr. Kilroy the draft of a proposed constitution. He had made some changes of his first draft in view of critical remarks of some provincials speaking in the name of colleges under their jurisdiction. In drawing up the document, Fr. Walsh with the

assistance of Mr. George E. Hamilton, Dean of the Georgetown Law School, had used as a model the type of charter employed for educational and philanthropic societies incorporated in the District of Columbia. Since three residents of the District were required for such incorporation, to the names of Fr. Kilroy and Fr. James H. Dolan, his Socius, were added the names of Fr. Walsh, Fr. W. Coleman Nevils and Fr. Joseph A. Farrell. A board of directors, not to exceed ten, was to administer the affairs of the corporation.

Another letter from Fr. Walsh on March 18, indicated that he and Mr. Hamilton had decided to abbreviate the text of incorporation and to include the names of the presidents of the cooperating institutions. In this final form, the name of Fordham University was dropped since Fr. Aloysius J. Hogan, its President, declined to sign. Loyola of Chicago was not included in the final list of sponsoring schools. There was already a Loyola of New Orleans in the group, and the University of Detroit was a representative of the then undivided Chicago Province. Hence the sponsoring schools were Boston College, Holy Cross College, Georgetown, St. Louis University, the University of San Francisco, Loyola University of New Orleans, and the University of Detroit. These universities were referred to as associate colleges or universities, rather than as incorporators. The actual incorporation took place on April 9, 1932, with the title of the corporation being the Iraq American Educational Association.

Finally, on August 23, 1932, five months after Fr. Rice's arrival in Baghdad, Fr. Walsh wrote to Fr. Kilroy from the Catholic Summer School at Cliff Haven on Lake Champlain that he had sent to Boston the Act of Incorporation engrossed on parchment and done in colors. Since all the work was done in pen, the execution had consumed time. The cost had come to seventy dollars. Twelve photostats had been made so that each of the schools involved would have a copy. Two copies were to go to Baghdad, one to the New England Province files, and one to Fr. General. Some non-signing school seems to have received a copy. The negative was forwarded to Fr. Rice. The colored parchment was first sent to Boston for forwarding to Baghdad. Meticulous instructions for its packaging were supplied for Brother James L. Kilmartin. This August letter of Fr. Walsh suggested the possibility of having the first meeting of the corporation on September 26, the day the school was to open in Baghdad.

In concluding this section, it might be pointed out that Fr. Phillips' power of attorney for receiving and disbursing funds for the mission had come to an end on April 1, 1932. Surely a tribute should be paid to him for all the correspondence which he carried on from the first reception of Fr. General's hope for an Iraq Mission in late November, 1929, until April 1, 1932, when his power of attorney over funds ended. One day prior to this, the Congregation authorized the establishment of the Jesuit religious house in Baghdad. Fr. Phillips wrote to Fr. Coffey that he was happy to lay down his task, but that he would always have a friendly interest for the

school. The Iraq Mission, now dispersed, must clearly include Fr. Edward C. Phillips among its founding fathers. Only his letters carefully prepared and preserved have made the narrative of this chapter possible.

Chapter II

A MIGHT HAVE BEEN MISSION -- BUENOS AIRES, ARGENTINA (1936)

Approximately at the time, in 1936, when the province was searching for a permanent retreat house, the proposal for an overseas secondary school in Buenos Aires, Argentina, arose. At that time, there were two mission schools. Baghdad had eleven men engaged in school work; Jamaica, out of a total of thirty-three New England missionaries, had twelve faculty members at St. George's in Kingston.

Twenty-eight Jesuits were engaged in secondary school work at James Street (Boston College High School), and the great push of 1939-42 for secondary schools in Lenox, Massachusetts; Fairfield, Connecticut; and Portland, Maine, was still in the future. Mr. Edward H. Cranwell was not yet even a dim figure. Bishop Maurice F. McAuliffe of Hartford was still mulling over if and where he might welcome a Jesuit school in his diocese, then coterminous with the State of Connecticut. The Bishop of Portland had not begun his overture on having Jesuits take over his diocesan high school in Portland.

Even in Jamaica, it was not until after that when Campion Prep began under the leadership of Fr. Joseph Krim, S. J. Manpower could have been available for this proposed overseas venture since the province numbered 790, an increase in ten over the preceding year. To understand this particular offer, it is necessary to go back to the planning which has been going on spasmodically since 1929 in Buenos Aires.

On October 15, 1929, a group in Argentina calling itself the Cardinal Newman Education Committee sent out a circular letter concerning the possibility of a boarding school in or near Buenos Aires for the sons of English-speaking residents. These youths needed, it had long been believed, a first-class education, including linguistic competence in English as well as in Spanish.

Up to that time, no such education had been available. To obtain a good education for their sons, the circular listed two methods that parents had followed. If the sons went to the usual local schools, there were deleterious effects on religion. While Spanish was improved, the English suffered. A second alternative was to send their sons abroad, usually to Ireland or England. Not many could afford this expense. While their English was well-cultivated, especially their pronunciation, they returned to Argentina almost total strangers to its language and ethos.

A third alternative not mentioned in the circular was often practiced. Sons were enrolled in the Spanish-speaking Catholic schools in Argentina. Religion was enhanced, but the English language suffered. It was de-emphasized or taught poorly. To enable a first-class (and this qualification was strongly emphasized) Catholic and bilingual education, a new form of school was sought. Hence a questionnaire (no copy of which is available) accompanied the circular letter. Although there were believed to be hundreds of available students for the proposed project, only 134 out of 508 replies were received. It is true

that this original questionnaire dealt only with younger students. The small returns were not very promising.

In May, 1930, Mary Petty, as Secretary of the Committee, wrote again to inquire on both younger and older available students. This second letter particularly addressed those who had not replied to the original query. She cited the possibility that the first letter might have gone astray or been inadvertantly misplaced. She reiterated the earlier rationale for the school. The letter also asserted that 126 families with 177 young sons were in a position to afford the proposed type of education and its expense, and that fifty percent of some group of families favored the proposal and its early accomplishment. This time 599 questionnaires were sent out and ninety-six were returned -- once again not too promising a start, and an earnest of the indifference and opposition to the project.

From these returns, it became evident that 228 sons were involved as potential students. 150 of them lived in or close to the capital city, seventy-eight lived in more interior portions of the country. Ninety-three of these potential students were of Irish extraction, ninety-six of English, nineteen of American and the others from a variety of English-speaking places. 124 had parents able to pay the tuition comparable to that charged at the leading secular school of this type, St. George's at Quilmes. The ages of these 124 students were striking or discouraging. Forty-five were under seven years of age, sixty-four were between the ages of seven and twelve, while only fifteen were older than twelve.

There is an interesting document in Fr. William J. Murphy's file dated in handwriting as 1930. It is a five-page and unsigned statement on the situation affecting the education of English-speaking boys in Argentina. There was an estimate of between forty and eighty members for the British community, 100,000 of the Irish community and some 5,000 from the United States.

There were twenty-four British schools in Argentina to aid in the retention of English, which was so important for local and foreign commerce. The best known one appeared to be St. George's, Quilmes. The English-speaking Passionists had St. Paul's at Capitan Salmiento, not far from Buenos Aires. The Pallotine Fathers conducted St. Patrick's at Mercedes, some two hours in travel time from the capital. Between the lines here, and elsewhere, was a low estimate of the current education for boys in these Catholic schools which gave some instruction in English. However, especially singled out for its excellent English instruction was the Passionist Sisters' school for girls in a nearby suburb. There was to be a pervasive view as to whether Jesuits from Boston spoke the King's English or only a detested twang.

This unsigned 1930 document indicated earlier efforts to interest English Benedictines, English Jesuits and Irish Dominicans in a school such as was being envisaged. Some data was supplied by Francis Cardinal Gasquet, a Benedictine, and the Abbot of Caldey when they had visited, but nothing happened. A specific development, begun in 1929, was also noted. Fr. Edwin

Ryan, a professor of English at Catholic University in Washington, had visited Buenos Aires. He was a priest of Irish descent, British training and U. S. citizenship. He had urged an investigation into the practicalities of a Catholic school for English-speaking boys, and his suggestion appears to have led to the first questionnaire of October, 1929.

The Cardinal Newman Committee showed its returns on May 20, 1930 to Santiago Luis Copello, later Cardinal-Archbishop of Buenos Aires. While the need for such a school was admitted, it was believed that not the archdiocese but some religious order should undertake it so that continuity of effort would be guaranteed. When Fr. Ryan, on a second visit in 1930, showed his continued interest in the project, no official ecclesiastical invitation was forthcoming for him to run the school. When approached by laity, on the possibility of his inauguration of the school as a private venture, he declined. He did hope, on his return to the States, to interest a religious order from England, the United States or Canada. This seems the last time he appeared in plans for the project.

From 1930 to 1935 the matter remained dormant. However, when, in 1934, the Eucharistic Congress was held in Buenos Aires with Archbishop (later Cardinal) John J. Glennon of St. Louis as papal legate, some remarks were made on the need of a school. In an official dinner on October 13, 1934, at the Jockey Club, with the archbishop present, a plan for the type of school was made by Mr. James E. Magrath, a former resident of Boston, then the assistant manager of the Argentinian branch of

the First National Bank of Boston.

Mr. Magrath was reputed a gifted speaker and a leader among the North American colony in Buenos Aires. The address stated the usual arguments for the need of a first-class Catholic residential school for youths of English-speaking families, preferably taught by the Benedictines, Jesuits or some other notable teaching order. There is no data to show that Archbishop Glennon was any more than part of a captive audience in hearing this address. His home base in St. Louis was later to be used for a suggestion that Jesuits from St. Louis might be contacted for school work in the Argentines.

By April 27, 1935, the committee, constituting thirteen members, made a direct appeal to Fr. General for assistance. There were four officers -- J. D. Nelson, President; M. F. Regan, Vice President; F. Macadam, another Vice President; and F. B. O'Grady, Secretary. The additional sponsoring committee members were James Magrath, J. McDonald, Louis O'Farrell, Louis Nelson, Thomas B. Kenny, Miguel Duggan, J. E. Hughes, M. J. Petty, J. E. Camarillo. Subsequent history will show that many of these names were purely honorary. Mr. O'Grady was the driving force, and only Mr. Macadam and Mr. Petty of the committee were genuinely interested. But this did not appear in the plea with its imposing list of names.

The committee stressed that, in the absence of a local school for English-speaking Catholic youths, some fifty to 100 had been sent abroad and returned as total strangers to their own land. Others had attended Spanish-speaking local school and

their English, needed for commercial life, had deteriorated or, where the school was sectarian, their faith had suffered. The project had the backing of the local Jesuit province. There were adequate students and adequate funds. Because so many of the sponsoring group had been educated in Britain or in the States by Jesuits, they wanted a Jesuit school. For a start some three or four Jesuits would suffice, along with the presence of university-trained lay professors. Hopefully, they concluded, Fr. General could find a visitor to look into this matter. Expenses for travel and living expenses would be funded by the Committee.

Fr. General had to make two replies to this request before he hit on the plan to interest the New England Province in the project. On May 12, 1935, he replied that neither the English nor the Irish provinces were in a position to initiate the task. A second letter from the committee on September 26, 1935, intimated that, because Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis had allegedly shown some interest in the project, the Missouri Province might be made interested in the venture. A second reply on October 18, 1935, from Fr. General indicated that the Missouri Province was then overburdened, but that he would appeal to the New England Province. For reasons not indicated, Fr. General said he would have to defer this sounding out of the New England Province until December, 1935.

The New England Province, at this time, was well into the term of its second provincial -- Fr. James T. McCormick (November, 1932-May, 1937). As a young priest, after teaching

mathematics at Boston College and making tertianship at St. Andrew's, he had served for two years as prefect of discipline at Canisius College. From 1917 to 1925, he had been assigned to Boston College having been the first separate minister at St. Mary's Hall from 1918 to 1924. At the same time, he continued to teach mathematics and "evidences of religion" (as theology was termed in those days). In his final year at Boston College (1924-25), he taught exclusively. On June 19, 1925, he became Rector of Boston College High School and the Immaculate Conception Church.

When Fr. Edward P. Tivnan's term as rector at Weston College was coming to a close in 1930, a terna for a new rector was prepared. It went back and forth a few times and was the object of critical comments. In no case was there any difficulty about Fr. McCormick, whose name was first on each of the ternae. Fr. General was objecting to the third name and only when another name was finally substituted did he approve the choice of Fr. McCormick.

Fr. McCormick took office at Weston on Easter Sunday, 1931, and at a time when morale was more than ordinarily low. By a few movies (for many years not shown there) and by a quiet gentlemanly bearing, plus an uncanny ability to find a third way in seemingly impossible impasses, he endeared himself. So Weston residents could both feel sadness as well as joy on his appointment as provincial on November 21, 1932 -- after only a year and a half of giving confidence as a scholasticate's superior.

With the assistance of his Socius, Fr. James H. Dolan, Fr. McCormick began the process of the physical expansion and the process of making provision for more special studies. His later years were spent as spiritual father at Holy Cross with time out to be substitute tertian instructor at Pomfret after the death of Fr. John Fox and prior to the appointment of Fr. Raymond J. McInnes. He died on March 15, 1950. Since no account of his life appeared in the Woodstock Letters, this slight summation is included here since he brought happiness to many and opened the way to higher studies at the urgings of Fr. Daniel O'Connell, then national Jesuit commissar of studies, and Fr. William J. McGarry, the inspiring Dean of Weston.

In his letter to Fr. McCormick, under date of January 27, 1936, Fr. General stated that through various sources he had learned of the need of the college in question at Buenos Aires and that the need was clear. Hence after discussion with his consultors, Fr. McCormick was to submit a name of a father to visit, and to speak with Cardinal Copello and the local Jesuit superiors of the Argentine-Chile Vice Province. The man to be sent was to be very prudent, a good religious, and zealous and skilled in education.

Fr. General ended the letter by pointing out the frequent complaints he had heard about the over-tight character of activities in the province -- a reference presumably to "a tale of two cities," that is Boston and Worcester. He did speak laudably of a recent effort to expand into some new area. This undoubtedly refers to the August, 1934, request by Fr. McCormick

for a school in the Hartford diocese, and which, while favorably received in principle, was deferred to a more appropriate time. Now this deferment, argued Fr. General, could be considered as a mark of divine providence. The proposed school in Buenos Aires was one more easily and more fruitfully assumed. When one considers the futility which Fr. Murphy encountered as visitor and recalls the warm welcome given to Fairfield Prep a few years later, one can wonder if these sentiments or comparisons are not more pious than perspicacious.

Even before the receipt of Fr. General's letter, there came a letter of January 17, 1936, from Mr. James E. Magrath, a former resident of Boston and one of the members of the Cardinal Newman Educational Committee. Expecting that a letter from Fr. General would have reached Boston, he wrote about the ages of the students who could be expected in the proposed school. They would be very young and more suited to grammar school education than to secondary school work. Since there was no intimation of this factor in Fr. General's letter, Fr. McCormick wrote to apprise the General of this matter.

Promptly, on February 25, 1936, Fr. Zacheus Maher, the American Assistant, wrote that this age factor was something different than what Fr. General had been led to believe. But, on March 21, 1936, Fr. General wrote that he would wish the nominated and approved visitor, Fr. William J. Murphy, to make an even wider survey and then report to him.

Fr. Murphy, who was to be the visitor, in addition to being a good religious and prudent as the blueprints required, had educational qualifications. As a regent, he had taught one year at Fordham Prep and three at Holy Cross. His tertianship was made in Florence. At Boston College, as a young priest, he had taught literature chiefly in the graduate school and had the advantage of a year's study at Oxford. In the fall of 1935, he had been appointed as first full-time prefect of studies at a time when the modification of the college curricula were being undertaken, and some more emphasis placed on broader and advanced studies. He was a later President of Boston College, Dean of the Juniorate, Tertian Instructor and Retreat Master at North Andover. In view of Mr. Magrath's data, Fr. McCormick instructed Fr. Murphy to let it be known that the province gave no advance guarantee of a school.

Prior to Fr. Murphy's departure, some positive data on the project came to Fr. McCormick. Fr. Thomas J. Higgins, S. J., then the Rector of St. Joseph College in Philadelphia and a former regent at Boston College High School (1922-25), wrote on April 22, 1936, concerning a conversation he had recently had with Rev. James J. Gibbons, a Philadelphia archdiocesan pastor, who had recently returned from a visit to Argentina.

In Fr. Gibbons' opinion, opening the proposed school for English-speaking Catholic youths would be a "glorious opportunity" in view of the magnificence of Buenos Aires and the readiness of men of "considerable wealth and of the first social standing" to underwrite it. Outstanding success had been met by

the Immaculate Heart of Mary Sisters who conduct a similar type of school for English-speaking girls in Lima, Peru. They were planning another in Santiago, Chile. Fr. Gibbons pointed out that many of the sponsors had been educated in the schools of the old Missouri Province and that the request for North American Jesuits was consequently a tribute to their work.

It could be mentioned in advance that when Mr. O'Grady first contacted Fr. Murphy by letter, he assumed that a meeting between Fr. Murphy and Fr. Gibbons had taken place. Perhaps this is an indication that the words of Fr. Gibbons were a strong echo of what he had heard from the one outstanding advocate of the project. Mr. O'Grady was one of the graduates of a Missouri Province school -- St. Mary's at St. Mary's, Kansas, the school of Tom Playfair and Fr. Finn, which fell a victim to the depression in 1931.

Beginning with a letter dated April 13, Mr. O'Grady began to make inquiries about plans of the New England Province. Although not yet directly informed of Fr. General's decision, he appeared to have intimations of it through Fr. Camillus Crivelli, then the visitor to the Argentine-Chile group, who was shortly to become the first Latin American assistant at the Curia. If a visitor were coming, wrote Mr. O'Grady, the visit should occur in June, July or even August. The necessary arrangements would be made and transportation would be set up on the Munson Line. A meeting with Fr. Crivelli and the visitor would be helpful -- but seems never to have taken place.

Two days later Mr. O'Grady wrote again saying he had been informed, in a March 22 letter from Fr. General, that Fr. Murphy would come for a thorough investigation. Hence arrangements with the Munson Line would definitely be made.

At the same time, Mr. O'Grady forwarded newspapers, magazines, books and reports to Fr. Murphy. They are not part of the current archival material. It was urged that Fr. Murphy stop off at Santos and visit the nearby American community and school at Sao Paulo which the U. S. Chamber of Commerce sponsored. He planned some memorandum similar to what had been sent by Mr. Magrath. This letter, or quasi welcome, had been written by Mr. O'Grady as secretary. He wrote since he could not contact Mr. Jack Nelson, the president. Absence of key member of the committee was to be a constant source of difficulty during Fr. Murphy's visit. If they were not abroad, they were too busy at home to attend meetings and even to make telephone calls.

A series of letters began to come to Fr. Murphy from Mr. O'Grady just prior to his sailing on June 6, 1936 and during the course of his voyage. In what he termed a "frank" letter dated June 5, Mr. O'Grady informed Fr. Murphy that many of his business and social acquaintances were not Catholics. Although they wished to aid in the project, they did not wish to be known as too forward in the task. So desperate a group were they that an outsider would find them hard to comprehend. Sources of independent data were, therefore, supplied.

One source would be Fr. R. D. Goggins, O. P., a Chicago-based Dominican who was then an official visitor of his order in Argentina. Fr. Murphy's and Fr. Goggins' paths never seem to have crossed, but there was some later correspondence.

Other possible useful sources or guides were Fr. Leo Harkins, a Boston Redemptorist, Fr. Herman Ransche, S. J., a Chilean-born Jesuit of German parentage who had been ordained at St. Louis and was, in 1936, the Rector of the Pontifical Seminary in Villa De Vota near Buenos Aires.

Other possible sources were a Fr. Francis, an elderly Passionist, and a Fr. Smith, a young Pallotine Father. Just as the Passionists and the Pallotines were Irish, most key lay people for the project would be Argentines of Irish extraction. They would have definite views on available land and its cost. Any lay professors to be hired should come from Great Britain and Ireland. This was an indirect warning against hiring North Americans with a less tolerable English speech.

Along with this "frank" letter was a confidential memorandum. It heaped together names of those who could guide or financially aid, and gave hints as to how Fr. Murphy could maintain a good low profile after an arrival preceded by stops at Rio and Montevideo. By all means, he should meet James H. Drumm, the general manager of the Brazilian office at the National City Bank of New York. Drumm could expedite introduction to Leo D. Welch, the Buenos Aires manager of the same bank.

Moreover, Fr. Michael A. Ramogamino, S. J., Socius to the local provincial, was pointed out as one educated and ordained at St. Louis, Missouri. Fr. William Furlong, an Argentinian Jesuit, had spent two years at Woodstock, the Jesuit theological house of studies in Maryland, and was currently in charge of religion at Salvador College. There was the discouraging news that J. D. Nelson, the president of the committee, and M. F. Ryan, the first vice president, were absent in Europe.

Stress was also placed on the numerous and wealthy Argentinians of Irish extraction, many of whom were of the third and fourth generation of their families in the country. Notable was the fact that the largest building in Buenos Aires was named for the Kavanaghs, one of the leading Irish-Argentinian clans.

There were points that needed to be emphatically expounded. One concerned the advantages of a boarding school, the point of which was not generally grasped. Its value should be emphasized for students between the ages of ten to sixteen. This advice gave some early insight on the age of the projected student body. Since it was possible that Irish or British parents from Brazil, Chile, Uruguay, Bolivia and Paraguay would enroll sons in the schools, stop-overs with visits and interviews were recommended.

The final advice in this memorandum was the hope that Fr. Murphy could live in a private home (as Fr. C. C. Martindale did earlier) to expedite visits. And it was particularly hoped that Fr. Murphy would not wear his cassock on

the streets. In general, a low profile was urged and not too close an early association with the Argentinian Jesuits in their residence at Salvador College.

Other letters from Mr. O'Grady were to reach Fr. Murphy at Montevideo. Their contents were either added background material or timely warnings. A June 20 letter listed people of means and the passing hint that the local church would not be too helpful. A second letter dated the same day recommended his staying in Montevideo at the Hotel Nogara, where Fr. Gibbons had stayed. A Fr. Rensche was reported as the person to introduce him to ecclesiastical authorities on his arrival in Buenos Aires.

It was reiterated that there was local agreement on the initial absence of publicity on the visit. After a few weeks the local papers, such as the Herald or the Standard, could be given insight on the purpose of the visit.

As will be seen later, Fr. Murphy, in Montevideo, had a very illuminating talk with Fr. Campion, an elderly Passionist who had lived many years in Argentina. As a result, Fr. Murphy could come to his task with the strong hypothesis that cleavage among the dominant group of Irish could wreak havoc with the plan. A powerful group, who were not assimilating as some others with the Spanish-speaking people and who detested the British, also wished no truck with North Americans. It was up to Fr. Murphy to test this view against the more glowing accounts of the man from Kansas -- Mr. O'Grady.

To forestall the need of other, or erroneous, publicity, Mr. O'Grady had prepared a three-page document entitled "Our Boys." It was a glowing account of the value of a boarding school for youths, imprecisely said to range from ages ten or eleven to sixteen, seventeen or eighteen. The proposed schooling would be followed by immediate entrance upon university studies or a business career.

Stressed were the religious features of the proposed boarding school. There would be "fine morality and practical religion unabashed." Virtues to be cultivated were "cooperation, self-discipline, charity, service." Mass and the sacraments were to be encouraged along with the requirement of three hours of daily study, three hours daily of class and three more devoted to recreation and exercise. The Jesuits were singled out for directing this education because of their wide experience. Jesuits from Boston were coming for this work since neither England nor Ireland could assist.

The document closed with an exhortation to get to a job so badly needed. All possible help should be in "perfect harmony" -- an intimation, it appears, that Mr. O'Grady, for all his buyanacy, recognized lack of harmony both as possible and perilous.

The final letter of June 22 came to Fr. Murphy at Montevideo, where he had a one-day stopover. Fr. Murphy had written on the 19th that, due to the stop at Rio, he had the requested meeting with a Mr. Drumm. This pleased Mr. O'Grady as did the news that Mr. Coyle was to be a guide for the Jesuit

in Montevideo.

Fr. Murphy had two great finds of people not hitherto known to be Catholics and who could be helpful to him in Buenos Aires. One was John Welch, the general manager of the Bank of England with a fourteen-year-old son at Salvador College. The second was Mrs. Oscar Loewenthal, the wife of the general manager of the Southern and Western Railways with a son at Downside. If some Mr. Leo Welch could be interested, it would be a great advantage to the project. Some names of prospective donors were to be gone over for him by Fr. Leo Harkins, who was his dinner guest that evening. In his private correspondence with Fr. Provincial on July 15, Fr. Murphy characterized Fr. Harkins as a kind of St. Alphonsus and Will Rogers rolled into one who had been a great boon to him. Mr. O'Grady returned again to the need of such a release as "Our Boys" and wanted Fr. Murphy to be free to propose modifications. Nothing more of this is heard of in the report or in private correspondence.

Fr. Murphy arrived on June 24 and a fresh news release came on this occasion from the Cardinal Newman Educational Foundation. Without saying that it was contrary to advice, it was announced that Fr. Murphy was staying at Salvador College. His expenses for travel and pocket money came to \$630.00. The work of three ladies' auxiliaries in sending out circulars was noted, although from 870 sent out, only sixty-five had been acknowledged. There was raised the possibility of hiring a secretary to Fr. Murphy and a paid guide to introduce him about to at least one hundred principal families. A letter might be

drafted in which Cardinal Copello would welcome Fr. Murphy and urge cooperation with the school.

Fr. Murphy had already explained to Mr. O'Grady that he would want an accurate calculation on the number of boys available for the school, as well as plans on financing the project and being sure of a genuine welcome by local churchmen, archdiocesan and Jesuit. Sensing a problem with the two top officers of the foundation, Mr. O'Grady wondered if some new officers should be elected, and if the committee should not be increased in numbers. As potential recruits, he selected John Welch, Oscar Loewenthal, Bernard L. Duggan, Patrick Dowling and, possibly, some others. A memo to committee members and sponsors ended with this inquiry: "Now that Fr. Murphy is here, what is to be done?" Surely it was time for such consideration and consequent action.

Memos to Fr. Murphy from Mr. O'Grady did not end at this point. One on the day of his arrival mentioned people to be seen at once, and gatherings which should be attended. Targets for early interviews were Patrick Dowling, dean of the Irish community, the well-informed James E. Magrath, and Francis MacAdam (commonly spelled "Macadam"), a Stonyhurst man with seven children. Contact should come with the chief members of the women's clubs, and attendance would be expected at the annual banquet of the American Society of the River Plata at the Plaza Hotel. Fr. Murphy kept no diary of his visits, but he did write to Fr. McCormick on July 15 that he had so far been out to lunch every day, but found it more difficult to be absent from the

Murphy composed two more letters. One was a report for the local Jesuit superiors whose provincial and visitor had not been in the city during his stay. The second was his report to Fr. McCormick and the province consultants. Both are dated August 4, 1936. Later, on September 15, he wrote a Latin letter to Fr. General.

Jesuit college at dinner time. But his total interviews were stated as over a hundred.

Two memoranda came on July 1, 1936. Forty pages of names from the leading women's clubs were forwarded with helpful annotations. Rules and by-laws of the separate Men's Society were enclosed, along with the names of fifty-three families with daughters in the Passionist Sisters' School, the "responsible" Irish-descent families in the Rosario-Santa Fedistricto, and a listing of women members of two societies in nearby Montevideo. There was also a reference to some files on a more recent questionnaire, but nothing whatever of this appears in Fr. Murphy's archival material.

The second memorandum suggested a return sailing either on the Western World on August 22 or on the Southern Cross on September 5. Fr. Murphy was informed that the local Herald was being delivered to him. In addition to being urged to visit Patrick Dowling as soon as possible, he was sent copies of some special circular. A confidential list of the wealthy was forwarded and the names placed in the order of their importance for the project. Comprehensive as the list might appear, Mr. O'Grady was sure from a study of the "O" names that the list was not complete. At the top of this confidential list was Bernard L. Duggan, a committee member, and the next on it was the entire Lalor family. Fr. Murphy had his work cut out for him.

In two more weeks came still another memorandum. Mr. O'Grady wished Fr. Murphy to meet the visiting Dr. Paris E. Mercedez of Paraguay, educated in the United States, with his

American wife. Like Mr. O'Grady, he had a low estimate of local education whose tilt was to be raised by the proposed school. He urged the early meeting with three excellent people: John Welch, Oscar Loewenthal and a Francis B. Harkins.

The final memorandum of July 31 begged to learn if it were definite that Fr. Murphy wished to sail back on Saturday, August 8. That day would be awkward for Mr. O'Grady since he had to be out of Buenos Aires on business and could not accompany the visitor to the dock. However, he would plan on a farewell dinner on the preceding Thursday or Friday.

Outside of receiving the barrage of memoranda on people and the local situation, what had Fr. Murphy been doing? There is no equivalent of a date book to show who was visited and when. One piece of correspondence showed that he had a brief appointment with an official at Quilmes at that school at 10:00 A. M., Saturday, July 15.

For an account of Fr. Murphy's activities and views, there are two letters which he wrote to Fr. McCormick. One begun on June 24, 1936, and continued on June 25; the second was written on July 15 -- a halfway date on the visit.

On the completion of his survey and before leaving, Fr. Murphy composed two more letters. One was a report for the local Jesuit superiors whose provincial and visitor had not been in the city during his stay. The second was his report to Fr. McCormick and the province consultors. Both are dated August 4, 1936. Later, on September 15, he wrote a Latin letter to Fr. General.

There is only a slight difference in detail between the two letters of August 4. A difference that is of special significance is found in the first of his private letters wherein he related that he learned not only of the key position of the Irish in contrast to the British and North Americans, but of the more fundamental fact of the dissenting and contenticuis Irish groups making a common effort even among themselves all but, and really, impossible.

From his reports and private letters, this story unfolded. Fr. Murphy had arrived on June 24 after day-long stopovers in Rio and Montevideo. He was met after his pleasant voyage by Fr. William Furlong, S. J., and Mr. O'Grady, and went, contrary to the advice received, directly to the Jesuit Collegio de Salvador. He noted the excellence of the college structure to which Boston College High School on James Street was a very, very poor relative. All with whom he met were most cordial, even if non-committal or even opposed.

The reports showed his disappointment with the inviting commitee. The president was in Europe with the Argentine Polo Team. The first vice president was also abroad. Dr. O'Farrell, educated at El Salvador and a leading local lawyer, never attended any of the meetings. Dr. Kenny, of a highly honored Irish family, attended no meetings, but in conversation indicated a willingness to help. Dr. Duggan, who was reputed the most wealthy Irishman, never came to any meetings. Dr. Petty, who had been interested in the project over the years, was helpful but lacked tact and did more harm than good. One of the three

North Americans on the committee, Mr. Driscoll, came to the meetings only out of a sense of duty declaring he had no personal interest in the school.

Mr. O'Grady was the leader with zeal, determination and a Rotarian spirit. As a bachelor, he had no immediate family needs for the school, but he wanted to raise the level of local education. He spoke quite freely of his low esteem of Argentinian schools. He was really totally responsible for the invitation to the North American Jesuits, and his friends whom he appeared to have cajoled had little or no interest.

Fr. Murphy met twice with the Committee and only four members appeared for the second meeting on July 17. A third possible meeting was never called due to disinterest.

How the venture was to be financed was discussed in the first meeting. Since a stock-sale arrangement was ruled out by Fr. Murphy, the possible ways of raising money were a drive or some single benefactor of the Society, meaning the New England Province. At this meeting, the school was planned on a large scale with ample grounds and boarding facilities. By the second meeting, there was a willingness to settle for a smaller establishment in rented intown quarters.

Originally, as was seen in all advance notices, the school was to be limited to the sons of English-speaking parents. This exclusion of Spanish-speaking sons was unfavorable to most ecclesiastics and, by the second meeting, it was agreed that some carefully-screened ones might be permitted. Fr. Murphy, at the second meeting, spoke of the feeling he had sensed in the matter

of English language and enunciation. There was opposition to the Yankee twang and the members present admitted the truth of this view. A more cultivated Oxford accent was sought and this could come from Irish or British Jesuits or Benedictines, but not from Boston Jesuits.

The great factor which Fr. Murphy encountered in his numerous interviews was the inability of the local Catholic groups to mesh. The Irish, who were the dominant group in numbers and wealth, were adamantly divided. Those of them who favored and practiced assimilation with Argentinians as the wave of the present and even more of the future were disinterested in or hostile to a plan to keep English more alive and cultivated. Others had allied themselves with the British, and particularly with a form of speech which they foresaw no chance of flourishing under North American instructors. Those who retained a strictly Irish view had their loyalties to the Irish Passionists and Irish Pallotines and saw no need of some added group. Mr. O'Grady's salesmanship had not softened these views.

The views of the hierarchy were definite. Msgr. Filippo Cortesi, the papal nuncio, was interested, but did not want Spanish-speaking youths excluded. He even believed that the Irish could be overlooked, but Fr. Murphy was convinced that this was impossible. Msgr. Francisco Devoto, Auxiliary Bishop of Buenos Aires, also wanted Spanish as well as English-speaking boys in the school. No other arrangement, he declared, would meet the desires of both church and state.

Cardinal Copello was very cordial and was prepared to write a recommendation. He did want to know if it were true that the Irish Dominicans were planning to go ahead with a similar school. There was not room for two schools. Fr. Murphy endeavored to learn about the possibility from the Dominican visitor, a Fr. Goggins. He was away, and it was not until the next November that Fr. Murphy's letter caught up with him. He gave assurance in a letter of November 5, 1936, that the Dominicans planned no such school.

Another less heartening matter appeared in Fr. Murphy's reports. The number of potential youths by the most recent of inquiries was 115, of whom twenty-six were from ages one to three. In a supposition of a school for boys from ages eight to fifteen, a total of thirty-nine might be expected. Yet there was some belief that this number might increase once it was announced that a school would begin. The more youthful age of many potential students appeared a handicap since, even at the upper levels of primary education, Jesuits were not acclimated.

In the secondary school, also, a government syllabus would have to be followed (as was true, it might be noted, in Baghdad), and a commercial type of course included. With instruction in English and government examinations in Spanish, there was an added handicap. Even the English (Yankee when not Oxfordian) speech of such a school would be problematical because experience elsewhere, even at Quilmes, showed that the boys, whenever free, preferred to talk Spanish. As for the high hopes for a discipline system copied after Tom Brown's schooldays at

Oxford, it was not clear to Fr. Murphy that this would be congenial to the British youth in Argentina, let alone the Irish youths.

The financial situation of similar institutions had been studied and was not encouraging. The best-known school, St. George's at Quilmes, was then forty-eight years old and, despite generous gifts, had only been financially independent for the last few years. The American Methodist Ward College, with a student body of 600, had an annual deficit. An Oates School was in even more rigid financial straits. The Michael Ham School for Girls, with house and grounds received as a gift, was finally solvent by taking in against its wishes girls who did not speak English. The Passionist Fathers' boarding school for boys in Sarmiento, which was likewise obliged to accept Spanish-speaking boys, was considered a failure. The Irish Pallotine Fathers' school appeared to have made no progress. The cost of purchasing a large tract of land on which to build or of buying a house and remodeling it were costly.

Fr. Murphy concluded by saying that he had entered on the task believing, as all the advance publicity had indicated, that the project had serious backing. What he had experienced was something quite different. He appears to have believed that, if two or three men could spend time in expounding the value of such a school, attempting to bring disparate elements to some even limited common action, and inducing people of obvious wealth to serve as benefactors, the school (even with limited people, a government syllabus and Yankee staff) could prove itself. But,

without making an explicit recommendation against it, he equivalently opposed it. When the province consultors met on August 21, 1936, they voted unanimously against the school.

A Latin copy of Fr. Murphy's report, along with the consultors' conclusions were forwarded to Fr. General. On October 26, 1936, he replied that he did not insist on the school. If anything were to be done, he added, there was a limited proposal made to him by Fr. Crivelli that one New England Jesuit might be supplied to the College of Salvador to teach English. Nothing appears to have come of this suggestion.

On November 4, 1936, in keeping with an understanding, Fr. Murphy wrote his observations to Mr. O'Grady. He had interviewed a wide cross section of the population and was convinced he discovered the main views. In his report, he had made no practical judgment to accept or reject the project. But, now that was rejected, he could see that the required resources could more profitably be devoted to God's glory elsewhere.

The chief problem, he had learned, was the indifference and lack of solidarity among the groups. Could the groups have submerged their differences, a resulting school might have proved itself a success. The present committee would have to be enlarged and include more wealthy Irish-Argentinians who alone could donate adequate funds. The Society, and particularly the New England Province, no matter what public opinion might believe, was in no position to be the chief fiscal sponsor. Help could not be expected from local ecclesiastics, even though they were favorable enough toward the plans. The financial situation

of the school was not encouraging. The number of available students was disappointing, and the low responses to all the questionnaires was very chilling.

As to the potential influence of a Catholic school in Argentina, Fr. Murphy was not convinced of its possibility. The atmosphere into which its students went on graduation was too secular. If something was to be done by this type of school, it should be done by the two existing Catholic schools without bringing in a third one. Nor can a third one be justified, as perhaps this one was intended to be, as a protection of a certain refined or snobbish English pronunciation, and as a bulwark for the academic and disciplinary customs of a rather limited social class. If anything shows Fr. Murphy's basic view in the matter, it is this view that the province was being asked, if racial cleavages were removed, to establish a snob school and he wanted no part in it.

Fr. General's decision and this letter of Fr. Murphy, to which there is a kindly, chatty reply from Mr. O'Grady, closed this project seemingly sponsored chiefly by Mr. O'Grady and a very small circle of friends, and designed for backing by an all but non-existent committee. If anti-Israel and, consequently, anti-American animosity in later years closed two excellent schools in Iraq in 1968, a snobbish distaste for Yankee twang and a racially and socially divided Catholic population stymied this project in Argentina. Yet, from a story told of the gold in the Argentine hills to the reality of its dross, one learns -- if metaphors can be changed -- how important it is to

look gift horses in the mouth.

A few years later, the spiritual need of the English-speaking people in Rio for an apostolic priest led to the assignment of Fr. William ("Mike") Feeney to this post. Then he found that English-speaking people were satisfied with services in other parts of the city, and that his chapel was heavily frequented by Brazilians understanding only their own tongue for which Fr. Feeney, though Spanish-speaking, was not equipped. He set forth the problem in a carefully written and regular set of letters, and tried to adjust to a task for which he was not assigned. Finally, after two years, he was recalled to his missionary work in Jamaica.

Fr. Frank Sarjeant, on the plea of the need of an American for English-speaking people in Santo Domingo, was instead assigned to a Spanish-speaking area without any knowledge of that language. He made the situation so known to local and to his provincial superiors that he, too, was recalled.

Both were sent in good faith for specific work and both found the situation different. There is need, it seems, to look gift horses in the mouth before good and zealous men are miscast. Perhaps a province should be told that a situation is an impossible one, and let those who volunteer to go put all their trust in God.

Chapter III

CRANWELL -- ITS ORIGINS (1938-1942)

Cranwell School in Lenox, Massachusetts closed in 1975, after thirty-six years of service. It was a victim not only to a large capital debt, but also because it could not command a sufficiently large and stable enrollment. Its peak school year in enrollment was that of 1969-70, when it enrolled 267 students. In the next two school years, its enrollment fell first to 247 and then to 228. Then enrollment really began to plummet; 1972 opened with 168 students, basically 100 less than it had three years before. In 1974-75, it had 146 students, about what its enrollment had been in 1945 (142) and 1946 (149).

During the intervening years, however, from 1945 to 1974, there had been built and required maintenance a gymnasium, an office and classroom building, three dormitories (Hallowell, Founders, and Cunniff), and an addition to Cranwell Hall, plus the Chapel of Christ the Workman referred to as Pierce Chapel because one large donor, Clayton Gengras, had been a close friend of Fr. Michael G. Pierce. Cranwell's faculty, lay and Jesuit, had increased.

In its final years it had a strong faculty and administrative staff. But the time appeared adverse to private and expensive boarding schools even when they had some share of day students. If too many of the day students were enrolled, many parents objected to selecting such boarding schools for their sons.

The school used its facilities fully. Since 1942, Cranwell had sponsored a boys' camp which could possibly serve as a feeder for the school. Its golf course, well-kept, attracted enough of a clientele to pay for its upkeep and also to engender community goodwill.

Another (and later) reservoir of goodwill was the campus liturgy, first celebrated chiefly in summer months and gradually extended throughout the entire year. It aided many who wished a more intimate and meaningful liturgy and a carefully prepared homily.

Yet, despite its academic strengths, its sport and liturgical appeal to the neighborhood and visitors, the school was handicapped both by the national decline in registration in its type of school and by its capital debt, largely irreducible and carrying a high interest charge. With hindsight one might say that its last dormitory, opened in 1969, was not really needed, and its chapel was more expansive and expensive for its ordinary use and for the artistic values it symbolized.

The school had undoubtedly in its large scale drive in the late sixties hoped for some more substantial gifts such as were the Gengras and Galvin gifts. Many others were gratifyingly large. But expenses in construction and furnishings could have used another \$750,000 in gifts. So a school that began with a most princely gift of land and buildings in 1939 became a casualty by 1975, and long remained a white elephant on the real estate market.

The estate on which the school began has its origin in the 1853 purchase by Henry Ward Beecher of 250 acres of land in Lenox from the shores of Laurel Lake (then Scott's Pond), to the summit of an eminence a mile off. With time this eminence was called Beecher's Hill. Mr. Beecher built a house on the site of the later Cranwell Hall. For water supply he used a well on the property. Contemporary litterateurs visited this home.

In the late 1870's the property was sold to a General Rathbone of Albany who added a more spacious stable and some greenhouses. In 1872 Captain John S. Barnes, a flag officer in the North Atlantic Fleet during the Civil War, built on the adjoining property of ninety acres a house called "Coldbrooke". This dwelling was known in Cranwell School days as St. Joseph Hall. It served in the course of time in many capacities: school offices, chapel, library, classrooms, infirmary, guest rooms. Captain Barnes added a stable and carriage shed which became Champion Hall. A southerly and adjoining estate was Blantyre, the property of the Patterson family.

In 1892 the Beecher-Rathbone property was sold to John Sloan of New York and Newport. The original Beecher house was moved behind the later football field, across Route 7 as it ascends past the property from Lee to Lenox. A new mansion, named "Wyndhurst", was built employing 100 men. Of this Sloan property's 250 acres, forty were in house and lawns, thirty in woodlands, and 180 in farms and gardens. There was a formal garden, the remains of which were still visible in the Cranwell grounds, a trout pond, a squash court, and tennis courts.

Produce from the farm were shipped to the Barnes residence in New York.

Wyndhurst entertained considerably. President William McKinley was among the house guests. The property passed from the Barnes family when the Captain's heir in the 1920's sold it to Howard Cole of Palm Beach and a group of his associates. Thus it was that Wyndhurst became the Berkshire Hunt and Country Club. This group also acquired the adjoining Barnes estate for \$225,000. Later, in the twenties, Mr. Woodrow R. Oglesby acquired this extended property, plus Blantyre where he resided.

The crash of 1929 affected Mr. Oglesby's fortune. As a result of notes which he had signed, Mr. Edward H. Cranwell became the owner of the old Barnes Beecher property. Due to some legal maneuvering, he lost the Blantyre estate which he believed was properly his. At this time, too, he had some impasse on past taxes with the town of Lenox, which did not leave him with a good impression of Lenox. Initially he continued the Hunt and Country Club.

Mr. Cranwell had been born in Utica, New York, in 1868. At the time of the acquisition of the Lenox property, he was the President of the Ken-Well Contracting Company with headquarters in New York City. While he had an appreciation for the beauties of the Berkshires, he was considered an archetypical New Yorker. Wherever possible, his visits to the Berkshires began in the morning from New York and he took a late afternoon train back.

The narrative of the acquisition of the club as Cranwell School begins in August, 1938. At that time Fr. John J. McEleney, then rector of Shadowbrook, learned that the Berkshire Hunt and Country Club was to go on the market for \$250,000. A local tax assessor had valued it that year at \$425,000. Some 600 acres, the buildings and facilities were for sale. The main house was still in excellent condition, and the golf course had an enviable reputation. There was a series of four cottages which the club had erected for renting to families visiting the area and employing the club's facilities.

Fr. McEleney decided on a bold stroke. Instead of seeking some price lower than \$250,000, he would ask for the place outright as a gift. He envisaged the property as a secondary boarding school, a New England Georgetown Prep, as it were, or a Jesuit counterpart to the Benedictine Portsmouth Priory, or Dr. Nelson Hume's Canterbury School in New Milford, Connecticut.

So Fr. McEleney arranged an appointment. Accompanied by the affable and erudite Fr. William J. Healy, then dean of the juniorate, and its treasurer, and the story-telling and shrewd business operator, Fr. J. Leo Sullivan, he went to meet Mr. Cranwell. The four met on the club grounds and after some initial small talk, the bold request was made directly.

Mr. Cranwell reacted with a laugh and indicated how tight his financial situation was, giving no warrant for a gift in preference to a sale. He added that a group of priests (Stigmatine Fathers, it is said) had come the day before with the

idea of purchase. He had been turned off when, on showing them the eighteenth fairway, they had remarked that it might make a good baseball field or, better still, a good potato patch. Not long before Mr. Cranwell had cleared that area, drained it, and constructed a fine fairway and green. He was shocked at the sense of value which would turn it to more plebeian purposes.

In his walks around that day with the three Jesuit fathers, news was given on how the different estates had become one. It was during the negotiations on procuring all of them, due to a default on notes which he had countersigned, that Blantyre had been lost through some legal device. In these conversations Fr. McEleney pointed out how Mr. Cranwell's name would be perpetrated with his name on the school in return for the gift.

No impression appeared to have been made. If he was not in a position to give the property, he could at least give passes for the use of the golf course. These were accepted without much reluctance, Fr. Leo J. Sullivan wrote at a later time. During the summer of 1938 both Fr. Sullivan and Fr. Healy often used these facilities. They often waved to Mr. Cranwell from a distance, and occasionally kept their presence and project visible by chats with him.

Fr. Healy, who wrote some comments later on Fr. Sullivan's account of the request, maneuver and final gift, has an interesting observation on what may have weighed well with Mr. Cranwell in view of the legal battles he had waged with the town of Lenox on back taxes which he had been requested to pay on

the estate. When he realized that a school could have a tax-exemption on this property, there seemed to be some glee in his eyes and added strength in the property for a tax-exempt purpose.

The following December Fr. McEleney received a letter from Mr. Cranwell in New York asking for an appointment. On arriving in Lenox for this meeting, he indicated a change in mind and asked Fr. McEleney to go ahead on the supposition that the property would be a gift. So Fr. McEleney informed the provincial, Fr. James H. Dolan, and requested that some group come to Lenox to view the proffered property and, if possible, to refer the matter to Fr. General.

The province consultors (Fathers John M. Fox, William J. Murphy, Francis J. Dolan and Robert A. Hewitt) came in mid-January, 1939. There were three feet of snow on the ground. The property was ploughed only to the minimum amount to permit access by fire apparatus. All the buildings were locked, windows were shuttered, light and power were turned off, and protective drop-cloths covered the furnishings.

Understandably for people who had not lived in the Berkshires, the consultors submitted an adverse report. Such a place, they held, could never be translated into a boarding school. This unfavorable report dismayed and depressed Fr. McEleney and, for the time being, he conveyed no news on the report to Mr. Cranwell. But he did not give up. By late April, he had induced the superintendant of the Club, Mr. Al Fraser, to uncover the windows and the drapes, to open the doors to make the

place attractive if a second look was forthcoming. Then he persuaded Fr. Provincial to have a second inspection.

But Fr. McEleney did more. It so chanced that, at the time, Fr. Zacheus Maher, American Assistant to Fr. General, was in New York. He, too, was invited to inspect the property. He came to Lenox without having to go through Boston and was impressed both by what he saw and at Fr. McEleney's exposition.

The second look by the consultors was more favorable. The sun was out, the gardens and lawns were beginning to take on new life. The buildings were open, bright and well-furnished. So, after the second view by the consultors, a letter went to Fr. General requesting the acceptance of the estate as a gift.

There were delays, some of necessity, about so important a project. By early May, Mr. Cranwell began to be uneasy. If the plan was not going to be accepted, he must plan on reopening the club, hiring help and drawing up promotional blurbs. By mid-May favorable word came from Rome and legal negotiations for the transfer began. Another delay arose from Fr. McEleney's being stricken with pneumonia. But, by May 28, he was well enough to drive to Mr. Cranwell's office along with Fr. John J. Smith, the novice master, and Fr. Robert Campbell, the spiritual father of the juniors. Fr. J. Leo Sullivan was chauffeur. On arriving in the office of Mr. Cranwell's attorneys, Brindler, Wass and Collins, they found him and Fr. Provincial, Mr. J. Paul Sinnott, the Cranwell son-in-law, and the firm's lawyers.

One great surprise greeted Mr. Cranwell. At least, on driving to New York and probably earlier, there had been discussion that the entire 600 acres not be accepted. It could be too great a blow to the Lenox tax list, and such an amount was not really needed. It was pointed out that 400 acres would suffice. This was a surprise and disappointment to Mr. Cranwell, but he acquiesced. So the Riding School area and the adjacent woodlands were not accepted. This property was later sold for \$40,000 and the money turned over to Cranwell School.

A dinner followed the business meeting. At it, Fr. Provincial appointed Fr. Sullivan as temporary minister of the property with authority to inventory its possessions, to contract for water, heat and sewerage all year round and, generally, to convert the country club into a prep school. Fr. Sullivan, who wrote a detailed account of this May event and told of his wide-ranging appointment made over cocktails in a restaurant, insists that all of this was not (repeat, was not) a sign that Fr. Provincial had one too many at the time!

News of the transfer of the Hunt and Country Club from Mr. Cranwell to the Jesuit Order was bound to appear early and perhaps erroneously in the press. Mr. John Mahanna, the local reporter for the Berkshire Eagle of Pittsfield, was on the trail for news prior to the visit to Mr. Cranwell's lawyers' office on May 28. To avoid premature and faulty publicity, Fr. Sullivan asked him to hold off news on the understanding that he would be the first to receive the news as an exclusive. So Mr. Mahanna was called about noon on May 29 and given all the data. That

evening the Eagle had the story on its front page.

The next stage was the incorporation of the school and the selection of its first rector. On June 6, 1939, there was a preliminary meeting at St. Andrew House, Boston, of the prospective first members of the corporation. On June 22, with a representative from Mr. Dan Lyne's office as a lawyer and notary public, a document for incorporation was drawn up. The original incorporators were Fr. James H. Dolan, Fr. William J. Murphy, Fr. Robert A. Hewitt, and Fr. William A. Lynch. One week prior to this meeting, the province was informed, on June 22, that Fr. John F. Cox, then dean at Holy Cross, had been designated as rector by Fr. General. On July 3, in a simple ceremony at dinner, the appointment was read by Fr. Murphy.

On the following day, Fr. Dolan examined the plans for the use of the building, and Fr. Murphy examined the planned curriculum. The curriculum and advertising literature had been prepared by Fr. William J. Healy. Some two weeks after Fr. Cox's appointment, the rector asked Fr. Leo Sullivan to become the minister and procurator of the school and community. Fr. Provincial had authorized Fr. Cox to make such a personal choice. Fr. Sullivan, after conferring with his own rector at Shadowbrook, accepted the dual responsibility and continued in this post for three years. Fr. Sullivan had been among the number of actual or potential house treasurers who had been schooled in accounting by Mr. John Drummey, Comptroller of the Archdiocese of Boston.

If the place was to be ready for students even by an opening date in late September, many extra hands were needed. From time to time, novices and juniors from Shadowbrook assisted. Some younger fathers were assigned as full-time helpers. These included Fathers Richard Drea, Joseph Quane, and Hubert Cunniff, who later became the prefect of discipline (1942-44, 1945-75) and for whose years of service and genial severity, Cunniff Hall takes its name. One valuable aid in this and later periods was the work of Al Fraser who had been Mr. Cranwell's superintendant at the time of the changeover. His services were retained. He knew the intricacies of the buildings, underground services and utilities. He also knew how to keep up the golf course.

With the mailing of the status on July 20 and its early promulgation, the first Jesuit community at Cranwell was established. In addition to Fr. Cox as rector and principal and Fr. J. Leo Sullivan as minister and treasurer, eight other priests were assigned along with two scholastics (whose status had been announced earlier in June), and one coadjutor brother. Fr. Charles E. Burke was soon appointed an assistant principal.

Standard classes in Classics and English literature with some other subjects were assigned to Fr. Francis J. Krim, James D. Loeffler, William A. Lynch, and Francis Ryan. French was taught by Fr. James A. Walsh, who inaugurated a frequent prize-winning French newspaper by the end of the first year. Chemistry and mathematics were cared for by Fr. Gerard M. Landry.

Fr. John P. Creeden, formerly both dean and president of Georgetown (1911-25) and the retiring regent of the Boston College Law School (1929-39) and dean of its graduate school (1925-29) and a professor of psychology there, taught history. He could call on a wide reading of history and biography, on which he spent many evenings while at Boston College, and on a wide acquaintance with public figures and events in Washington and Boston.

The one pioneer brother was Brother Francis L. Sergi, who left within the year and was more than replaced by a brother of wide competencies, Brother Charles A. Finn. The latter remained at Cranwell until the spring of 1947. Thereafter, he began a long and colorful tenure at Weston and, after a brief interlude at Ridgefield, Connecticut, came in a variety of capacities to Boston College High School. With all the stories told of him or alleged about him as a buyer and movie entrepreneur, he has seen to it that not all the famous characters in the province are priests.

While visitors on a large scale were shown around Cranwell in the initial summer of 1939, at the end of which World War II began with the early September invasion of Poland, potential students did not arrive in such numbers. By Labor Day, there were but twelve registered students for all the years of a prep school including post-graduate students. Later, in September, the numbers rose to thirty-five. Yet the official registration of this first year was sixty-eight, quite an increase over the twelve on Labor Day. Among the registrants for

the first third-year class was Joseph E. McCormick of Stockbridge who, on graduation, entered Shadowbrook and has, as a priest, filled many positions of responsibility and prestige.

The original school occupied two buildings -- Cranwell Hall and St. Joseph's, the former Barnes residence. The latter was largely a dormitory, but with some classrooms and offices. Over the years, while its dormitory use came to an end, it still served for offices, as the student infirmary, library and, briefly, as the student chapel. Within one year the funds obtained by the sale of the unneeded grounds were employed to remodel a former carriage house into a two-story structure known as Berchmans Hall. It long served as an administrative center and, longer, for classrooms and student living rooms.

For this second year (1940-41) came Fr. Hubert F. Cunniff as its long term prefect of discipline. To its staff was also added a scholastic regent, George V. McCabe, first director of the Shadowbrook drive, after the fire of March 10, 1956, and the first superior of the retreat house at Ridgefield, Connecticut, and, later, an assistant director of the Jesuit Center at Charlestown. Two scientists were added: Fr. Francis X. Wilkie for biology and Fr. Thomas P. Butler for physics. Although Fr. Butler was a chemist, he was informed by Fr. John Dolan that chemistry and physics were one and the same and that, hence, he was equally competent in physics! In this second year with a firmly established eighth grade as well as all the years of secondary school, the enrollment reached 108.

An intriguing comment can be placed on these earliest formative years and on the hope aroused by its first summer of preparation:

Looking back, I all but shudder when I reflect how disastrous the first academic year might have been; a school announcing its start only in June, when most prep schools have closed their enrollments, beginning with a newly assembled faculty and staff and with a scrambled and haphazardly recruited student body (beginners, transfers, postgraduates) could have been an academic abortion. Yet marvelously, there was a splendid spirit and morale from the start that set a high tone and established a tradition that would distinguish the school through all its future. The faculty proved expert, the mishmash of students became a superb student body. One realizes now the greatness of the gift; the entrepreneurs of the Club were building wiser than they knew. The estates were waiting to find their true status. The property, the grounds, the buildings, the equipment and furnishings turned over to the Society, were perfectly designed for a Preparatory School, whatever may have been their original purpose. The proof of the pudding was in the eating; as weeks and months (and then the years) went by, the magnificence of the facilities and the munificence of Mr. Cranwell became more and more evident.

This eulogy of Fr. William J. Healy was written in April, 1970, when there was but a cloud on the Cranwell financial sky, can make one's heart ache that financial circumstances and declining enrollments, national as well as local, brought an end to Cranwell School in 1975. It is still on the real estate market in 1979.

Chapter IV

CHEVERUS -- THE INVITATION TO RETURN TO MAINE (1937-1942)

The account of the acquisition, retention and financing of a Jesuit secondary endeavor in Maine is one of many and extended frustrations along with unexpected blessings. It began in earnest after some preliminaries in 1942 when the Society in New England was entrusted with instruction in a twenty-five year old diocesan school -- Cheverus in Portland. The venture eventuated, after having the original school in two locations (1942-46, Free Street; 1946-52, Cumberland Avenue), in a new structure on a third site, Ocean Avenue, by April, 1952.

This new school was owned by the Society in as much as the Society owns any educational institution. Hence, it was then free to charge tuition and, in controlling finance, to control admission, promotion, dismissal of students as well as to have authority over the curriculum. This process from a diocesan to a Jesuit high school took time. During these years, the school seemed at times to be guaranteed an utopian assistance, yet it found these pledges of aid whittled down and the situation almost bleak enough to withdraw.

Patience, hope, sacrifice, toil, prayer kept the Society there until its perseverance was blessed by an unexpected and anonymous gift of \$500,000 toward a new school building. This gift in subsequent years was augmented by the widow of the anonymous donor. She paid off some, but not all, the obligations remaining from the costs beyond \$500,000 of constructing the

school, and guaranteed a million dollars, payable in annual installments, to build a faculty residence. This residence, completed by 1967, replaced the two interconnected dwellings on Danforth Street which had housed the faculty from 1942 to 1967.

Memories of some Jesuits of the old Society (Pierre Biard, Ennémond Massé and Gilbert du Thet) and especially of the resumed work of the Maryland Province from 1847 to 1859, were alive among the people and clergy of Maine. Fr. Thomas J. Campbell, S.J., by his writings on pioneer priests, had helped to give flesh and blood to Fr. Pierre Biard and his associates, and also to Fr. Sebastian Râle, slain in 1724 at Norridgewock in the town of Madison, Maine. The basic documents on these early missions had been gathered in the collection of Jesuit Relations, edited in seventy-three volumes by Reuben Gold Thwaites.

For the nineteenth century, one name above all stood out. That was the name of Fr. John Bapst, later rector of the Jesuit national scholasticate in Boston (1860-63), rector of Boston College (1863-69), first superior of the New York-Canada Mission (1869-73) and first Jesuit superior at St. Joseph's Parish, Providence (1877-79). Bapst had been tarred and feathered on Saturday night, October 14, 1854, at Ellsworth, Maine. His labors among the Indians, and in and about Bangor had given a golden glow to the work of these Maryland Province Jesuits. This glow had remained, despite their recall in 1859 by the then provincial, Fr. Burchard Villiger, in protest against a policy of the First Bishop of Portland, David Bacon, whose diocese at the time embraced New Hampshire as well as Maine.

The name of Fr. Sebastian Râle, slain at Norridgewock in 1724 by a group of Indians and English colonists from Massachusetts, had been kept alive by a monument on part of the space of the Abenaki Indian village along the Kennebec. When Benedict Joseph Fenwick was Bishop of Boston (1825-46) and with territory including all of New England, he had procured a limited portion of the old Indian village on which he had raised a commemorative monument in honor of Râle. This was done in 1833. Time played havoc with it.

During his episcopate Louis Sebastian Walsh (1906-24) was able to procure the large field on which the old Indian village had stood, and he had Fenwick's monument refurbished. Preacher for the occasion was Fr. Thomas J. Campbell. Later the condition of even this repaired monument again deteriorated. In 1940, the Maine Council of the Knights of Columbus repaired the monument and added an inscription detailing Bishop Fenwick's work and their own. They made no mention of Bishop Walsh's share in adding more acreage and repairing the monument. This Râle Monument, now at one end of a Catholic cemetery, is on Sebastian Râle Highway, running left from the road in Madison which goes downhill past its post office. It is worth a visit.

There were a few possibilities of Jesuits returning to Maine during the episcopacy of John Gregory Murray (1925-37). On February 27, 1927 he proposed that one Jesuit be placed in charge of the boys' division of a new secondary school -- the John Bapst in Bangor -- while laymen did the initial teaching. Gradually a full complement of Jesuit teachers could be assigned there. This

plan was rejected by Fr. General (as some others were rejected locally or left hanging as has been seen earlier).

Some seven years later on May 17, 1934, Fr. William R. Crawford, then rector of Boston College High School and the Church of the Immaculate Conception, proposed buying for \$15,000 an estate at Bar Harbor to serve as a Northern Missionary Center. The place would be bought by Boston College High and be placed under its supervision as a dependent house. The idea of a missionary center was approved by the province consultors, but some less remote place in Maine was deemed preferable. One consultor was to discuss a possible change in location with Father Crawford. No more is known of this project from extant available records.

It was only with Bishop Murray's successor, Bishop Joseph E. McCarthy, also a former Hartford priest and Vice Rector of St. Thomas Seminary in Bloomfield, Connecticut, that some serious negotiations were begun. On a visit in 1937 to New England bishops to solicit their cooperation toward the canonization of Fr. John Roothan, General of the Society from 1829-53, Fr. James H. Dolan found the enthusiastic support of Bishop McCarthy. Equally so were all the other New England bishops with the exception of Bishop Francis R. Keough of Providence and Bishop Joseph J. Rice of Burlington.

In one more year, further explorations on Jesuit activity in Maine were begun. Some weeks prior to August 15, 1938, Fr. Francis J. Dolan, President of Holy Cross, visited Bishop McCarthy with the announcement that Fr. Provincial was

prepared to supply a staff to administer and teach in his high school either in Portland or in Bangor or in both. Such a change would enable the diocesan priests, few in numbers, to concentrate on parish work.

On August 15, Bishop McCarthy responded enthusiastically that he had in mind a site for a projected college. Three days later, Fr. James H. Dolan, along with Fr. Zacheus Maher, the American Assistant who was briefly visiting in Boston, called on Bishop McCarthy. Both during this meeting and in subsequent correspondence, Fr. Dolan discouraged the idea of a college. On September 1, the bishop responded indicating his understanding of the problem involved in beginning a college, but did hope that some other possibilities would be opened up.

In the Spring of 1941, it was reported to Fr. Dolan that the bishop planned to ask Jesuit services to administer and instruct in Cheverus High School in Portland. In a very brief time after this hint was dropped, the bishop came to provincial headquarters at 300 Newbury Street to confirm this idea and to express hope ultimately for a college. As the school structure was then seriously aging, he promised a new one by 1943.

Matters seemed to lie fallow for the next few months. On November 21, 1941, Fr. Joseph R. N. Maxwell, the President of Holy Cross, had occasion to visit the bishop's residence. The bishop expanded on larger ideas if his invitation to Cheverus were accepted. The diocese owned a piece of property now leased out for a gasoline station and a parking lot. When the leases

expired, he planned to sell the land and set aside the money for a new high school site and structure. With this new school built, he could sell the original Cheverus and have even more funds available for the new school. It appeared to Fr. Maxwell that the bishop planned the new school as a gift to the Society, but this was not totally clear. All this information was conveyed to Fr. Dolan by letter. By the time this information was mentioned in Fr. Dolan's correspondence with Fr. Maxwell on February 26, 1942, the negotiations were well started.

On January 1, 1942, Bishop McCarthy visited Fr. Provincial on the project concerning a diocesan high school. Fr. Provincial along with Fr. Edward A. Sullivan, then Rector of St. Mary's in the North End and a province consultor, in turn visited the bishop on January 8. What transpired in these two meetings can be learned from the minutes of a province consultors' meeting on February 21, 1942. This meeting seems to be the first time that this current project appeared to have been brought to the attention of the consultors.

The first point dealt with the proposed faculty dwelling. Fr. Dolan had requested and received the blue prints of two contiguous houses on Danforth Street owned by the diocese. They were to be inter-connected on the first floor so that the double three-story dwellings could serve as a residence. One of these had been until recently the rectory of St. Dominic's parish; the other, after serving a variety of church purposes, had been vandalized, but was now to be refurbished.

The educational project in question was to be the teaching in the diocesan Cheverus High School up to this time managed and taught by diocesan priests for twenty-five years. In September, 1909, an old building, which was once the community residence of the Sisters of Mercy and the original location of their private academy, had been converted into a school for grammar school students. It was originally called "The Catholic Institute." In September 1917, this structure on Free Street, was converted into and, in 1924, given the name "Cheverus Classical High School." It was this school that the Jesuits were invited to teach as replacements for the diocesan priests.

Some guidelines were expected by the bishop as an aid in formulating an explicit invitation and in arranging financial terms for Jesuit service. Before any guidelines on financial arrangements could be expressed, the consultors deemed it best to await a report on the current operating expenses of the school. Students were supplied with books and school supplies by the diocese, and the parishes of the area were assessed by the diocese for their students in attendance. Some language was worked out to be proposed to the bishop on the purpose for which the Society was to undertake this and other work in the diocese. This language, later the subject of diverse interpretation, is found in the first full paragraph of Bishop McCarthy's invitation.

The official invitation dated march 2, 1942 and approved by the consultors on March 3 read as follows:

Very Reverend and dear Father Dolan,

This letter will advise the Very Reverend Provincial of the New England Province, Society of Jesus, together with the Board of Province Consultors, that the Bishop of Portland gives his approval and consent for the erection of a House of the Society of Jesus in the Diocese of Portland, Maine, in the City of Portland, for the usual works of the Society, and specifically at this time for assuming the educational direction and teaching of the Diocesan High School for Boys, known as Cheverus High School, and for the establishment of a College of the Society at some opportune future time.

Our approval of this plan is intended to be an official act of the Diocese of Portland, through its Ordinary, so as to make it evident the educational works outlined above shall, once established, become a permanent work of the Society of Jesus in the said Diocese of Portland, the permancy [sic] to be recognized throughout our own administration and by our successors in the See of Portland.

We wish to add to this letter an acknowledgement of our heartfelt appreciation, and expression of profound gratitude to the Very Reverend Provincial and his worthy associates for the auspicious coming of the Society into our Diocese. It has long since been our cherished hope, with prayer, that the Fathers of the Society of Jesus might be affiliated with our diocesan works of education and religion, so as to enhance with greater value the labors of our priests and people for Holy Mother Church and the sanctification and salvation of souls, "Ad majorem Dei gloriam."

With sentiments of profound respect and cordial best wishes, I remain

Faithfully yours in Christ,

Joseph E. McCarthy

Bishop of Portland

At the February 21 consultants meeting, some names, headed by that of Fr. William E. FitzGerald, were considered for the first superior. Fr. Maher approved his choice on March 3, 1942, with the understanding that Fr. FitzGerald was to be considered rector in petto. This was done since at that time there was yet no residence or community. Later there was some re-evaluation of Fr. FitzGerald's name due to his own personal request that some other choice be made. However, the original choice was adhered to.

Later in the spring, Bishop McCarthy, pleased with the public reaction of the news that the Jesuits were to return to Maine, sought for publicity purposes the name of the rector and the staff. He was informed that the naming of the staff would depend on the coming summer status but that, through an early personal introduction, the bishop would be the first to be apprised of the choice of rector. This visit of introduction occurred in later April. Again in May, Fr. FitzGerald visited Portland for a few days and had the opportunity to inspect residence and school and to learn more details on both. On this visit he submitted a report to Fr. Provincial.

Prior to the arrangements of financial details, Fr. Thomas McLaughlin, the province treasurer, had written an early memorandum for Fr. Provincial on March 3, 1942. He wondered if the current enthusiasm about expansion into Maine would evaporate in four or five years when it was evident that the school could not pay the annual province tax. Hence, he believed that, in any

financial arrangements, provisions must be made for the possibility of bazaars, card parties and penny sales to augment the revenue of the community. He pointed out that with the school being diocesan, gifts and bequests left to Cheverus would not redound to the Jesuits in Portland, but to the diocese. Some arrangements on such matters, he judged imperative.

The financial agreement hammered out during the late spring and early summer months of 1942 were agreed to and signed on July 31, 1942, the day when St. Ignatius Residence, the official title of the Danforth Street residence, was officially opened. Its text, though lengthy, is included here. In advance of the text, it might be noted that no provision was made for remunerating the services of Brother Thomas Meehan, or of the other brothers who in later times served there such as Brother Maurice V. Ahern, Brother Vincent L. Molinaro, and Brother W. Edward Stubbart.

In the operation of the Cheverus High School for boys, Portland, Maine, the following financial arrangement is agreed upon by His Excellency, the Most Reverend Joseph E. McCarthy, D.D., of the Diocese of Portland, and the Very Reverend James H. Dolan, S.J., Provincial of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus.

1. All expenses attached to the maintenance and operation of the Cheverus High School, such as for building, upkeep and repairs, equipment and furnishings, lighting, heating, water and gas, telephone, taxes and insurance, salaries of lay teachers and coaches, wages of extern help, all departmental and extra-curricular expenditures, and the like, will be sustained, as at present, by the Diocese of Portland, and accounted for by the Jesuit Rector of the School, in a monthly statement or in any other way that His Excellency, the Most Reverend Bishop, may

devise.

2. All expenses attached to the establishment, maintenance and furnishings of the buildings to be used as the Jesuit Faculty Residence on Danforth Street, known as the former St. Dominic's Rectory and the McGlinchey House, as also the taxes and insurance liabilities, will be sustained by the Diocese of Portland as the owner of this property.

3. All expenses attached to the operation of the Faculty Residence on Danforth Street, once established, such as for lighting, heating, water, gas, and for all living and personal expenses to be incurred by the members of the Jesuit Faculty during their occupation of this residence, such as food, clothing, telephone, transportation and travel, books for house library and personal use, medical service and all personal sundry expenditures, and the like, will be sustained by the Society of Jesus in Portland.

4. Those members of the Society of Jesus residing at the Danforth Street Residence and engaged in full-time teaching or administrative assignments at the Cheverus High School will receive from the Diocese of Portland, an annual honorarium of 1,200.00 dollars per man. All members of the Society assigned there on a part-time basis for work in the High School will receive an honorarium to be pro-rated for the time and service rendered there.

5. Any and all benefactions that may be received by any person or persons associated with the Cheverus High School, by way of gifts, donations, bequests, and the like, and specifically given for the uses and purposes of the School, are to be rendered, intact and as specified to the Diocese of Portland; any and all benefactions that may be received by any person or persons associated with the Cheverus High School, and are specifically given by the way of gifts, donations, bequests and the like, for the uses and purposes of the Society of Jesus, or of its members, individually or collectively, either resident in Portland, Maine, or elsewhere, are to be accordingly rendered to the Society of Jesus so specified; in the event that any such benefactions are received by any person or persons associated with the Cheverus High School without specification, and if the intention of the donor or donors cannot be ascertained, the disposition of these unspecified benefactions is to be

determined by the mutual agreement of the then Most Reverend Bishop of the Diocese of Portland, Maine, and the then Very Reverend Provincial of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus.

6. As a provision for the greater security and the mutual satisfaction of the contracting parties, the terms of this financial agreement, entered into on this 31st day of July, 1942, by the Most Reverend Joseph E. McCarthy, D.D., Bishop of Portland, in behalf of the Diocese of Portland, Maine, and the Very Reverend James H. Dolan, S.J., Provincial, in behalf of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus, are to be accepted and approved as subject to any feasible and equitable adjustment that may be found mutually desirable and necessary at any time during the period of the five ensuing years from the date of this agreement.

Signed:

Roman Catholic Bishop of Portland
By Joseph E. McCarthy
Bishop of Portland
James H. Dolan
Provincial of New England Province

Witnesses:

Clarence H. Coughlan
William E. FitzGerald

The official opening of the residence took place at Danforth Street on July 31, 1942. The chapel was the gift of the province for its house. The furnishings of the rest of the house came from the Portland diocese. Fr. Dolan was present for this opening event and the bishop came for the dinner.

The school opened on September 14, 1942, with seventeen Jesuits constituting its first group for 245 students. The first minister and treasurer was Fr. John M. Glavin. Initially, Fr. FitzGerald was principal assisted by Fr. Walter E. Kennedy, and later by Fr. Cyril F. Delaney. In 1946, Fr. Francis

J. Donovan became the principal and Fr. FitzGerald was more free to accept speaking engagements in varying parts of Maine. In addition to teaching religion in the school, Fr. John E. Welch long connected with Holy Cross, 1922-1926; 1927-1942 and later 1947-1956, served as spiritual father. The first teaching fathers included Fr. Daniel F. Dwyer, Philip A. Fuhs, John J. Galvin, Edmund J. Hogan, Gerald F. Hutchinson. The original regents were William F. O'Connor, John P. Rock, Francis A. Small, John Christopher Sullivan and Carl J. Thayer. Two members of the mission band were stationed there -- Fr. Joseph F. MacFarlane and Paul R. Power. Cloister was placed on the residence on September 24, 1942, the same day cloister was promulgated for Fairfield.

Perhaps something should be remarked about Portland as a choice in the expansion policy to which Fr. James H. Dolan was committed. As much as possible from his years as Socius, he had desired to end the "tale of the two cities" syndrome. A retreat house in North Andover and a private boarding school in Lenox were not enough. Hence, in late 1941 and early 1942, he did his best to acquire a Connecticut school site, and to accept an invitation to an exiting school in Maine. In his mind, the earlier days of Râle and Bapst were vivid and beckoning.

Fr. Dolan could overlook the more depressed economic situation in Portland and its conflicting strands of people if the new project aided the diocese and expanded the province ambit. Portland had been a port for exporting lumber, textiles, potatoes, fish. The port had come on meager days after World War I and its immediate aftermath, especially under the impact of the

depression and the moving of many mills to the south. The newer petroleum depot at South Portland compensated only in part for the other declines. The advent and early years of World War II gave the shipyards of South Portland a temporary boom.

But going to Portland in 1942 was a far cry from entering into the Bridgeport area. Bridgeport was surrounded by Fairfield County towns and cities, by the western and valley portions of New Haven County. The Fairfield area did have a polyglot population while Maine and, to a smaller degree, Portland had the Irish-French division. The Diocese of Portland had less of an indigenous priesthood than Hartford. Neighboring dioceses had supplied priests, especially Providence. There were also foreign-born Irish. There was some mistrust, it was said, between priest born in the south and those from the Bangor and Houlton area. All these factors made it more difficult to be received cordially by all elements.

Also, that Jesuits replaced diocesan priests in the school was not as welcome to many as it was to the bishop. Hence there was possibly some over-avidity in the name of needed expansion in accepting an unusual offer to teach in a diocesan high school and under an invitation that might have been more sharply drawn in view of later and differing interpretations.

Chapter V

CHEVERUS -- EARLY AND DIFFICULT YEARS (1942-1948)

Before the conclusion of Fr. James H. Dolan's term on December 8, 1944, he had called on Bishop Joseph E. McCarthy in early February, 1944. He was accompanied by Fr. William E. FitzGerald, and Fr. James M. Kilroy, acting Socius due to the illness of Fr. John J. Smith. The bishop had his secretary, Fr. James Burke, at the meeting. Contrary to the unfounded rumors of a planned coeducational arrangement, Cheverus was to remain a boys' school.

At this meeting and in the subsequent auto trip of inspection, not the Winslow (as is sometimes said) but the Windsor estate was rejected as too cramped. This Windsor estate was a triangular property at Deering Oaks. The Winslow was the estate later purchased. The bishop pointed out his preferred location across the street from the entrance to Payson Park. This property of eighteen acres was a narrow but long strip of land cut near its rear by a deep gully. As it was, some pastors and people opposed any school so far away from the city as any of these three locations.

As the party of five returned from the property opposite Payson Park entrance, someone noticed the stretch of land from the end of the park to the present site of Cheverus and wondered if that whole plot might not be the answer. It had an appeal if not in its entirety, at least in its Winslow part. It would appear that this whole tract, up to but not including the

commercial greenhouse, could have been obtained for some \$8,000.

Later in June of that same year, the bishop indicated that a retreat house would be available very near to his residence on the Western Promenade. It appeared that this retreat house would be diocesan property, managed by Jesuits on an arrangement analogous to the one being found unsatisfactory at Cheverus. One possible estate for a retreat house, the O'Hara house in Falmouth, had been sold at this time.

On November 20, 1944, at variance with the February promise against coeducation, there was an official announcement in the Portland Press Herald of a new and coeducational diocesan high school. A voluntary (unsolicited) offer came within a few days to Cheverus offering free a piece of land in Falmouth, Maine. This site, however, even more distant from downtown Portland was viewed as a possible and future location for a college. It is not clear when the bishop came to favor the present Winslow property as the site for the new Cheverus.

In the spring of 1945 the bishop was strongly rumored as planning to buy a set of three houses adjoining and immediately behind his residence without any space for any serious kind of a school yard. The faculty house in this event would be a private dwelling directly behind the episcopal residence. It would be more cramped for housing than the Danforth Street residence. Fr. Maher, on an early visit to Portland, had disapproved this site for the school and residence. But since the bishop feared running out of money, he favored this less expensive location. When Fr. John McEleney, then

provincial, heard of this possible change in location, he urged Fr. FitzGerald to have the Society allowed by the bishop to select a site and design a building.

All of these ups and downs on location and coeducation constituted the background for an important conference between the bishop plus his secretary and the provincial (then Fr. McEleney) and local rector on June 20, 1945. Fr. Provincial's views were shaped in part by certain guidelines set forth by Fr. Assistant. There was to be no coeducation. A parish would be a desirable addition. The school should cease to be diocesan and become a Jesuit undertaking. The province itself was urged by Fr. Maher to aid the Portland Jesuits since their work there should be considered a "quasi-mission".

The offers made by the bishop on this occasion were breathtaking. The property for the school should be carefully studied by engineers and purchased by the bishop who would contribute \$100,000 toward the project. His views on a retreat house were reiterated, when this matter came up, and there was no indication of strings attached. The bishop expressed his willingness to cut off a part of Msgr. Houlihan's parish of St. Joseph with a 400 family allotment of parishioners. While the Society would be expected to build the necessary church, the school hall (presumably on the Winslow estate or a nearby property) could be used temporarily as a substitute school chapel. What ever was given would be given with a clear title and with the title deeds. To raise revenue a building drive would be permitted to gather more funds than the bishop's

\$100,000 gift. All of these terms were to be confirmed in writing. Somewhat oddly and never realized was a proposed change in name from Cheverus to St. Sebastian. Presumably the name of the Jesuit (though uncanonized) Sebastian Râle in place of Cheverus would show the changeover from diocesan to Jesuit control of the school.

Even at this June date there appeared to be a cloud of some size over these pledges. At this meeting the bishop set forth the financial situation of the diocese. When he became bishop in 1932, Bishop McCarthy's debt as "corporation sole" was \$4,800,000 and he had no credit. In 1945, although the debt was as high as \$3,800,000, his credit had been restored. There was then a bonded debt on the goods of the corporation-sole's holdings, and rigorous requirements on cash raised from the sale of assets. Moreover, outside the corporation-sole debt, there was a \$600,000 debt arising from hospital construction, but this appeared manageable as long as the hospital flourished.

Still, it appears from his pledges to the Society that the Bishop was prepared to buy land for the school and the retreat house, and to give \$100,000 toward the school. Just how this generosity was to be possible in view of the bonded debt and its restriction on use of funds did not seem to trouble the bishop or call for inquiry by the Society. Yet the nature of his large bonded debt did tie his hands as to what he might use or alienate from diocesan funds since the first claim on money was to the bond holders. It appears strange that this inhibiting factor did not appear in the account given to the consultants,

Fr. Maher or to Fr. Vicar.

The restraining power of the bonded debt does not seem to have been realized as a crucial element cramping the bishop's generosity. He did not seem to have been conscious of it, or he believed that there were ways around it as in the case of the hospital expenditures. One early modification was made by bishop when, on June 26, he had his lawyer call to say that, since the Winslow property had been jumped in part from \$20,000 to \$30,000 since 1937, he would be obliged to purchase some other desirable land.

The Society reaction to these initial pledges of the bishop were ecstatic, but cautious. The province consultors, informed on June 25, 1945, were delighted. They seemed to have believed that the property to be bought was that near Payson Park, rather than the Winslow. Their information came, it must be noted, a day ahead of the phone call that, due to the current cost of the Winslow property, some other location, presumably the bishop's inborn preference -- across from Payson Park --, would be acquired. They also thought that a boarding school might some day be built to attract students from other sections of Maine.

The Portland house consultors unanimously favored the Winslow estate. They looked forward to raising \$100,000 to \$150,000 by a drive and, thus, add this fund to the bishop's \$100,000. They were unanimous in favoring a parish. They particularly urged that all the terms be stated in writing in the event of a later and less favorably-minded bishop. It was really to tie down Bishop McCarthy that the writing of terms was needed.

Fr. Maher, who was also pleased with the turn of events, urged written guaranties. He further urged, now that World War II was winding down, that Fr. Vicar in Rome be informed of the situation and that his approval be obtained. This approval was received in October 1945.

Then matters began to move backwards rather than forward. On October 10, 1945 the province consultors gave approval (to some unknown query) that the proposed parish church was to be built and owned by the diocese and be near rather than on, the school property. An early division of St. Joseph Parish had not met local approval, and the allegedly nearby site was quite distant and in an area little calculated to be of financial support to the school. Much of its area also was taken up by manufacturing or processing plants.

Perhaps, it was at this time that it became clear that the parish was to be entrusted to the Society for a limited period of years, say ten years. Hence, it was not surprising that, when Fr. McEleney and Fr. FitzGerald dined with Bishop McCarthy, on Thanksgiving Day, 1945, it was strongly sensed that the bishop was backing down on a drive and on his own financial support. But he did promise to put his remaining commitments in writing. All of this less promising situation was conveyed to the province consultors on December 10, 1945.

At this same time, a possible site (whether opposite Payson Park or the Winslow property) had become a bit of a political football. In the city council, there had arisen a zoning problem on the score that these areas were restricted to

one-family homes. An election was in progress with a projected change for increased memberships in the council from five to nine members. When it became evident that only a few people had this zoning problem, the old council in December, 1945 was favorable to a change that permitted a school.

On March 28, 1946 another conference took place between the bishop and the provincial. What transpired is not evident. But the consultants on June 1, 1946, in view of the bishop's arrears on his promises, decided to have an architect work out the approximate cost of a building on the Winslow site already purchased by a straw, Zelda M. Leif, the secretary to Judge Francis W. Sullivan who was the bishop's lawyer. Then the bishop would be told what the province could supply in funds toward the school and then ask the bishop flatly for a sufficiently large parish as a source of revenue. The whole matter would then be referred to Rome.

On June 26, 1946, the very day on which Fr. Daniel J. Feeney was announced as Auxiliary Bishop of Portland, the province consultants proposed that the province should attempt to raise \$250,000 and seek permission to borrow up to \$500,000 more, provided a lucrative parish would be offered. Such a debt, it was observed, would require a tuition charge such as the bishop favored earlier, and some reliance on a moderately-priced boarding school.

Just before Fr. Provincial was to go to Rome in the late summer of 1946 for the election of a new Jesuit General, he presented his conclusions on August 7 to the bishop. This letter

repeated what was said to have been the agreement of the preceding March, whereby the province would supply \$100,000 for the school and the bishop would donate a sum not of \$100,000 but of \$150,000 plus the land. The Society would own the school, maintain it by a normal tuition, the present parish assessments aiding Cheverus students would continue (with no reference to a time limit) and a parish would be constructed.

The school building had been estimated as costing \$450,000. Fr. Provincial pointed out that he had learned from Fr. FitzGerald that it was planned that the new school would belong to the diocese, be built and maintained by it, and that any offer of a parish had been withdrawn. There was also added another and seemingly conflicting view that the sum of \$200,000, promised at Thanksgiving, 1945, to be raised through diocesan channels, was being withdrawn, and that the Society should borrow this money. On these pledges and rumors the provincial desired clarification as he was about to go to Rome.

The needed assurances, therefore, dealt with the permanent status of the Jesuits at Cheverus, the receiving of a parish, the authorized drive for funds, the continuation of the parish assessments, the possibility of a normal tuition charge, and, finally, the guarantee of no coeducation. He also added that the present physical conditions of the school were inadequate. This reference was to St. Aloysius Grammar School, close to the cathedral where Cheverus was to open in September, 1946. The bishop had sold, on July 11, 1945, the inadequate Free Street property to Sears-Roebuck, which had demolished the

building and replaced it with a warehouse.

The money had been held in escrow from July 1945 until the abandonment of the school property at the end of the 1945-46 school year. As it was, the demolition had begun before classes had ended. While it had been the intention of Bishop McCarthy, as expressed to Fr. Joseph R. N. Maxwell in 1941, to expend the money received toward a new Cheverus, the exigencies of his bonded indebtedness made this impossible, no matter what were his pledges. On such a point he should finally have been clear and frank, and the Society could understand his plight and stay with a seemingly dying situation or withdraw gracefully. The bishop was more legally encumbered than he cared to admit in word to others, or even, it appears, to himself.

Although this letter to Bishop McCarthy was answered very promptly on the very next day, August 8th, the bishop indicated that its contents had been long reflected upon. In view of rising costs, he had to be satisfied with the present school structure (St. Aloysius) as a necessary stop-gap for several years. His advisers did want a single structure capable of having both boys and girls, even if both were taught separately. He realized, he told the provincial, that such a coeducational structure did not meet the acceptance of the present Cheverus rector, but he implied that Fr. FitzGerald's opposition was personal and not official Society thinking. In this he was mistaken. While he praised the previous service of the Portland Jesuits, there simply had to be a definite postponement of a new school building.

A copy of the bishop's letter was sent to Fr. Maher, but there is no copy of any reply. Fr. Maher's known views on coeducation were definitely negative. The province consultors, on being apprised of this impasse reacted, as Fr. FitzGerald had, against coeducation. They also recognized the inadequacy of the financial support and the present poor school facilities. The golden fence around a projected Cheverus came crashing down. For the time, short of precipitous withdrawal, the Portland Jesuits and the province officials had to grin and bear it. At this heavily clouded stage, Fr. Provincial left for Rome and a subsequent visit to Baghdad.

After his return from Rome and Baghdad, Fr. Provincial McEleney reviewed with his consultors on February 14, 1947, the deteriorated situation in Portland. He planned to write to the bishop of the frustration of earlier hopes, but to add that, despite the inadequacy of the present building, he intended to remain in an emergency situation. In the new school situation Fr. FitzGerald, to the displeasure of Bishop McCarthy, had urged a more decent teachers' room for lunch-time and off-class periods. More concern seemed to have been felt for a weekly Dorcas-type sewing circle than for Jesuits, many on in years, to have some minimum comforts.

Nevertheless despite an intention to remain, Fr. McEleney did believe some clearer financial arrangements were imperative, and he did draw the line at coeducation. Rather than accept that, the Society would withdraw. It was in this tense atmosphere that a request came from the pastor of North

Whitefield, whose church of St. Denis is, along with St. Patrick's at Damariscotta in Maine, one of the two oldest and extant New England Catholic church structures. The pastor requested that Benedict Reilly, S.J., a native son, might be ordained in St. Denis as an inducement for more vocations from that area. While in contemporary times, such a request would be quickly honored, such a reason was then judged too unsatisfactory in the very week in which this page was initially drafted, a later Jesuit, Dan Jamros, was due for ordination at his home parish of St. Stanislaus, Adams, Massachusetts. As for Fr. Reilly, he was appointed administrator of this parish in 1977.

While it was the school building that was stressed as inadequate in Fr. Provincial's letter, the bishop proposed a move of the faculty residence from Danforth Street to a house near his own on the Western Promenade. The Portland house consultants opposed the move. It would be merely to another diocesan dwelling, too remote from (and endanger) the preferred school site on Ocean Avenue. In addition, the move would be to an old house in a Mayfair section. The province consultants proved less forthright. The offer should be dealt with more gingerly, and the reason not seem either too stand-offish or definite. Nothing came of this proposal.

Soon the bishop returned to his offer of a retreat house. Fr. Provincial replied on April 11, 1947, to this offer and wondered what might be the outlook for a new school. On June 2, 1947, he visited the bishop but told his consultants on June 6 that the visit was really unsatisfactory. The situation was as

it had been the previous August. On the day after his visit to Bishop McCarthy, Fr. McEleney had visited Bishop Feeney, the auxiliary, but the meeting was purely social. Nevertheless, at the consultors' meeting on June 6, 1947, he broached the possibility of a new superior at Cheverus.

The unsatisfactory character of Fr. Provincial's visit in April led early in the following autumn to the planned composition of a letter to the bishop. He had Fr. FitzGerald draw up a draft letter and a preliminary statement which he could use as an aid in the formulation of his own official letter. The provincial's letter begins irenically with the view that, if the bishop and his advisers believe their own educational plans could be better carried out by others, the Society would gracefully withdraw in their favor and be glad to have helped for some five to six years.

If, however, the Society was to remain, there must be a definite understanding on a list of seven matters. Cheverus was to be for boys only. The new school structure and the land on which it was to be built must be the property of the Society. Substantial assistance must come from the diocese in building the school in whole or part. The diocese must subsidize the school's operation until tuition charges can manage it. Raising funds should be authorized throughout the diocese. As soon as possible the school site must be settled or a choice of location left to the Society where it could also construct a faculty dwelling. Finally it was insisted that these conditions, after approval by the bishop and his consultors, be considered a solid guarantee

for the future. In view, too, of new missionary commitments and increased ones in older missions, some early answer would be helpful in aiding assignments of province personnel. The letter concluded by saying that, if these conditions appear impossible, any parting would be on good terms, and with the understanding and recognition of the tough local conditions of an economic nature.

Bishop McCarthy in replying took a different tact from that of the previous August. Then it was the economic situation that precluded any diocesan action on a school for an indefinite future. Now he was holding the Society to the terms of the March 2, 1942, agreement whereby the commitment was not only to teach in a diocesan rather than a Jesuit school, but where this commitment was also of extended duration. Hence, any abandonment of Cheverus was not so simple a matter as Fr. Provincial's letter seemed to imply.

On the meaning of the 1942 agreement regarding the permanency of teaching in a diocesan high school, Fr. James H. Dolan was queried by Fr. FitzGerald. Fr. Dolan admitted that the sense of the terms could be misleading, but their original intent had been clear. The Society went to the Portland Diocese with permanence for its ordinary ministries and some day -- if circumstances were right -- to establish a college. But it went, and these are the operative words, for the present, that is, for the time being, to teach in a diocesan high school. This function was not permanent. The bishop, according to Fr. Dolan, appeared to have made the point that the teaching was in a

diocesan high school and arguments, therefore, against this situation were not automatically a ground for withdrawal. He had not, it would appear, made the point that this task must be continued until the Society was released by the bishop.

That some point had been made effectively by the bishop appeared from some subsequent actions. As early as January 29, 1948, Fr. Provincial had informed Fr. FitzGerald that the province would continue at Cheverus despite the adverse circumstances. Thus, no invidious criticism could be aroused by leaving.

Evidently some communications (annual or special) had gone to Fr. General on a possible withdrawal. In a reply written without reference to the bishop's interpretation of the 1942 agreement, Fr. General had favored proposing a definite policy, and urging that the school cease to be diocesan. The consultors, apprised of Bishop McCarthy's views, believed that Fr. General should know that, in the original formal invitation to Portland, the presumption and the wording implied teaching in a diocesan school.

By April 16, 1948, when reports were flying about in Portland about a Jesuit withdrawal from Cheverus, no reply had come from Fr. General after he was informed of the bishop's contention. When one letter came in May, it stated that a later communication would discuss Portland. When such a letter came and when its contents were divulged to the consultors on July 14, 1948, it admitted the original agreement was for teaching in a diocesan high school, and the General concluded that any

withdrawal must be on conditions satisfactory to the bishop.

Bishop McCarthy did not have authority long enough to enjoy his victory. On July 27, 1948, Bishop Feeney became apostolic administrator of the diocese and, on March 4, 1952, coadjutor bishop with the right of succession.

Sometime prior to the change in administrative responsibility, Bishop McCarthy had purchased the Winslow estate, but not the land between it and Payson Park. The purchase had been effected, as has been seen, through Zelda M. Leif, the secretary to Judge Sullivan, the bishop's lawyer. The deeds, once in possession of the diocese, were kept under the control of the bishop and not made over to the Society. To be legally set up for the ultimate holding of the school property, a petition was made at Augusta for the incorporation of St. Ignatius Residence of the Society of Jesus. The incorporation became official on October 7, 1948.

This phase of Jesuit life in Portland concludes not only with Bishop Feeney having the jurisdiction once possessed by Bishop McCarthy, but also with a new Jesuit rector. At the consultants' meeting of July 14, 1948, the name of Fr. Robert A. Hewitt was proposed as a successor to Fr. FitzGerald at the expiration of his term. The delicate situation might, it was believed, be moved forward by Fr. Hewitt. Since building at Boston College High School, where he was rector, was still in the future even though land had been obtained, his removal from there could be made auspiciously. Names of potential superiors at Boston College High School were considered, as well as other

specific names for the Portland terna. On November 6, 1948, Fr. FitzGerald left Cheverus for Boston and for possible work at St. Benedict's Center.

Fr. Hewitt replaced Fr. FitzGerald. Since he was to be an important actor in the next and more pleasant phase at Portland, this data on Fr. Hewitt is pertinent. His four year regency was equally divided between St. Peter's High School in Jersey City and Holy Cross College. On completing his theology and tertianship, he studied moral theology at the Gregorian University in Rome. On returning to Weston, he taught ethics briefly, and then moral theology until appointed rector there in 1937. Just a short time before his six-year term expired, he was transferred as rector to Boston College High School and Immaculate Conception Church on Harrison Avenue in Boston.

Then, once again shortly before that term ended, Father Hewitt became the second rector of Cheverus. Here it was his good fortune to be put in touch with an anonymous benefactor prepared in November, 1950 to give \$500,000 for a new school building for Cheverus. Through this benefaction as will be seen, God blessed those who had suffered from inadequacies and frustrations, but who as operarii inconfusibiles continued to toil in classroom, sanctuary, pulpit and rostrum.

Chapter VI

CHEVERUS HIGH SCHOOL -- BRIGHTER DAYS (1948-1967)

In the depths of the continuing disappointment concerning school facilities and financial status, Fr. Robert A. Hewitt first conferred on these urgent and continuing needs with Bishop Daniel J. Feeney. The Bishop asked that the situation of the school be put into writing.

On March 15, 1950 Fr. Hewitt wrote dealing specifically with a critical situation facing Cheverus for the fall term of 1950. The current student body was 300, of whom fifty seniors would be graduated in June. The normal current intake of new students was 100. Due to the newly introduced terminal course for students not bound for college, this number of 100 could be expanded. Cheverus had available no more than its eight classrooms for 350 or slightly more students. Moreover, the Sister Principal of the Cathedral schools had informed Cheverus that the two classrooms she had loaned to Cheverus would not be available in September.

What, therefore, asked Fr. Hewitt, was to be done? One possibility was to search for a temporary building to house some 125 students, preferably all the first-year high school students. To be unable to do that much would mean the intolerable situation of no new students in September, 1950. What was really needed was not a continued makeshift, but a new Cheverus for boys. Despite its reputation not only in Portland, but throughout the state, an accrediting agency could bear down heavily on a school

without space for laboratories, library and administrative offices. The expense of a new building was concedingly great, but equally great was the challenge to educate the youth of the area. Fr. Hewitt concluded by affirming that, with whatever were the diocesan plans for the future, the Jesuits would wholeheartedly cooperate.

Whatever formal response Cheverus received to this letter is not available. Bishop Feeney did send Fr. Hewitt's letter to Fr. Edward F. Walsh, Pastor of Sacred Heart Church in Yarmouth, Maine, a parish which included Falmouth Foreside. Fr. Walsh was a friend of Mr. Byron Miller, a non-Catholic gentleman of considerable means. Mr. Miller's wife was a Catholic. A postscript on an earlier letter of Mr. Miller to Fr. Walsh had indicated his continuing interest in some school project. Fr. Walsh, perceiving the need for a new Cheverus, urged Bishop Feeney to have Fr. Hewitt make specific suggestions on the needs of a possible school structure. This proposal was approved by Bishop Feeney.

Fr. Hewitt went ahead with such plans. By August 2, 1950 Bishop Feeney had received a document headed "Estimate of Cost of Cheverus High School Building, Ocean Avenue." The classroom section was estimated at \$393,000. An auditorium was so devised that it could also serve as a gymnasium and chapel. This multi-purpose room and a kitchen came in cost to \$119,000. Approximations were made for an architect's fee of \$30,000, a coordinator's fee at \$5,000 and equipment cost at \$35,000. Hence the total estimated cost was \$582,000. A detailed description of

the materials and construction was supplied to explain the \$582,000 cost of the building. Comparative costs were added from recent school construction of the King Junior High School in Portland and of Boston College High School in Dorchester, Massachusetts.

Writing as early as four days after Fr. Walsh had been supplied with this school data, Fr. Provincial, John J. McEleney, informed the American Assistant to Fr. General, Fr. Vincent A. McCormick, that a "good Catholic" of means had informed Bishop Feeney that he would give \$500,000 for a new Catholic High School explicitly for boys. The priest involved, as it came to be known, was Fr. Walsh who planned to introduce Fr. Hewitt to his benefactor friend. This was done, but the details are not available.

Before considering some further communication between Fr. Hewitt and Bishop Feeney later in 1950, some study is needed of correspondence between the benefactor and his lawyer, between a friend and his financial agent, and of correspondence between the friends and agents. The lawyer was Mr. Wadleigh B. Hammond, and the fiscal agent was the Scott Corporation of Portland. The benefactor had certain definite convictions.

The title deeds to the estate on Ocean Avenue were to be made over physically to the Society in Portland as a condition for any initial money to flow. It must be recalled that, on October 7, 1948, the Jesuit community had been incorporated by the State of Maine as St. Ignatius Residence of the Society of Jesus. Hence as a legal corporation, independent of the diocesan

school, it could receive the title deeds to the Winslow Estate. It was a further condition that the school, when completed, would be turned over to this corporation and the school would cease to be diocesan and become fully a Jesuit school and was to remain for boys only. Money, however, could be paid for necessary preliminary work such as architect's fees prior to construction. If the total cost of the school went beyond the allotted \$500,000, the onus was on the school corporation to pay.

The donor had, after making modifications, proposed by Fr. Hewitt and himself, in the draft, made a final settlement which he believed corresponded to his agreements made in conversations with Fr. Hewitt. He also made provision that, should he die prior to the final payment of the pledged \$500,000, his executors were bound to continue to pay the promised sum. These plans were approved in writing on January 15, 1951.

The donor was ill for a time but recovered. As time went on, his wife carried on some correspondence and showed her interest in her husband's project. In all these early years up to and even after the donor's death on May 18, 1960, the name of the benefactor was kept in a very limited circle, and only in later years was his identity more generally known.

When it is recalled what the Jesuits at Cheverus went through in promises, in tight and inadequate quarters and in the necessary counting of pennies to bring Catholic education to Portland and to other parts of Maine, there was reason to rejoice on June 9, 1952. On that day the new school building was dedicated. It consisted of a spreadout one-floor building and a

basement, much of which was well above-ground. There were, in addition to offices, also classrooms, the multi-purpose room, a library, a small chapel, athletic equipment rooms, showers and toilets.

The chief address on dedication day was given by Edward B. Hanify, the eloquent and learned partner in Gray & Ropes, a trustee of numerous corporations and a 1933 Holy Cross graduate. After a eulogy on Bishop Cheverus, he cited the Oregon School case of 1925, so removed in its philosophy from that inculcated by John Dewey, and that more recently advocated by President James Conant of Harvard. Jesuits were praised in the conclusion which cited the stalwart patience under suffering for Christ of the North American martyrs.

Even with this school structure, the financial situation of Cheverus was still precarious. Because construction costs had been constantly rising, Fr. Hewitt had been obliged to have authorization to borrow \$100,000 beyond the \$500,000 gift. On February 22, 1952, he had asked permission to borrow \$50,000 additionally not only in view of rising prices, but in the hope of a further gift from the original donor. This permission was not granted by the province consultors.

For a secondary school, Portland was thus left with a large capital debt. The money seemingly promised to be continued by the parishes toward tuition fell into desuetude. Hence, there was a raise in tuition costs from \$100 to \$150 and this increase was really inadequate.

There were, consequently, more needs for parochial help by the faculty fathers and an increase, if possible, of the practice of conducting the novenas of grace. For this purpose, the winter vacation ordinarily scheduled for middle or late February, was put off until the days in March when as many as possible of the faculty priests took the vacation by giving novenas of grace, normally from March 4 to 12. This somewhat educationally unorthodox practice continued until the principalship of Fr. Thomas J. Grey. Dances in the school hall raised some revenue but with a toll on the energy of the teachers. Bingo and some associate memberships brought in some added money. These revenues belonging to St. Ignatius Rectory, Inc. served to supply money to the school.

A move in 1954 envisaged the possibility of a drive for funds for a double purpose. A faculty residence would be built near the school, and also a dormitory for boarding students. Mr. Lester L. Beal, the architect of the school building, had been initially retained for this combined venture. Since he had so much work, he could give little or no time to the needs of Cheverus. After waiting some six months to get what was promised for some next "indefinite" week, Fr. Hewitt, at Mr. Beal's suggestion engaged the Quincy, Massachusetts, architecture firm of Edward J. Shields Associates. The contractors who had built the new Cheverus school, Cunningham and Son, found no difficulty in working with an architect living in Boston.

By March 17, 1955, Fr. Hewitt could say that preliminary plans had been drawn and were in the hands of the provincial. Both of the new structures were planned for two stories plus an ample basement. There were to be thirty-two living rooms in the Jesuit residence along with the usual common rooms and liturgical facilities. The student dormitory was to house 100 with four students planned for each room. There were to be four prefects' suites. The estimated cost of both buildings was \$1,060,000.

Both Mr. Miller and his wife were apprised of the plans. Mr. Miller acknowledged Fr. Hewitt's letter on the details, but gave no commitment on aid. Favorable publicity appeared in the local paper. Before Fr. Hewitt's seven-year term of office expired in August, 1955, a drive for \$675,000 had been announced, considerably less than the estimated \$1,060,000 needed for the buildings.

The new rector, Fr. John P. Foley, was former freshman dean at Boston College, a wartime naval chaplain and, at the time of his appointment, Principal of Boston College High School. He was to find the overall plans of the New England Province and divine providence as inhibiting factors in the plans so carefully laid out by Fr. Hewitt.

In the late summer of 1955, a three million dollar drive for a new Shadowbrook noviceship and juniorate was publicly announced. Since that drive was to cover all the territory in New England, and especially where there were Jesuit institutions with Jesuit alumni and alumnae, retreatants, parishioners and

friends, there could be the possibility of cross-purpose solicitations in Maine. To make the need for the success of the Shadowbrook drive more crucial, the original building at Shadowbrook, which was to be replaced, was burned literally to the ground on March 10, 1956. So in September 1956, the Cheverus drive was stopped. Danforth Street was to continue as the residence and there was to be no student dormitory.

In September of 1956, a year after the Cheverus drive was discontinued, Mrs. Miller, who many years before had known Fr. Kilroy as Pastor of Saint Ignatius Church in New York City, sent him a thousand dollar gift for his sixtieth anniversary in the Society. In a reply on September 12, 1956, he indicated that the gift would be used for the education of a younger Jesuit.

The next move to aid Cheverus came from Mrs. Miller, a year after the death of her husband. Mr. Miller, it might be pointed out, was on one day baptized, confirmed, absolved in confession, given Holy Communion and anointed. His funeral was held at St. Ignatius Church in New York City. Against the advice of her lawyers (and she underscored this plural), Mrs. Miller wrote to Fr. Foley on July 6, 1961, that she planned to pay whatever debt still remained on the school building over and above the \$500,000 her husband had given. One debt was owed to the First National Bank of Portland. By July 7, 1961 it was paid off to its full amount of \$15,012.17. She then urged that she be informed of the other remaining debts.

When Mrs. Miller learned that one of these debts on the school was for \$40,000, loaned to St. Ignatius Rectory, Inc., by Bishop Feeney, she refused to advance any money toward its payment. Bishop Feeney, in her estimation, had spoken ill of her husband and herself. This particular debt continued to be paid with interest charges until the bishop's successor, Bishop Peter L. Gerety (1966-74), forgave all remaining interest charges.

When Fr. Andrew F. McFadden the former administrative assistant to the President of Holy Cross, became rector at Cheverus in the summer of 1961 and became acquainted with Mrs. Miller, a new possibility of a faculty residence began to take shape. It was her plan to guarantee \$1,000,000 for the structure and its furnishings by annual sums of \$100,000. On July 10, 1962, the province consultants were made aware that assistance would come in erecting a faculty residence. At a meeting on January 8, 1963, there was a study of a preliminary plan drawn up after the financial arrangement had been made. Plans for the building were drawn up. The first set proved too elaborate and expensive, so a second set of plans were devised and ultimately approved. They were so drawn and with such spaciousness that many features of the first floor could later in the school year of 1969-1970 be converted into president's and treasurer's offices and, both on the first floor and in the above-ground basement section, space could serve as classrooms and activity rooms for the school. In addition to parlors, common rooms, kitchen, there were living rooms for thirty Jesuits.

Since money beyond the initial grants were needed at an early stage, the province loaned the money required for construction and furnishings, and was repaid as the annual sums arrived. Mrs. Miller's will, it might be noted, had made provision for the payment up to one million dollars in the event of her death prior to the total payment. Prior to 1976, all of Mrs. Miller's gift had been paid. At a later time, when Fr. Joseph L. Shea was president of the school, Mrs. Miller gave a valuable jade collection which she wished to be auctioned off and the proceeds accrue to the school.

The generosity of Mr. Miller in his original gift and the continued generosity of his widow were not left unnoticed by the authorities of the New England Province. In the consultants' meeting on September 13, 1966, the proposal was approved that both should be declared founders of the Society by Fr. General. A formal reception for this announcement and the awarding of the commemorative material was held by Fr. John V. O'Connor, Provincial from 1962-1968, at Loyola House, 297 Commonwealth Avenue, Boston on February 10, 1967.

Mrs. Miller no longer makes the Falmouth Foreside area a chief dwelling since she sold it for a generous sum. In her home in Florida and on summer trips to Maine, she maintains her close relationships with Jesuits with whom she became acquainted earlier. These include particularly Fr. Robert A. Hewitt, to his death in 1978, and Fr. Urban W. Manning. They also included the late Forrest S. Donahue and Fr. McFadden who took up parochial and school work in Jamaica after leaving office at Cheverus in

1968. Not to be forgotten among the recipients of Mrs. Miller's thoughtfulness, was the late Brother Thomas J. Meehan towards whose retirement from Cheverus to Weston College (now Campion Center) she contributed generously.

The narrative must now return to the new St. Ignatius Rectory. There was more fanfare for its formal opening on July 31, 1967, than there was to the simple opening of the Danforth Street residence twenty-five years earlier on July 31, 1942. Bishop Peter Gerety blessed the structure, moving from room to room. Diocesan priests, many of whom had been teachers at Cheverus prior to 1942, were in attendance. So, too, were many Jesuits including former teachers and administrators. There was a reception and dinner in the dining room overlooking Portland's Back Bay and its cathedral.

Only Brother Thomas J. Meehan had lived through the twenty-five years of Jesuit service at Cheverus. There he remained until 1972 when, at his own request, he went to spend his last years at Weston College, where from 1927 to 1942 he had been in charge of the kitchen and of procurement. He died there on March 15, 1976, after Weston had been changed to Campion Residence.

During those years when question of a faculty residence was uppermost, one important change in curriculum had occurred. On February 13, 1962, the province consultors favored the proposal to discontinue the general course at Cheverus and thus allow a variety of programs, any one of which could lead to college acceptance. Shortly after the faculty residence was

occupied, a proposal was made by the diocesan superintendant of schools that there be some limited form of merger between Cheverus and the Cathedral High School for Girls. After a variety of meetings and discussions, however, the plan emerged whereby a new and independent girls' school was erected under the name of Mother McAuley High School.

The Sisters of Mercy who conduct McAuley High School were introduced into Maine from the Manchester, New Hampshire, Motherhouse by Mother Xavier Warde. In 1865, they had gone to Bangor and, in 1871, to North Whitefield. In 1873, they had come to Portland originally to conduct an orphanage. But, with the withdrawal that summer of French-speaking sisters from the Portland schools, the Mercy Sisters were assigned the care of the cathedral school of St. Aloysius, of St. Dominic's School, and of an evening school. They also conducted an academy in their convent of St. Elizabeth at 100 Free Street.

These Maine sisters became a grouping independent of Manchester in 1883, one year before the division, in 1884, of the original Portland Diocese into one in Portland, and one in Manchester, N.H. It is interesting to note that this structure at 100 Free Street became the site in 1917 of what came to be known as Cheverus High School and was, as has been seen, still the location of Cheverus when the Jesuits came in 1942. Prior to its use by the Sisters of Mercy as an orphanage, convent, academy and parochial school, it had served briefly as the residence of Bishop David Bacon under whom the earlier Maryland Province Jesuits had left Maine in 1859. In this odd way, the educational

activities of the Sisters of Mercy and the Jesuits had intertwined.

Over the years, the size of the student body at Cheverus has fluctuated. In 1942, there were 250 students. The first full year of Cheverus on Ocean Avenue showed an enrollment of 323. In 1967-68, the first year that the faculty lived in its new residence, the registration was 396. The highest enrollment in the school came in the school year 1956-1957 when there were 449 students. Unless Cheverus has a dormitory to attract boarding students from other portions of Maine or elsewhere, it appears that its registration will hover about 300 or less. That Cheverus might attract boarders, if a dormitory were feasible, appears possible from the reputation that the school enjoys throughout Maine with its debating teams and its participation in key debating tournaments, and in the apostolic works of Jesuits in many parts of the Portland Diocese.

The Cheverus community in more recent years has sent out members to a variety of other works in Maine, and has attracted to it other Jesuits interested in apostolic works in Maine. Hence, the contribution to Maine on the part of New England Jesuits is only partly told by a recounting of Jesuit presence at Cheverus High School. These other activities include prison, hospital, convent, nursing home, and other educational institutions.

To such works directly from teaching at Cheverus have gone to Fr. Stanley Bowe, Fr. Edmund J. Hogan, Fr. William J. Kennedy, Fr. J. Vasmar Dalton, Fr. James

P. Walsh, and Fr. Joseph Holland. Cheverus has attracted others who have found apostolic outlets either in Portland or elsewhere in Maine. Among these priests would be Fr. John L. Clancy, Fr. William J. Doyle, Fr. Benedict J. Reilly and Fr. Robert J. Sullivan.

The work of Fr. Stanley Bowe, from 1972 to the early winter of 1977, has been a return to the type of work which Jesuit priests of the original Maryland Province performed through Fr. Virgil Barber in the eighteen twenties and in the late forties and up to 1859 among Indians of northern Maine.

Fr. Bowe became Pastor of the Pleasant Point Indian Reservation in Perry, Maine. There he lived in a trailer and performed a variety of pastoral works for Indians of the Passamaquoddy nation. From 1974-1976, he had the assistance of Brother Lawrence Smith until the brother began to study for the permanent diaconate in 1976. On one occasion, for some months, Eugene F. Ortenau as a novice worked there as part of a noviceship experiment. Just as Fr. Bowe's serious operation took place, another novice, Robert Power, was scheduled as his assistant. Fr. Bowe's delicate and serious operation precluded this assignment. Fr. Bowe's activities were assumed by Fr. Joseph E. Mullen, S.J., a professional school and college recruiter. Despite a seeming recovery, Fr. Bowe died on May 30, 1977. By December 1977 Fr. Joseph Laughlin had assumed charge of a neighboring Indian reservation.

Both before and after Fr. Bowe's inauguration of this work, other members of the Cheverus community took up projects. Fr. Joseph F. Holland, a pioneer teacher at Cheverus and long a missionary in Beirut, Lebanon, was attached to the Bangor Counseling Service beginning in 1969. Here was a return to the place where Fr. John Bapst had erected St. John's Church and a residence to serve as a headquarters for the Maine missionaries of the 1850's.

Also in 1969, Fr. Benedict J. Reilly, a native son of St. Denis Parish in North Whitefield, became Chaplain of Maine State Prison in Thomaston, Maine, with residence at the Rockland, Maine, rectory. In the fall of 1976 he became Administrator of St. Denis Parish while retaining his prison chaplaincy.

In 1972 Fr. Edmund J. Hogan became chaplain and director of pastoral care at what soon became the Seton Unit of the Mid-Maine Medical Center at Waterville. Fr. Hogan had been a pioneer at Cheverus from 1942 to 1948 and returned to its staff in 1967.

The year 1972 saw the assignment of Fr. William J. Kennedy, the guidance counsellor at Cheverus, to St. Joseph College at North Windham, Maine. At this college of 500 girl students, Fr. Kennedy served as chaplain, counsellor and supervised numerous spiritual and social welfare functions. His contact with students was aided by his living in a college dormitory and by taking his meals with the students.

Also from 1973 to 1977, Fr. James P. Walsh, who had been both a teacher and a guidance counsellor at Cheverus, made Cheverus his headquarters for retreat work not only in Maine, but especially in parts of Canada.

Fr. J. Vasmar Dalton after teaching history at Cheverus, assumed a similar post at St. Joseph College. At the present he is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of New Hampshire. Fr. Dalton has several master degrees -- one in philosophy, one in guidance, two in history, one of them from the special program in liberal arts at Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut.

In 1978, Fr. Terrence W. Curry, a former regent at Cheverus, became the first full-time Jesuit chaplain at Mercy Hospital.

A few other Jesuits without previous Cheverus ties have joined the community and engaged in apostolic work. Since 1968 Fr. John L. Clancy commutes for this task among the homes for the aged and infirm. His work is ecumenical since it includes regular visits to one Jewish establishment. As a Civilian Conservation Corps chaplain in the years prior to U.S. participation in World War II, Fr. Clancy had some Maine assignments and came to know many of its people and clergy. After serving as a wartime chaplain, Fr. Clancy had long been a professor of ethics at Fairfield, as well as an administrator there and at Round Hills, South Dartmouth, Massachusetts.

Fr. William F. Doyle came to Cheverus in 1975 from an extended teaching assignment in mathematics at Xavier and Boston College High School. Fr. Doyle served as chaplain and spiritual director at the Motherhouse of the Sisters of Mercy in the Deering section of Portland. When the Mercy sisters in Maine became a separate group in 1883, they had as headquarters St. Elizabeth's on Free Street. There was once expectation of a new convent due to money given by Winnifred Kavanagh, but the money was expended to build the Kavanagh School connected with the cathedral. Only between 1906 and 1909 was a new Mercy motherhouse erected at Deering during the episcopacy of Bishop Louis Sebastian Walsh (1906-24).

To all of these apostolic works must be added the services to churches and convents which have long been generously given by members of the Cheverus administrative and teaching staffs. Notable among the part-time chaplains is Fr. Nicholas McNeil, who while teacher and librarian at Cheverus has said the daily Mass at the Precious Blood Monastery for endless years.

Long after these chapters on Cheverus had been written, the Society announced a return to the very parish, St. John's, in Bangor, exclusion from which had led to the withdrawal of the Maryland Jesuits in 1859. As first pastor for this venture Fr. Raymond P. Bertrand was appointed. He had as initial assistants Fr. James F. Morgan and Fr. Thomas Lequin. This new burgeoning of the province works in Maine will undoubtedly open a whole new chapter, including as well the detailed work on the few Indian missions and added apostolic work in Portland by such

a youthful diamond jubilarian as Fr. Joseph P. Kelly.

Chapter VII

FAIRFIELD -- THE PREP AND THE UNIVERSITY BEGIN (1941-1950)

When permission was granted by Bishop Maurice Francis McAuliffe in September 1941 for the New England Jesuits to open a secondary school in the Bridgeport area of the Hartford Diocese (then covering all of Connecticut), it was the culmination of many requests and long periods of waiting. During the vice-province years (1921-26), when Bishop George Albert Guertin of Manchester, New Hampshire, was inviting the Society to open a retreat house in one of three areas in his diocese, one of the reasons expressed in province consultants' meetings for hesitation and refusal was a preference for a location in the Diocese of Hartford. Yet despite its large and growing Catholic population, the Hartford diocese extended no invitation for a retreat house or a school. The diocese was satisfied with Jesuit week-end help from Keyser Island, Holy Cross, Shadowbrook, and, after 1935, from Pomfret. In the war years, requests even went to Boston College for weekends in Glastonbury, Beacon Falls and Montville.

Diocesan or parish high schools for boys were then unknown elements in that diocese. Aside from the high school division of St. Thomas Seminary (a six-year minor seminary), there was but one secondary school for boys within the diocese. This was Canterbury, a private school in New Milford owned and operated by laymen though under the high patronage of the Bishop of Hartford. For many years its headmaster was Nelson Hume who had occasional Jesuit aid for religious instruction from Keyser

Island, and for Jesuit retreats to its students.

The number of Jesuits from Connecticut prior to the opening of Fairfield was relatively small. The city of Waterbury gave the largest number either directly from its public schools or through study at Holy Cross. As Holy Cross-inspired were the Hutchinson brothers (John and Gerald), Tom Shanahan, Ed Wolff, Ben Finnegan, Jim Deeley, John R. Sullivan and Bill Phelan. Many, but not all the others, were influenced by Fr. (later Msgr.) Connie Tuelings. Among those coming directly from Waterbury schools were W. W. Kennedy, Dick Dowling, John L. Bonn, Joe Le Roy, Bob Phelan and Jimmy Ring. Other Connecticut places contributed a few: William. H. Coyle (Bridgeport via St. Francis Xavier College), F. X. Downey and Hank Cronin (New Haven), Fred Gallagher and Bob Sullivan (Stamford), Dave Nugent (Windsor Locks), J. L. Burke (Manchester) and John R. Post (Manchester by birth and Bridgeport by entrance). Among the coadjutor brothers were the following Connecticut recruits: Tom Howarth (Putnam), John J. Kelley (Willimantic), Joe Ring (Ansonia), Italo Parnoff (Bridgeport).

The first known approach for a school in the Hartford diocese was made by Fr. James T. McCormick in a 1934 summer visit to the newly installed Bishop Maurice F. McAuliffe (1934-44). The bishop was favorable, but timid. Such a giant step as having a private high school for boys needed consultation. For girls, the diocese was accustomed to academies. These would be found in such places as Hartford, Milford, Waterbury, Baltic, Putnam. But gains and losses had to be considered before authorization was

given for a boys' secondary school. One in the Hartford area might be in competition with the high school division of St. Thomas Seminary, and the diocese counted on it for recruits.

So well off did the diocese seem at this time with its minor seminary that acceptances of college graduates into the diocesan ranks were not encouraged. Prior, let us say to 1930, Holy Cross had given many of its graduates as candidates for the priesthood. Thereafter, preference went to those who had gone through the diocesan seminary. This was true even though from 1910 to 1930, the diocese had been enriched by many Holy Cross alumni -- Leo, Francis and Vincent Finn; William and Michael Kearney; William J. Collins, Patrick Mahoney, Raymond O'Callaghan, Joseph Kinney, John Shea, Frank Sughrue, John Barney, Raymond Mulcahy, Robert Beardsley, Thomas Hayes, Charles L. Hewitt, John J. Delaney, James Travers, to mention the names that occur off-hand.

In understanding the delay in a response from 1934 to 1941, the untypical views of this diocese on secondary schools for boys has to be grasped. This form of Catholic education had not caught on there under Bishop Michael Tierney (1894-1908) or Bishop John J. Nilan (1910-34) as it had in such places as Boston, Brooklyn and Philadelphia. There was no notable influx of German Catholics into this diocese and it was these people and their priests who had encouraged Catholic education elsewhere.

Connecticut Catholic youth had learned to live amicably with their Yankee, if not their northern Ireland neighbors, to go to school with them totally at the primary level, and also

sufficiently at the secondary school level. This writer lived in a Connecticut town of 18,000 which had no parochial grammar school in either of its two parishes until one began in 1922. It took time before the need of any college education came to the minds of Catholics there, even though the town was prosperous due to paper and silk industries and easy access to work for the insurance, firearms, typewriter companies of Hartford. So it can be more easily understood why a request to start a private secondary school for boys in 1934 seemed unusual, unneeded and upsetting. It took seven years to resolve these unusual doubts.

There were occasions between 1934 and 1941 when the initial request could come to the mind of the bishop or be brought to his attention. When Fr. James H. Dolan as Socius searched in the Hartford area for a tertianship location in late 1934, he met the bishop. Immediately the bishop referred to the Summer 1934 request as one still being favorably considered. One of the favorable individuals in this matter in the bishop's curia was, according to Fr. Peter J. Dolin, S. J., a Holy Cross alumnus of 1914, Monsignor William Kearney, for many years assistant chancellor of the Hartford diocese.

In December 1934, when Bishop McAuliffe was approached on the location of the tertianship in Pomfret, Conn., he was reminded of the earlier request. The bishop himself referred to the matter when he blessed St. Robert's Hall in December 1935. So that the request might be kept alive, Fr. Dolan, after he had settled down as provincial after his Roman session, reiterated it in August 1937.

The permission was finally granted orally on September 4, 1941 when Fr. Dolan with Fr. Hewitt visited Bishop McAuliffe. The school, they were told, should be located in the Bridgeport area. There was also the understanding that, after a time, a college would be added to the initial secondary school. All of this was confirmed in writing on September 15, 1941. The bishop, in this written permission, envisaged the later college as a strong center of learning.

The search for property began at once. On September 15, the very day on which the bishop's written permission was dated, Fr. Provincial and Fr. Thomas L. McLaughlin went to Bridgeport to inspect property. Fr. Daniel Mahoney, the superior of Keyser Island, was asked to keep his eye out for locations. On October 28, Fr. Dolan and Fr. Hewitt visited Monsignor Leo Finn, pastor of St. Peter's in Bridgeport, on possible places and local reactions. There appeared one very satisfactory site in Bridgeport, but its early sale precluded its consideration.

Some one (and fathers of desirable locations are legion), had in this search spotted Mailands, the former estate of Oliver Gould Jennings, consisting of some 100 acres, a huge dwelling among other structures. On his return from the October 28 visit, Fr. Dolan was enthusiastic about its prospective purchase. He hoped to close the purchase on a visit on November 30, 1941. It was only on a December 15 visit that he was able to purchase the Jennings estate. The transaction was concluded at five in the afternoon in the office of Mr. Cornwall, the lawyer for the Jennings' family. Fr. Dolan returned to Boston by way of

Hartford and informed Bishop McAuliffe of the purchase.

Within two days, Fr. McLaughlin was in Bridgeport looking into the insurance arrangements on the property. Fr. Mahoney instructed Paul Connery, a South Norwalk lawyer, to arrange an early incorporation of Bellarmine College. Fr. Dolan, Fr. William L. Keleher and Fr. McLaughlin were to be the incorporators. If a resident of Connecticut should be required, Fr. Mahoney was to add his own name. If more incorporators were needed, the names of Edward A. Sullivan and Robert A. Hewitt could be used. In the event that the incorporation should be dissolved, the property would revert first to the Society of Jesus of New England, secondly to the Catholic Bishop of Hartford, and thirdly to the State of Connecticut. This policy followed the one used in the incorporation of St. Robert's Hall.

The mansion on the Jennings property, quickly named McAuliffe Hall, was the work of Oliver Gould Jennings. He had been born in New York City and was educated at Phillips-Exeter, Yale College and Columbia Law School. He had been active in a variety of business endeavors -- Bethlehem Steel, U.S. Industrial Alcohol, Grocery Store Products. From his home in Fairfield he was an active town and state citizen. For many years he was the Chairman of the Fairfield Board of Finance, Director of the Fairfield Bank and Trust Company, of the Fairfield Land and Title company, the Penfield Reef Company, and the Fairfield Historical Society. He also served in the state legislature. In the very early years of the twentieth century, he expended a million dollars in constructing his mansion overlooking the sound, though

a few miles back from it. Wall Street architects and fifty laborers completed the structure in less than a year.

Originally the entrance way to the dwelling had a White House type of two-story porch extending three-fifths of the central portion of the house as it was approached from North Benson Road at the juncture of Osborne Hill Road. Due to rotting conditions, this picturesque facade was taken down about 1920, and a severe unadorned front was all that remained. Some have been unkind enough to imply that the Jesuits tore down the facade, and left or put up a severe jansenistic exterior. But the task had been done a good twenty years before their arrival. As the mansion had somewhat deteriorated prior to 1941 and was then, necessarily, cut up for use as a school, the beauty of its interior was dimmed. It can, however, be glimpsed in pictures taken in its early and grand social days.

Since the interests of Mr. Jennings were broad and variegated, the property had other features than the mansion, its lawns and its driveways. There was a large farm with dairy cattle, Rhode Island chickens, turkeys and horses. It also possessed a vegetable garden, orchards, and a vast greenhouse, only the ruins of which were visible at the time of its purchase in 1941. After Mr. Jennings died in 1937, subsequent death taxes and lack of interest by other Jenningses led to the deterioration in its appointments. Hence, it could be bought by the Society.

Very quickly after the purchase of the Jennings estate on December 15, 1941, there was news of the availability for sale due to a tax default of the adjoining Walter Lasher estate. This

property occupied one half of a large rectangle so divided that the Jennings and Lasher estates were adjoining triangles, though Mr. Jennings had a right of way at the top of Mr. Lasher's property to give him direct access to Round Hill Road. At a province consultants' meeting on December 30, 1941, it was voted three to one not to purchase this adjoining Lasher property at that time. Despite this negative vote, it did not take much time for this estate to be acquired from the town of Fairfield.

The first selectman of Fairfield, a Mr. Ferguson, was very helpful in this purchase. He was viewed as so invidiously useful by some Fairfield residents that an attempt was made to vote him out of this office which he had held for some time. The Hungarian pastor of nearby St. Emery's in Fairfield urged his flock to rally round Mr. Ferguson because he had helped both the Jesuits and the cause of Catholic education. Mr. Ferguson was not defeated. The Society procured this estate from the town.

The Lasher estate was a trifle smaller than the Jennings' one. It had some ninety acres and was crowned by a Norman mansion also overlooking the sound but at a bit lower elevation than the Jennings' mansion. The Lasher house became the faculty residence. It could easily supply switchboard and parlor space, rector's office, a chapel, kitchen, refectory, community rooms and living quarters. Over the years many of these rooms changed their functions.

In the earliest days connecting pathways and roads now running between the prep area and Bellarmine were either not there, or there only in embryo. Paths and finally roads

traversed wooded areas, long since cleared away, from one estate to the other. Walking down North Benson Road to Barlow Road and up past the pond to Bellarmine was a common activity. Nor was there then any fleet of cars such as later characterized the place when roads were pushed through and paved. Darkness encompassed the campus at night and an evening stroll from McAuliffe to Bellarmine and back was fraught with peril both of darkness and animals -- some odorous.

Plans for opening a school in September, 1942, were hurried along. At first there was some doubt whether Fr. John J. McEleney should remain at Shadowbrook as a novice master and rector, or be assigned to inaugurate Fairfield. Whatever doubts existed on some local matters at Shadowbrook were clarified, and Fr. McEleney was assigned to Fairfield although his appointment as rector became official only on July 10, 1942. Initially, when he arrived in mid-March, he found two cold houses, and he was commuting from Keyser Island.

The original announcement of the opening of the preparatory school presumed the acceptance merely of first-year students. However, so great was the enthusiasm for the projected prep, that it was quickly decided to admit students to all four years. By the end of June, 200 hundred students, all having taken entrance examinations, had been accepted. By August, the number had swelled to 300. The school actually opened with 319 and an all Jesuit faculty of nineteen Jesuits. The increase in enrollment and the spreading of students over four years led to the addition of other Jesuits at the mid-term.

The province catalogue for the school year 1942-1943 (ineunte 1943) listed at Fairfield twelve priests, seven scholastics and one brother (Robert J. Clifford). The twelve priests were Fathers McEleney (Rector), Edward J. Whalen (Minister), Leo A. Reilly (Principal), John W. Doherty (Treasurer) and the following priest-teachers: James H. Barry, John L. Barry, Eugene P. Burns, T. Augustine Fay, Bernard J. Finnegan, John J. Kelleher, Walter W. Kennedy and Gerard M. Landrey. The Scholastics included two third-year regents, John J. Donovan and Charles L. Duggan, and five first-year regents, Paul A. FitzGerald, Eliado Garcia, Howard Harris, Edward S. Stanton and Maurice B. Walsh.

Before the year was half over, there had been added Fathers Thomas A. Murphy, Lawrence C. Langguth, and Harold C. Kirley as minister replacing Fr. Whalen. Of all this early faculty, two had extended tenure. Fr. Murphy was still at Fairfield in the province jubilee year, widely acquainted with the old friends of the school and with the priests of the area. Fr. Walter W. Kennedy remained at Fairfield in a variety of capacities until his death on August 24, 1963.

On August 5, 1942, Bishop McAuliffe came to bless the faculty residence, "Bellarmine," as the Lasher mansion was called. During the time after their completion of theology and their next assignment, Fr. McEleney was assisted by Fr. Michael Walsh, a later president of Boston College and Fordham, and by Fr. Michael J. McCarthy, later a local superior at Baghdad College and the superior of the Baghdad College and the superior

of the Baghdad Mission. On September 19, 1942, Bishop McAuliffe blessed the school building and solemnized benediction in its school chapel. A few days earlier, on September 11, a Pontifical Schola Brevis Mass of the Holy Spirit had been offered by Bishop Henry J. O'Brien, then the Auxillary Bishop of Hartford.

There were persistent financial problems in inaugurating the school in its first and later years. Bishop McAuliffe gave a \$10,000 gift and promised aid to the school in an emergency. Groups of friends, attracted to and stimulated by the rector, were helpful. There was the early formation of a Bellarmine Guild divided into a Mothers' and Fathers' Club. Although the first class to be graduated on June 16, 1943 had but eight students, the commencement was presided over by Bishop O'Brien, and Governor Raymond Baldwin gave the commencement address. The practice was then begun of having these exercises, when possible, on the lawn to the rear of Bellarmine with its porch serving as a platform for the notables.

In a short time it was evident, with the increasing enrollment, that new buildings were needed even though only a secondary school was in existence and the college was only in a remote future. The war rationed or severely curtailed the use of needed materials. Hence, such questions as these arose: Should some temporary building be attempted? Should one or even two permanent structures be planned? What should be done about space even before any other building could be on hand?

By the fall of 1943, Fr. McEleney had formulated plans for a million-dollar drive and received explicit permission from Bishop McAuliffe for its implications. Later, however, the bishop wrote restricting the area of the drive to Fairfield County. This was disappointing news since it cut off New Haven County from which many early prep students came and made the goal of a million dollars more precarious.

With the aid of an architect, Mr. Oliver Regan, possibilities were explored of adapting structures on the grounds such as the garage and greenhouse, and incorporating them into a temporary building. The \$50,000 to \$60,000 expenses of such a conversion was judged too expensive for temporary space, and any plan along these lines was abandoned. Thoughts turned to leasing a building in the town. Finally, the architect was authorized to draw up a plan for a freshman-sophomore building, later to be matched by one for juniors and seniors. On June 26, 1944, these first plans were given out for bids with an estimated cost of \$300,000.

The next and insuperable hurdle was not planning or money but clearance of material by the War Production Board. Plans and specifications were submitted to the local board, which after a long delay and initial favorable comments rejected the application. In its reply, the board chairman, a Mr. French, asserted that there was plenty of room in the Fairfield and Bridgeport public schools. Hence, it was implied that there was no urgent need for material for a private school.

Senator Francis Maloney prevailed on the board to reconsider its decision. A second petition was submitted on July 31, 1944 with the strong backing of this U. S. senator from Connecticut. Since the appeal was to go to the Washington office of the War Production Board through its Boston regional office, assistance came not only from Senator Maloney, but also from Congressman John W. McCormick, Bishop O'Brien and the boards of education in Fairfield and Bridgeport. Phone calls to assist the grant came from Mrs. Claire Booth Luce and others. But this request, even on appeal and with strong political, civic and religious backing, did not succeed.

So the school opened for its third year in September, 1944 with 512 students crowded into McAuliffe. The faculty had increased to thirty-two. December of that year was to see changes in province and diocesan personnel. On December 15, Bishop McAuliffe, long a victim of Parkinson's disease, died. One week earlier, Fr. McEleney had replaced Fr. Dolan as provincial and, on December 18, Fr. Dolan became the second rector of Fairfield. In the following spring, Bishop O'Brien became the Bishop of Hartford after five years as auxiliary. With a new cast, there came new approaches.

The current and future crowded conditions at the prep demanded some new facilities other than any new structure stymied, while the war went on, by the War Production Board. The "Chimneys," a property in Fairfield in the hands of a bank, seemed a temporary solution. This property was so rapidly bought up that it seemed to be as a way to prevent its purchase by

Fairfield for its prep students. On January 31, 1945, Fr. Dolan wrote of his favorable visit to a Morgan estate at 300 Park Place in Bridgeport and noted its acceptability. On April 13, a contract of sale was signed and the purchase was completed by May 10, 1945. It could accommodate 175 students as well as seven Jesuits who in a small community would have their own chapel and office-reception room as well as private rooms. The building was given the common but undistinctive name of Loyola Hall. On September 3, 1945, in a private ceremony, the house and grounds were blessed, and an open house for parents and friends took place the next day. Thus, the fourth year of the prep opened with added, if temporary, accommodations.

To prepare for the day when a college would be added as had been understood from the beginning by Bishop McAuliffe and as was conformable to the view of Bishop O'Brien, Fr. Dolan arranged for a master plan of buildings and their locations and functions. A sketch of a campus of forty-two buildings was drawn up by Mr. Oliver Regan. This master plan of the university that never was, as someone has written, had to be modified severely. But it was chiefly designed not as an exact blueprint of a future campus, but to be useful as a visual aid in presenting definite aspirations to public officials, foundation officers, and the general public. The plan was geared to show the permanence of the Fairfield dream and the variety of activities it could bring forth in time.

To give legal permanence to the institution, petition for a university charter was made to the state legislature. The original charter was not of university stature but a temporary permit for a preparatory school from the Board of Education (it later required an indefinite permit). This new petition was carefully drawn up by E. Gaynor Brennan of Stamford, Connecticut. Bishop O'Brien wrote a laudatory accompanying letter.

On April 26, 1945, the Bridgeport Post carried notice of the approval of the charter by the state senate on the previous day. After the bill had passed in the lower house and was ready for the governor's signature, a snag arose. A member of the State Board of Education pointed out that, prior to any legislative action, a charter of this character should first have been approved by the state board. While this technicality was a source of disappointment to Fr. Dolan, he wished that definitive legislative action be postponed until this board approval had been granted.

The state board had no objections, and their approval was conveyed to Fr. Dolan in a personal interview with Governor Baldwin. Thus, by waiting for this formality, there could be no cloud on the university title. On May 29, 1945 the university charter, engrossed and officially sealed, was signed by the governor. There had been a delay of but one month and three days. Thus was established the Fairfield University of Saint Robert Bellarmine, Inc., with the right and power to teach studies and disciplines commonly taught in secondary schools, colleges and universities, and to confer the degrees granted by

colleges and universities in the United States.

As the final stages on the charter were being completed, a new petition was being readied for presentation to the War Production Board. The layout and the specifications for this building -- the future Berchmans along North Benson Road -- were the work of Mr. Regan. Matters moved slowly and not always favorably. On August 9, 1944 Fr. Dolan appeared before the War Production Board in Washington. This board, after a careful examination, granted approval although an adverse report had been submitted by the local board. It was at this stage in the work for Berchmans Hall that supervision passed to J. Gerald Phelan, an architect and partner in Fletcher and Thompson, Engineers of Bridgeport. This began a long architectural connection between Mr. Phelan and Fairfield as well as with the New England Province.

Financial arrangements had been inaugurated to facilitate the first building, Berchmans, for which the breaking of ground took place on June 6, 1947. Approval for this first building was granted on July 10, 1945 but a request for a province loan of \$100,000 was refused. Later that same month, Fr. Zacheus Maher, American Assistant, opposed borrowing \$400,000 for the building and urged a drive for funds. However, Fr. Vicar Norbert De Boynes, by letter on November 9, 1945 did allow Fairfield to contract a debt as requested. It was concerning this permission that Fr. Dolan inquired, a year later, whether he could also use an additional \$75,000 since he had this money on hand. A special request took up this matter.

If search for funds for a building on the campus for the expanding prep was not enough of a burden, Fr. Dolan, in February, 1947, announced at a Fathers' and Sons' Dinner that a freshman class would be admitted to a newly inaugurated college in September 1947. This meant the need of more space and more money. The prep students organized themselves to raise money and in two months raised \$25,000. One year earlier an anonymous benefactress, hitherto unknown to any Jesuits at Fairfield, had given \$30,000. Then in the spring of 1947 a larger scale building drive was inaugurated under the leadership of Colonel Alphonsus J. Donahue of Stamford. It was able to raise \$800,000.

The possibility of added funds and the need for campus space for two institutions led to the request for a second building -- the future Xavier -- even before Berchmans was near being finished. Money for a second building appeared on hand and would require no further borrowing. It was also soon settled that the top floor of the new Xavier would have accommodations for several Jesuits, thus aiding in the current overcrowding of an expanded faculty. It was then believed that these living quarters would be temporary, but they still exist. For this second building ground was broken on August 22, 1947.

A somewhat minor but valuable expansion in land had been affected on April 4, 1946 when the Morehouse property, at the juncture of North Benson and Barlow Road, was acquired. This plot of land rounded off the property of the university and precluded any alien or undesirable element in one of its natural corners. The university paid \$28,500 for this land and its

dwelling. The Fathers' Club, under the leadership of Mr. William Hope, paid the additional fund to meet their sellers' demand for a total of \$30,000.

While Berchmans was being completed and Xavier being begun, this narrative might pause to consider Bellarmine, the main faculty residence which was supplemented by some Jesuits dwelling in McAuliffe. There were many changes in locations of functions in Bellarmine even though the kitchen, scullery and refectory remained constant. At one time the community chapel was in the "Chinese Room," once Mrs. Lasher's sewing room. The adjoining so-called "bird cage" then served as a sacristy and contained a private altar.

As the community grew, a fair-sized room on the first floor, not originally allocated to any special purpose, was fitted out for the community chapel. The flagstone foyer outside of this room was its sacristy and contained a series of side altars. Mass was first said on February 2, 1946, in this new main chapel whose altar was designed, as were so many others in the province, by Mr. Richard Dick of Worcester. This newer chapel could accommodate sixty people. It served its function until pews were no longer in vogue, and until people circled around an altar facing them.

At roughly the same time, the foyer chapels were moved. Masses which could be said privately or communally at a variety of hours no longer required the number of private altars chiefly, if not exclusively, used between 5:30 to 8:00 A.M.

While Fairfield was still only a prep school, and a distinguished one with its eclat not yet overshadowed by the university, work on an athletic field began. With much truth the main field could be referred to as the "Loeffler Field" since so much personal labor and leadership of Fr. James D. Loeffler led to its creation. The province loaned \$25,000 for the project, but most of the labor was volunteered by faculty, students and friends. This original athletic field served a special cultural opportunity.

The Bridgeport Symphony Committee, motivated by the appearance and growing reputation of the Fairfield campus life, requested permission to erect a stage and to present a series of six symphony concerts during July and August. While they lasted, these concerts drew large audiences of the New York City musical and artistic world, as well as the residents of Fairfield and adjoining Connecticut counties. These summer concerts made the Fairfield campus a parallel cultural center to the nearby Shakespearean Theatre in Stratford which adjoined Bridgeport on the east as Fairfield did on its west. These concerts brought Fairfield no remuneration, but gave it a cultural ambiance.

The year 1947 was a critical one, as has been seen, for Fairfield. In January, ground had been broken for Berchmans which could be ready to be occupied in September. In August, ground was broken for Xavier. All of this might have been a Godsend for the prep. But, with the announcement that the college was to begin in September 1947, this meant that the initial early space on the campus was to go to the college. Well

prior to its opening, Fr. Lawrence C. Langguth of the prep physics department was announced as Dean of the College. Since, by that time curricula with and without the classics were well established in the province, the preparation of such topics was relatively simple.

The college opened in Berchmans with an enrollment of 301 students. Many could commute from the Bridgeport-Fairfield-Stratford area as well as from the valley towns up the Housatonic to Waterbury. Others could be provided with living quarters in neighboring and approved homes. Time was quickly to show the need of campus boarding facilities.

The original college faculty was comprised of nine Jesuits and four lay associates. Of these lay associates two have long been connected with the university: Mr. Chester Stuart who has taught German and education, and Mr. Carmine Donnamura of the history department.

Fr. Langguth's tenure as Dean lasted from 1947 to 1954 with the exception of the year 1949-50 when he assisted Fr. William E. FitzGerald, S. J., who was dean and, for some months, acting rector prior to his appointment as provincial in October, 1950. From 1954 to 1956, Fr. Langguth, as administrative assistant to Fr. Joseph D. FitzGerald, was responsible for the construction of Loyola Hall which opened in September 1955. In 1957 he began to supervise buildings at Shadowbrook, where he was rector from 1958 to 1964. Then, while living in the provincial residence at 297 Commonwealth from 1964 to 1968, he supervised renovation at Round Hills, at LaFarge

House, and at Bishop Connolly High School. With the inauguration of a physics course at Connolly in 1968, he was assigned there for that work as he had been to Fairfield in February 1943. He has since seen one of his supervised projects (Shadowbrook) be essentially abandoned and sold, and another (Round Hills) sold though it afforded the first province villa with a real beach.

Jesuit teachers with long tenure from the start of Fairfield were Fathers John P. Murray and James A. Walsh. Both had taught in the prep prior to the opening of the college, Fr. Walsh for two years and Fr. Murray for one. In 1976, the jubilee year of the province, Fr. Murray as much known as moderator of the musical clubs as for his work in mathematics, died after a lengthy bout with cancer. Fr. Walsh, combined for many years instruction in French and freshman theology, as well as theology in the nursing department. He was active in diocesan ecumenical work until his death on April 20, 1977. The present Fr. Vincent Leeber began as a regent to teach Spanish in the college. After the conclusion of his regular and graduate studies, he returned to Fairfield's modern language department. Other Jesuits on the original staff of the college had lesser tenures.

In the second year of the university there arrived more Jesuits who had long tenure there. Fr. Francis A. Small joined the history department with which he was associated until the extended work as librarian consumed all energy. As a part-time student, he had acquired a library-science degree from Columbia. He died in January, 1974. Two science chairmen arrived in 1948.

Fr. Frank Wilkie was connected with the biology department until his death on March 8, 1948. Fr. Gerald F. Hutchinson came from Cheverus to the chemistry department and was a link between the early department and later, all but 30 years. Fr. Harry L. Huss became treasurer in 1947 and, until illness crippled him, was still active in that financial department. After a lingering illness, he died on February 25, 1976.

It has been pointed out that Jesuits assigned quite directly to Fairfield from Society or special studies have tended to remain there more contentedly than those who earlier had been assigned closer to the chief cities of Massachusetts. To this later group Fairfield was remote, but much less so to those who had not experienced assignments elsewhere. Even Fr. James E. FitzGerald found it hard, after so many years at Holy Cross as teacher and dean, to realize that Kimball was not the universal name for a students' refectory.

The university which began in Berchmans in 1947, spread to Xavier in 1948, thus necessitating the continued use of Park Place in Bridgeport by the prep school. Plans for a summer school in 1948 were rejected, but by 1949 the Fairfield summer session was operative. Permission had been granted on December 28, 1968. This gave rise to a topic of coeducation either in a graduate program or in undergraduate courses independent of the day-time college of arts and sciences. After a delay and after Fr. General had a feasibility study made by Fr. Edward B. Rooney, Executive Secretary of the National Jesuit Education Association, and by Fr. Arthur J. Sheehan, New England Province Prefect of

Studies, authorization was given on December 12, 1949 for a coeducational graduate program in education.

Through such a program it was believed that Catholic graduates of state teachers' colleges could be exposed to a Catholic philosophy of education. It must be said that the efforts of the Jewish convert, Dr. Maurice E. Rogalin, and of Thomas J. Quirk, Principal of the Hartford Public High School, were cardinal aids in this matter. They were also men long and well-versed in secondary education. This graduate program began at the mid-term of 1950. Since it used classroom in late afternoons and on Saturday mornings, it required no added classrooms.

This concludes the early days at Fairfield. The prep had flourished but by the late 1940's was becoming somewhat of a stepchild to the college and its graduate department of education. It was confined to the McAuliffe and Park Place and, finally, was given the use of Xavier. The college, for a time confined, was housed in Berchmans. By 1955 it also had Loyola Hall as a dormitory and, by 1960, another dormitory along with Cansius as a classroom and library building. The formative days were then over.

Chapter VIII

BOSTON COLLEGE HIGH SCHOOL --

FROM JAMES STREET TO MORRISSEY BOULEVARD (1943-1957)

On September 9, 1943, is dated the first extant letter concerning a serious move of Boston College High School from James Street in the South End to some new location. Such a location, the letter of Fr. Robert A. Hewitt said, should preferably be close to the rapid transit system, and more south than north of the center of Boston.

The need of a new school was evident from the registration statistics. In 1943 the total registration of the high school was 1170, of whom 476 were first-year students. Even with that number of first-year students, constituting forty percent of the student body, there had been a turning away of satisfactory candidates. The old school building was bulging with this number of 1170, and the faculty quarters at 761 Harrison Avenue and its adjoining space on East Newton Street were crowded.

Fr. Robert A. Hewitt, who had been rector since the previous February 16, also raised the question in his September 9 letter to Fr. Provincial, James H. Dolan, as to whether a drive for a new school structure should be considered. The prosperity of wartime wages appeared to give grounds for hope. Yet it was believed that William Cardinal O'Connell of Boston was not sanguine about a wartime drive for a new school building. Whatever answer Fr. Hewitt received is not known. The topic

appears to have been dormant for another year which brought, after the death on April 22, 1944, of Cardinal O'Connell, the appearance on the scene of Richard J. Cushing first as administrator of the archdiocese from April to September and his promotion to archbishop on September 25, 1944.

On September 8, 1944 Fr. Hewitt again raised with Fr. Provincial the question of new construction. That year the registration had gone up 233 to a total of 1403 students. First year had 596; second year 386; third year, 238; and fourth year, 183.

In that school year, 1944-45, to relieve the overcrowding at James Street and to assist Boston College with its war-depleted classrooms, the senior class of B. C. High was meeting on the B. C. campus, and some fourth year teachers were in residence at St. Mary's Hall. Fr. Joseph A. McGrady was in charge of studies and taught fourth year. Fr. Joseph A. Murphy and Fr. James L. Foley were also fourth-year class teachers. Fr. Paul J. McManus and Fr. Thomas B. Feeney of the collegiate staff instructed in German and French respectively, as did Fr. Sidney J. Smith in mathematics. Two regents -- Charles M. Crowley and William G. Guindon -- assisted in the high school physics classes.

In his September 1944 letter to Fr. J. H. Dolan, Fr. Hewitt stressed the age of the South End school buildings, and the lack of presently required exits from classrooms. It appeared sensible to acquire some land, draw up a sketch of a proposed building and hope that these facts of land and a model

would attract funds without the fanfare of a drive.

Three locations, at least, had come to Fr. Hewitt's attention. One was in Allston near the Coca Cola plant; a second was on River Street in Mattapan. His letter stressed a third site near Columbia Station having 750,000 square feet of land with a frontage of 1400 feet on the then Old Colony Boulevard. It was also close to a city playground and a stadium. This property was assessed at \$83,000.

While it was realized that the situation of the Immaculate Conception Church and residence would be affected by a school move, it was clear that the school faculty would have to reside in the Immaculate rectory for some time while commuting to the new school. Their services would still be available to the church. With time some use would be devised for the large rectory and the ultimately abandoned classroom structure. Although at this very time a reduction of the province tax by twenty-five percent gave extra hopes to Fr. Hewitt for the proposed project, there is no explicit answer extant to this letter.

On May 17, 1945 Fr. Hewitt relayed an account of a recent visit of his, along with Fr. D. Augustine Keane, principal of the high school, to Archbishop Cushing. The new archbishop cautioned against a formal drive but urged the quiet collection of money for a building fund. To the fund he pledged \$50,000 and anticipated obtaining a gift of \$200,000 in time. In the meantime, he favored the purchase and use of the Girl's High School Annex at 620 Massachusetts Avenue between Washington

Street and Shawmut Avenue to accommodate added students. This was the original site of the Academy of the Sacred Heart, prior to its move to Commonwealth Avenue and later to Newton. The cost of this property would be minimal. When its use had ceased, it could easily be sold. However, both he and many Jesuits at this time favored building on the South End site.

Things, it seems, moved along slowly in the hope of a consensus on a site. There was a reluctance to leave the South End for Dorchester or any place. There were suggestions for demolition of buildings on E. Newton Street, between Harrison and James, and the construction of a school there. By November 5, 1947, two years after the meeting with Archbishop Cushing and his \$50,000 pledge, the house consultants (Frs. Arthur McCarthy, William H. Cusick, D. Augustine Keane and Louis R. Logue) had come to favor a location out of the South End. Now there was a genuine interest in acquiring some of the Calf Pasture Land on Old Colony Road (later Morrissey Boulevard) and near Columbia Station.

A realtor, John C. Kiley, was hired to buy ten acres of that land. At the time, all of the land made up of numerous parcels was under option until March 31, 1948, to a group of speculators allied with political figures. Prices on these parcels ranged from thirty-five cents a square foot on some portions down to eleven cents on others. When Mr. Kiley met with this group to have them sell some of the land for a new Boston College High School, they objected. Since they planned to use part of the land for a large restaurant with a liquor license and

more of it for a midget auto track, they did not want an abutter who might object to these other uses. As a matter of fact, Fr. Hewitt, at the request of the Archbishop, did object to the race-track plan, and Mayor James Michael Curley of Boston vetoed the proposal on December 29, 1947.

Permission to borrow \$100,000 for the land purchase was requested by Fr. Hewitt, and by January 18, 1944 he learned he had such authorization from Fr. General. Fr. Provincial wished assurance that the purchased land, being filled-in land, would be able to support buildings erected on it. As the time approached when the land could be purchased, it became evident that the price would amount to \$234,000. The province consultants, on April 16, 1948, approved of the purchase. It was bought during April and May, 1948. The most northerly portion of 1,743,835 square feet was purchased on April 21, 1948, from Mary E. Day and Walter Meadows, and the Williard Welch and Company, Inc., for \$199,345. A further portion of some land, but mostly flats, was purchased from E.B. Badger and Sons Co., on May 24, for \$39,668.

Fr. Hewitt realizing, that he would hardly be rector when the building was under construction, urged, on July 13, 1948, that a new rector be appointed soon when plans would be proposed to Maginnis and Walsh as architects. The province consultants having some other assignment (Cheverus, it will be seen) in mind for Fr. Hewitt, obliged by considering a large list of possible rectors on July 14. It was, however, only on September 14 that a terna was determined with Fr. James J. Kelley, Dean of the Boston College School of Business

Administration, as first choice. His name was approved.

By October 18 Fr. Hewitt was trying to convince Fr. Kelley to take over the position quickly. While it appeared that Fr. Kelley might defer the appointment until December 8, 1948, or even to January 1, 1949 (because of office business and time for a retreat), Fr. Hewitt's view of an earlier date prevailed and the change occurred on November 1, 1948. During his final days in office in October, Fr. Hewitt indicated to Fr. Provincial the desire of the archbishop that something be started by spring to show that serious business was meant.

On January 13, 1949 a request went to Fr. General to borrow \$500,000 for the planned classroom building, the possibility of which he had been apprised toward the end of December 1948. By February 20, 1949, Rome had approved the plans. By the end of that year, on December 22, 1949, a new loan of \$150,000 was approved. By the following summer, while Fr. James H. Dolan was acting provincial, Fr. Kelley requested permission to borrow another \$200,000 for sewerage, grading and equipment. The province consultors approved in the course of a two-day meeting on July 20-21.

Shortly before he left his temporary office as acting provincial in October 1950, Fr. Dolan announced the General's approbation of the third loan. The permission, however, carried the proviso that \$30,250, due for back province taxes, was to be paid out of this loan. In the previous July of 1950, Fr. Kelley had forwarded \$10,000 toward province taxes. The additional \$32,500 would complete payment on a sum needed in view of the

serious needs of the province. In all, the borrowings for the first unit came to \$950,000.

The first school building on Morrissey Boulevard (McElroy) was essentially ready for occupancy for the opening of school in September, 1952. Juniors and seniors moved in. Now came an unexpected gift to make possible a second classroom structure to house the first and second year students who were still at James Street. Archbishop Cushing announced that he would give \$500,000 toward a second building. Fr. General, in approving the gift, urged that the cost be kept to the amount of the donation. When plans were ready, the cost was estimated at \$711,216. It was, therefore, necessary to make an additional borrowing though not immediately and all at once, but only as the necessity for payments arose. This need for more money led to statements on the financial situation of the high school.

As of July 1, 1953 there was a remaining mortgage on the first building of \$435,000. This mortgage had been obtained at three percent for ten years on a sum of \$550,000. (The authorization to borrow had been higher since it was \$750,000.) In another year, July 1, 1953, it was estimated that the debt would have been reduced to \$375,000.

As to expected income, \$20,000 could come annually from church and school. The building fund was expected to bring in \$10,000 annually. A contract with the Edison Company concerning fill could also bring \$10,000. The current tuition of \$180.00 plus \$15.00 in fees was to be raised to a flat sum of \$225.00 to help out.

When the General was asked to authorize another loan of \$250,000, he counterproposed that the school use the money which had been authorized in the earlier loans, some amount of which had not been used. There was some problem as to whether this sum was \$200,000 or only \$175,000. This matter was cleared up when in May, 1954, request was made for an added loan of \$125,000 beyond the unspent \$175,000.

But all these borrowings show how costly it is to build a new high school even with a large princely gift of \$500,000 plus an original \$50,000 gift from Archbishop Cushing. At this stage there was some talk of a parish on the school property, but instead St. Christopher's was established as an archdiocesan parish in the nearby and often troublesome housing project at Columbia Point.

Once again the Archbishop offered another large sum -- one million dollars -- to erect on the property a faculty residence. This was in June, 1954, as the second school building named after him was being completed. This offer, since it carried the possibility of costs beyond a million dollars, led to another detailed study of finances. It was estimated that the school could bear a debt of \$700,000. This took for granted that an annual province tax of \$50,000 could be met as well as in payment of \$50,000 annually on the debt plus \$21,000 in interest payments.

At this stage rather than have the school borrow money from a bank, the province loaned at interest the sum of \$130,000. Attached was the proviso that current and back province taxes be

paid promptly and preferentially. Dated August 4, 1954, is a note of Fr. James J. Kelley expressing thanks for the loan which had been concluded while he was absent. It had been signed by Fr. William H. Cusick for the High School and by Fr. Thomas L. McLaughlin for the N.E. Province.

When, in the fall of 1956, the million dollar gift of the archbishop had been exhausted, the topic of a loan on this building arose. In early January 1957, the possibility of a loan of \$400,000 from the Newton-Waltham Bank was proposed. This, it then was stated, could be had for four percent due to an arrangement whereby Mr. John Drummey, of the archdiocesan business office, would keep \$300,000 of archdiocesan funds in a checking account which the bank would be free to use. It was from this bank that, in 1951, the mortgage of \$525,000 had been made, and that mortgage was then reduced to \$270,000.

Now the bank wished to make one mortgage for the amount of \$670,000 to be redeemable at \$50,000 a year plus the interest charge. In these early negotiations, the interest rate was set at four percent. Actually, when the mortgage arrangement was finalized, the sum was three and a half percent. Yet when the request for the loan was forwarded to the provincial on May 1, 1957, for authorization, the sum was indicated as \$550,000 and the rate was three and a half percent. The province consultants on June 16, 1957 gave approval.

The beneplacitum was forwarded to Rome and, on June 28, 1957, Fr. James E. Coleran, the provincial, learned that the Sacred Congregation of Religious had approved. In conjunction

with this added debt, a tuition raise up from \$225 was proposed. Suggested totals varied from the current \$225 (no raise) up to \$350. Fr. Francis J. Gilday, the rector from April, 1956, proposed \$280 since he estimated the cost of educating each student at \$276. If something were to come from the school and its Jesuit faculty besides four dollars of possible profit on each student, the Jesuit faculty would have to contribute as much as possible from the perquisites its members obtained from assisting in parishes, and in gifts received.

Perhaps this is an appropriate place to state that it was to this one school corporation that accrued not only the slight tuition profit, but all the sums which came from personal gifts and bequests, summer retreats, novenas, weekend and month-long parish service. If it were not for such sums, which required the labors of the Jesuit faculty, a school such as Boston College High School would never have made its progress.

As the faculty building was being constructed, there arose the topic of how and under what conditions the school and church personnel, finances and canonical position were to be arranged. Before leaving office in August 1956, Fr. William E. FitzGerald had indicated that someone at the two communities would need to be dependent on the other.

Fr. General, at this stage, had indicated his inclination to favor two separate communities. In that situation, an ecclesiastical problem would arise since there was at present but one ecclesiastical foundation. Boston College High School in the general's view would appear to be the one to

retain the official authorization as a religious community. Hence, a new apostolic indult would be required for the church community. Fr. General also believed that, at least for ten years the church should give an annual subsidy to the school, and that school men would be available for church service. After ten years, a new agreement should be drawn up and submitted for his approval.

Just before Fr. Francis J. Gilday, rector of the entire complex, had been informed of Fr. General's view, he had made a different proposal. In view of the overrun in costs of \$380,000 on the residence beyond the million dollar gift, he recommended that the school and church continue to form but one religious community with the filial dependence of the church on the school. Church funds, in this view as in that of Fr. General's, were necessary to manage the debt on the new residence. Yet Fr. General, in commenting on Fr. Coleran's report on his 1957 visitation, indicated his continued favor for two separate communities.

Other matters also arose concerning how the old structures were to be used for housing and activities. A minor problem concerned the number of parish fathers to remain at the Immaculate.

The mission band appeared -- needlessly, it seems -- to have been an object of considerable concern. Twelve members were listed in the catalogues of 1956-57 (in uente anno 1957). Would its members reside together on one floor, or be scattered throughout the three floors of the residence? Some special

arrangements on charges, settled in advance, should be made. Possible uses for the classrooms were proposed. There might be a seventh and eighth grade school, and even a ninth in the event that the new buildings could not accommodate all satisfactory applicants.

To Fr. Coleran's suggestion that there be a Labor School, Fr. Gilday responded favorably, and proposed additionally a Woman's Labor School. One point seemed very important. The church must have its own treasurer.

Finally, as to the numbers of living rooms available, there were forty-five. Of these, twelve were on the second floor, fifteen on the third and eighteen on the fourth. The hospital chaplains preferred rooms facing Harrison Avenue on the third or fourth floors.

The status assignments for the 1957-58 years, gave some idea how these matters were settled in practice. There was but one religious community with one rector -- Fr. Gilday -- giving his attention both at Harrison Avenue and Morrissey Boulevard. If it were not clear before, Fr. Gilday began to be known and appreciated as a beneficent Napoleon who could do many things well, and outstrip others in energy and generosity and understanding.

In charge at Harrison Avenue was a minister, first Fr. Edmond J. Wolff (1957-59) and later (1959-62) Fr. Edward J. Whalen. There were six parish fathers (Thomas A. Brennan, George E. Hanlon, Louis R. Logue, John W. Lynch who was also subminister, Vincent de Paul O'Brien, and Timothy J. Phelan).

Two priests in residence represented the Shadowbrook Fund (Michael G. Pierce, Vincent P. Kelliher). There were four hospital chaplains (Laurence M. Brock, Jeremiah J. Hennessey, James D. McLaughlin, Thomas E. O'Lalor) and four fathers responsible for the Sacred Heart programs (Matthew Hale, Thomas B. Feeney, Joseph L. Murray, Francis L. Ryan). After all the preliminary discussion about the mission band, there were but two members in residence (Fr. John P. Flanagan, its director, and Fr. James J. Lyons). As regional director of sodality work, Fr. Edward S. Stanton resided at 761. Three coadjutor brothers (Maurice V. Ahern, Emil F. Fournier, Michael J. Walsh) plus a long-time lay associate (Frank O. Hayes) saw that things moved smoothly and expeditiously.

At the school community were forty-seven fathers, sixteen regents and two coadjutor brothers. One of these, Brother Joseph Erhard, then seventy-four, had long been the artistic sacristan of the Immaculate Conception Church. In the late winter of 1958, Fr. Coleran, at his vistration, planned a conference between Fr. Thomas L. McLaughlin, Treasurer of the New England Province, and the two representatives of the physically separated communities (Fr. Wolff and Fr. William H. Cusick). The results are not known. However, it is known that, in that particular year, the annual average receipts from five to seven thousand dollars in legacies were down to \$1,800.

There had been earlier a sale of property which brought some revenue at a time before the two communities were physically separated. When the first building -- McElroy -- was ready at

Morrissey Boulevard, the pupils of the first two years could use the James Street facilities. Hence the temporary use of the Massachusetts Avenue property at numbers 616, 618 and 620 plus their backyard was no longer necessary. Its value, chiefly in land, was estimated by the realtor John Kiley as ranging from \$20,000 to \$25,000. In April, 1955 a permit to alienate this property for \$15,000 was granted by the Sacred Congregation of Religious and approved by Fr. General. There was money realized by the sale. Since there was then no form of separate communities, such money went to the general funds.

In 1962, when Fr. Gilday at the end of his term as rector of church and school, came to the Immaculate Conception Church and residence, he became superior there. Even at this time, there was no new ecclesiastical arrangement or a separate incorporation for the Harrison Avenue establishment. By a decree signed on February 27, 1962, by Fr. Joseph L. Swain, Vicar-General of the Society, the Immaculate became, with its own superior, a community with filial dependence on Boston College High School. This arrangement had been regulated by Fr. Coleran on February 17, 1962. While this arrangement has permitted those in charge at 761 Harrison Avenue to raise revenue or good will on the James Street property, and to keep up the property in a continued satisfactory condition, and to house a myriad of workers in disparate activities and to be influential in urban affairs, it did leave some loose ends on financial relations with the high school. This must be taken up in a later chapter.

A time finally came in the summer of 1957 when the school faculty could move to the new residence. The front area of the residence had been surfaced by the White Prothers who offered the work as a gift. Their company also supplied the curbing as a gift. Fr. Gilday preferred to pay for the surfacing, but accepted the curbing as a gift.

The foot-bridge overpass across Morrissey Boulevard was progressing, but not quite ready. When completed, it was named for Fr. James L. McGovern, the long-term and colorful prefect of studies at the High School (1920-36). The faculty house had been built to accommodate seventy-five residents. The preliminary plans had been reviewed by Fr. James H. Dolan, province counsellor on construction. He urged the inclusion of a garage, a more suitable basement location for library facilities, and less crowding in the rectory. From a proposed seating capacity of 108, he believed that an arrangement for ninety-eight would be a more humane one.

In addition to its living rooms, the residence had standard facilities of a Jesuit residence of those days. There was a main chapel in a separate wing extending out toward the boulevard. This chapel had its own sacristy arrangements, as well as compartmentalized side altars. An adjoining and spacious sacristy, conveniently entered from the house, as well as from the main chapel, served for these side altars. Other chapels were located strategically throughout the upper floors.

On the first floor facing the back of the building was a recreation room -- now for all groups -- with a convenient lobby of its own with generous bulletin board space, cloakroom and toilet. The recreation room has library shelving for both reference and contemporary books as well as a magazine nook. Adjoining this recreation room is a common television room. Beyond it is the refectory in which Fr. Dolan strove to keep commodious elbow room. The refectory is connected with the kitchen, and also has a coffee and snack room. As one enters the building from the side nearer to McElroy, there is a porter's lodge, mailbox arrangement, and a quasi-parlor waiting space. To the left and up a few steps is a corridor devoted to parlors, and offices for president and treasurer. An outside door allows easy access from the grounds to reach the treasurer's office. Just inside the main lobby is an elevator leading to rooms on the second and third floor.

Fr. Gilday had reasons for delaying the moving into the new residence until as late as August 12, 1957. In his lengthy letter in which he had discussed rooms available at Harrison Avenue, he had indicated that the furniture of the new residence was but ninety-five percent complete. There were also details to be cleared up on the sacristy, laundry and kitchen. Kitchen drainage problems would not be cleared up until early August. Prior to the general moving in, a shakedown period with but a few in residence was needed. When all these matters had been cared for, moving began with eagerness on the part of many, and wondering fears on the part of others. Commuting on school days

could end. With time, dangers from assault and thievery could parallel if not duplicate what might be experienced in the South End.

To allow others to see the new residence, two open-house occasions were scheduled. Jesuits were invited from 11:00 A. M. to 1:00 P. M. with lunch on September 4. Sunday, September 29, was set aside for an open house for relatives and friends. For this occasion there was some partial removal of cloister from the first floor arrangement. Thus, at last in 1957, the hopes of Fr. Hewitt, expressed in 1943, had come to considerable fruition.

One problem arose in 1955 and was still unsettled during the time of this narrative. In 1955 the Metropolitan District Commission had taken by eminent domain 50,000 square feet of land to widen Morrissey Boulevard. The problem of adequate recompense arose during the rectorship of Fr. James J. Kelley and was still unsolved when Fr. Frank Gilday became rector on April 9, 1956. Fr. Kelley was convinced that the sum of twenty-three cents a square foot was very inadequate. He held out for one dollar a square foot. Fr. Gilday was able to arrange some matters with Mr. Charles W. Greencough, the commissioner, such as the final determination of a location for the overpass.

Yet, the commissioner and two of his four colleagues on the commission held firmly to the lower sum for compensation. The first break in the impasse appeared to come when Mr. Louis F. Musco, a Boston College graduate and friend, was appointed (April 10, 1958) to the commission. Now there might have been a

three-to-two vote in favor of the view of the High School administration. However, at this juncture a new proposal was proposed by lawyer friends of the school. Instead of accepting even a better financial return, compensation was to be sought in the form of some adjoining land.

There was also an added complication. Directly below the land adjoining the school property which was sought as compensation, was a tract of land totally without continuing value to the M. D. C. but rounding off well the B. C. H. property. This second portion of land might be bought or even given as a gift. While this new possibility was still under consideration, John E. Powers, the state senator of the area in which the high school was located, proposed that he work through the state legislature to grant the tracts in question in part as compensations and in part as a gift. As a result, the requested land was decided on February 10, 1960 from the state to the high school.

It might be of concluding interest to note the statistics on attendance and tuition charges over these years from Fr. Hewitt's first serious raising of the issue of a new location for the school in 1943 down through the year of the opening of the faculty residence in 1957. In 1943 the registration according to the annual survey in the Jesuit Educational Quarterly, was 1170, an increase of 198 over the previous year. In the year of the opening of the faculty residence the enrollment was 1368. The highest enrollment was in 1947-48 when the registration was 1585.

During those years from 1947 to 1967, there had become available and better known a series of Catholic secondary schools, some limited to boys, others open to boys and girls. No longer was an extended journey to Boston College High School necessary from such places as Brockton, Lowell, Marlboro and Framingham to acquire a Catholic education. This difference is illustrated by a scholarship for boys nominated by the superior of the parochial school of the Immaculate Conception Parish in Marlboro. Once students commuted from there as they still did to Boston College. But after 1948 there were no more scholarships students from Marlboro enrolled at B. C. High. Other Catholic schools were closer to Marlboro. Jesuit education could then be had at Xavier in Concord which opened in 1962. The increase in tuition from 1943 to 1957 too, could be a factor even though all costs of living had increased in the meantime.

Curriculum changes by 1957-58 were relatively slight even if more courses might be available to those interested in science. That very autumn of 1957 came the year of Sputnik which colored curriculum in science offerings. Another gift of Archbishop Cushing was to expand scientific and mathematical facilities. There were efforts to expand modern languages to encompass Russian and also Chinese. An alert modern language department was to welcome Russian and to expand the oral and aural instruction in French and German. So much for the first steps toward a new B. C. H. in Dorchester (1943-57).

Chapter IX

THE PROPOSED EVACUATION OF WESTON (1942-1943)

From September 20, 1942 to January 18, 1943, a giant portion of Fr. James H. Dolan's time as provincial was consumed with the strong possibility of evacuating the Weston College community and finding a substitute place spacious enough, fire proof enough, and properly constructed enough, to house this community. The United States Army had announced plans on September 20, 1942 to Fr. Dolan, to set up a military hospital at Weston.

On October 6, 1942 there was an afternoon meeting of the province consultants along with Fathers Daniel J. Lynch, James M. Kilroy, James T. McCormick and Joseph R.N. Maxwell. Fr. Provincial, James H. Dolan, recounted a September 20th visit from Colonel E. S. Linthicum of the U.S. Army Medical Corps. The colonel wished to sound out views, as well as to express his own ideas on the possibility of taking over Weston College as an army base hospital.

Fr. Provincial had responded by explaining the nature of the college as a religious home. To be cooperative, he had indicated that its basement might serve on a small scale. Although this visit was to be considered confidential, the colonel called at Weston on September 23. In the absence of the rector, Fr. Robert A. Hewitt, he had been shown through the basement and the immediate college grounds by George Wheeler, then the chauffeur of the college.

Some day in early October, Colonel Linthicum, along with a Colonel Reddy, again visited Weston. They were allowed to inspect the entire building and judged that this was the sought-out location for 1600 patients and a staff of 185. If the community must move, they indicated that Holy Cross could serve as a haven. With the planned lowering of the draft age to include youths of eighteen and nineteen years, there should be adequate, if not even ample space, at Holy Cross. That evening Fr. Hewitt alerted Fr. Provincial to this more thorough visit, and to the real possibility of early evacuation. Fr. Hewitt also informed his house consultants of the situation.

Prior to the amplified consultants' meeting on October 6, Fr. Lynch, who had been a lieutenant colonel until he was honorably discharged on May 7, 1942, had been asked to inquire into the standing of Linthicum and Reddy. He reported that they represented the Army Medical Corps, and had instructions from Washington to locate a place for a hospital. In a conference he had with them, Fr. Lynch had learned of their intention to recommend Weston as an eminently desirable place. As a substitute dwelling for the Jesuits at Weston, they stated that the army would obtain some suitable building such as the Wentworth Hotel in Portsmouth, New Hampshire, or the New Ocean House in Swampscott, Massachusetts. The army would also help with the moving, Fr. Lynch had been informed.

With this factual data before the consulting group, Fr. Provincial asked what action should be taken. In view of Fr. Assistant's pledge to offer all the facilities of Jesuit

colleges, one argued that Weston must be given over if so requested. There should, however, be insistence on an appropriate substitute, a guarantee of entrance to, and use of the cemetery, and a safeguarding of the chapel. A similar view was expounded by a second ex-Provincial once it was clear that Weston was wanted. If it were, then it should be given readily, but with the conditions on needs and protection. A third man would also make a gesture to give Weston, but also with guaranteed conditions on needs and protection. A fourth believed, that further study should be made of the army's need through the Surgeon-General's Office. If however, the need was then clear, it should be given over. Three more believed that a serious request would be forthcoming and that the Society should be prepared to yield. Fr. Lynch was fully convinced that a formal request would come, and that the college should then be readily given up.

A vote was taken as to whether representation against a takeover should be made to some appropriate Washington authority. Four voted against such a representation. One favored an inquiry rather than a representation. One favored any possible form of a representation. One would wait until a formal request would come. The final vote opposed representation as a policy, but favored some written statement, a quasi-representation, as it were, to Col. Linthicum, rather than to Washington.

Then another question arose in the supposition that the place was to be given up. Should the move of the Weston community be to one or two places, or should efforts be made to

distribute scholastics and staff among existing scholasticates. Woodstock was known to be full. St. Mary's in Kansas might have an empty building. West Baden's empty but inside rooms were judged unsuitable. Not knowing any more than this, and with less known of other places, no vote was taken on this aspect. What was thought on moving all to one place, or dividing the community into two groups, is not evident. But Fr. Provincial, in the case of Parrington, Rhode Island, was to indicate that a division could be acceptable.

Possible places to which to move were suggested, including the Poland Springs House, Mt. Washington Hotel, and the Cape Codder Hotel. New Ocean House was judged too public and without sufficient grounds. The Wentworth was in a war-danger zone.

The meeting closed with Fr. Kilroy's request, that on the following day, the Feast of Our Lady of the Rosary, all who had a free Mass offer it either that the move be averted, or that the best solution be found. This consultants' meeting was, it might be noted, the last one participated in by Fr. William L. Keleher as socius, since on November 1, 1942, he became master of novices.

Hard on the heels of this consultation, came another visit of inspection to Weston on October 9th by Col. Linthicum, with three specialists, one on water, one on buildings, and a third on hospital direction. To Fr. Hewitt, the colonel stated that, if Weston were taken, the army would do all it possibly could to assist. To Fr. Hewitt's mind, the takeover was

definite. Fr. Provincial, who was then at an assistanty consultants' meeting in Poughkeepsie, was alerted to this news. By October 11, he had consulted with John Drumme, the province's financial advisor, on a financial statement to be prepared in these circumstances. No more of this statement was heard. On October 13, Fr. Zacheus Maher, American Assistant, agreed to have Fr. Hewitt go to Washington, as was proposed by Fr. Provincial, to confer with Brigadier General William Richard Arnold, Chief of Chaplains, on the situation, and on Arnold's view of a policy to be followed.

On October 17, the New York Provincial, James P. Sweeney, reported by phone that Dr. Raymond Sullivan of St. Vincent's Hospital in New York City, had been called to Washington to confer with Dr. Somerville, Surgeon-General. Sullivan's advice was sought by the army on the advisability of taking large educational institutions as base hospitals. Sullivan, who had been in charge of such work in World War I, opposed such a policy on the grounds of lack of staff and proper care. In his opinion, if an institution was to be taken over, it should preferably be a hospital. The news of these views of Dr. Sullivan were believed by Fr. Sweeney to afford grounds for delay in relinquishing Weston. The grounds of poor medical policy could be alleged against a takeover, and be more forceful than an insistence on the religious home aspect of Weston. Fr. Sweeney also believed that Dr. Sullivan knew more about the specific case of Weston than he allowed himself to admit. Information from Fr. Robert P. Healey, S. J., of Holy Cross

College, has indicated that further assistance came from his father -- Judge Arthur D. Healey, whom President Franklin D. Roosevelt had appointed as a federal district judge.

On October 19th, Colonel Linthicum called at Newbury Street to inform Fr. Provincial that Colonel (later General) Sherman Miles, Commanding Officer of the First Corps Area, had recommended to Washington that Weston be taken, and advised that arrangements begin for an early move. A guarantee concerning the availability of the cemetery was given and Holy Cross was still suggested as an appropriate place, although it was pointed out to him that the naval and air corps units would keep dormitory space there occupied. As a strong card, the colonel quoted Fr. Maher's offering of the facilities of Jesuit colleges and universities. After this stage, any thoughts of representation had been dampened by Fr. Hewitt's visit to Washington.

With Colonel Miles' views so clear, visits to possible sites were begun. The first visits were to the Mt. Washington House, the Mountain View House, and others in the area of Whitefield, N.H. These first forays were made on October 21 by Fr. Provincial, along with Fr. Thomas J. Smith, and Fr. John McGrory. The very day before, when arrangements for this New Hampshire trip were being made, Col. Linthicum had visited Holy Cross and recognized the impossibility of this place as a substitute for Weston. At this stage, he hedged on whether the army would aid in locating a place. He knew that such a job was not his but, whose function it was, he did not know. At his request, the floor plans of Weston were forwarded to him by Fr.

Hewitt, on October 21.

To aid in the search an appointment was made by Fr. William. E. Fitzgerald for Fr. Provincial to meet in Lewiston, Maine, with Mr. Lane, the owner of Poland Springs. Fr. Maxwell also scheduled a visit on the 23rd to the Equinox House in Bennington, Vermont. Publicity on the rumored move was heard in the town of Weston. Mr. B. Loring Young worried about the loss of the Weston College men as air wardens and civilian defense workers. On October 28, the Boston Traveller had a feature article on the army inspection of Weston College, and the prospects of an early decision.

On October 28, the first date for the evacuation was announced. Representatives of the Army Engineer Corps in a visit to Weston, informed Fr. Hewitt that vacating must come by December 1, 1942, and Fr. Hewitt was asked to present this instruction in writing to Fr. Provincial. The group also scheduled another visit to Weston for the next day. On October 30, Fr. Provincial did receive a letter saying that a representative of the Army Real Estate Department would call on him during the following week to arrange a lease of Weston College as an army hospital. The meeting took place on Friday, November 6. In the meantime, through Fr. Maxwell, inquiries had been made about the availability of the old Colby College quarters in downtown Waterville, Maine. It was learned that they were being used by students for the duration of the war.

The conference of Friday November 6 was five hours in length. Fr. Provincial had Fr. Thomas L. McLaughlin with him; one Colonel Rebber, U.S.A., had two civilians with him -- a Mr. Hughes and a Mr. McHenry. One of the results of this meeting was a trip by Fr. Provincial along with Mr. McHenry to the Peek estate in Barrington, Rhode Island. The place was judged adequate for the philosophers, and perhaps the fourth year fathers with a staff. The following day, Bishop Francis P. Keough of Providence, was approached on this matter. He insisted that a diocesan regulation prohibited his welcoming any more tax-exempt religious groups (already totaling at least forty-one) in his territorially small diocese. He was, it appears, the only one of the New England bishops approached, who declined to cooperate in an emergency location of Weston College. Bishop Maurice F. McAuliffe of Hartford, and Bishop John B. Peterson of Manchester were most gracious in their welcomes.

On November 11, Fr. Provincial travelled to New York to explore some lead within that province territory. The lead was another dead-end. By November 22, Fr. Provincial could detail all these trips to the consultants, as well as the substance of an undated conversation with Captain Frank Doudera, owner of the Balsams in Dixville Notch, N.H. This place could be bought for \$275,000, although the navy was allegedly offering \$500,000. If this place, as was true of so many more, proved to be inadequate or over-expensive, he thought of approaching Congressman John W. McCormack of Massachusetts to have the whole project dropped. Two consultants opposed such an approach. A

third would agree to such an intervention if nothing else proved possible. The most recently appointed consultant was not present because of illness in a Washington hospital. After this meeting, Fr. Provincial resumed his inspections. On November 24, a series of hotels in New Hampshire was visited, and on December 4, a place near Poland Springs.

The final days for search and moving were at hand. On December 8, Fr. Provincial conferred with Colonel Linthicum, and on the same day Fr. Tom Smith went with Mr. Albert L. Robinson for further inspection at Weston. On December 9, the official letter came from General Miles stating that by January 15, 1943, Weston College must be evacuated for the army's needs. On the following day, Fr. Provincial interviewed Mr. McHenry, the civilian representative of the army, who was a Catholic. Mr. Robinson soon visited an estate in South Lancaster, Massachusetts, and, on December 13, informed Fr. Smith of the unsatisfactory condition of the place. He added that even so polite a person as Fr. Dolan would not even get out of a car to inspect a place so obviously a sorry one.

A crucial consultants meeting with all present was held on December 15, 1942. General Miles' hand-delivered letter of December 9 announcing January 15 as evacuation day, was read. He had indicated that so important a letter on so delicate a matter could only be hand-delivered to a Father Provincial. The provincial's reply was approved by the consultants with the deletion of one paragraph. The terms of the lease called for an annual payment of \$100,000.

During this meeting a phone call came from Mr. Robinson concerning an official interview with Captain Doudera. Other groups he had learned were allegedly interested in the Balsams, and one group had a quasi-option. There could be no question of renting the place. It must be bought with all its present equipment for \$275,000. No improvements for winter heating would be made. There were also some final comments on the Griswold in New London, Connecticut which was wooden, rather old, quite small, and unheated.

On the following day, Mr. Robinson, on his return from New York, had an interview with Fr. Provincial. On December 17, in a phone call, Col. Linthicum urged as early an evacuation as possible. By December 19, Mr. Robinson sent word that any other potential buyers of the Balsams had ceased their interest, and he recommended the purchase. He could add the information that the Beaconsfield had been procured by the army and that the final hours of decision on Weston by the Surgeon-General and the Army Engineers had arrived. A final listing of possible places came in these final days through Fr. Hewitt, but they were of no service.

As the January 15 deadline approached, the consultants met on January 5, 1943. The Palsams, though not wholly satisfactory, was the best available place to which to move. The latest news on the use for Weston was stated to be a general hospital, not just a First Service Command hospital. This could mean a purchase rather than a leasing. Col. Linthicum had earlier given assurance that leasing alone was planned. It was

also thought that the army might be offered Keyser Island or North Andover, and even that one wing of Weston might be leased for hospital purposes. Fr. Provincial objected to this proposal on one wing of Weston. Some final letters of General Miles, signed by Adjutant Philip Hayes, were also shown to the consultants.

A final meeting for seventy minutes occurred in Fr. Provincial's office on January 13. Very rarely does one learn any great detail on province business in the official province diary of this period. For Wednesday, January 13, there appeared a three-page account of this meeting, reminiscent of the fuller records made by Fr. James H. Dolan when he was socius to the provincial from January, 1932, to May, 1937. Present at this meeting were Colonel John R. Hall and Captain Souder of the Office of the Surgeon-General in Washington. The First Service Command Headquarters in Boston was represented by Colonel Linthicum and Mr. Cripp, a civilian engineer. Col. Hall made clear the need for Weston and its suitability, which he had concluded from a visit there on the preceding day. It could accommodate from 800 to 1500 people.

Fr. Provincial thanked the visitors for coming at so busy a time for them, and indicated some points he would like to reiterate. Moving the Weston community of 265 was not moving them as college students from a dormitory, but was moving a religious community from its permanent home. Hence, the urgent need of being assured of a new home prior to any change. He did have the Balsams in mind despite its less than satisfactory

character. And even its availability, he added, was only discovered after an extremely lengthy search of some thirty places. Now sixty to seventy-five days would be needed for its rehabilitation. Also, in view of the evacuation, assistance would be expected from the army in moving and in obtaining difficult-to-acquire needs in a more bleak climate. It should also be understood that Weston was to be leased and not bought, especially in view of the enormous gifts which benefactors had supplied to it.

Perhaps with some subtle point in mind, Fr. Dolan asked Colonel Hall to explain the difference between the original request for Weston as a hospital for the First Service Command, and its presently proposed use as a general hospital. The Colonel replied with pleasure that the use of Weston as a general hospital would probably extend the time for using Weston, since its patients would require extended treatment. All this conversation and its implications were to be reported to the Surgeon-General, General James C. Magee, and an early reply would be forthcoming.

In the province diary for January 18, there are eight and one-half lines to say that letters from Gen. Magee and Col. Hall announced the decision not to take Weston. New construction elsewhere would care for the needs. Col. Hall's letter is interesting. He wrote that, when he came for the January 13 visit, he had believed that New England Province officials had instituted the proposal to take over Weston College. This was apparently how Fr. Maher's general offer had been concretized.

Realizing the complications in a move, he had at once recommended that the project be dropped and with this view General Magee had at once concurred. A glass of wine at table at 300 Newbury Street is announced in Fr. Minister's diary as a fitting celebration that Weston need not be evacuated, or its inhabitants moved to Dixville Notch.

But prayer, too, played a capital role. At Weston, Fr. Anthony C. Cotter, and retired Bishop Joseph N. Dinand, were known for their practice of, and exhortation to making novenas of Masses to prevent moving. Fr. Cotter's diary indicated that he had finished the second such novena on the morning of the day when the announcement came that there was to be no moving. On January 21, his diary recounted a glowing account, from Fr. Tom McLaughlin, of how well off the province would have been if the move had taken place. Fr. Cotter then asked himself without an answer, whether he would have made these novenas, had he known that the province would thus have been financially on the top of the world.

Some younger men with more spirit of adventure are said to have been disappointed that they could not have participated in the proposed move to Dixville Notch. It might have been another January moving as was the trek from Frederick, Maryland, to St. Andrew's in Poughkeepsie, New York, in January, 1903, or as was the arrival in early January 1922 for the opening of Weston (then, Fairview) in 1922.

When the college scholasticate population did move in the late 1960's, it was to small communities in Cambridge, Brighton and Chestnut Hill. The novices occupied one-half of the second corridor of Weston in 1970-71, after leaving Shadowbrook in September, 1970. Weston had continued its existence under Fr. Paul F. Izzo as local superior from the moving of the scholastics, and many of the professors. Land across Merriam Street and some across Concord Road, nearer its juncture with Merriam Street, were later sold to the town. No one seemed interested in buying the remaining land with its huge scholasticate. Plans to sell its lower lands slowly came to realization and the town purchased them in 1977.

The ancient house began in 1975 to be remodeled as a retreat house and as a residence for retired Jesuits, especially with the long-sought infirmary for the sick. Since the name of Weston College was transferred to Cambridge and became, in 1975, the Weston School of Theology in Cambridge, the parent name was changed to Champion Residence and Renewal Center. From Fairview, its name had become Weston College partly, at least, because of the request for this honor from some town people. Now it commemorates the scholarly English martyr saint, whom the late Fr. John F. Quirk, S.J., denoted the Patron of Scholars.

The Work of James H. Dolan, S. J.

Many small events occur in the history of a province that cannot be snugly fitted into an historical narrative. When it is considered that from September 20, 1942 to January 18, 1943 the chief energy of Fr. James H. Dolan as provincial had to be

expended on choosing a site for a displaced Weston community, and on conferring on conditions to be met prior to moving, it could be of some interest to learn what other activities, routine or special, demanded his attention and/or participation.

One sign of the solidarity and charity of the Society is seen in the attendance at the wakes or funeral services of Curs or of their close relatives. During these months while he was at home after scouring for sites, or meeting as an assistancy consultor with Fr. Zacheus Maher in New York, Fr. Provincial found time to be the symbol of Society charity. There was the funeral of the mother of Fr. Harry B. Mucello (later a victim of the Shadowbrook fire) on November 5; the wake and funeral of the sister of Fr. Francis W. Anderson on December 3 and 5, with a tiring trip to New Hampshire during the intervening day; the funeral of Fr. Joseph A. Keller, at Holy Trinity on December 14; the funeral of Fr. William Logue on December 18, and of Fr. John E. Lyons on December 19; the funeral Mass for the father of Fr. Harry MacLeod on December 24; the wake and funeral of the mother of Fathers James and Thomas Brennan on January 7 and 8; and the wake and funeral of the father of Fr. Hubert Conniff on January 15-16. He had also celebrated the Solemn High Mass at the Immaculate Conception Church in Boston on December 22 for Fr. General Ledochowski, who had died on December 13, 1942.

Authorizing letters of dismissal also falls to the lot of a provincial. It is a strange part of his cura personalis. In the first consultors' meeting, after he had learned of the possible evacuation of Weston, a case arose about a man who had

often applied for dismissal but, in each case, had withdrawn the application. His case was finally settled when another request came on January 3, 1943. A totally different request was heard and settled on December 20. A third more complicated instance, made known on January 5, required a personal conference with Fr. Provincial.

Mental cases arising suddenly and consuming time and nervous energy, also constituted a part of cura personalis. One such patient was visited at Metropolitan Hospital on December 11, and a different patient required a visit to Mattapan on December 31. With Brother Edward R. Weatherhead gravely ill at St. Francis Hospital in Miami, the place for his burial needed consideration. A burial in the South was decided upon. It later turned out that, after Brother's death on October 8, it was more feasible to transfer the body to Boston. After a Mass in Miami, the burial took place at Weston on October 12. There were serious health problems that fall with juniors at Shadowbrook, and a conference was needed with its Fr. Minister (Harry Williamson). The list, too, of twenty-five candidates for last vows had to be scrutinized carefully. So much for cura personalis.

Problems of province expansion and recruitment also arose during these months. Even with the large numbers of chaplains assigned to the armed forces, Fr. Provincial was ready to establish secondary schools in other parts of New England. Just a few days after being alerted to the potential moving of Weston, he and Fr. Edward A. Sullivan, a native of Holyoke,

visited Bishop Thomas M. O'Leary, then ordinary of the old undivided Springfield Diocese, to explore the feasibility of a Jesuit secondary school in the city of Springfield. The bishop was cordial, and suggested looking around for a location, and promised to confer with his consultors.

In mentioning this Springfield visit to the province consultors, Fr. Dolan also apprised them of the possibility of acquiring the Ellis Estate on Salisbury Street in Worcester. If this were taken as the location for a secondary school, it would be a province venture. The Holy Cross College consultors had already declined to re-inaugurate the Holy Cross prep school discontinued in 1914. The province consultors did not approve favorable action on the purchase and use of the Ellis estate. They preferred to concentrate on Springfield as the one present site in the undivided Springfield diocese. Later, the Notre Dame Sisters of Namur acquired the Ellis property, and began their Notre Dame Academy there.

Candidates were also in Fr. Dolan's mind during these war-time months. On October 26, Fr. Assistant had informed provincials that, for the war's duration only, they might accept candidates who had finished only three years of high school. This more elastic standard does not appear to have been followed in New England. When colleges in late January or early February of 1943 accepted as college freshmen, qualified high school students halfway through their senior year, the Society accepted some of this same group the following summer (1943). Among such students was William L. ("Milo") Connolly. To indicate this

entrance policy, whether of those halfway through fourth high or in later stages, Fr. Provincial informed the new novice master on December 26, that six candidates could be expected at Shadowbrook on February 1, 1943.

Ordinary administrative problems on policy and personnel require the continuing attention of a provincial even when he is perplexed about such a major task as the moving of the Weston community. On November 1, 1942, his socius of three years became master of novices, and the former master, Fr. John J. Smith, became socius even though not totally recovered from a painful skin disorder. Within the same month of November, Fr. Smith was hospitalized for a few weeks in Washington, and Fr. Dolan took time to visit him. Less than a well socius can be a handicap to even a less busy provincial, and there was wonderment expressed when the disability required a rest in Jamaica.

During that interval the ever-ready Fr. Kilroy served as acting socius. In two more weeks came the sudden death of Fr. John F. Cox, the pioneer rector and principal of Cranwell School. Fr. Cox was a hard-working man with generosity to, appreciation of, and loyalty to his staff. It would be hard for a subject to outmatch him in work, or to come anywhere near his backing up of teachers against unruly and lazy students. Fr. Keleher's change from the office of socius had been arranged before the confidential announcement of the proposed Weston takeover. Then, most unexpectedly, a new rector had to be arranged for Cranwell.

While the war was to bring some economic relief to the province from the salaries paid to the military chaplains and carefully accounted with Fr. Tom McLaughlin, revenues from province taxes levied on the colleges declined. Hence, there was some reorganization of the Jesuit Seminary Guild and of the Jesuit Mission Office. Both were under Fr. John A. Madden, also the superior of 300 Newbury Street. Just days before the news of the no-moving of Weston was announced, Fr. Louis J. Gallagher returned to Boston from New York where he was with the incipient I.S.O. (Institute of Social Order). On January 17, Fr. Gallagher was announced a superior of 300, and director of the Seminary Guild and, on January 23, 1943, Fr. Thomas F. McDermott was appointed a separate director of the Jesuit Mission Office. Then once again, as when Fr. George M. Murphy was mission procurator, both of these revenue-raising organizations had separate directors and offices.

There were always special calls on province funds besides those of maintaining its province houses. Fr. Assistant wrote on January 3, 1943 for a contribution to enlarge the Vatican Radio. Such money was to be a gift for the golden jubilee of the episcopal consecration of Pope Pius XII.

In addition to a meeting of the New England Province Corporation on January 12, 1943, there was the task of preparing a series of three ternas for rectors, and the choice of two superiors (St. Andrew House on Newbury Street and Campion Hall in North Andover) during these months which Fr. Dolan would surely consider as, and denominate "parlous". With Fr.

Assistant living in this country with very special powers, ternas in war years went to him for approval or disapproval. A first set of three ternas was arranged in December 1942 for Cranwell, Boston College High School and St. Mary's in the North End. The choices did not meet the approval of Fr. Assistant, so they were returned. It is curious that, of the nine names submitted, only one, a third of one of these first ternas, was ever appointed. So on January 5, a new set was submitted, this time including Weston because of an intended transfer. The first choices on all these four ternas were approved.

It has been seen that, on the very day before the announcement that Weston was not to move, the first change was announced. Fr. Gallagher was superior at St. Andrew Bobola House. On February 15, Fr. Edward J. Whalen, the first minister at Fairfield, replaced Fr. Edward A. Sullivan at St. Mary's, and Fr. Sullivan succeeded Fr. Hewitt at Weston the same day. On the following day, Fr. Hewitt became Rector of the Immaculate and Boston College High School, replacing Fr. Francis L. Archdeacon.

For a short time, Fr. Archdeacon ("Archey"), long prefect of studies at Regis (1923-24; 1925-35), briefly (1935-February 1937) dean of freshmen at Boston College, was assigned to North Andover. Then he began a long and distinguished service at St. Mary's with its perpetual novena of grace and his variety of study clubs. He reached even his Sixtieth Jubilee in 1967. One sometimes wonders why, as St. Mary's went into a decline for a variety of reasons, he was never

rector or prefect of the church. But in his secondary capacity, he showed, without fanfare, what a subject can do.

These matters of charity, cura personalis, expansion, recruitment, finance and administration, both ordinary and special, are listed to illustrate how the energy of a provincial was expended when a great block of his energy, deploying, planning and praying were concerned with one urgent matter from September 1942 to January 1943. Contemporaries and sub-contemporaries have smiled at James H. Dolan's plodding, even princely ways. But, in a crisis, he could lead, hold and enunciate his conscientious convictions, and wear down the United States Army by insistence on what it must do in return for the temporary use of a scholasticate home. He must have felt the rebuff especially during this crisis of the Bishop of Providence. This refusal was compensated for by the kindly welcome from the bishops of Hartford, Manchester and Portland. If he felt the rebuff, it did not ruffle his countenance or his deportment. He was "ab omni perturbacione securus". At the most, his two hands would go up and he might say "Father, O Father."

Father James H. Dolan (June 4, 1885 to August 1, 1977) made a four-fold major impact on the first twenty-five years of the New England Province. He was socius to a provincial (1932-37), provincial for seven and a half years (May, 1937 to December, 1944), acting provincial (January, 1950 to October, 1950), and rector-president of Fairfield in its transition from preparatory school to university status (1944-51).

Nor were his impacts confined to these four positions. As a regent from 1912 to 1917, he had taught as a class teacher (Latin, Greek and English) at Georgetown in its preparatory school for three years and two years in the college of arts and sciences. As a young priest, he taught three years (1922-25) at Holy Cross. During two of these years (1923-25), when he taught psychology and natural theology to seniors, he prepared an extensive set of mimeographed notes which were the staple texts for these subjects in many Jesuit colleges up to the 'sixties.

Prior to serving as socius, he had been rector-president of Boston College from August, 1925, to January 1, 1932. At Boston College, he saw the opening, through the benefaction of William Cardinal O'Connell, of St. Ignatius Parish in 1926, completed the construction of the Bapst Library in 1928, inaugurated the Law School in 1929 and added a new wing with an enclosed garden to St. Mary's Hall by 1931. One would not consider him as impressive a president at Boston College as Fr. Thomas I. Gasson, S. J., or some later presidents. But the memories of him in that capacity there were more kindly than those of a later academic institution he headed. His years at Fairfield are covered in the chapter on its early days.

His years as socius are important since he appears to have received from Fr. James T. McCormick, S. J., a free hand in seeking out locations for a tertianship, provincial residence, retreat house, and in the tasks of either remodelling structures or supervising their construction. His carefully written history of province activities is the fullest of any of the corresponding

officials so that writing a province history of those years was rendered more simple and exact. As socius, he had the task directly from Fr. General Ledochowski of initiating and supervising a new system of financial accounting.

As provincial, Fr. Dolan was in large measure an expansionist, sanctioning or opening up secondary school opportunities at Cranwell School in Lenox, Cheverus High School in Portland and Fairfield Prep. For three years (1939-42), he opened a study house near Boston College chiefly for candidates for master's programs at Boston College. World War II ended this project.

Nor can it be said that Fr. Dolan was strongly convinced of the value of special studies for a great number of people. He appeared to have placed strong reliance on the extended and normal training in the Society. He could equate physics and chemistry and believe that competence in one spelled competence in the other.

Undoubtedly some light is cast on his provincialate by mentioning his major appointments, by singling out one of his norms for decision, and by noting his dealings with those in trouble. He appointed as rectors such men as Joseph R. N. Maxwell, William E. FitzGerald, William J. Murphy, Thomas J. Feeney, and reassigned as rectors Robert A. Hewitt and John J. McEleney. He appointed William L. Keleher as master of novices, Raymond J. McInnis as tertian instructor, Arthur J. Sheehan as province prefect, and Thomas L. McLaughlin as province treasurer. Here was a group of many colorful and more than

usually forceful men, who continued to hold the same or other major posts in the province with differing forms of approbation and disapprobation.

For decisions, Fr. Dolan relied heavily, it appears, on the mind of Fr. General with whom he had contact at a 1937 conference with American provincials and at the 1938 General Congregation. It could be risky, even when a sincere form of discernment.

There was sticking force in his status assignments, and few were undone. In keeping with the temper of the times, he used Keyser Island as a place to deal with those whom a later, more enlightened policy, would send to Guest House. His personal correspondence as provincial shows an understanding and long-suffering consideration for men under a cloud. These included men whose talents might otherwise have been lost or whose hearts would be only partially in their work. He could give a man whose integrity had been questioned a small honor to show that the province had truly exonerated him. It was a gracious benevolence.

Perhaps like some well-known public figures, Fr. Dolan's life, in God's providence, was extended too long. After leaving Fairfield in 1951 where had begun the college, he taught philosophy at Boston College, and devoted many hours each school day to hearing students' confessions. When in the early 1970's some oddities began to appear and persist, he went perforce to Campion Center infirmary. Gradually he was less and less regularly lucid. He relived in comic circumstances his roles as

rector and provincial, and gave a sorry picture of his former stable and sober self.

Those who knew Fr. Dolan only in this decline would have no concept of a man who left the provincial office with a solvent treasury after paying off the major debts necessarily incurred in the establishment of a province. Nor could they appreciate the drive that took the external works of the province from two cities and spread them so much wider. Nor could they see his extended insistence on appropriate accommodations with the U. S. Army officials which kept the Weston community of 1941 and 1942 from being housed for an indefinite time in Dixville Notch, New Hampshire. He had easily caricatured weaknesses, but also determination vision and unobtrusive kindness.

Chapter X

THE DRY STICK OF TRANSJORDAN (1932-1945)

The summer of 1939 placed an unexpected and onerous burden on the seven-year-old Baghdad Mission. One of its members was designated for the new work outside the Iraqi borders. At that time the mission was under its second superior (both of the mission and of Baghdad College), Fr. Francis J. Sargeant. He was a Boston native, a graduate of Boston Latin School, a two-year student at Boston College who entered the Society at Poughkeepsie, New York, in 1919. He had previous mission experience having been a regent at the Ateneo de Manila from 1926 to 1929.

When Fr. William A. Rice, the first superior, had been called upon to serve as acting apostolic delegate in Mesopotamia in succession to Msgr. Antoine Drapier, O.P., Fr. Sargeant had been appointed vice-superior on March 19, 1938. On the elevation of Fr. Rice to be Prefect Apostolic of Belize, Honduras, and Titular Bishop of Rusicadensis, Fr. Sargeant was appointed full superior on February 2, 1939.

The personnel of the mission had grown from the original two who arrived on March 9, 1932 and the four who established the school that autumn. Two of the pioneer priests (Fr. Rice and Fr. Coffey) had gone. In addition to Fr. Edward F. Madaras, and Fr. John A. Mifsud (later simplified to Miff), there were six more: Fr. Joseph A. Merrick (1933), Fr.

Sarjeant (1934), Fr. Francis W. Anderson (1935), Fr. Vincent J. Gockin (1935) and Fr. Charles W. Mahan (1935), Fr. William J. Sheehan (1936) and Fr. Leo J. Shea ("Black Leo") (1937).

There were five regents (invariably referred to in Iraq by the title of "Father"). Of these, in 1939, two (Edmund K. Cheney and Sidney J. MacNeil) were third year regents. Thomas F. Hussey and John J. Williams (both destined as later superiors of the mission) were in second year, and a third, Richard J. McCarthy, the last rector of Al-Hikma, was a first year regent. Three former regents were then in theology at Weston: William J. Casey in third year, Joseph P. Connell in second and Michael J. McCarthy in first.

Two non-New England priests had served in the mission. Fr. John J. Scanlon of the undivided Maryland-New York Province was there from 1933 to 1935. Fr. Augustine C. Wand of Missouri served from 1934 to 1936.

Moreover, there had been two brothers assigned to the mission. In 1936, Br. Francis J. McGuinness had come, but returned, due to illness, in a few months. At the same time came Br. John Servas who remained two years. Some years were to elapse before the arrival of Br. Italo A. Parnoff (1947-1967) and Br. Lawrence J. Foley (1954-1957) and (1966-1967). The first of these supervised the growing fleet of student busses; the latter was infirmarian (and a good one) in the community as well as to the poor of mud village.

By the summer of 1939 the College (as the five-year secondary school was known) had its own campus in the Sulaikh area of northern Baghdad. This property had been acquired after efforts to acquire a site in the much more Christian southern area had proved too expensive or too red-taped. After using rented school structures first in the heart of the old-walled city and later in the much further north, the Jesuits in the year 1937-1938 had seen the appearance of a classroom building on the new campus with many of its date-palms, but few of its orange trees remaining.

The classroom structure was the gift of an anonymous benefactress. She gave this money and other sums of money through Fr. Joseph A. Gschwend, S.J., of the Missouri Province, who was then the editor of the magazine Jesuit Missions. Prior to her death, her benefactions made possible a residence dormitory and a goodly sum toward a chapel and faculty residence. Until it was used, this money was banked in the United States and the interest added to the capital or expended for regularly recurring needs of the mission. While this provision had been made for a school building, the faculty lived dispersed in nearby rented houses, and this arrangement lasted until 1944.

In the summer of 1939, a steady and healthy growth of the community was anticipated. The assignment of Fr. Joseph J. Austin Devenny effected a change in the office of principal. He replaced Fr. Francis W. Anderson who had held this post since Fr. Sarjeant's appointment as superior in 1935. For 1939-40, Fr. Anderson was to be free for a period of intensive Arabic

study. Four new regents arrived (Clement Armitage, Francis X. Cronin, Joseph F. Fennell and George F. Hoyt) to replace the two departing regents. Three veteran regents (Hussey, Williams and McCarthy) remained. Yet these expectations for steady growth and serious study of Arabic were jarred by a sudden announcement that increased the function of the mission outside of Baghdad College.

On July 15, 1939 Fr. General Ledochowski urgently wrote to Fr. Sarjeant without first dealing with the N.E. Provincial and his consultors. A man must be detached from the mission and sent as a supervisor of Union Schools in Transjordan. What had precipitated this summary action was a letter to Fr. General from Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, Secretary of the Congregation for the Eastern Churches. An American Jesuit was to serve for a year as school supervisor in Transjordan of Union Schools. These were schools recently amalgamated in several places of schools (Latin and Greek) otherwise and hitherto conducted separately by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Melchite Bishop of Transjordan. To allay the fierce hostilities between these groups as well as to conserve on structures and staff, the notion of joint rather than separate schools had been devised. The principal author of the plan was Msgr. (later Cardinal) Gustavo Testa, the Apostolic Delegate to Egypt, Palestine and Transjordan.

The blue-prints for the school supervisor were definite but, in the circumstances, utopian. Preferably the priest should be fluent in Arabic, a quality with which the Baghdad Mission was

not equipped. French would suffice since it was the language of leading ecclesiastics. But it should be added that most often church figures were Italian.

As to French, only Fr. Sarjeant had command because of his three years of study of philosophy (1923-1926) at the scholasticate (Immaculate Conception) in Montreal. Fr. Sarjeant informed Fr. James H. Dolan of the General's instruction on August 19, 1939. But it was from Fr. General that he was instructed to forward three names to be studied by him and by the Sacred Congregation. Because of his own knowledge of French, Fr. Sarjeant submitted his own name. But he gave preference to two other members of the mission -- Fr. Edward F. Madaras and Fr. Francis W. Anderson. His preference was clearly the latter whom he praised for his impressive appearance, poise, prestige and perspicacity. He regretted the loss of Fr. Anderson because he had been a fine teacher, capable administrator and, particularly, as the one man who could be freed that year for intensive Arabic study. When Fr. General only late in November, 1939 indicated the decision, the choice had been of Fr. Anderson. As the supervisor he was to replace Fr. Geoffrey de Bonneville, a French member of the Near East Vice Province, and the nephew of its vice-provincial, Fr. Christopher de Bonneville.

Since so much of the 1939-1945 and 1945-1947 narratives will center around the work in Transjordan of Fr. Anderson, some background is helpful. Born on June 4, 1900 in Charlestown, Massachusetts, he had his grammar school training with the Dominican Sisters in St. Catherine of Genca's parish school.

His secondary education was at Boston College High School. On completing its course, he entered the Society on September 4, 1918 at Woodstock-on-Hudson, the subsidiary noviceship (1917-1923) of the Maryland-New York Province. His year constituted the second group to enter for the full two years at that novitiate with Fr. Lawrence J. Kelly as novice master and Fr. Gerald A. Dillon as minister, socius and teacher. Thus he was part (and a notable part) of the fabulous or infamous Yonkers crowd which left for weal or woe its mark not only in New England with three provincials (John J. McEleney, William E. FitzGerald, James E. Coleran) but also on the Maryland-New York province through such administrators as Fr. Edward B. ("Doc") Bunn, Fr. John J. Killeen, Fr. Edward B. Rooney, Fr. William J. Schlaerth.

From Yonkers, Anderson went via Hudson River Day Boat to Poughkeepsie. Here the juniorate had such teachers as Fathers George F. Johnson, Joseph A. Hogan, William T. Tallon, Arthur J. O'Leary and William F. X. Dolan. While the members of his year were divided between Woodstock and Weston for the first two years of philosophy, Frank made his at Weston. He then joined others at Woodstock for third year with Fr. Charles Lamb for ethics and that "tough old rooster," Fr. William J. Brosnan, for natural theology and the possibles.

With the initial formative years completed, Mr. Anderson had a standard three year regency (1925-1928) prior to studying theology at Weston (1928-1932). His first regency assignment was freshman classical and vernacular literature at

Boston College in the first full year of Fr. James H. Dolan's long term as a province superior (1925-1951). For whatever the reason, perhaps similar to the change of Fr. Joseph A. Sullivan in 1927 from Boston College to Holy Cross, Fr. Anderson was changed to Boston College High School where he taught Latin, Greek and English to fourth year students for two years. One of these students was later at Holy Cross and gave this writer an insight on Frank Anderson as a pedagogue. This young man had drifted through three years at B.C. High. His idyllic existence came to an end when he had Frank as his class teacher. He had then learned discipline and the strong beginnings of the art and desire of study. He could never be grateful enough to this teacher who had changed his life, and prepared him academically and spiritually for college and law school years after 1927. This lawyer and public official in his native city continued the praises of Fr. Anderson, to him Mr. Anderson -- that strange bond of a name that connects appreciative youth with the everlasting misters of their formative years.

There is still a hiatus between Fr. Anderson's four years in theology and the consummation of his volunteering for the Iraq Mission. For two years after theology (1932-1934), he taught classics as an elective to philosophers for whom, beginning in 1932, Fr. William J. McGarry had arranged to have an annual elective three hours a week. Thus they could accumulate eighteen upper-division credits in one discipline as an aid for entering a master's program.

Fr. Anderson's full-time assignment of three hours a week in a cycle system was a waste of a talented teacher. He could have taught at Boston College and commuted once or twice a week to Weston as many did later (Fr. David W. Twomey, Fr. William L. Johnson, Fr. James L. Burke) or brought the students to B.C. as did Fr. Albert F. McGuinn. During this time of teaching Fr. Anderson was one of a group of young Turks -- himself, Fr. Vincent J. Gookin, Joseph T. Murphy and Joseph R. N. Maxwell -- who made Fr. Minister Joseph R. ("Happy") Hurley understand that they too were fathers and entitled to the privileges allowed to the older faculty fathers in Fr. Minister's backroom.

Tertiaship followed in the Ancient Abbey in Tronchiennes, Belgium, along with Fr. Maxwell. On his late August return to the States, Fr. Anderson learned of his assignment to Iraq. Now four years and some months later, he was to serve the church in the near East outside of Iraq. He first had to make his annual retreat occasioned by his late appointment and by his assistance to Fr. Devenny who, new on the job, had to cope with later applications arising from the impossibility of students going to Europe for study in war conditions, and also with substantial curriculum changes announced late but authoritatively by the Iraq Department of Education.

By December 8, Fr. Anderson was ready to leave Baghdad to visit concerned officials in Damascus, Jerusalem, Amman and Cairo. He was to replace a Jesuit Fr. G. de Bonneville called to military service. This French Jesuit had an excellent command

of Arabic. After his noviceship but prior to his study of philosophy and theology, he had followed a four-year course in Arabic from the age of twenty in Bikfaiya, Iraq.

The first stop of his forty-year-old replacement was at Damascus when he met Msgr. Vincenzo Gelat, the acting Vicar General in that area of the Apostolic Delegate, Msgr. Testa who normally resided in Cairo. He also conferred there on December 19 and 20 with Fr. C. de Bonneville, the Vice Provincial of the Near East Mission of the Lyons Province, who was the uncle of the younger Fr. de Bonneville. The vice provincial, even prior to Fr. Anderson's arrival, had corresponded with Fr. General and arranged that the New England Jesuit be attributed to the Near-East vice-province rather than to the Iraq Mission. This early arrangement was counter to what Fr. Sarjeant had supposed.

As a result Fr. Anderson, while he had his expenses cared for during his stay in Jordan, had to pay for room and board when he stopped, as he often did, at the Biblical in Jerusalem. This house forwarded Fr. Anderson's bills to Baghdad College, thus adding to the tension caused by his early attribution to the vice province. Most of Fr. Anderson's time in Amman, which was his headquarter residence in Transjordan, were spent in a hospital convent where he said Mass for the sisters whenever he was home and where the sisters treated him very well. In later years he also said a regular Sunday Mass at a British camp near Amman for which, after initial difficulties, he was supplied transportation and a salary.

In connection with this attribution of Fr. Anderson to the vice province, its members noted that the vice provincial seemed to expect the ordinary business of the assignment to be discussed with him. Fr. Anderson made clear that the Sacred Congregation had placed him under the supervision of the apostolic delegate. Nor did Fr. Anderson even experience any cura personalis from the vice province, although Fr. Fernandez, in charge of the Biblical, does appear from the diary to have been a helpful host. It was Fr. Sarjeant who wrote to Fr. Anderson and, on two extended occasions, came to visit him. Any protests on the arrangement vis-a-vis Fr. Anderson and the vice province came too late for Fr. General to give them any reconsideration.

Although Fr. Anderson had believed he was to confer on the nature of his work with his predecessor in Damascus, circumstances forced him to have the meeting in Beirut. At this meeting, Fr. de Bonneville expressed surprise that the task was one for only one-year's duration. From an earlier meeting with Cardinal Tisserant, to whom he had presented a report on the previous year, Fr. de Bonneville knew that the union, despite its difficulties, was to continue. Moreover, Fr. Anderson would find that his tasks would be much broader than merely supervising Union Schools. Thus there was assurance of a broadened period of time and a broadened function. These meetings were held on the final days of 1939.

On January 7, 1940 a visit to Cairo was sought to interview Msgr. Testa. A prompt trip was not in the cards. On January 23, Fr. Anderson was informed through Monsignor Silvio Oddi, one of the delegate's secretaries, that he would soon be in Jerusalem and would visit Fr. Anderson. On February 8, Msgr. Paul Salman, the Greek Melchite Bishop of Transjordan, returning from Cairo, informed Fr. Anderson by a letter from Msgr. Testa that the secretary could not come as previously promised. Father Anderson should, however, without more formality begin his contacts with Transjordan accompanied, presumably where possible, by Fr. G. de Bonneville and keep the Delegate posted on developments.

However, no documentation on Fr. Anderson's position was forthcoming to show to the ordinaries involved, as Fr. G. de Bonneville had recommended. Even Msgr. Salman, whom Fr. Anderson had visited on January 18, when Salman was about to set out for Cairo, had ever known of Fr. Anderson's appointment. He had never even heard of Fr. Anderson. Likewise, on January 24, while still expecting credentials from Cairo, Fr. Anderson visited the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem whose Latin schools in Transjordan were involved. The patriarch was away in Rome, but his vicar informed Fr. Anderson that the patriarch had never learned of Fr. Anderson's appointment.

After discovering such ignorance about himself and his function, Fr. Anderson tried by correspondence to break the silence. On February 18 he wrote the Msgr. Testa for documentary evidence of his work. He received no answer. the matter was

even more complicated because, as late as October 1939, the delegate had appointed (aware or unaware of the plans of the Sacred congregation) Msgr. Gelat, the Latin Vicar General at Amman, and Msgr. Salman as directors of the Latin and Greek schools respectively and no cancellation had since been made. On February 24 Fr. Anderson visited Msgr. Gelat and learned of no cancellation of his post. Msgr. Salman did, however, give Fr. Anderson a letter of commendation to his priests announcing the new post as an inspector under Salman as director.

Then for the remaining weeks of Lent, from February 27 to Easter, Fr. Anderson inspected schools and was personally well-received by pastor and teachers. However, he was informed that he had but unofficial standing and the delegated authority of Msgr. Salman. Thus when he came to visit Salt, a town of 25,000, he had a letter to show to the Greek priest, but none for the Latin priest. On his way there he experienced what he was to experience many times. A conveyance promised for 2 P. M. had not arrived at 5 P. M. So some special and more expensive car had to be obtained for what was a one-hour ride. Both school visits went well but all had to be contracted into Wednesday since Thursday was the weekly holiday, and Friday, the first Friday with no school.

With the temporary arrival of Fr. Geoffrey de Bonneville, a visit was made to Na'am, a town without radio or telephone and where relations between Greek and Latin priests extend socially but not educationally. The next town, Medale, was visited on foot over muddy roads. Then they went back to

Amman and Fr. de Bonneville departed for his own work in Damascus.

After more than a three-hour wait for a car, Fr. Anderson moved on to Kerak where the Latin pastor was an outsider. Kerak was used as a center to visit Ader and Samar Kich as well as its own schools. So on March 10, Fr. Anderson was back at Amman. Here in addition to writing his own reports, he wrote on request a begging letter to Archbishop Moses E. Kiley of Milwaukee stressing the name "Moses" as a form of touch. No reference appeared in the detailed diary of the outcome.

The next visits were to Naour, Zarkha with the road to Fouhecs impassable. This brought him up to the Friday before Palm Sunday when he returned to Amman and then set out for Jerusalem. For such visits some exit permits as well as entrance visas were required. There were many periods of waiting at the Allenby Bridge outside Jerusalem where passengers and goods and permits were checked with many hold-ups due to one or more travelers missing some required documentation.

After making the most of the sites, and the special altars of Jerusalem during Holy Week and Easter, Fr. Anderson, on April 1, sent by a visiting priest a request to the apostolic delegate for his needed credentials prior to resuming his visits. To his surprise this priest, a Fr. Brunct, telegraphed on April 2 that Msgr. Testa suggested that Fr. Anderson come to Cairo. Obtaining visas then slowed down action. Finally, on April 8, he could set out by train and arrived in Cairo, on April 9. He stopped at the Victoria Hotel which had been recommended.

The rector of the Holy Family Church, where he said Mass, made an appointment with the delegate at 4 P. M. The conference lasted two hours and was in the words of the diary "warm." Nevertheless, he received an invitation to dinner in a few days at which the presence of others precluded business. He was sent home in the delegate's car. One of the secretaries told Fr. Anderson that Msgr. Testa liked the large picture, but wished to avoid details.

On his visit on the day of the dinner, Fr. Anderson left his report and hoped for an early reaction. When Msgr. Carlo, a secretary, asked when Fr. Anderson was planning to leave Cairo, the latter realized that his business was finished. But he replied that he would return when the report was finished. The next day he was called and instructed not to come that day and to await a call before returning. So Fr. Anderson waited. He wrote more and more of his school visit impressions and conclusions.

Finally, on April 11, he was called to confer with the secretary and shown sub secreto a plan for his future actions. This document labelled Fr. Anderson as an inspector, not a director. The delegate declared there was no difference in these terms. Fr. Anderson found his rapport good with Msgr. Carlo. Hence, the next day the delegate gave him three hours and, in a good mood, promised to clarify the position of Fr. Anderson with both Msgr. Gelat and Msgr. Salman. In a pleasant mood as he rode back to Holy Family with Fr. Anderson, Msgr. Carlo remarked on how stout he himself was getting. Fr. Anderson

agreed and suggested less spaghetti and some horse-back riding -- foolishness one could expect from an American.

On April 19, letters on official position were ready for Fr. Anderson with copies for Msgr. Gelat and Msgr. Salman. No copy of whatever was written to the Latin Patriarch was supplied to Fr. Anderson. All of this data could easily have been granted the previous January. On his return to Jerusalem, he had a visit from Fr. Sarjeant on April 23. On his arrival in Amman on April 29, he conferred with Salman and, on the 30th, with Gelat, and found the first very sympathetic to his view. Fr. Sarjeant remained until April 30, when he went to Jerusalem.

From May 3 to May 26, Fr. Anderson visited a variety of schools in the north: Madaba, Hosm and Shatana by horse; Eiden and Sarch both by horse; Irbed by auto; Taihe, Rafid, Orga, Jdetta, Jutr-Abel, Kharyina, Inbe, Hoan by horse; Aglier, Fara, Khirbeh, Anjara and Jerach. Then came the return to Amman.

A great amount of what is known of Fr. Anderson's views on the schools has come from a long report which Fr. Sarjeant wrote after his extended discussion with Fr. Anderson. Much of the hostilities between members of the rites was tribal and ancestral, and the Union Schools while designed to allay such hostility only exacerbated it. The problem with the enforced union was an effect not a cause of these quarrels. In towns where the union had been insisted on, total attendance at the Union School had declined, and half the drop-outs had registered in Protestant or government schools. So deep-rooted was the hostility that parents preferred these schools to the Union

School.

In one town where the required union never took place, there was no diminution of the number of students in the separate Catholic schools. In one school the Melkites had forced out the Latin pupils and threatened violence if they were returned. Fr. Anderson honestly believed the union should be discontinued. It was difficult, too, to explain the rationale of the union to parents who were nomads. Fr. Anderson found sympathy for his views from Fr. Fernandez, S. J., Acting Superior of the Biblical in Jerusalem, and Fr. Paschall, O. F. M., Rector of the Terra Santa College there.

Another factor working against Union Schools was the opposition to them of the ordinaries involved. The Greeks tended to insist on a school next to their church so that altar boys would regularly be available, and even in Union Towns set up their schools near their church. Pastors who defied regulations were backed up by their bishops. The Latin priests, who were almost unanimous against Union Schools, complained that the Vicar General (Gelat) of His Beatitude had a mother who was a Melkite and hence too yielding of the rights of the Latin Patriarch. On the whole, the Latin clergy was well-trained, but insistent on its views of the general welfare. The Greek clergy, less well-educated, were less opposed personally, but Msgr. Salman was strongly opposed. Strangely, all gave lip service to the union and looked forward to a visit to Transjordan of the apostolic delegate who had never been there since once on a pilgrimage in 1921.

From the time he finished his first visit to northern Transjordan in the spring of 1940, Fr. Anderson, without any official change in union policy, continued his work and other related tasks until February 1943. His daily diary gives much light on his activities. He seems always to have been supplied the funds for the teachers, but no pleading of teachers and backings of the Inspector could ever induce the patriarch particularly to increase their wages. He would consider increases in salaries for the priests.

There was an endless scramble for satisfactory teachers. Some were found in Orthodox people. Catholics threatened to join the Orthodox if their demands were not met. With the advent of war many drifted to forms of higher paying jobs in war work. If discharged for incompetence or laziness, they along with their kinfolk badgered Fr. Anderson for their old or some new teaching posts. Some were found to be guilty of moral offenses. It was a rare time when all the teaching positions were all filled. Pleas for changes from one place to another plagued Fr. Anderson who could be adamant.

All this deployment of teachers plus other jobs forced much journeying on Fr. Anderson's part. He seemed perpetually going from Jerusalem to Amman and back, all of which required exit permits and visas, brief in time-length. These two places, while not far apart, were in two separate countries. An auto with five or seven passengers might be arranged for a fixed hour and leave several hours later and this was standard, not occasional procedure. Often he was overcharged in payments. It

was rare that required stops for inspection at the Allenby bridge outside Jerusalem did not effect long delays while some one passenger had trouble with the officials and the rest had to wait until formalities were clarified.

Fr. Anderson experienced the poor relations between some Latin and Greek clerics. One cleric invited to a get-together on Pentecost evening pleaded off due to the burden of his extended Pentecost prayers. They consisted in several games of tic-tac-toe.

It was not surprising that, as a result of his travels, especially by walking and horse-back riding, Fr. Anderson had an inflamed knee. Also, it appeared that, for the first time, he was bothered by a liver disorder which affected his sleep and his equanimity.

Fr. Anderson was partially fortunate in two pieces of work that came his way. Since he so often lived in the Italian Sisters Hospital in Amman, he had a nice room and meals when his schedule permitted them in return for an early morning Mass and frequent Benedictions and Expositions of the Blessed Sacrament. In return, too, he listened to troubles at home and with other groups.

As the war progressed, a camp outside Amman needed a Sunday chaplain and a Saturday confessor. At first his reception was cool and he paid his own transportation, but with time a staff car called for him on most Saturdays as well as Sundays. He kept an account of his congregation in numbers, confessions and communions. He was often not edified.

In view of the frustrations, misunderstandings, grumblings, badgerings (even a threat on his life) from his first arrival in Transjordan in early December 1939, it is not surprising to reflect on the words which Fr. Anderson heard from Msgr. Testa when he was finally able to track him down in Cairo six months after his arrival: "You must have many sins for which to repent, if your superiors send you to Transjordan." These words, perhaps uttered in a facetious way, were true of the price paid by Fr. Anderson's clinging to God.

At first it was only a rumor no bigger (even less big) than the hand of a man that was the forerunner of a change in the Cairo delegation which led to Fr. Anderson's February 1943 appointment as secretary there to a new apostolic delegate. On July 9, 1942, there was a rumor that Msgr. Testa was to go to Rome. In another month the rumor cropped up again. On August 18, 1942, at the Biblical, Fr. Anderson learned that the delegate had left for Rome on August 8 without leaving any form for school inspection work.

On August 21 he learned that a Britisher by the name of Edmund was to be in charge in Palestine and another Britisher was to head the work in Cairo. Since both replacements of the Italian Msgr. Testa were British, Fr. Anderson suspected that England had a hand in the departure of Testa who could not return at least to Egypt since no visa was granted him. This double-handed appointment, if ever planned, came to naught when Msgr. Arthur Hughes, a White Father and a British subject, announced his own single appointment to replace Msgr. Testa.

Msgr. Salman, who seemed to have been at odds with most everyone, was delighted.

At first no change in Fr. Anderson's work followed. When Fr. Anderson called to see him, Msgr. Hughes was out but it was learned that he had made a fine impression at dinner on Sunday October 18 at the Piblical. Finally, on October 23, Fr. Anderson met Hughes at his office and learned that Fr. Sarjeant had requested, in the final days of Msgr. Testa, the recall of Fr. Anderson to Baghdad. Hughes made it evident that a removal at that time would be most inauspicious. In a few days Fr. Sarjeant arrived at Amman and he agreed that an immediate severance from the work would be untimely.

From November 12 to 20 Fr. Anderson accompanied Hughes and one of his secretaries, Msgr. Oddi, on a tour of the missions. This was more than Msgr. Testa had ever done. Later that month he was asked by Oddi to prepare a detailed report on the schools to be sent to Rome. In writing this report, Fr. Anderson pointed out the harm done in not retaining the good teachers because of the constant refusal to increase teacher's salaries. Hughes also gave the news that the British wished with his aid to have the Italian Latin Patriarch exiled, but Hughes declined to cooperate.

The next two months from late November, 1942 to January 26, 1943 were times of sorrow and tension for Fr. Anderson. He participated in the Solemn Mass for Fr. General Ledcchowski held in the Church of the Polish community in Jerusalem -- at this Mass all possible groups and nationalities were represented.

Earlier on December 7, he had learned by delayed telegram that his sister Margaret had died on December 3. Letters from Baghdad stressed the volume of work there and the tension among the men. Much of this arose from the obsolescence of ten-year old busses.

Fr. Anderson also confided to his diary on January 24, 1942 how more difficult it was becoming to prepare an organized sermon for his army group. On this particular Sunday because of a snafu due to a new officer in charge, there was no arrangement for a Mass and hence no sermon. On January 26 while at Amman a telegram from Msgr. Hughes summoned him to Cairo. It read: "Please leave school supervision Transjordan for one month Monsignor Oddi and please arrange come immediately stay temporarily delegation here will explain when arrive. Greetings" Hughes. So the first intimation at a change came with this sentence of odd grammar.

The journey began, but had its complications. On arrival in Jerusalem he obtained an early exit permit. But obtaining a visa for Egypt was more complicated. He wired the delegate to expedite matters from Cairo. When he saw Msgr. Oddi at the delegation's headquarters in Jerusalem, the latter was ignorant of the change and of his being left in charge of the inspection work. Finally on January 30 approval came.

Now the floods on the roads held Fr. Anderson up at Salt and forced him back to Amman. There he got a telegram from Hughes asking for reports plus statistics which fortunately were available in Amman. On February 6 he left for Jerusalem, called Msgr. Oddi on the phone and learned that his documents might be

subject to censors. Also, at Jerusalem he obtained his visa at the Egyptian Consulate. By luck his manuscripts took only a brief time for censorship and then Msgr. Oddi went with him to the Jerusalem station for the train to Cairo.

On his arrival on February 10 he learned he was to be Secretary for English Affairs. The British had preferred one of their own natives, but Msgr. Hughes had held out and obtained an English-speaking American. At least the British were pleased that there was one less Italian secretary in the legation. It is at this juncture that Fr. Anderson stopped writing in his daily diary lest any confidential matters be betrayed. His writings from that time consist of official Society letters and of a carefully preserved series of letters which he wrote every few months to his one surviving sister, Agnes.

It is important to note that with his position as English Secretary, Fr. Anderson was expected to visit Transjordan briefly twice a year for school work. It was because of this small amount of time that could be given to this aspect of the work that the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches sought additional aid vis-a-vis the schools. This leads the narrative to its second section on Transjordan with some new and some old cast of characters.

Before this second problem of Transjordan arose in 1945 in Baghdad, a letter should be noted which Msgr. Hughes wrote to Cardinal Tisserant on December 23, 1944, for the Cardinal's attention and for the major Superior of the Society at the time, Fr. Vicar Norbert de Boynes. A second copy had gone to Fr.

Sarjeant who supplied a copy to Fr. Zacheus Maher. For Fr. Anderson, it expressed appreciation for the performance of a most necessary task. He was commended for his efficiency, for his far-sightedness, cheerfulness, obedience, erudition, friendship and unimpaired good humor. His only fault was his disinterestedness in himself.

This commendation was in sharp contrast to the threatening note which Fr. Anderson had received dated March 3, 1941. A disgruntled applicant had written to Mr. Anderson:

I am the youth you had stabbed me in my heart. So I wrote this letter to remind you that I made up my mind to murder you in the first chance, and in the nearest [sic] time. Believe me that you will not know the person whom he decides to kill you.

I am obligated to do this adventure until to revenge from you as such as in this suitable condition because you had destroyed my future, and hope for a false accusation.

Now you have a chance to save your life. It is better to you to appoint me in the nearest time, because I am sure there is a vacancy.

I suppose that you know me without writing my name. This is the last alarm.

M. D.

Chapter XI

WIDENING THE BAGHDAD MISSION (1945-1947)

In addition to its need of standard problems, the spring and summer of 1945 brought to the Baghdad Mission the strong possibility of new outside burdens. Either veterans from the mission or possible recruits for the mission were to be supplied to Transjordan. The mission at this time in 1945 would show that, in the school year ending in June, it had, after thirteen years of existence, eighteen members. All, however, were not in Iraq. Fr. Madaras had been given a sabbatical leave as the eldest continuing veteran of the mission. Fathers Michael J. McCarthy and Joseph P. Merrick were in Basra in school and apostolic endeavors. Only halfway through that year, when they had finished theology at Kurseog in India, did Fathers Thomas J. Hussey and John J. Williams join the college staff.

At the beginning of that year new recruits had been added. These included Fr. James Larkin who was to remain there until 1956 and Fr. Leo J. Guay. Although the latter had just concluded a Ph. D. program in chemistry at Clark University and for many ensuing years taught chemistry at Baghdad College, he became known as an architect and superintendent of the works. Thus he was responsible for planning, and building several structures at Baghdad College and all the buildings at Al-Hikma University. His acumen saved thousands of dollars for the mission and for other Christian groups for whom he served in a similar architectural capacity.

Despite the static numbers in personnel (seventeen in 1939 and seventeen with three dispersed in 1944-5), the school had increased in number of students and in its buildings. Directly on the mud-walled campus had been constructed a dormitory-faculty residence with students on the second floor, and faculty on the first. A chapel on the first floor served both as a boarders' and domestic chapel. There was also the conveniently reached roof-top where sleeping could occur in the warm seasons. Members of the faculty for whom there was no space in either of the two dormitory-residences lived in nearby dwellings, some more nearby than others. In this very summer of 1945, there was completed for fall use (if a bit late) a one-storied building with six classrooms. Some of the space allocated in the original classroom and administrative building to more general school purposes had been meanwhile converted to classrooms.

One diminution in the Baghdad College staff had been effected in 1940 when an appeal was made, sanctioned by the Sacred Congregation, to have Baghdad Jesuits replace Carmelite Fathers in the supervision of a grammar school in Basra. The school was first supervised by Fr. Leo J. Shea from 1940-1942. Fr. Michael J. McCarthy took over this task when Fr. Shea returned to the college to replace Fr. Madaras as Minister and procurator. Likewise, Fr. Merrick had gone there in 1942 for apostolic work including armed forces chaplaincy work.

Earlier it seems there had been raised the possibility of establishing an equivalent of Baghdad College in Haifa. This plan, if carried out, would call on some veterans from Baghdad or drawn on the same reservoir of men which had kept the Baghdad Mission static in personnel as it increased its potential between 1939 and 1945. Fr. Nadaras had made the survey and recommended against it. His conclusions were accepted by the Roman authorities that had requested the study. So this possible leakage had been avoided. When Fr. Anderson had been dispatched in 1939 to Transjordan, his assignment was viewed as a diminution of the task which Pope Pius XI in 1929 had urged on Fr. General for a school in Iraq and -- as a weakening at the same school project which the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches, after an initial toying with the possibility of a pensione rather than a school, had approved after Fr. Edmund A. Walsh's 1931 visit and report. Now that a new project in comparison with the original purpose was being proposed in 1945, the letters of protest of Fr. Sarjeant to Rome and Boston were very vigorous.

The first intimation that another raid on the mission staff was contemplated came in April of 1945 when Fr. Sarjeant was visiting Fr. Anderson in Cairo. Then there seemed to be a desire on the part of Msgr. Hughes to have two or three auxiliary priests in Cairo if not from the Baghdad Mission, at least from the Near East Vice-Province. There was also indication that some few might be called upon to serve in Palestine. Through the diplomatic pouch available to Fr. Anderson, Fr. Sarjeant sent a letter to Fr. Provincial John J.

McEleney on May 15 with these intimations and with the view that the mission could not spare men even if more time on school inspection in Transjordan was a practical possibility for Fr. Anderson. Fr. McEleney replied on May 18, 1945, that, while he would give serious consideration to requests for men for Cairo and elsewhere, he wished categorically to state that the essential task of the Baghdad Mission was to run Baghdad College.

When a letter on further work for the mission came officially, it came from Fr. Zacheus Maher, in a letter dated June 18. Fr. Vicar de Boynes wanted two men to serve as school inspectors in Transjordan. The task was to be made light for the mission. Two new men would be sent from the United States to replace two veterans selected from Baghdad College for the work. To this request Fr. Sarjeant wrote in dismay on July 5, 1945. He noted that the new work was not in Palestine as had been intimated to him that spring in Cairo. It was to Transjordan where Fr. Anderson for five years had labored all but in vain. He especially noted that, to Fr. Anderson's official report, no official response had been received any more than one had been given a report of another apostolic visitor fifteen years previously. Had not Fr. Anderson been the soul of tact, all the work would have been a fiasco. This was an intimation that the school visitation task in Transjordan needed a reassessment rather than a reinforcement.

Shortly after Fr. Sarjeant had written this letter to Fr. Provincial, he received a letter from Fr. Vicar directly. The Vicar wanted two Baghdad men for the Transjordan work but

gave no intimation such as Fr. Maher had given that two new recruits would replace them. Writing to Fr. Anderson of this instruction, Fr. Sarjeant sought Fr. Anderson's views by a letter of July 15. Fr. McEleney was similarly informed of Rome's views. To expedite matters, on July 11, the provincial wrote to Fr. Madaras, who was on leave in the States, for names of potential "Baghdadis" to be sent.

On July 21 Fr. Madaras proposed either Fr. Merrick or Fr. Robert J. Sullivan, the latter of whom had joined the mission in 1943 with a doctoral degree in anthropology which he had received during regency from Catholic University. Fr. Merrick, he pointed out, was nearly through with his military-chaplaincy work at Basra and knew some spoken Arabic. Fr. Sullivan whose severance from the mission would be a serious loss, could be relied upon to do a sterling job. Fr. Madaras also proposed that Fr. Sarjeant, whose term as superior was expiring, could be a choice. Fr. Sarjeant did not know Arabic, but in this sense he would be no more handicapped than Fr. Sullivan. His knowledge of French would be a help.

Before receiving Fr. McEleney's telegram on July 23 that two new fathers would be sent from the States for the Transjordan work, Fr. Sarjeant, on July 27, set forth his views on new personnel. If the two new men in Transjordan were to act at the instructions of Fr. Anderson, two new men would be preferable. If they were not to be under Fr. Anderson and this work was to be considered outside the assigned educational scope of Baghdad College, one man from the States and one from the

mission would be preferable. His choices from the mission would be either Fr. Devenny or Fr. Connell or Fr. McCarthy. The removal of anyone of them would be catastrophic for the school. Both Fr. Devenny and Fr. Connell had been ill at times during the past school year, and Fr. McCarthy at Basra would have to be replaced. But in view of the unsatisfying experience of Fr. Anderson in Transjordan for so long a time, the whole plan should be opposed as he had consistently argued.

It should also be kept in mind that the task of inspection in Arabic-speaking schools and in Arabic-speaking villages required a real knowledge of Arabic. If a second language were substituted, it would be French. The man or men selected should not so much have good nerves, but no nerves at all. The work was truly a watering of a dry stick where responsibility lay without authority. He repeated again that this work was outside the scope of that which Pope Pius XI had designed for the mission. Anyone who had been in Baghdad knew of the frustrating character of the work; hence, if any one went, it should be some one or two who knew nothing of the situation. They might have clearer minds. By all means, oppose the assignment was the final reiterated advice.

On August 13, Fr. McEleney wrote with the definite word (reinforcing his telegram of July 23) that two men would come from the States. While he would discuss the whole matter with Fr. Vicar (de Boynes) he had to say that de Boynes was mandatory with his instructions. By letter dated September 27, Fr. Sarjeant was informed that Fr. Madaras had been read in as

superior on September 24, while still on sabbatical. The two extra men for Transjordan were Fr. Thomas J. Kelly and Fr. Thomas F. McDermott who hoped to sail about October 20. They were not, however, to leave for Transjordan until the return of Fr. Madaras.

On his return from the United States to the mission, Fr. Madaras was to confer in Rome with Fr. Vicar. This same news was cabled by Fr. Madaras on September 30. Fr. de Boynes was reported by Fr. Madaras as not in favor of assigning present Baghdad missions to the new task. The most important point was the news that Fr. Maher had induced the Vicar to confer in Rome with both Fr. Madaras and Fr. Sarjeant. Until then, all was to remain as it was.

Prior to the meeting, in December 1945, Fr. Madaras wrote an account of the Baghdad Mission to Cardinal Tisserant. This showed its own need of personnel. It also explained why some financial aid might be expected if the mission were to expand and capitalize on its current dominant position in education. He pointed out that an anonymous American benefactress had given money making possible the classroom and administration building. This building constructed for 300 students now housed 400. A combined student dormitory and a faculty residence had gone up due to the benefaction of this same lady. It originally housed thirty students and eighteen faculty. With pressure for more and more boarding space for students, it then housed fifty students, and faculty space had been reduced. Faculty, therefore, lived in rented residents as close by as

possible. A house had also been rented for additional boarders bringing their total up to seventy.

Hopefully the Sacred Congregation could see the need of a new dormitory, a classroom building, a school chapel and a faculty residence. At this time, and much later, too, it could be added, outdoor campus space served for auditorium purposes, while formal affairs such as graduation were held in public halls. This whole group of needed facilities might be built for \$750,000. Toward a chapel and faculty residence, \$80,000 had been given by the same benefactors, now deceased. When in New York, Fr. Madaras had asked Archbishop Francis J. Spellman for \$50,000 from the Catholic Near East Association on the score that \$50,000 had been the cost of the 1937-8 building. Archbishop Spellman stating his own inability to grant this fund, proposed that it be requested of Cardinal Tisserant. With such written data, conferences could proceed between Fathers Madaras and Sarjeant with Cardinal Tisserant and Msgr. Antonio Arata, one of his assistants.

From the 9th to the 14th day of November 1945, a series of conferences took place. They were summarized by Fr. Madaras. The mission, the cardinal agreed, should concentrate on Baghdad College. Editorially it should again be noted that this was a change in thinking on the part of the congregation. In 1931 it had clearly instructed Fr. Edmund A. Walsh to probe exclusively the possibility not of a school in Iraq, but of a hostel only. Only when Fr. Walsh had made clear that nothing short of a school would meet the needs and the hopes of the various

ecclesiastical groups in Iraq did the Congregation agree to a school. Then, as had been recorded, it was not very kind to Fr. Walsh.

However, over the years (1932-1945) the fame of Baghdad College had come so often and so loudly to the attention of Roman officials that the apostolic value of the school was very evident. The mission itself, seemingly unaware of the contretemp concerning school or hostel, always insisted that it was founded to conduct a school. So Pius XI had appealed to Fr. General, and so, too, Fr. Walsh, without trying to bring people to that conclusion, had found as the desideratum from the earliest days of his visit to Baghdad.

There was also a decision about Basra. The cardinal approved a request to the Apostolic Delegate of Mesopotamia to have this work discontinued. This request was made and the Carmelites resumed control over their mother project in Basra. In September 1939, the Carmelite Fathers had asked the apostolic delegate to have permission to close St. Thomas Primary School in Basra. Their contention was that, during the war, they could not obtain the funds for equipment and lay personnel. It was suggested that the school be turned over to the Jesuits for the war's duration. If the school were closed, it would be difficult, if not impossible, to have a government permit to have it reopened under Catholic auspices.

So with the beginning of the 1940-41 school year, the task devolved on the Baghdad Mission one year after it had supplied one of its missionaries to Transjordan. The first

director, as has been pointed out, was Fr. Leo Shea (1940-42), then came Fr. Merrick for one year (1942-43) and then Fr. McCarthy (1943-45). Fr. Merrick continued there from 1943-45 as a chaplain.

At the time of the conference it seemed feasible that the school be returned to the Carmelite Fathers. They seemed to want back their original mission in Basra and, moreover, they had Iraqi members who could be assigned there. It is important to point out that the Carmelites, because of their long tenure in the area, were considered the representatives of the Latin community of Iraq by the government and that the Latin community was not considered a foreign entity in the eyes of the law. One might wonder if the Jesuits who soon outshone the Carmelites in prestige might not have been made a part of this official Latin community.

Until the data on the Carmelites concerning Basra came to light, the author (who was fortunate to spend some months twice in Baghdad) never heard of this curious bit of erudition. Since their arrival in early 1932, both Fr. Rice and Fr. Madaras lived with the Carmelites and since its then excellent cathedral grammar school supplied the cream of its early Christian applicants, and since relations continued in a friendly fashion, one would suppose that this possibility was explored and found either impossible or unfeasible.

An undated and anonymous report prepared prior to this conference with Cardinal Tisserant indicated that, at least during World War II, American religious were preferred in Iraq as

less suspect of nationalism than French or Italian religious. With prescience this report added that the preferred position in Iraq of American clergy "may be changed by future oil developments and by American support of the Jewish side of the Palestine question." How true! Also how ironic since the sympathies of the Baghdad Jesuits were favorable to an Arab point of view and to the Palestinians dispersed with the formation of Israel.

As to the thorny subject of Transjordan which had occasioned the interview between Fr. Nadaras and Fr. Sarjeant with the Cardinal as well as with the Vicar, the views so insisted upon by Fr. Sarjeant were answered. While documentation on the meeting with Fr. Vicar is not available, the conclusion is known. No one, not even men directly from the States, had to be deployed there. From the meetings with Tisserant and Arata, it was made clear that the original idea for and continued insistence on Union Schools in Transjordan was attributable to Msgr. Testa, now relieved of his task as apostolic delegate. The whole subject needed reexamination rather than reinforcement. As to Fr. Anderson, the Cardinal approved the writing of a letter to Msgr. Hughes asking for his release. It could expedite this release if an interview on the subject was had with Msgr. Giovanni Battista Montini of the Secretariate of State.

In speaking of eventual Catholic higher education in the whole area, Jerusalem was proposed by the Cardinal as a future site for such a university. It might well be discussed

with Msgr. Hughes and with Fr. Charles de Bonneville, the local Jesuit Vice Provincial. It would receive the support of the Sacred Congregation. The \$50,000 requested for Baghdad College was granted and the money was made available during that very month. Nothing further was heard of the Jerusalem University.

By 1955-1956 plans were well advanced for opening in Baghdad of a four-year college to be known as Al-Hikma (Wisdom) University. By that time, the relations between the government and Baghdad College with its educational prestige were such that, while Fr. Thomas F. Hussey was rector and Fr. Joseph Connell and Fr. Joseph Ryan were consultors along with the province prefect for higher education, Fr. J. L. Burke, the Iraq government made a generous grant of land in the deep south of the city, and a U.S. agency plus philanthropic agencies (Gulbekian, Ford, Near East) made gifts available for a series of buildings. This was well off into the future in 1946.

The time came when the plans reached in the Roman conferences had a bearing on Fr. Anderson. On May 20, 1946, Fr. Madaras wrote to Fr. McEleney that the time for Fr. Anderson's freedom was about to arrive. Some changes in the Cairo legation both helped and slowed this freedom. Already in 1945, Fr. Anderson had written to his sister that Msgr. Hughes was soon to be ordained a bishop. Just as Msgr. Hughes in writing to Jesuit authorities in Rome had sincerely and amply praised Fr. Anderson, so Fr. Anderson did in a letter to his sister on April 11, 1945:

"In my varied experience I have worked with no one more completely the priest than Father Hughes, no one more ardently zealous for the things of Christ nor more profoundly sympathetic toward his fellow-men. I have been with him among the great, the near great and the obscure. I have seen him among the little innocents in the schools and among the sophisticates of Cairo's brilliant and cosmopolitan society. He is equally the priest with the one and the other, and with all the varied ranks between them. Everywhere I have seen people attracted to him by the magnetic force of his priestly character. In the whole range of human problems and perplexities it would be a rare type of such [problems] that had not been brought to him by some anxious person seeking counsel or guidance or sympathy or help of more material sort. I know of no man more universally loved by all classes of people. We who are blessed in our intimate relationship with him are supremely happy in the honor conferred upon him for we know how worthily he will wear that honor and how truly he will be that which is a bishop's noblest function -- 'a shepherd of the flock'."

The episcopal ordination originally scheduled for May 6 in Cairo was postponed to Pentecost Sunday, May 20. Fr. Anderson was in charge of arrangements and ceremonies; hence his continued presence was required for this function and ordinary business. In a letter to his sister a year earlier (August 7, 1945), Fr. Anderson had described the multiple activities of mere ordinary work in the Cairo legation. The place was a "rare combination of legation, consulate, bank, employment agency,

travel bureau, beneficent society, judicial court, refugee for matrimonial shipwrecks, and almost any other conceivable sort of human institution that, can help distressed humanity and [sic] all that, of course, in addition to its normal function as an ecclesiastical clearing house of religious problems".

Not too long after his ordination, Hughes (his rank was that of a titular archbishop) took off to England for his first vacation in twelve years. This meant further ties of Fr. Anderson to Cairo. By January, 1946, the archbishop was expected to stop in Rome, and to be back in Cairo by late January. By that time a new secretary had arrived to replace Msgr. Oddi who had served in Transjordan in Fr. Anderson's absence. By March Fr. Anderson was serving as the chaplain to armed forces near Cairo since most of the regular chaplains were gone. Finally, by April 26, 1946 he began the process of obtaining his own passports and visas.

Another visit to Transjordan was requested to have the schools ready for the fall. With Msgr. Oddi's transfer, no other secretary was as experienced with the work. There was some doubt about a visa for Transjordan which had recently become the Kingdom of Jordan.

One of the last spiritual functions of Fr. Anderson in Cairo was to give first communion to the children of Cecil Lyons of the British Embassy, a Catholic who had married the daughter of Joseph C. Grew, the U.S. Ambassador to Japan at Pearl Harbor time. Mrs. Lyons was not a Catholic, but she was serious about the Catholic upbringing of her children in her husband's Catholic

faith.

When the departure came, it came with a pleasant surprise. Fr. Anderson was designated as a courier to Rome on some ordinary business. He was the only secretary in the delegation who had never been in Rome, and Archbishop Hughes used the opportunity to show his satisfaction. Three days after his arrival in Rome, Fr. Anderson wrote to his sister on May 12, 1946 of his reception at the Curia, his visits to Jesuit spots with Fr. Vincent A. McCormick, S. J., American Assistant, and other visits to numerous ecclesiastical places and structures. On May 20 he said Mass for his sister Agnes in the church over the prison in which her patron saint had been contained prior to her martyrdom. Before he left Rome on June 5, he had learned that Emir Abdullah had been crowned king in Amman. He spoke of Jordan in an address over the Vatican Radio, but said little about the Union Schools which he was to visit that summer. He travelled via Cairo to Amman.

By September 2 in Jerusalem Fr. Anderson had booked flight on a TWA flight on September 25 to arrive in Boston on Friday, September 27, shortly before noon. To add to her joy, Archbishop Hughes wrote on September 26, 1946 to Agnes Anderson, whose careful keeping of her brother's letters has aided in the writing of this manuscript. The titular archbishop spoke of the years in which glorious moments of his life had been filled with the companionship, wisdom, learning, patience and kindness of her brother. Together with his radiance of good humor and sparkling wit, the pair of them laughed and enjoyed themselves as they

poured over their problems. Thus was concluded the first and most extended of the assignments from the Baghdad Mission for tasks in other parts of the Near or Middle East

Once again, in 1949, Fr. Anderson was to go there on his way to investigate the possibility of a school in Iran. To fill in the years from late 1946 to the middle of 1949, it should be noted that Fr. Anderson for a time lived at Georgetown and served as a liaison on acquiring material for war-stricken Jesuit establishments. He was part, as it were, of a Jesuit UNRRA or part of a Jesuit Marshall Plan. Perhaps the narrative might jump ahead to note the final visit with Archbishop Hughes, and the belated learning of this man's death.

On June 25, 1949, from the Jesuit residence of the Holy Family in Cairo, Fr. Anderson wrote to his sister. He had arrived in Cairo via Rome and Athens on his way to investigate in Iran and landed in the newly set-up King Farouk Airport on the site where he had often said Mass for members of the armed services. Although invited to stay at the internuntiate by Archbishop Hughes, he preferred lodging at the Jesuit houses. Yet each afternoon he was conveyed to the archiepiscopal residence and brought back in the evening. He found Hughes in quite poor condition, and on the verge of a visit to England.

Since after a stop in Rome he was to return to Cairo, another visit was planned when Fr. Anderson was returning from Iran. Fr. Anderson, setting out from Cairo to Iran, first visited Basra, then Baghdad and on July 18 arrived in Teheran. In the Baghdad College Library he had boned up on Iran from its

collection of Middle East books. He looked forward to meeting in Teheran the Chaldean Archbishop who once was a staff member in Iraq when Fr. Anderson was at Baghdad College. Nor was the apostolic delegate there a stranger, since during World War II, he had been a visitor at Cairo. There was also the possibility of greeting some Baghdad College alumni, and some of the Salesian and Vincentian fathers he had known in Cairo.

The journey brought one sorrow. He learned without details that Archbishop Hughes had died while on vacation in England. Later when Fr. Anderson was returning through Cairo, he found a letter written from Cairo and mailed to him at Georgetown. From there it had been directed to Rome, and from Rome to Cairo. It was from the secretary of one of the English Catholic generals who was a Cairo friend of Fr. Anderson.

The secretary in postwar years had come to know Archbishop Hughes, and had been received into the church by him. Not knowing what Fr. Anderson knew of the death, she relayed news she had received directly from the family. She wished also to let Fr. Anderson know of the deep regard that the archbishop had expressed to her about his English secretary. Since he had gone, no one had given him in his illness the loving care which Fr. Anderson as an infirmarian-secretary had bestowed.

It could be said that this way of caring for the sick had rubbed off on Fr. Anderson from the practice which many scholastics and fourth-year fathers had seen or experienced or partaken in when the Weston infirmary and added rooms were filled with patients as epidemics ran through the closely-knit

community. Many a winter at Weston this task was done by its rector, Fr. Kilroy, and his corps of assistants such as Fr. Pat Collins. So with Archbishop Hughes posthumous praises of Fr. Anderson ringing in our ears, this episode of Amman, Jerusalem and Cairo can be brought to a close.

Chapter XII

PENETRATING THE ELITE IN IRAN (1947-1949)

On October 9, 1948, Fr. John J. McEleney, then the New England Province Provincial, sent a confidential letter to Fr. Francis W. Anderson, then stationed at Jesuit Missions in New York City. A notice had come to Fr. McEleney that the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches had written on March 8, 1947, to Fr. General John B. Janssens to request that American Jesuits man a college (secondary school) in Teheran, the capital city of Iran. The thrust behind the school was the penetration of the educated class of Iran. The investigation into this Middle East possibility was to employ the services of Fr. Anderson who was still attached to the Baghdad Mission. A favorable response could have repercussion on the personnel and economic strength of the mission. Hence, it is appropriate to view once again the situation of the Baghdad Mission in the fall of 1948 when action on the request began, and into the school year 1949-50 when the survey was conducted.

The N.E. Province catalog for 1948-1949 (ineunte 1949) listed twenty-seven Jesuits on the Baghdad Mission and 510 students. The superior both of the school and the mission since September 24, 1945, was Fr. Edward F. Madaras of the Chicago Province, one of the original two pioneers in Baghdad in March, 1932. There were listed twenty other priests of whom one, Fr. Joseph A. Devenny, was in Boston at the time. Several of these were new since the last survey of 1945-1946. These included

Fathers Francis X. Cronin, Stanislaus T. Gerry, Sidney M. McNeil and Thomas B. Mulvehill. No longer there, were Fathers Ralph B. Delaney, Vincent A. Gookin, Thomas P. McDermott. Fr. Francis E. Sarjeant was listed on leave. The two who had been in Basra (Fr. Michael McCarthy and Fr. Leo J. Shea) had returned to Baghdad.

In 1945-6 there were five regents and the number was the same in 1948-49. There was one brother (Brother Italo A. Parnoff) in the community. In the year 1949-1950 when the survey was being made, the total number of Jesuits had increased by two to twenty-nine. New members were Fathers Joseph J. LaBran, and six regents rather than five. As to buildings since 1945-1946, there had been completed within the campus proper a faculty residence.

In his letter of October 9, 1948, Fr. McEleney had asked Fr. Anderson for any data that might occur to him or any into which he might inquire with Washington authorities. He welcomed any such views since he was not adverse to expansion of province mission activities. Not having heard from Fr. Anderson, he had a second similar letter sent ten days later on October 29 with a four-page memorandum with his own thinking. Since 1948 was an election year, and October so close to election day, inquiries in Washington were being held off until after the November election. His own memorandum indicated that he had known in Cairo Archbishop (later Cardinal) Paolo Pappalardo who was recently appointed Apostolic Delegate in Teheran after having served there in a lesser capacity for some years. He was a

tenacious man who could stress advantages and leave disadvantages to be learned through experience. Like his predecessor Archbishop Alcide Marina, who had had the invitation extended in 1946, Pappalardo advocated a Jesuit school.

Fr. Anderson had learned of disabilities suffered by outside schools as a result of legislation in the 1930s. Any school that continued did so on sufferance and because influential government people had had connections with them through their relatives. The fact, too, that most Catholics lived away from Teheran, would indicate the school as essentially a boarding one. Perhaps, also, the opening contact might be a boarding house in Teheran for students at the state university. A small group of Jesuits conducting a pensione could discern in a few years on the scene the best way to accomplish the goal of the delegate and the sacred congregation. In the era of the Cold War a school so close to Russia was a chilling factor. A ray of hope was the possibility that the indigeneous Zoroastrian religion, perhaps only superficially enveloped in Islam, could supply an opening to penetrate the educated classes.

By November 22, 1948, Fr. Anderson could relate the views of some members of the U.S. Department of State. On November 18th, he had consulted for an hour with Joseph Satherwaite, Chief of the Division for Middle East and African Affairs, and with a Mr. Wright, the State Department expert on Iran in the same division. The former had been a consul in Baghdad in 1938, and had been dealing with Middle East affairs for ten years. The latter had worked there from 1921 to 1936.

He had since been stationed in Washington with occasional trips to Iran. Their opinion was that, even if the Iranian government authorized a school, it would be ill-advised to begin one in the current disturbed conditions. They indicated the continued legal problem requiring an Iranian national at the head of the school, and of the disadvantaged position of the Jesuit staff.

One reason why the Iranian government hesitated to make a special arrangement for an American school was the real fear that the Russians in turn would demand one. This had been the experience one year before when the American Presbyterians had attempted to be authorized to conduct a school. Mr. Wright also believed that the cult of Zoroaster was losing ground and that the Moslem religion was attracting converts as against communism. Hence, he found little hope in any possible penetration through the cult of Zoroaster.

The personal report of Fr. Anderson as well as his memorandum based on the wisdom of the U.S. State Department officials were forwarded by Fr. McEleney to Fr. General. In covering correspondence, not now available, but obliquely referred to in other correspondence, Fr. McEleney had praised Fr. Andersson as an expert on Middle East affairs due to his stay in Baghdad, his supervisory and other work in Transjordan and Palestine, and his secretarial stint at Cairo in the office of the apostolic delegate.

On January 27, 1949, Fr. General John B. Janssens informed Fr. McEleney that he had decided to look into the invitation to establish a college (secondary school) in Teheran,

Iran. He indicated that he had consulted experts and his own assistants on the matter after receiving the two communications of November 8 and November 29 from the provincial. It was decided to send a visitor to Iran to examine conditions, weigh advantages and disadvantages, confer with Catholics and report to him. The sacred congregation and the Eastern Churches had approved of the procedure. Hence, he selected Fr. Anderson as an expert on Mideast affairs. Time could be taken for undertaking the project, since there was no cause to hurry.

On February 5 Fr. Provincial informed Fr. Anderson of this assignment, and he indicated that he was informing Fr. Calvert Alexander, Editor of Jesuit Missions, of Fr. Anderson's new assignment. He planned to discuss the matter with Fr. Anderson in Washington later in February. He let Fr. Anderson know that his reports had gone to the General. Hence, arose the assignment for Fr. Anderson's inquiry. However, in early March he informed Fr. Anderson that everything was to be postponed awaiting a scheduled visit of Fr. Assistant Vincent A. McCormick. The latter on his arrival held that no visit need begin until Fr. Anderson's schedule was cleared by the end of May.

By June 10 Fr. Anderson informed Fr. McEleney of his arrival at the Curia and his early discussions on the issue with Fr. General and Cardinal Tisserant. The latter in the interview brought up the possibility of an institute quite independent of the college. As far as the visa was concerned, the sacred congregation was making the arrangements for departures via

Cairo. Fr. Anderson arrived in Teheran and began his study on July 18, 1949. It concluded on October 24, 1949. During a visit to Baghdad College he wrote much of his official report. Arriving in Rome, he conferred on his report with Fr. General on November 30, 1949. The report was approved and to it Fr. Anderson added some details supplied to him by ecclesiastics in Iran after his departure.

By the time Fr. Anderson had arrived in Teheran the early stages of negotiation between Archbishop Paolo Pappalardo, the apostolic delegate, and the premier, a Jewish convert to Islam, were well advanced on a cultural accord proposed by the premier. This accord, if it had been brought to fruition, would have furnished a legal foundation for any projected Jesuit secondary school as well as for many of the other missionary schools which existed only on sufferance. It would also have authorized a cultural institute which could have been conducted by three Jesuits. So large does the institute loom in the final report that the originally requested Jesuit secondary school seems to have been considerably deemphasized. Fr. Anderson's report appears better disposed toward the institute than toward the secondary school.

Since the secondary school was first requested and since even at the time of the visit, it was still favored by the delegate, its possibilities should first be considered. The site was to have been Teheran, a city of 800,000 people, rather picturesquely laid out by Shah Reza and European engineers at the base of the Alborz Mountain. The whole country then had a

population of seventeen million with one-fifth of its population living in cities and towns. The rest lived in villages. Moslems numbered 16,700,000 and Christians but 130,000. There were also 100,000 Jews, 35,000 Zoroastrians, and 30,000 Bahai. The Catholic Christians were of the Chaldean and Armenian rites.

Christian schools, primary and secondary, had been outstanding in numbers and quality prior to the efforts of the Shah Reza to establish government schools up to and including a university. They were, by 1949, fewer, but these few had good reputations. Ever since 1870 the Lazarists had conducted the College of St. Louis in Teheran and, since the 1880's, the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul had run the Joan of Arc Academy. These two along with other Protestant and foreign government schools had been battered in 1932 when Iranian subjects were prohibited from attending non-Iranian schools.

In 1939, another rule required an Iranian national as principal of all such schools. Despite the law, action had not been taken against the French government school and the two Catholic schools of Teheran. Too many influential Iranians had sent their relatives with satisfaction to these two religious schools, and the clout of the French government was powerful in Iran until the collapse of France in 1940. Even then the religious schools had pleaded the need to present their situation to their European superiors before accepting any compensation for their school property. This tactic of delay kept them open because of their clientele, but there was always danger of drastic action.

Although these two Catholic schools were kept open on the plea of educating non-Iranians, Fr. Anderson found that St. Louis had 350 Iranians out of an enrollment of 450. Joan of Arc had 700 Iranian girls out of a total registration of 900. One of the sources of opposition to these schools and any other potential Christian schools were the mullas, who exerted pressure on the government. This pressure from the mullas led the government to insist at least on Iranian principals.

Views of the members of the then Iranian Department of Education were disparate. The minister of education was tolerant because his wife had gone to Joan of Arc, and his daughters were there currently, but he had to placate the mullas somewhat. The under-secretary, who once taught at the Lazarist College, was positively friendly. His two daughters were at the new grammar school taught by the Italian Sisters of St. Zita. However, the director of the schools in Teheran had no personal or family ties with the Catholic schools, and was constantly irritated by remarks concerning their superiority.

In addition to the two academies (St. Vincent's and St. Joan of Arc's) there was a total of five mission schools in Teheran, and five others outside Teheran. All existed on legal sufferance. In only more recent years had some of these been established. After the deposition of Shah Reza and the government's preoccupation with the Cold War, the apostolic delegate at the time, Archbishop Marina, persuaded new groups to start schools. In 1943 the Armenian Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, whose school in Isfahan, had been closed in 1939,

were urged to move to Teheran and begin a school. In 1943 also Archbishop Farina had induced the Italian Sisters of St. Zita, who hitherto had performed now unneeded domestic work in Teheran, to begin a school.

Again in 1943, the two Italian Salesian parish priests working in Teheran were urged by the delegate to open a boarding house for Catholic boys separated from their parents by the war. Unable to enroll these boys in any existing school, the Salesians began to teach them with only the blessing of the delegate. With the later recognition of this work by their European superiors, other Salesians had come in 1944-1945.

Outside of Teheran, there were five other primary schools conducted by the Lazarists. None had legal authorization and none had over one hundred pupils. As far as the Chaldeans of Azerbaijan were concerned, no elementary Catholic schools had been re-established, and even the government had schools in only a few larger places. A few students who were judged capable were sent as non-paying boarders to the Lazarists and the St. Zita Sisters at Teheran, or to the primary school of St. Vincent de Paul's Daughters at Rezaeyeh.

This survey of schools and pupils showed somewhat the possible competition with the Lazarist College and with the outside possibility that the Salesians might expand their grammar school into some kind of a secondary school. It also showed that it was only on sufferance that the schools existed and on the strong-willed determination of the apostolic delegate. The current apostolic delegate, Archbishop Pappalardo, more than any

superior of the religious groups involved, was prepared to accept a government requirement of an Iranian principal if this were the only way to keep open the Catholic schools. He met opposition in this point from the French embassy which forbade the Lazarist superior from making such a request.

Another topic needing probing was the purchasing of land. A law enacted as far back as 1922 limited the acquisition of such property to legal incorporations. Hence it was that the Salesians, the Sisters of St. Zita, and any other recent arrivals such as the Armenian Sisters could not purchase property legally since they themselves were not legally incorporated. On the contrary, the Lazarists and the Daughters of St. Vincent de Paul, who had been for decades in Iran, had acquired and legally registered their vast properties. Despite this legal liability, the delegate had urged the Sisters of St. Zita to buy a large tract only to learn that by chicanery a large strip in the middle of it had not been included in the sale. Since the purchase was not in accord with the law, the sisters could bring no legal action.

The Salesian Fathers have withstood the appeals of the delegate to purchase land, and were thus judged uncooperative. This reaction of the delegate vis-a-vis the Salesians was one of his reasons for urging Jesuits for education in Iran. His proposal on land was that the Jesuits would purchase half of the tract obtained by the St. Zita Sisters. This would still have left the Society with property without legal safeguards. If the Jesuits had to rent, they could see its cost from learning that

the St. Zita Sisters were paying the equivalent of \$10,000 a year for rent on their school.

The outlook for secondary school enrollments was not very sanguine. The Lazarists, whose school was a six-year primary with an intermediate secondary school, had an enrollment of 450 with only eighty Christians of varying rites. Joan of Arc Academy had an enrollment of 218 Catholics, seventy of whom were Europeans, along with a Moslem enrollment of 512. If a proposed Jesuit school were not very much a free school, it could have very few Catholics from the provinces.

As for Catholics of education in Teheran, the only member of the professional class was a woman doctor convert, and the one Catholic on the Teheran University staff was also a convert. Catholics did not seem able to pay the modest fees in government schools. Most all the Catholics of Teheran were Chaldeans to the number of 2500. This community was served by Archbishop (later Patriarch) Paul Cheikho, a former Baghdad priest and teacher at Baghdad College. He had one priest with him. Prior to 1944, the Chaldean See was at Sina, somewhat northwest of Teheran. It was transferred to Teheran with the influx of Chaldeans from the provinces in the hope of financial betterment.

Since a Jesuit establishment might well depend initially on funds from the Catholic Near East Welfare Association, it remains to be seen what the sacred congregation did directly with money given to this country. Of \$100,000 expended in recent years in Iran, \$70,000 had gone to Chaldean

projects such as land purchase, cathedral, schools and rectory. Others in Iran have been aided only slightly, much to their annoyance. A Chaldean junior seminary was planned with its primary work done in the Salesian school and its secondary in the proposed Jesuit school. Philosophy and theology would be done in Rome. The Lazarists, it might be noted, had conducted a seminary but it was discontinued when only two priests had eventuated in the course of twenty years.

One group expecting to receive funds soon were the Armenian Catholics who numbered but 800, had two priests, one of whom was an aide to the delegate. Their episcopal see was in Julfa which has the only Armenian church in Iran. In Teheran, they used the Salesian church for their services. This group of Armenian Catholics was very much at odds with the Gregorian ("orthodox") Armenians.

In view of the needs of these groups plus the needs of groups of sisters, the delegate, in inviting the Jesuits, had hoped that they could provide most, if not all, of the needed cash-flow and not have to use the funds of Catholic Near East Welfare Association.

In view of the possibility of a Salesian technical college and of the existing Lazarist intermediate school that could be extended to a full secondary school, it was wondered why the delegate wished, as a possible third alternative, for boys to have a full-fledged Jesuit secondary school. In addition to the hope of bringing Jesuit funds and tapping foundation and government sources, the delegate was not convinced that the

Lazarists were properly equipped to conduct the grade of secondary school his plans had envisaged. It would not penetrate the upper classes of Iranian society. He was disillusioned with the prudential inactivity in education of the Salesian fathers. He knew of Baghdad College, and its prestige and hoped that it could be paralleled in Teheran despite governmental difficulties. A Jesuit college such as that, if established in Teheran, could more easily and effectively penetrate the cultured class. Sons of this class would be students or the prestige of a school well-conducted after the curriculum pattern prized in Iran would be a source of enlightenment and, hopefully, of Christian salvation. The delegate was prepared, it seems, to have the student body chiefly Moslem, to permit an Iranian principal, to build up gradually another handful of Christian students and hope for the best.

But Msgr. Pappalardo's hopes in 1949, could have been much more sanguine than those of his predecessor Mgr. Marina who had extended the invitation in 1946. He may have been more conscious of the need of a legal basis for a school venture and the consequent power to buy lands legally. He had arrived only in January 1948 and in his first interview with the Minister of Foreign Affairs he received an unexpected proposal for a cultural accord between the Holy See and Iran. This Minister, a Jew converted to Islam, was believed by some to favor a cultural accord to ward off awkward diplomatic relations with the Vatican.

An important part of the accord would be the legal recognition of the mission schools, and their consequent ability to purchase land and perhaps to be free of disabilities placed on non-Iranian schools. The accord would also authorize a cultural institute which appeared a much more effective way of penetrating the cultured class than could be accomplished by a secondary school. Hence Msgr. Pappalardo early sought authorization to begin negotiations on the proposed accord, and in March, 1948, he had been granted permission. Since Fr. Anderson was in Teheran while negotiations were going on, he was invited by the delegate several times to attend discussions. The initial text was finished in October and approved by the Council of Ministers after acceptance by the Minister of Education and the Rector of the University of Teheran.

Although Cardinal Tisserant had approved, Fr. Anderson learned from Msgr. Oddi, an acquaintance of his Transjordan and Cairo days, that the Vatican Secretary of State was seeking some revisions. There was fear in Teheran that, with a projected change in cabinet, all would have to be begun over again. Some mishap was its fate, but during the year 1949 hopes were sanguine and plans were projected on the success of the accord.

When the initial invitation had come, the concept of a cultural center had been more narrow than it was to become in the proposed Cultural Accord of 1949. By the initial model, the center might imitate the center in Rome maintained by the University of Grenoble where advanced courses were available in French literature. A Teheran center under the original proposal,

however, would, in offering French and English language and literature, only be duplicating what was done at the Franco-Iranian Institute and the Alliance Israelite in French, and at the Anglo-Iranian Institute and at the Presbyterian Alborz Foundation in English. This early plan was abandoned both as too narrow and as needlessly competitive with governmentally subsidized and privately endowed institutions.

The newly proposed cultural center was to be in Iranology, that is, in the culture, history and literature of Iran, but especially where these matters could be placed at the service of religion. This arrangement might hopefully penetrate the cultured classes. Similar devices elsewhere in Beirut and Cairo had not really penetrated Moslem culture. Some hope in Iran was founded on the belief that the Zoroastrian culture underlying the Moslem cover could be reached, especially since Iranians were thought to be less stalwart defenders of a non-indigenous Moslem culture. Philosophy, too, would be represented, particularly that of Ibn Senna (Avicenna). There was hope also in working with the mysticism stemming from Persian Sufism and Bahaism.

The institute might also translate books, similar to the work of the Presbyterians. By appealing to an adult, as opposed to a youthful audience, the work according to Father Anderson's report could have this advantage: "From the natural point of view, therefore, work among an older group with legitimate outlets in marriage for their physical desires could be confronted by fewer obstacles than work among the adolescent

of already practiced laxity." The report appeared to make clear that the visitor, if he were to favor any entrance in Teheran, leaned heavily toward the institute rather than to the secondary school.

There was detailed provision set forth about the staffing of this institute. The apostolic delegate favored three members, but occasional lectures from elsewhere would be welcomed. These might come from the Baghdad Mission making use of rapid air flights, or from other occasional visitors, or from natives who had been educated in Europe. All staff members must know Persian well, plus English and French. One member must know Arabic well. It would be helpful if one of these three were an accomplished musician, another a historian and a third a philosopher-theologian. The name of Fr. Richard J. McCarthy came easily to mind if the Baghdad Mission was to be a Peter to be robbed to provide a Paul in Iran. In view of the specialized needs, assistancy-wide recruitment of men would be helpful.

These early projections on housing the institute were dreamlike. There would be a need of a specially constructed dwelling with an intimate theater for 300, a reception room, and the spacious type of garden invariably found in such a place. In a more modest fashion, a second floor would have living and guest rooms plus a small domestic chapel. Nothing was said about a dining quarter or a recreation center, or a kitchen. As of 1949 the price was estimated at from \$90,000 to \$120,000. Toward operating expenses, the delegate believed the Oriental Congregation would grant a \$10,000 annual subsidy. He personally

judged such a center more valuable than an apostolic delegate.

Such a complex would also entail the purchase of land. Here the delegate had a bargain in mind, land worth \$62,500 that could be had for \$43,270. This site was one half of the land which the Sisters of St. Zita had purchased, but which they could not use for a school because a high-priced strip of land separated one half of their land from the other half. For the institute to take one-half of this idle land off the hands of the sisters would help the delegate since it was his predecessor who had rather unwisely urged the sisters to purchase land for which then they could have no legal title. Whenever the proposed cultural accord became effective, the institute would have recognition by the government as a Pontifical Institute. Archbishop Pappalardo cutely (shall we say) left the financing of the land up to the Jesuit General and the papal curia.

There was one other loose end for consideration. If the possibilities of a secondary school and even the institute failed, the question arose about a pensione in Teheran for Catholic students matriculating from the province at the state university with its numerous subdivisions. In his preliminary report of October 27, 1948, antedating his visit, Fr. Anderson had suggested such a possibility instead of a secondary school. In appendix two of his official report, he concluded that there were at present no such Catholic students to board. Should a need arise in the future, the location of the pensione would rather concern the recently established (August, 1949) State University at Tabriz since most Catholics were concentrated in

Western Azerbaijan. In that area the Lazarist Fathers had property easily convertible to pensione purposes. The experience of the Protestant Mission in establishing a pensione in Teheran in summer of 1949 was not initially proving very helpful. It had forty places, with six taken by Protestants and two by Moslems.

There were at the most fifty of all kinds of Christians at the University of Teheran, and most of them lived at home and commuted. Students from the province tended to live with relatives and to commute. The need for a Christian or Catholic pensione seemed chimerical. Nor could reliance be placed on non-Iranian Christians attending the University. They invariably went abroad for higher education as well as for secondary education. So this kind of boarding facility was out of the question. There were no potential boarders.

It is true that one reading Fr. Frank Anderson's thirty-three page report plus its thirteen pages of appendices would be led to believe he would recommend clearly against the secondary school and the boarding facilities. While he was intrigued by the institute, he saw against it its money problems, its specialized personnel and the seeming failure of the cultural accord which alone could give it and other schools a legal standing. Hence without any text of a negative report being given, he stated, in a foreword on July 30, 1970, to some copies of the report, that his conclusion had been negative, and was so accepted by Fr. General. So Fr. Richard J. McCarthy was not stolen for the institute, but he was to see Teheran at firsthand when, at the next request for a Jesuit presence in Teheran, he

was the visitor.

Chapter XIII

MORE TEHERAN (1950-1957)

The plan for a Jesuit institution in Teheran and the need for land did not appear to get out of the blood of the members of the Sacred Congregation for the Eastern Churches. On January 13, 1950, its secretary, Eugene Cardinal Tisserant, wrote to Fr. General about some property that might interest him in the work of penetrating the Iranian educated classes. There was a reference to a loan from the congregation to the Sisters of St. Zita to enable the sisters to purchase a wide tract of land for a school in Teheran. Since the land could not be used for the desired purpose, the sisters were said to be embarrassed by the debt. In view of any possibility of the Society being ready to have a cultural institute, this tract of land could be purchased through the congregation. Fr. General referred this letter in Italian to the New England Province where Fr. James H. Dolan had become acting provincial on the appointment of Fr. John J. McEleney, in late January 1950, as Vicar Apostolic of Jamaica and Titular Bishop of Zeugma.

The letter was forwarded on March 6, 1950, to Fr. Frank Anderson at Jesuit Missions located at 45 E. 78th St., New York City. His comment was requested. Fr. Anderson wrote a four-page memorandum dated March 10, 1950. He first called attention to parts of his Teheran report dealing with the land purchase by the Sisters of St. Zita, and also on the financial problems involved in establishing a cultural center. While he

could understand the laudable rescue of the sacred congregation by the Society's purchase of the property in question, he did not believe that the situation had been expressed with frankness. He cited as his first source the oral report made to him by Archbishop Pappalardo, of which he was to report orally to Cardinal Tisserant. This he had done. Secondly, he had been supplied added data and consequences of the transfer by Fr. James Streit, the Salesian who served as the provisional secretary to the delegate.

Before commenting on the five points in the Cardinal's letter, Fr. Anderson remarked that the letter was perhaps written by some bright young men in the congregation's office, and that the cardinal had signed it without careful reading. A careful reading would have shown its variance from the conversation Fr. Anderson had with him on December 14, 1949, one month before the dating of the cardinal's letter.

As to the loan to purchase the property in 1948, it was taken out by the Sisters of St. Zita at a twenty percent interest from a professional money-lender without the knowledge or consent of the congregation. The purchase of land by the sisters was at the urging of the delegate who had hoped that the purchase would come prior to the highest price in a rapidly rising market. By the end of 1948, the sisters could not meet interest payments. At this juncture, Pappalardo, who after service in the Teheran Delegation, had just been made delegate, was in Rome for consecration.

From November, 1948, Msgr. Giacomo Testa was serving as delegate. Since it was the delegation that had urged the purchase, help was sought there by the sisters. Msgr. Testa completely on his own made a bank overdraft of \$100,000, and thus freed the sisters of the property and its debt. The overdraft was meant as a short-term loan at 11%. He planned to sell the land for 300 reals, fifty more reals than it had cost the sisters. He declined offers for 280 and 270 reals.

Pappalardo, on his return, tried to sell and, even after being forced down to 200 reals, could find no purchaser. He did not wish the situation to be too widely known, so he asked Fr. Anderson to inform Cardinal Tisserant orally of the situation. So it was the land originally bought by the sisters and purchased by an overdraft that the Society was now being asked to buy. So it was not the sisters who were being rescued, but the Teheran Apostolic Delegation which had raised money by an overdraft to take the property off the hands of the sisters.

Some other questions on the property arose. It was a tract of 17,000 square meters, and not of 19,000 as the Roman letter stated. No mention had been made in the offer of sale that the land was divided by an intervening strip. Fr. Anderson gave slight weight to any purchase of this strip since the preceding December. The location of the property was a satisfactory one close to the United States Library and Information Center and in a developing residential area. Since some water supply system and roads were being added in this part of Teheran, it could be possible that some section of this

property being offered would be subject to eminent domain. Another interesting sidelight on this property now being offered for the Society to buy was the plan of the delegate in December of 1949 to buy it in the name of the Holy See and to give it to the Society. A final remark was the reminder that, without a cultural accord, there can be no cultural institute to have need of this property. And the cultural accord was still problematical.

Fr. Anderson's memorandum of clarification and caution was distributed to the province consultors. Three of the responses are available. Neither Fr. John A. O'Brien replying on March 20, nor Fr. Henry T. Martin, writing on March 22 favored the purchase. Fr. William A. Donaghy, who was the first to respond on March 19, found Fr. Anderson's comments reasoned, temperate and substantially supported by facts. He did believe that the Society, through trusted intermediaries, should learn whether the two tracts of land were still separate or possibly united, and just how government improvements might affect the land. It would also be well if all involved realized that the province knew more than was assumed in the official letter of the cardinal.

Just what happened about a cultural institute as a result of Fr. Anderson's report and meeting with Fr. General, or what happened about Cardinal Tisserant's request to sell this property in Teheran is not directly known. No cultural institute eventuated and no land was bought. There is a memorandum dated November 18, 1951, from Fr. Anderson to Fr. William E.

FitzGerald, Provincial of the New England province (1950-1956). It disclosed that the Salesian school in Teheran had been forced to close and that the Iranian government was declining to authorize any school to begin in 1952-53 if it were directed by foreign religious. All of this clearly implied that the legal benefits hoped from the proposed cultural accord had evanesced.

Yet, in another few years after this gloomy memorandum, another attempt was made to have New England Jesuits in Teheran. Msgr. Giuseppe Paupini was at that time Apostolic Internuncio at Teheran. According to this original request there would be a Jesuit high school primarily to educate non-Iranians, and thereby, somehow, penetrate the Muslim world. The delegate believed that such a school would be approved since private schools appeared once again in favor. On October 22, 1956 Fr. General had forwarded this request to Fr. Thomas F. Hussy without submitting it to the New England Province Provincial, Fr. James E. Coleran.

Due to Mid-East turmoil at that time, Fr. Richard J. McCarthy, the official visitor from the Baghdad Mission, could only be sent to Teheran on January 31, 1957. There he remained until March 2, 1957. Fr. McCarthy, it should be noted, was teaching, during the first year of Al-Hikma University, the prescribed course in Arabic language and literature. In this respect, Al-Hikma University differed from all the public college curricula of Baghdad, except the Arts College, which offered no such course to its students.

During his stay, Fr. McCarthy reported that he had come to know and appreciate the nuncio who had been only ten months in Iran on what was his first diplomatic mission following his ordination to the episcopacy. He was fluent in Italian and Spanish, and had slight speaking knowledge of French. His Iranian contacts were limited to people more apt to avoid giving offense to speak out their minds. Fr. McCarthy believed that his own contacts with Salesian and Lazarist veteran missionaries helped him to grasp the situation more fully.

Toward the end of Fr. McCarthy's visit, Msgr. Paupini learned he was soon to go to Guatemala and El Salvador as nuncio. Hence, there would soon be a charge d'affairs at Teheran, but no one had been named. A somewhat rapid change in command of the delegates, who also served as the Latin ordinaries, was believed to have held up growth of the church. Each one, with the best of intentions, had his own ideas. Msgr. Paupini did plan to urge Rome to continue favoring Jesuit educational presence in Iran.

A capital change in the delegate's plan took place on the day after Fr. McCarthy's arrival. It was a result of a three-way discussion between him, the delegate and Fr. Fideli, the superior in Teheran of the Salesians (who also had the power of visitor). The idea of a secondary school for non-Iranians was abandoned. Such young people were few, very mobile, and already sufficiently cared for. Even when Iranians could take vacant places in a non-Iranian school, their diplomas would not be recognized for entrance to Iranian colleges.

Furthermore, if permission were given to an American group to found such a school, a reciprocal arrangement must be supplied whereby Iran could establish one in the United States exclusively for Iranians. This was neither easily said nor done. By treaty there was such an arrangement between Italy and Iran. Hence the Italian Salesians had a free hand.

The second plan of the delegate was the opening of a so-called Melli secondary school. Such a school was distinguished from a government school. Any one could enroll in it. It must have an Iranian principal and follow the government syllabus. The first three years had a common curriculum for everyone. Studies included Arabic, and four hours of either English, French, German or Russian. In the last three years, there was a concentration in mathematics, sciences or literature, although all three of these options need not be available. One or two were sufficient. The one in greatest demand was mathematics.

All the courses over the six years except the modern languages had to be taught in Iranian. The Lazarists were allowed to teach some subjects in French since they were preparing students for official French examinations. Jesuits teaching in their school would be limited to the four hours of English over the first three years. Nor would they find their students in the least proficient in English, since it was illegal to teach any modern languages in a grammar school. Muslim students, too, must receive instruction in their religion. The clear predominance of the Shia group in Iran had effected this

law, whereas the rather equal division of the population in Iraq between Sunni and Shia Moslems had held off such a legal requirement.

The Christian schools had an odd way of giving religious instruction to Moslems. The teacher merely presided during the religion period, and answered individual questions if they were raised. The official religious exams could be held, as generally were all government exams, in the classrooms. The Holy See had granted authorization for this use of the classrooms in Christian schools. All government exams were so conducted that examiners did not know the names of the students whose papers were corrected.

This second plan of the delegate gave rise to the topic of school directors. One would suffice for the whole six years of secondary work. He must be a Muslim with proper degrees, thirty years of age, and with character verified by the police department. The Chaldean school had a Christian director. This was explained by the length of time the Lazarists had conducted the school and by the influence of their former pupils. When the Salesians applied for a similar arrangement, they were refused. The Muslim principal of both primary and then limited secondary school sent his own children to the school, but rarely appeared himself. By default the Salesian superior served as principal. The absence of the official director caused problems at times of unannounced visits.

As a result of these experiences, the nuncio and the Chaldean Patriarch thought that a chance could have been taken with a Christian lay principal in a proposed Jesuit school. In estimating why a Jesuit secondary school might thrive despite legal disabilities, it was suggested that there be a long-range plan to have the secondary school culminate in a four-year college. The less religious Iranians might favor such a plan, but it would have been opposed vigorously by the mullah group.

Fr. McCarthy was interested in learning why the delegate wanted a Jesuit secondary school when another Christian school (the Lazarists) was there and when the Salesians had some plans to add the last years of secondary schools to their then intermediate one. There was also the possibility of Catholic Armenian priests opening a school for their students. Reasons of a general nature appeared. There could be a clearer affirmation of the presence of the church in Teheran. The Moslem mind might be better penetrated. There was hope of influencing the Orthodox Armenians and Nestorians.

Fr. McCarthy learned there was more of a possibility of added animosity if a totally new school were begun. The time was one, it was true, of a friendly attitude to the American government, but too close a connection even with a popular American embassy was not a good way for a mission school to operate. The school could seem only as an arm of American benevolence or imperialism according to the mood of the times.

Fr. McCarthy concluded that it was the hope of generous manpower and money that had brought about the invitation to U.S. Jesuits. What was really needed was the strengthening of the present schools rather than the expenditure of \$1,500,000 on new buildings and either purchased or rented land. Such a sum of money would more advisedly be used to aid Al-Hikma University.

When no clear need for the proposed school had surfaced, and many problems had arisen on costs and government restrictions, the delegate made a third proposal. He was assisted in formulating this view by Archbishop Cheikho and Don Del Mistro, a Salesian parish priest and founder of the Salesian school. Two young Jesuit priests of a philosophical and theological bent should come to Iran for two years to study Persian and to observe the possibilities of a school or some other instrument to advance the cause of the church. A knowledge of Arabic would be helpful. Fr. McCarthy looked with favor on this proposal as a way of showing real concern for the church in Iran. This study could lead to the setting up of a cultural center. The cost of some \$20,000 a year might be met by the N.E. Province with some possible aid from the sacred congregation.

The two visitors should wisely appear either as students or professors. They should not spend time on apostolic work for English-speaking people since there were two priests in the country for that purpose. Should this plan be accepted in Rome, Fr. McCarthy asked that he not be one of the two visitors. The time and money spent on his education in learned Arabic should continue to eventuate in more Arabic publications such as

he had begun. But it did seem clear that one, if not both of these visiting priests, would come from the Baghdad Mission which was in its first year of university work and in greater need of trained men than even of money.

Two days after the date of Fr. McCarthy's report to Fr. General, Fr. Hussey, who had designated Fr. McCarthy for the visit to Teheran, wrote his own observations on the report to Fr. General. He also included remarks by the four consultors of the Baghdad Mission. Since Fr. Coleran had not been informed of the official visit, he enclosed a copy of the report that could be forwarded to him. In his personal comments, Fr. Hussey stressed opposition to the final proposal to send men to Teheran for further observation. Two such men would presumably come from the Mission which needed such men badly for its university. The expenditures for living in Teheran, even if less than the sum mentioned, could more profitably be used in Baghdad. In order not to be too negative in his appraisal, he would favor two members of the Baghdad community going to Teheran for the summer. Their conclusions could be fully reported to Fr. Provincial Coleran when he visited Baghdad at the close of the upcoming General Congregation.

Fr. Robert J. Sullivan, the principal of Baghdad College, limiting himself to the third plan, said he failed to see the utility of a year's survey on what appeared full of difficulties in manpower and money. If the survey were for some other apostolic ventures that would be less vague and more justifying of crippling the Baghdad Mission while it was being

made, he might see some point. If Fr. General did favor some other apostolic work than a school with all its problems, he would gladly volunteer for it.

Fr. Leo J. Shea took up the proposal which Fr. William J. Sheehan had made in a consultants' meeting, that two men go for the summer. Any proposals could be presented to Fr. Provincial on his upcoming visitation. The provincial might wish to go to Iran himself to see the situation. When Fr. Sheehan wrote, he made no reference to the suggestion of a summer visit. He concentrated on the need of men and resources for Al-Hikma which was already outgrowing its temporary quarters at Baghdad College. He found what Al-Hikma could do was far more real and tangible than any plan for Teheran.

Fr. Joseph L. Ryan, the Dean of Al-Hikma, spoke to all three points. He marvelled that serious men presented a plan to Fr. General, and then dropped it after one day's consideration. A secondary school for Iranians seemed an unneeded task, without any solid legal foundation and calculated to arouse latent hostilities. As for sending men to study and survey, this project was well postponed until a new apostolic delegate arrived and his views were known. The proposed center would require the same type of people now being sought for Al-Hikma, and being found hard to obtain. Moreover, their linguistic requirements could have a bad effect on the Arabic study house in Sadu'un. However, since more could be learned about an institute, having two men study that possibility during the coming summer could help.

There is no documentation to show if a summer survey was made. No project was taken up by the New England Province along these lines. The legal problems, which Fr. Anderson had pointed out and which Fr. McCarthy had reiterated, remained since no form of cultural agreement waiving or softening them had materialized. There appears general agreement that no Jesuit secondary school in Teheran was needed, and the potential good from a cultural center which both Fr. Anderson and Fr. McCarthy could glimpse, depended on a governmental cooperation that did not eventuate.

Chapter XIV

SPECIAL STUDIES (1945-1968)

Earlier it was stated that as provincial, Fr. John McEleney (later a bishop and archbishop) was a far-visioned energizer of special studies during his years in office. He was firmly convinced of a need for more trained personnel for the colleges. He also favored greater inroads into subjects which were not the standard staples of Jesuit formation, but which the colleges needed in order to be preeminent. Perhaps, too, he believed, Jesuits in New England had kept themselves too insular in their choice of degree-granting institutions and were too convinced of their competence in whatever was studied in the scholasticates. There might have been some triumphalism as a result of the heroizing, especially in rhetoric classes and recreation rooms, of Fr. Timothy Brosnahan's writings vis-a-vis President Charles Eliot of Harvard, although Harvard was the secular university to which most Jesuits had turned for special studies between 1936 and 1945.

Whatever Fr. McEleney's thoughts (and he did express himself in his own way along these lines), he consulted widely on potential candidates. He appointed Fr. Arthur J. Sheehan to the new post of province director of studies, and indicated his willingness to take a chance, even a tall one, on possible candidates for graduate work. It should be pointed out that the success, by which Fr. James H. Dolan, in the fall of 1944, had been able to pay off early and fully the mortgage on Weston,

meant that the province was better equipped financially to shoulder the costs of these added special studies which Fr. McEleney fostered.

But it was Fr. McEleney's encouragement to higher graduate studies that made his contribution conspicuous and lasting. Everyone in authority over studies, if he believes in them, is glad to point out those, even a few, whom he has encouraged and even recruited. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that an over-proportionally large number of the trained men in the New England Province owe this training to Fr. McEleney's insight and courage.

Among these were men with doctoral training or its equivalent in professional schools -- Stanley J. Bezuszka, John F. Caulfied, John J. L. Collins, Brendan C. Connolly, Francis J. Donoghue, Charles F. Donovan, Robert F. Drinan, Walter J. Feeney, Joseph M. Fallon, Paul A. FitzGerald, John W. Flavin, Joseph D. Gauthier, Mortimer J. Gavin, Thomas J. Grace, William G. Guindon, William H. Hohmann, Walter J. Jaskiewicz, W. Seavey Joyce, George A. King, Edward J. Kilmartin, George A. McCabe, John R. McCall, Richard J. McCarthy, T. Everett McPeake, Joseph M. Manning, Francis J. Nicholson, Edward H. Nowlan, Maurice J. Reidy, John P. Rock, J. Joseph Ryan, James W. Skehan and Michael P. Walsh.

To Roman ecclesiastical higher studies went -- John F. Broderick, Merrill F. Green, Francis X. Lawlor, Richard V. Lawlor, John J. Lynch, Fred L. Moriarty, John V. O'Connor, Thomas G. O'Callaghan, Daniel J. Saunders, John J. Walsh and

Maurice J. Walsh.

A variety of master's programs were initiated either as terminal degrees or as the basis for later doctoral studies. Included among these students were -- Walter M. Abbott, William T. Abbott, John J. Alexander, Robert F. Banks, George F. Barry, Stanley J. Bowe, Eugene C. Brissette, Richard P. Burke, Francis F. Callahan, David F. Carroll, Richard D. Costello, James T. Creamer, Charles M. Crowley, Paul A. Curtin, Joseph H. Casey, Mitchell J. Dahood, James J. Deeley, Alfred A. Desautels, John F. Devane, J. Frank Devine, Edward F. Donahue, George L. Drury, Hugo W. Durst, Daniel N. Dwyer, Joseph G. Fennell, John F. FitzGerald, William H. FitzGerald, Thomas F. Fleming, John J. Galvin, Stanislaus T. Gerry, Thomas J. Grey, Thomas F. Grogan, Robert F. Healey, John H. Kinnier, Gerald A. Kinsella, Arthur A. MacGilivray, Robert B. MacDonnell, James H. McElaney, Leonard J. McCarthy, Martin F. McCarthy, Thomas A. McGrath, George J. McKeon, Nicholas J. McNeil, Leonard P. Mahoney, Joseph A. Martus, John J. Moriarty, John P. Murphy, Richard G. Philbin, William J. Power, James W. Ring, Paul A. Ruttle, Thomas A. Shanahan, Thomas J. Spillane, Daniel J. Shine, Francis A. Sullivan, John Whitney Sullivan, Patrick A. Sullivan, William D. Sullivan, Raymond J. Swords, Edmond D. Walsh and Alphonsus C. Yumont.

Special studies in the classics were done in Greece and Italy by Leo P. McCauley and John J. Sampey. Even if there were indeliberate omissions, the listings set forth a highly creditable performance on the five annual status assignments made

by Fr. McEleney.

Another notable change made in studies by Fr. McEleney was the arrangement whereby regents could take their summer school courses not in a place by themselves with special teachers, but in classes at Boston College and, gradually, at other Catholic summer sessions, particularly Fordham and Georgetown. This course of action did not commend itself to all so-called "graver" fathers, but was adhered to during Fr. McEleney's tenure. The province later reverted to the older type of summer session at Holy Cross until 1957.

One plan that was proposed during this time would allow third-year philosophers at Weston to take their elective course (actually one course), called a disciplina specialis at the Boston College Graduate School. While this was warmly urged by the Dean and Assistant Dean of the Graduate School, it did not win approval from the Weston officials with whom it was discussed. Some new understanding did arise about the compatibility of different kinds of electives with a philosophy major during the third year when the philosophers of that year were candidates for the master's degree. This clarification made it more possible for science majors to obtain the master's degree in philosophy.

What Fr. McEleney might have done on the 1950 status about special studies, especially for priests, is a matter of conjecture. His appointment as Vicar Apostolic in Jamaica early in 1950 removed his control from the 1950 status and the special studies program. The increased master's program for regents at

Boston College, inaugurated in 1949 with five students, was continued with five new regent students and one continuing student. No new students went to Fordham's Spellman Hall, but one continued from the previous year. Fr. Joseph A. Devenny, home after long service at Baghdad, began a doctorate in Middle East Studies at Harvard. Of the eighteen tertians, one resumed studies previously begun in 1948 prior to tertianship. One (Fr. James Ryan) began Roman studies. None of the remaining sixteen were allocated to studies. In this complex narrative in which so many qualities of Fr. James H. Dolan have been praised, one must say on this point -- "In hoc non laudo."

From 1951 to 1956, a trend upward can again be observed. The figures are available in the annual survey of special studies in the Jesuit Educational Quarterly, a magazine unfortunately discontinued shortly after Father Edward B. Rooney was removed as President of the Jesuit Educational Association and this over-all organization with its parts, weak and strong, left to shift for itself. These numbers including the carrying-over of Fr. McEleney's earlier selections as well as the new blood show for 1951-52, thirty special students; for 1952-53, twenty-seven; for 1953-54, twenty-five; for 1954-55, twenty-nine; for 1955-56, thirty-two; and for 1956-57, thirty-two.

Perhaps more significant of educational trends during this time (1951-56) were the annual assignments first of two and then of three first-year philosophers to study in three European Jesuit houses -- Eegenhoven, Vals, Pullach. The first two

philosophers to Eegenhoven were George MacRae and Oliva Blanchette. With time from 1952 to 1956 there also went there Gerald Kirk, Frank Greaney, Michael A. Fahey and Edward O'Flaherty. To Vals were assigned Robert Sproule, Robert G. McMillan, William Russell, James Greeler, George D. Fitzpatrick and Daniel Lusch. At Pullach, there studied Hugh Riley, Robert J. Braunreuther, William A. Barry, Frederick J. O'Brien, John J. Hollohan and Frederick F. FitzGerald. By this means a living knowledge of French or German was acquired, and many of these people taught one of these languages during the first two years of their regency. When they studied during their third year, as most did, they had easy access to a language requirement.

Fr. General encouraged this type of intercontinental arrangement. He ran up, however, against the possibility of such excellent students being deprived not only of the master's degree, but even of the bachelor's degree. Hence, inquiries were made at the request of Fr. General through the J. E. A. in the Fall of 1952. This inquiry wished to learn from the Jesuit degree-granting school in each province, whether it could at least arrange for such a transfer of credits from their European scholasticates to justify the award of its bachelor's degree. Through the New England college prefect of studies, an agreement was made with Boston College to have the sixty credits of the first two years of philosophy abroad made applicable to the Boston College A.B. degree through the Weston School of Philosophy.

Since the European records received in the provincial's office were often sketchy, it took time, patience, conferences and registrar-type expertise to construct a transcript of these courses and credit equivalents. These transcripts were necessary for all graduate school applications except the initial one at Johns Hopkins where the Eegenhoven transcript (the best in form of the three) was accepted easily in 1956. Since ultimately practically everyone of these men worked for some higher academic degree, these transcripts signed by the college prefect and sealed with Fr. Thomas L. McLaughlin's great seal of the province were very helpful.

Work abroad in the third year, although quite parallel to that which at Weston obtained a master's degree in philosophy, could not result in such a degree since no graduate school could accept more than six graduate credits in transfer. For the master's degree, therefore, Fr. General never made a request. But that any possible upper-division prerequisites as well as general background be made manifest, a separate and authenticated document showed what had been studied in third year as well as in first and second to acquire the ecclesiastical licentiate in philosophy. Although the permission of Boston College for accepting this junior and senior abroad study had been obtained in 1952 and could have been applicable to a bachelor's degree in 1953, nothing was done with these disorganized and scattered records until 1957-58, when three scholastics were in process of applying for entrance into Fordham and Catholic University.

The need for transforming these early European records and studienbucher into U. S. terminology ended since the practice of sending juniors abroad for philosophy came to an end after 1956. Fr. Coleran preferred to concentrate on increasing the numbers of theologians studying in European scholasticates. The policy was again resumed when two philosophers were sent to Pullach both in 1964 and 1965.

It might be pointed out here that, in the era of the vice-province and of the early province, it was customary to send two scholastics annually from Shadowbrook to Heythrop for philosophy. The following New England men had this experience -- Leo P. McCauley, John P. Foley, William F. Donaldson, William F. Finneran and Ernest B. Foley. The early candidates to the Society from Jamaica, with its British-type secondary school system, had all their initial training in England. One can notice no diminution in the vocations of those in the early experience, while there has been a loss of seven out of sixteen in the second experiment and of four out of four in the final one. Five of these nine left the Society as priests. Theirs was the unsettled period following Vatican II and the 31st General Congregation, when a diminution of the value of the priesthood accompanied a lessened sense of religious commitment.

A statement on the common time generally allocated during this period for a year of special studies during the regency years is in order. When the program began in earnest in numbers with one year of study at St. Louis, and then at the study house (St. Ignatius Residence) at Boston College, the year

was the first of regency year. Then, for one or possibly two years, the regent used his training usually in his special field. With time this sequence of study-first, teach-second, was modified. By 1949 when a year of study during regency became very common, the all but universal rule was study in the last (usually the third) year of regency.

As a help to the school (most commonly a secondary one), the first and second year teaching regent had his Weston's master's degree with the possibility, if not always the actuality, of twelve to eighteen upper-division credits in his specialty. This possibility had come about when, in 1932, Fr. William J. McGarry, who as the philosopher's prefect of studies had encouraged many academic interests by private study or by special Sunday academies, introduced one full-fledged elective into each of the three years at Weston. Previously, the regular curriculum had merely made provision for a choice of classics or calculus in third year. Fr. McGarry's arrangement was really a revolutionary advance.

If 1932 were 1972, these electives undoubtedly would have been taken at Boston College where a greater variety of professors in each discipline would have been available for these elective subjects. With these electives at Weston, this ordinarily meant that one teacher with his excellent ability but limited outlook taught for three years in one elective field. And it meant depriving schools of extra teachers, or failing to send these men for further studies. With time this situation was remedied by having professors commute chiefly from Boston College

or, occasionally, from Holy Cross to teach these electives when the same professors could have had these philosophers in their ordinary college courses and also when a variety of professors could have given wider academic exposure to the philosophers.

The Boston College Department of English did supply a variety of its excellent staff to teach the philosophers during these later years. But despite these early might-have-beens which did ultimately eventuate, what Fr. McGarry did in 1932 was truly an academic breakthrough which made possible, even though later, other academic advantages. Fr. McGarry, who died so young (at 47), is chiefly remembered as the founding editor of Theological Studies. He was a great catalyst of intellectual endeavor at Weston, especially among the philosophers whose tilt he raised in the early thirties of this century.

The statement that from 1949 to the time when third year philosophy was discontinued, and when it was common to have one year of special studies in regency, had its exceptions. Where a degree was meant ultimately to be a doctorate in a science or in some mathematical subject such as economics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, regents were given the entire regency for such studies during many of the stages that are indicated in these evolving and declining graduate study programs. While this earlier age made these specialties more easily mastered, they often left a man in theology or in the priesthood disinterested in his major field.

Even those seemingly avid for such higher studies when regency began became disillusioned during their study or shortly after finishing it. Some left the Society not knowing how they could be, as they said, true hyphenated priests. Others remained hoping for some better world than the one for which they had been trained -- apparently too early for their own good. Such factors gave one pause in selecting special students, especially for early doctorates.

Just as the then Fr. McEleney pushed doctoral studies vigorously during his tenure as provincial from the status of 1945 to that of 1949, an analogous policy is attributable to Fr. James E. Coleran and his successor, Fr. John V. O'Connor. However in this phase there was, in addition to initiating doctoral studies, a serious effort to have more special masters degrees for secondary school work.

It had become clear, once the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools had become an accrediting association with initial and regular ten year visits to secondary schools as well as colleges, that something more than a Weston M. A. in Philosophy with its second major (so to speak) was needed. Hence there was a burgeoning of full-time but terminal master's degrees for secondary school teachers and administrators.

Pragmatic considerations, if nothing else, required a looking into master's programs which were not only possible in the summer, but into those which were conducting exclusively in the summer. These special summer-only programs had their best wares available only in the summer. The most striking example

was the Breadloaf School of English, run by Middlebury College, but on its own remote and mountainous campus.

To this campus, its Directors Reginald Cooke and later Paul Cubeta, brought scholarly professors from distinguished schools. Fr. Paul McGrady, who has since left the Society, was the pioneer there. Soon a regular Jesuit colony was set up in its own cottage with its own facility for saying and hearing Mass. The numbers expanded and, like Jesuit students on other campuses in summer, they soon gave up the cottage and lived in the dormitories. Other provinces after a time sent students to Breadloaf. Imitation was a sincere form of flattery.

Another very prestigious summer-only program was brought to the attention of the province by J. C. O'Brien when he was a theologian at Weston. This was an arrangement at Harvard under the auspices of its School of Education which permitted a candidate to spend four summer sessions in a degree-granting program. With education courses, one might combine courses in other disciplines. The first one enrolled in this program was J. C. O'Brien. In subsequent years, he was joined by Robert J. Starrett, James J. Hosie, Robert E. Manning, and Arthur Chai. This program was too advantageous to last and Harvard discontinued it.

Three other summer-only programs use was made. There was the Latin program at Trinity College in Hartford, Connecticut. After Jesuit candidates lived initially and remotely from the campus with the LaSalette Fathers, a "frat" house, empty during the summer, was hired annually. It afforded

sleeping quarters, a recreation center, and a place for Mass. Trinity did not quite live up to its billing in Latin. It did supply one degree in English as a foundation for a late doctoral degree and several in the classics.

Very superior in its variety of disciplines, and limited to summer clientele, was a Master's degree at Wesleyan University, in Middletown, Conn. There only college dormitories were available. Mass was easily supplied in two nearby churches and at the Xaverian brothers' residence at Xavier High School. Programs were excellent in history, mathematics, literature, and also in other subjects of which the scholastics had less occasion to avail themselves. At Purdue University there were similar summer arrangements in physics and mathematics.

While the major thrust in these five programs was to aid the secondary schools at home, in Jamaica and in Baghdad, the degrees also served as first stages toward doctorates for college use. One special summer program regretfully never received any students. This was the program at the southwestern branch at Santa Fe, New Mexico of St. John College Annapolis. It afforded a carefully graded degree sequence in the great books. It might have enriched the work of a philosophy teacher or of others who dealt in the history of ideas. Efforts in 1967 and 1968 to interest people all failed, and it would appear that it has not drawn any candidates in later years.

During many of these summers, National Science Foundation courses and grants aided in or toward master's degree, or for enrichment in sciences, mathematics and modern languages.

Especially worthy of mention were science and mathematics courses at Holy Cross whose Jesuit N. S. F. liaison men were most cooperative with the province. Tufts College had a helpful summer Latin program geared particularly to actual instruction in Latin. In the early years after 1957, the Boston College Summer Session offered first year regents two educational credit courses to enlarge the background of newly assigned teachers. These courses were not always appreciated. So with time these regents studied their own specialty at Boston College or elsewhere.

As to the so-called Sweet Method of imparting Latin grammar came into a temporary vogue, the province for some years had priests attending the summer session of the University of Michigan. For the most part, the participants could make use of an authorized list of boarding facilities supplied by the Detroit Province Director of Special Studies. Meals were easily obtained in the cafeteria of a sisters' hospital. It was once proposed that a Jesuit residence for students be acquired in Ann Arbor for students at the University of Michigan, but the proposal did not materialize.

Two points should be noted about these special summer programs. To Fr. Coleran is owed the foresight to allow the valuable studies at Breadloaf, and then to approve the move on to Trinity, Wesleyan and Purdue where men had to live either in small cottages with other Jesuits, or in dormitories with externs as well as fellow Jesuits. Fr. Coleran initiated such programs and Fr. John V. O'Connor continued and expanded them.

But something more was needed. This was the permission of the local bishops to attend these schools. No problems were incurred in any of them or in any of the other summer places where study took place even for one individual. One province refused to contact a bishop in its area because of his alleged unwillingness to grant permission and placed the task on the N. E. Province. Even here a carefully prepared letter on the prestige of winning the N. S. F. grant brought a gracious answer to the provincial's secretary who had written the letter.

Of all the bishops contacted, none could rival the interest, kindness and generosity of Bishop Robert F. Joyce of Burlington, Vermont, who authorized Sunday Masses on the campus of Breadloaf not only for the Catholic help, the non-Catholics who voluntarily attended, but also for students and teaching staff and their families. He arranged with the pastor involved so that no unpleasantness would arise. This permission was particularly helpful in the case of the second director whose wife and three sons were Catholics. Of all these summer places, Breadloaf afforded the greatest opportunity for an apostolic thrust. It was a Camelot moment and more of which to be proud and to be grateful to the participants in these summer special studies adventures. In all these places there were a Jesuit presence of good that was diffusivum sui.

Another development in housing stems from considerations of where scholastics might live when engaged full-time year-round in special studies. From the earliest years it was required that this study be done while residing in a

Jesuit community even though a priest might live in a rectory, or in a convent establishment, but not yet in an apartment. Hence studies for scholastics had to be found at Boston College, Holy Cross, Fordham, Georgetown, Carroll House, St. Ignatius or Loyola College in Baltimore.

Access to secular universities could be had from Boston residences, some New York city ones, and St. Louis. But no arrangement appeared possible for scholastics so that they could attend a distinguished New England institution such as Yale. At a province meeting in Baltimore in September 1960, the proposal was made that the N. E. Province consider establishing a study house at Yale. A similar proposal was made about a much frequented university beyond the Appalachians, but nothing came of it. The N. E. Province did respond. Fr. Coleran after consultation authorized an approach to the Chancellor of the Hartford Archdiocese. During the Christmas holidays a meeting was held with this archdiocesan official, Msgr. Joseph R. Lacey. The one assurance he wished was that the proposed residence was for students and not for some apostolic center to parallel or rival the St. Thomas More Center at Yale.

With this assurance received, Msgr. Lacey promised to refer the matter to Archbishop Henry J. O'Brien. In early February, 1961, Fr. Coleran was informed that, if he put the request in writing, it would be granted. A formal request was made and quickly granted. This permission led to the purchase of a house which became the Virgil Barber House with Fr. William F. Finneran as first superior. This house in New Haven honored

Virgil Barber whose family had first settled in Windsor, Conn., and later settled down for some generations in Simsbury, Conn. It was also in Waterbury, Conn., where Virgil had exercised the Episcopalian ministry, and that he had first considered a conversion to Catholicism. It might have been appropriate to name the villa at Sunapee, New Hampshire, after Barber due to its proximity to Claremont where Barber had established the first Jesuit school in New England. This naming, which would have been short-lived, was precluded by an earlier choice of the name of Berchmans.

It seems ironical to see the little use that the province has made of what was a hopeful and expensive venture in New Haven. At least, it helped to educate Doctor Anthony ("Tony") F. Salderini and Gerald Sabo. The hopes for special summer programs at Yale never really blossomed, nor did the expectations of the use of the M. A. T. in Teaching of which Yale once boasted. Would its sale help the cash-flow? That much was written by 1976. The house has now been sold.

To get a picture of those engaged in full-time graduate work from 1957 to 1968 the following full-time student figures are taken from the JEQ March issues from 1957 to 1969: thirty-four, thirty-eight, forty-five, forty-five, fifty-two, fifty-two, fifty-one, forty-nine, sixty-two, seventy-four, sixty-four, and seventy-four. These year-round full-time student statistics plus the unlisted ones of organized summer degree programs are a credit to one deceased provincial and one living ex-provincial of New England. They creditably did their part in

fostering the intellectual apostolate to which Fr. General Pedro Arrupe rallied the Society on Christmas of 1976.

Chapter XV

XAVIER SCHOOL -- ITS ORIGINS (1960-1962)

Xavier School at 570 Old Road to Nine Acre Corner on Route 2 in Concord, Massachusetts opened with 147 first-year students in 1962 and closed in June, 1971, when only a senior class of ninety-three was in attendance during its final year (1970-71).

During four of its nine years (1964-1968), the present writer, serving as province director of secondary education, visited the school annually and thus saw it at close range and as first rate. He also taught two sections in a junior-senior history elective from January through May 1970. This was just after the traumatic announcement that Jesuits were to withdraw from the school. As province director of special studies (1957-1968) he aided two provincials in preparing and recommending Jesuits for Xavier. All these tasks gave him a knowledge of the regular and special features of the Xavier curricular and extracurricular setup.

Perhaps this personal exposition will explain some warmth as well as conviction about an excellent school which came to an early end. This end, it will be seen, came from a dwindling number of applicants, higher tuition needed to maintain both standards and financial stability, fewer vocations to the Society for school or other work, as well as unusual numbers of losses of those accepted into the Society and initially or completely trained.

The first reference in the minutes of the province consultors to a school in Concord is found under the date of July 12, 1960. Listed among some observations of Fr. General was a reference to Cardinal Cushing's offer of a secondary school at Concord. In the minutes of August 9, 1960, it was recorded that Fr. General had approved the acceptance of this school as a gift. By January 10, 1961, a reference appeared to changes made in the school building plans. By February 28, there was approval of the project to purchase some adjoining land. By May 16, the need of someone to arrange for the opening of this school in 1961 was observed. On August 8, the appointment of Fr. John P. Foley for this task was announced. He took up residence at Weston. On September 12 he was asked to prepare articles of incorporation, a charter and by-laws. At the October 19, 1961 consultors' meeting, a terna was prepared. It was announced at the November 14 meeting that Fr. Foley was rector of the Concord establishment, still unopened and without a community. Such are the jejune details found in the minutes of the Province Consultors.

Fr. Foley came to this office with previous secondary school experience. He had been Prefect of Studies at Boston College High School (1951-55), Rector of Cheverus High School (1955-61). Prior to 1951 he had taught Greek as a regent at Holy Cross (1930-33), and Greek at Boston College (1937-39). He was Dean of Freshmen at Boston College (1939-42), then served with the United States Navy as a wartime chaplain (1942-46). On his return to Boston College he was again Dean of Freshmen and

Director of Admissions. Earlier as a philosopher (1927-30), he had studied at Heythrop. In all of these tasks, Fr. Foley had enjoyed success from his detailed and regular application to duty, and to his genial and (in view of his Scottish birth) bonny manner of conducting his relations.

There are, however, other sources of information available on the beginnings of Xavier in addition to the jejune minutes already catalogued. The Jesuits were not Cardinal Cushing's first choice to conduct this Concord school for which he was preparing both a school structure and a fully equipped faculty residence. A group of brothers (Xaverian) had found the project more than it could handle. The Congregation of St. Joseph in the Boston Archdiocese had likewise declined this offer. In fairly recent times, it had assumed teaching and administrative functions at Matignon on the Cambridge--Arlington line, Arlington Catholic and Marian in Framingham. So the presentation of a total gift of school and residence was made to the New England Province.

Although Fr. General had approved its acceptance, Fr. Coleran told the writer that, shortly thereafter, the general had sent a miramur type letter to Fr. Coleran. Fr. General was displeased at being called on to sanction even such a gift from a princely benefactor for a school in the Greater Boston area. He would have preferred expansion elsewhere in New England. He would have known of other possible, but usually not feasible, offers or hopes in other parts of the province.

During Fr. William E. FitzGerald's provincialate (1950-56) a request had come from Bishop Bernard J. Flanagan of Norwich to inaugurate a boy's high school in New London where a school structure with some residence facilities was already available. There did not appear a sufficient clientele in the lower Thames area for a Jesuit school. Later a school for girls was begun in that location by the Holy Ghost Sisters. In time it became a coeducational diocesan school in Montville, Connecticut.

Moreover, Bishop (later Cardinal) John J. Wright of Worcester (1950-59) had proposed the possibility of a high school on the Ellis estate along Salisbury Street in Worcester. Holy Cross authorities did not enthuse over what might seem a reinauguration of a Holy Cross prep school, which had been discontinued in 1914. Thus, the field for a Catholic secondary school for boys in the Worcester area was left to the Xaverian brothers at St. John's in downtown Worcester, which later became independent of diocesan control at Shrewsbury. That was the area where Fr. (later Bishop) Joseph Dinand, S. J., is reputed to have considered establishing a separate prep school when Holy Cross College gave up its secondary division. The declining also of Bishop Wright's offer enabled the Congregation of Notre Dame to establish a day school for girls on the Ellis estate.

Also, Fr. General would have known of one project long and in varying forms under consideration -- the project of a secondary school in Springfield or its environs. This project in one form or another had been considered from 1951 to 1962. While discussion would begin about a high school and be favorably

considered at that level, it was made clear that Bishop Christopher J. Weldon of Springfield (1950-77) wanted at the earliest date a college. A collegiate expansion did not seem feasible with a province having three colleges, all of which were expanding in numbers and functions. There were times when sites were selected, including the old Westfield State Teaching College until local feeling made this politically unwise, and an unused portion of the property of the Dominican Sisters in West Springfield. Finally, on the issue of starting a college as soon as possible, the project was abandoned.

Another possible venture concerned the efforts of a lay group to have a Jesuit school in or near Waterbury, Connecticut. The final upshot was the establishment of a school conducted by the Brothers of the Congregation of the Holy Cross. There was always some hope of a school in the Hartford Archdiocese but, when three archdiocesan schools were simultaneously established, they were coeducational and comprehensive and divided among a variety of religious sisterhoods.

When Bishop (later Cardinal) Lawrence J. Shehan of Bridgeport (1953-61) was planning a school in Norwalk, Connecticut, he invited the Society to manage it. Its close proximity to Fairfield Prep meant that both schools would be drawing in part on the same group of students. Perhaps, but only perhaps, an arrangement could have been made to have this school become a newly-located Fairfield Prep and thus leave all the land and buildings at Fairfield to the college and university. Presumably, the Norwalk school was erected to be comprehensive

and coeducational rather than a Jesuit type school for young men.

Finally, Fr. General was presumably pleased when a request could be made in 1962 to establish a school outside of Boston at Fall River, Massachusetts, where Bishop James L. Connolly (1951-70) had procured land and was building, at diocesan expense, a school and residence. Unlike the situation at Concord, this property remained in the ownership of the Fall River Diocese.

After a consideration of the other possible openings, this narrative now returns to Fr. Foley's projects. In keeping with his instructions to initiate legal groundwork for the school, a first meeting of the original trustees took place at Weston College, referred to legally as 319 Concord Road, on October 3, 1961. The original incorporators were the college's staff members with the exception of Fr. Foley, and none of them was later allied with the Concord school. They were Fathers J. Thomas Hamel, John V. O'Connor, Edward R. Callahan, Thomas F. McDermott, Philip J. Donnelly and James L. Monks.

On November 6, 1971, Kevin H. White, as Secretary of State for the Commonwealth, certified the school as a corporation under the name of St. Francis Xavier High School of the Society of Jesus. This was a change in name from the one originally planned when the school was to be conducted by some other group. The original name had commemorated Isaac T. Hecker (1819-88), founder of the Paulists, who had boarded at one time at Henry David Thoreau's home in Concord. Cardinal Cushing, in view of his many years as Archdiocesan Director of the Propagation of the

Faith, was agreeable to the name of Francis Xavier who was one of the two principal patrons of missions. Only on December 14, 1961 did Mr. Kevin White affix the great seal of the commonwealth and, by a waiver, considered the corporation meeting of October 3 as its official first meeting.

By a letter of March 15, 1962, the cardinal wrote that he was handing over the land and the school plus residence to the Society as soon as the deed was recorded. The property involved was valued at three million dollars and consisted of seventeen acres making possible, in addition to school and residence, a soccer field, hockey rink, space for other sports, parking plus roads.

In the school there should especially be noted an auditorium for 1000, a cafeteria for 685, a moderate-sized chapel, a language lab for thirty students at a time, in addition to the usual classrooms, laboratories, library and office space. All these elements came furnished except for the library books.

On the complete third floor were the faculty quarters, all completely equipped except for air-conditioning which proved an unexpected but genuine need. The faculty kitchen and dining room were on the second floor at the end of the building closer to Boston. In this same faculty area on the first floor were porter's offices, parlors, treasurer's office, garage and the student chapel.

In his March 15, 1962, letter the Cardinal affirmed that the property thus given to the Jesuits -- though it was received by the legal corporation -- would be hopefully a

tremendous asset to education in the archdiocese and a source of vocations. For the limited time of its existence, it was such an educational asset. Vocations were few.

At the time, students, partly on their own initiative and partly by indoctrination, waited for college experience before choosing a clerical vocation. Directly from the first graduating class in 1966, however, Edward Barron entered the Society. In 1968, Stephen White entered but left unvowed after some three years. In 1972, Paul D. Holland of the class of 1967, later a Harvard graduate and a one-year student at St. John Seminary, became a Jesuit novice. Charles F. Kelley, as a member of the Xavier class of 1972, had to transfer to Boston College High School when his class was not continued at Xavier. After graduating from Boston College High School in 1972 and spending two years at Fordham, he entered the novitiate in 1974. In 1975, a second man from the original graduating class of 1966 entered -- Michael Carlton McFarland. He was then a B. S. in Physics from Cornell, and had performed some years of apostolic service in the American southwest. On completing his noviceship, he began a doctoral program in computer science with a generous grant at Carnegie Tech in Pittsburgh. The one diocesan vocation was David J. Chandonnet who was ordained in 1974 for the Archdiocese of Boston.

An early liaison man with the cardinal and his business staff on Xavier must be mentioned. His work concerned supervising building and furnishings. Fr. James J. Kelley, as Rector of Boston College High School (1944-51), had many dealings

with the cardinal who generously gave a million and a half dollars for two structures built at Dorchester when Fr. Kelly was rector -- the Cushing classroom building and the Loyola residence.

Fr. Kelley had been Dean of the B. C. School of Business Administration (1937-44), minister at old St. Mary's (1951-53), and was minister at Loyola House at the time of the liaison work. Especially in his capacity as B. C. High Rector, he had rapport on financial and building matters with the cardinal and his business team. One of Fr. Kelley's contributions was the elimination of a proposed walkway outside the windows of the third-floor faculty residence, and the consequent increase in the size of these rooms. Other facilities more suited to a sisterhood were also modified.

As has been briefly noted, one of Fr. Foley's tasks after incorporation was the drawing up of publicity literature and the arrangement of a curriculum. On this latter, he worked in conjunction with the province prefect for secondary schools, Fr. Joseph D. FitzGerald, Fr. Foley's predecessor (1937-39) as dean of freshmen at Boston College. Fr. FitzGerald was the Dean of Holy Cross College (1939-48), an assistant province prefect (1948-51), Rector of Fairfield University (1951-58), province prefect of secondary schools (1958-1964) and superior at St. Andrew House (1962-68).

The curriculum was a standard Jesuit one but with the options which were becoming more common. Latin was prescribed for two years and was elective thereafter. Greek was possible

for one, two or three years, or optional in a science sequence. Both English and mathematics were prescribed for four years as was theology. Modern language was a three-year affair. Provision was made to have some science for all in the upper classes and a fuller science sequence was available. The setup called for a selecting or winnowing of those with a scientific bent by prescribing a special form of general science for all in the first year. With this prescribed introductory course in first year, Xavier differed from those schools which normally made three sciences (physics, chemistry, biology) available in the three upper years.

It might be broadly observed that, although with modifications to meet contemporary times and views, in the subjects taught and, especially, in its efforts at growth and coordination, Xavier walked with a modern shoe in a philosophy of education stemming from the Georgetown curriculum once the school, located in the District of Columbia, was fully under the direction of the restored Society of Jesus. Hence, it bore the imprint of Fr. John Grassi, Fr. John Early and Fr. Bernard Maguire. It was their curriculum and thrust that influenced all Jesuit schools along the Atlantic seaboard and which was continued in the modifications made in the early twentieth century down to 1923 by Maryland-New York Province regulations.

All this phase of Jesuit continuity with its gradual changes had been excellently and luminously expounded by Fr. Michael A. Bernard in an unpublished dissertation for his Ph.D. degree in education at Yale in 1951. It deserves wide and

thorough reading. The document, in excellent bindery, is now part of the education collection which Boston College, under the aegis of Fr. Charles F. Donovan and Fr. Paul A. FitzGerald, has been gathering on higher education. This same collection has luckily obtained the files of the Jesuit Education Association so long directed by Fr. Edward B. Rooney. In later years he had as assistant director Fr. Paul FitzGerald. Since colleges in other days and even into the twentieth century conjoined in one institution what is both a college and a secondary school, this work of Fr. Bernard, although in an higher education collection, is most useful on Jesuit secondary school education from the time of Fr. Grassi at Georgetown down to 1923.

In addition to publicity and curriculum, Fr. Foley recruited the opening class. Some unspecified number took the Xavier-made entrance examination. Some unspecified number was accepted and 147 enrolled. This was the largest of Xavier's entering classes and in Xavier documentation it is rated, correctly or not, as generally poor. Yet, this first class was to have national science foundation awards and general mentions. If Xavier could have conjoined with its academic quality a similar high number of entering students in later years, it might not have been in so precarious a position in 1970. But this is hindsight. The initial tuition for this initial class was \$400.00 at a time when the tuition at Boston College High School was \$330.00.

The narrative now passes to the first faculty. The principal selected was Fr. John R. Vigneau who had just concluded a one-year task as assistant academic principal at Cheverus High School, Portland, when such an officer does not seem to have been needed or wanted in that position. Prior to this Cheverus assignment, Fr. Vigneau had studied a year at Fordham University acquiring a degree in education and having the benefit of the instruction and expertise in secondary school education of Fr. Lorenzo K. Reed, prefect of high schools in the New York Province from 1949-67.

The house minister was Fr. Francis J. Donovan with similar experience at 761 Harrison Avenue (church and school) and at Cheverus (1958-62) where he was principal (1945-51).

The treasurer was Fr. Edward J. Whalen, former treasurer at Weston College and Boston College, superior at old St. Mary's, minister at Boston College (1931-32) and Fairfield (1942-43) and a missionary in Jamaica (1933-1942).

Fr. Felix Talbot, who engaged in retreat work, was in residence for a year as spiritual father of the community.

Two experienced teachers were assigned from Boston College High School: Fr. Philip D. Moriarty, Latin and English, and Fr. William J. Doyle, mathematics.

From special studies at Boston College came Fr. James T. Sheehan, initially for general science and later for chemistry along with theology and counselling.

Fr. John B. Kerdiejus with a St. Louis master's degree in physics also taught physical science and was the original dean of men. Later, he added physics to general science.

After a brief internship in the Weston College library under Fr. William J. Connolly, Fr. Richard J. Olson was appointed librarian.

Stability was the key characteristic about these first teaching fathers as well as for those who came in subsequent years down to 1968. These subsequent priests from 1963 to 1968 were Joseph E. Mullen, Francis J. Murphy, James C. O'Brien (1963), Thomas F. Lyons, Louis M. St. Onge (1964), Harry J. Cain, James L. Greenler, Richard T. Griffin, Francis P. Sullivan, John H. L. Collins (1966), Francis Ennis and Leo J. Fahey (1967). Fr. William J. Sheehan, who returned in poor health from Baghdad mission, lived at Xavier for two years with a light teaching load in one year. After assignment to Weston, he died in the Glover Hospital on October 8, 1970.

After 1968 some less stability was seen in newly assigned priests. Fr. Edward X. Canning taught theology for one year (1968-69). In 1969, Fr. Edward F. Boyle came for one year. But with greater stability, Fr. Raymond J. Callahan, who was originally in 1969 the director of guidance, became the academic head of the school in its last year and one half, and kept the school on as even a keel as possible. Even after the closing, he kept his eye on the mail especially library subscriptions which were being phased out. In the final year (1970-71), to its

skeleton crew that opted to remain, was added Fr. Thomas J. Gallagher as a counsellor.

Stability was less evident in the treasurer's office. Fr. Whalen left in 1964 to serve in Jamaica as fiscal officer for the Diocese of Kingston. Until a new candidate was found, Fr. Donovan doubled as minister and treasurer (1964-65). Fr. John J. Collins held the position for one year (1965-66). In 1969, when Fr. St. Onge became minister, Fr. Donovan was full-time treasurer and so remained until the school closed (1969-71).

One must characterize the sticking quality of most of the regents differently. Of the original five regents, (Robert R. Dorin, Charles M. Hegarty, John B. Leonard, John F. Murphy, Richard G. Murphy), only Robert Dorin is at present (1969) in the Society. Two of this group (Charles M. Hegarty and John B. Leonard) left after ordination.

Of the later regents the vast majority left during regency or shortly thereafter: Winslow S. Durgin, Alan J. Pratt, William J. Davenport, James J. Loughlin, Joseph O'B. Monahan, John F. Mack, David A. Culliton (N. Y. Province), Robert J. Kelley, Michael C. Normile, Stephen M. Conner, Nicholas F. Finke, James F. Mulcahy. To this list of departing regents must be added all the New England Province scholastics who lived at Xavier while studying at Brandeis: Noel F. Brawn, Francis J. Doe, Robert J. Paradowski.

This loss of regents, when or after being stationed at Xavier, paralleled a similar loss of regents notably from Jamaica assignments. It was a manifestation of a spirit of unrest, a lesser sense of commitment and some strange immaturity which characterized many religious groups. Xavier just happened to have more than its share of these people. Religious discipline was as strong there as in any similar house, and small group masses and expressions of solidarity were perhaps more notable.

Despite this distressing situation, some Xavier regents have remained and are now priests. Robert Dorin, after his theology studied German abroad and taught German at Cheverus until there was no longer need for it. He then obtained a position teaching German at Xavier in New York City. Richard J. Stanley gave the Trappists a good try for a time. He is now a teacher at Cheverus, where and from where he gives highly prized directed retreats. Thomas J. Gallagher, a regent 1965-69, returned to Xavier as a priest 1970-71, then taught theology and counselled at Cranwell and Boston College High School. After studying both at Weston in Cambridge and at the Center for Religious Development in Cambridge, he was appointed Associate Director of Novices.

The stability, which was manifest in the faculty fathers from 1962-68 and even after, means that those who in early 1970 opted to leave or to remain at Xavier had living experience with Xavier and were in a position to form judgments on the apostolic work in which they themselves had been engaged. There appeared two viewpoints -- the work was worthwhile and

should be continued as long as possible versus the view that the work had ceased to be for God's greater glory and that, hence, something else should be undertaken.

Stability and quality characterized two other parts of Xavier staff -- the teaching brother and the registrar-secretary. In 1967 Brother Michael L. Greenler began a distinctive career as a teacher of physical science where his patience, gentleness, expertise and concern had a profound and edifying effect. He was at Xavier to the end since physics was his major and chemistry a real possibility. Two coadjutor brothers - Robert J. Clifford (1962-63) and Maurice Ahern (1963-65) -- served the community for brief periods.

The other example of stability and excellence was Miss Margaret Sheehan, sister of Fr. William J. Sheehan of the Jamaica Mission, who was secretary and registrar during the lifetime of the school. The then pastor of St. Bernard's, Concord, Fr. John York, had recommended her to Fr. Foley and her work surpassed any reasonable expectation. She could pleasantly control students as well as efficiently and ahead of time aid staff members. If Xavier had continued, surely some place there should have been named for her.

During the years of Xavier's planning and existence the province made a special effort to have more secondary school Jesuits have, in addition to the usual Weston M. A. in philosophy or in place of it, a specialized degree either in some aspect of education or in an academic discipline or both. Where these could not be obtained by full-time study, use was made, as

has been shown elsewhere, of programs conducted with prestige only in the summer. Thus, Fr. J. C. O'Brien had pioneered for the province in the Harvard masters' program combining Education and English. James Laughlin studied at Wesleyan and Charles Hegarty at Bread Loaf.

There are other degree holders. From Fordham, Fr. Vigneau had an education degree, Fr. James L. Greenler one in mathematics. Richard Stanley had a master's in classics from Boston College and Fr. St. Onge one in education. Fr. Kerdiejus' master's degree in physics was from St. Louis. Fr. Richard Griffin had a certificate in catechetics from Lumen Vitae in Brussels. Joseph O'B. Monahan entered the Society with a Bread Loaf degree in English. Fr. Francis P. Sullivan was concluding a doctoral dissertation in theology at the Catholic Institute of Paris. Leo Fahey had a degree in ascetical theology from Catholic University.

Others had done special work in summer sessions. Fr. James Sheehan for example, had worked in the special summer liturgical program at Notre Dame.

Since declining enrollments were to prove an important factor for the Jesuit withdrawal from Xavier, some remarks on this matter in the early years are pertinent. Where figures on enrollment are used, they are drawn from the statistical tables appearing annually in the Jesuit Educational Quarterly.

The opening class has its figures commonly placed at 147 but in the Quarterly the figures are listed as 149. When there were two classes in 1963-64, the total enrollment was 230

with 118 new freshmen and 112 sophomores, down from 147 or 149. This total was 230 originally listed, erroneously, in the the Quarterly at 203 but corrected in a following listing to 230. In its third year the school had a 304 total with 110 in first year. In 1966-67, the year before the accreditation team came, the total was 399 with 113 in the first year. In the school year of the accreditation visit, 1967-68, there was a total of 410 students with 114 in the first year. That year had the highest total enrollment but, outside the first year, the highest year in first-year students, 120, came one year later when the total was down to 401.

One year after the first-year class had been graduated and practically all had spent one year in college, a formal attempt at accreditation was possible. In preparation, a self-study was engaged in and its results made available to the visiting team. The registration was the aforesaid 410 total. The school had a staff of twenty-four Jesuits, nine lay associates. It seemed to have viability. Yet some had wondered even then whether the school may have become too choosy in its acceptance.

Three hundred and seventy-four, a number never again equaled, took the Scholastic Aptitude Test entrance examinations for September 1965 and 178 were rejected, probably discouraging applications from the same families, school and local sites.

The tuition had reached \$575.00 to which had been added in most cases \$200.00 for bus transportation. That very November of 1967, four of the members of the executive committee of the

independent school unit of the New England Association had urged that Jesuit schools in New England charge \$900.00 a year tuition. So highly did they prize Jesuit secondary education that they did not wish it to be supplied too cheaply. The very thought of closing any of the Jesuit schools appeared to them incredible. Such analogous places as Belmont Hill and Hopkins Grammar School in New Haven could charge this amount and where there was excess, funnel it into scholarships for worthy but less affluent students. Following this advice in 1969 and 1970 was to prove tragic for Xavier. But at this moment of the accreditation visit and follow-up, the only thin cloud of sinister significance was the case that 120 was the largest number of enrolled freshmen when 150 might have been expected and were really needed.

Chapter XVI

XAVIER -- THE ACCREDITATION (1967)

A team representing the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary schools visited Xavier on October 23-24, 1967. The group was headed by William N. Randall, Headmaster of the Huntington School in Boston. Other members of the five-men team were Herrick Macomber, Director of Studies at Phillips Exeter; Rev. Charles W. Sheerin, Head of the English Department at Groton School; Dom Hilary Martin, O. S. B., of Portsmouth Priory; and the Jesuit John B. Handrahan of Cheverus High School. The choices appeared to show an effort to have representatives from the type of schools analogous to Xavier.

The report signed by the the chairman is very comprehensive as to the origin, location, purposes, facilities, faculty and curriculum. Since most of these eruditional points have been included -- even at greater length -- in the previous chapter on Xavier, space is reserved here for remarks on the curriculum and the extracurricular activities in the locale where Xavier is situated.

The committee comments on the curriculum are interesting and even curious. So full a program for each student left few if any study periods during the day. Why they were really necessary might have been asked or answered. The assumption on their need could be challenged.

To soften its animadversion for the benefit of the administration, the report indicated that so full a program imposed serious burdens on the administration to work it out and keep it working. But, Jesuit administrators and such generous and competent woman as Miss Sheehan welcome and embrace the burdensome "magis" in good causes.

A recurring fault was found in the honors courses since their syllabi were homegrown, as it were, and not the staple of advanced placement proposals. If student outcome in college board subject matter tests were acknowledged as excellent and a sign of good preparation for college experience, one, like the writer who has viewed Xavier's honor programs in practice, knows their excellence and often superiority over programs following meticulously the advanced placement syllabus. To cite one possible example, it may be asserted that the junior-senior elective history courses, taught by Fr. Frank Sullivan, was in fact superior to very good honors courses following the advanced placement syllabus.

Honors courses in mathematics, physics and the classics were admittedly taught excellently. They represented the imaginative, flexible and substantial work praised in theory by the visitors but less in practice when these qualities were carried out in Xavier's own mode or fashion. The Xavier honors courses might be said to have represented the "cura personalis" of Jesuit education, if one may be pardoned here for using the nominative rather than the accusative case for this technical Jesuit quality.

The "thoroughness and flexibility" which did not serve as a middle term in discussing special honors courses was applied explicitly (as it should have been) to the English curriculum. The report was silent on the standard and progressive courses offered to all students in grammar, literature and composition. It singled out for praise the writing workshop for juniors and seniors.

It also commended the department's good use of the library and a recent participation in a theater workshop in England. The visit may have missed Mr. Joseph O'B. Monahan's fourth-year English course which coordinated literary offerings with contemporary music.

The norm of the advanced placement syllabus was again used in an overall assessment of the mathematics department. Its four-year course of prescribed mathematics was ultra-modern (in a praiseworthy, not in a pejorative, sense) open-ended, oriented toward abstract mathematics, variable in content at the upper levels, and constantly open to revision. Presumably, this final quality did not imply mercurial changes. Nevertheless, the content of honors courses should be the generally followed or the easily measurable Advanced Placement Syllabus, not just a Xavier arrangement even though it had proved so far its worth.

The science curriculum at Xavier was distinctive in comparison to the other Jesuit schools in New England, and to many (undoubtedly most) schools. It was commended with a left hand. In first year there was a general science course covering a wide variety of sciences. In addition to introducing all

students to some scientific knowledge and approach, it made it possible to discern who had a general aptitude for science, whether he wished at once to begin three-year cycle or to defer to junior or even to senior year one or two science courses with a non-scientific major.

For those who chose a scientific sequence for three years, there were but two subjects (chemistry and physics), each taught for one and one-half years. There was, first, three semesters in a rigorous course in chemistry. Then the same followed in physics. Biology, which was a one-year choice for others, was squeezed out of the science sequence to give greater depth to the other two. This depth thus offered an opportunity for students to bypass the initial college course in one or both of these sciences. Advance placement was at that time the climate of opinion and action in college circles, and these more extended science courses kept this aim and mentality in view.

Without passing comment on Xavier's science sequence the committee felt badly that it gave no opportunity for a year's study of biology in the science sequence. This could be affected by having all three courses for one year or, if the extended time were continued for chemistry and physics, by dropping some one of the non-science courses to fit in biology. The report does not throw light on this matter and never praises or dispraises Xavier's special arrangement which did have the backing of the university departments interested in the improvement of secondary school science courses.

The three-year sequence of French or German was commended for the oral-aural approach, the use of the language laboratory, the exclusive use by the teachers of the foreign language in class and the lively pace of instruction. The beginners' classes were judged too large for the full benefit of the excellent material and instruction. The committee thought it would be fine to allow a four-year sequence of these languages thus contracting in fact, if not in theory, Latin as the foreign language for all in first year.

As to Latin, there had been a shock and a pleasant one about the two-year prescribed Latin course and its extension by electives for one or two more years. Instruction was actually in Latin and not just erudition about Latin -- formation over Wissenschaft -- another distinctive Jesuit Ratio feature capable of being found in numerous other subjects besides Latin. Yet, although the library was good in quality on the classics, it was judged a bit sparse for a school which emphasized Latin. Much of this added desideratum might well have been on the archeology, history and social life of Rome and the Romans, and thus about Latin which the school had been praised for de-emphasizing. No comment was passed on the merits or demerits of Xavier's Latin honors course vis-a-vis the Advanced Placement Syllabus. Perhaps too few students were involved or the subject was not judged that important.

The history and social science departments suffered due to the absence in 1967-68 of the two teachers on leave who apparently were not replaced or, if replaced, by less

satisfactory instructors. Fr. Frank Sullivan's elective class in modern world history from 1660 to the present was praised, rightfully, for giving rise to brisk discussion and real thought. The report might have added his requirement of regular and serious book critiques and his coordination of arts and letters with the more political and economic textbook matter.

Some added elective courses in history were suggested, but it might be stated that some of these proposed electives might represent a social science other than history. American History, prescribed in second year and taught by a substitute, was poor in comparison with the material on hand. World history in first year, not in its mode of instruction but in its very content, was stated as too general to establish perspective. The course should be replaced by a study of medieval or ancient history. One wonders if this remedy would supply greater perspective. Without plumping for this fairly standard first year general history instruction, one might argue that a good teacher or even an ordinary one can give perspective in this general survey and overcome partially, if not wholly, the view of young students that history only began with World War II or Vietman or even Watergate. This limited perspective could be paralleled to the view that the Society began with its Thirty-First (1965-66) or Thirty-Second (1974-75) General Congregation.

Theology, although prescribed for fewer hours over four years, received five lines in the report compared to the fifteen lines given to history prescribed for two years and elective

thereafter. The theology classes were found interesting, well taught and effective for the daily lives of the students as, said the report, "Xavier philosophy would have it." The permeation of the curriculum with theology was evident in discussions in English and history classes, as it should be. This would have pleased Fathers Grassi, Early and Maguire and their followers who limited, in comparison to other subjects, time given to formal instruction in religion. They relied on its suffusing other value subjects as well as on the continued presence of religion as manifested in a variety of daily or frequent religious practices. Only in the late 1960's did the colleges begin to equate theology in hours and credits with philosophy requirements. Both may have suffered by this equality.

Granted what were Xavier's curricular excellencies, there was one notable curriculum omission (rather two) as shall be seen. Despite the extracurricular activities in painting, singing, visiting museums, nothing exposed all the students to music and art appreciation. Such a course should be added, and the students were said to want it.

It has been observed that there was no notice of what within the prescribed and elective courses was done on art and music curricular very strikingly by Mr. Monahan and Fr. Sullivan. Fr. Vigneau, too, in the academic, as opposed to business assemblies which he introduced, did lay emphasis on such matters.

Perhaps more knowledge should have been available on the assemblies or some simple questions asked by the committee. These assemblies, which could include a wide variety of cultural

subjects, could broaden interests and perspective, and yet not overcrowd a curriculum already thought to be overloaded by the committee. Perhaps as Xavier grew in numbers, Fr. Vigneau found less time to plan these academic assemblies. The temper of the times and the thrust of the new criteria used by the New England Province of the Society of Jesus to determine its apostolates could have given preference to social science over artistic contributions.

Extracurricular activities, which admittedly opened up fine arts to some students, were as a whole commended for their variety and quality. If there was a fault -- and it appears there had to be --, it was because the faculty, then numbering twenty-four Jesuits and nine lay associates, was too small to perform this task adequately. Hence, recruitment of more staff was urged. It is ironic that this was the very year when the Province had freed Fr. Thomas Lyons from his job as prefect of discipline (1964-67) so that he could more fully supervise his three remaining activities in athletics, the cafeteria and the bookstore.

Athletics were pointed out for some shortcomings despite the admitted hard practice, grit and good coaching. Only two of the seven coaches were full-time, and the time of departure of the school buses in seventy minutes after the last class cramped participation. As to the eighty percent participation of the students in optional, though encouraged, intramural sports, this should be replaced or supplemented by a prescribed physical education program during the regular school

day. Since the curriculum was in fact as well as in the view of the committee very crowded, what effect would have this proposed prescription had? On this the committee did not comment. Perhaps on such minimal matters the praetor passes.

The committee report praised the quality of the Xavier students. The Standard Scholastic Aptitude Test had screened students beginning with its second class. The freshman class then in the school in November 1967 actually had 374 applicants of whom 178 were rejected. The percentiles were found above average. Recent graduates had scored 550 on verbal aptitude, 570 on mathematical. Ten percent were already either on deans' list or in honors programs. Especially singled out were the scores on the physical and mathematic achievement tests of the College Board.

As to current student reaction to their curriculum, facilities and staff, the visitors had found these from causal remarks and explicit questions to be most satisfying. If students had any regrets, it was because they could not enjoy all that was available. Whatever handicaps might arise from disassociation from hometown peers was abundantly replaced in the estimation of the students by the Xavier community and its ethos.

Guidance and its director, Fr. Joseph E. Mullen with collegiate experience at Holy Cross, and his corps of assistants -- chiefly Weston theologians engaged there as part of their apostolic training -- were rated highly as were the physical and academic facilities for guidance work. The work was lauded as remarkably thorough. With these assessments the students, when

queried, agreed. At this time the Province was making available graduate courses in counselling. In addition to student courses and degrees, each summer one of those interested in this work was sponsored by the province at the elite guidance program at some academy during late June and early July.

The physical plant was generously lauded although it was noticed that the gymnasium lacked seating arrangements as well as room at the ends of the basketball courts. If some added facility were needed, it would be a "teaching theater" for combining several sections of one subject occasionally into one large grouping. Thus, groups in the same subject matter, meeting four times a week separately, might meet in common on a fifth time for lectures by expert teachers. This method was suggested as a way of not excessively increasing the teaching staff -- a staff which the report indicated as too small for its extracurricular supervision. The method proposed has been commonly used in colleges and has its advantages and drawbacks. Many teachers might prefer that, if their sections were to be combined every one or two weeks, they be the extraordinary teachers. Tastes will differ.

The care of school finances was enviable and professional. This situation might stem from the instructions of Fr. General in 1937 and enflashed by Fr. James H. Dolan to have modern accounting systems set up in Jesuit educational establishments. The first treasurer, Fr. Edward J. Whalen, had been a treasurer at Weston and at Boston College as well as a minister in other places. Fr. John J. L. Collins had been

trained in finance at the Wharton School and taught finance in the Boston College School of Business Administration. The intervening treasurer between those two was Fr. Francis Donovan, a minister with a keen eye for finance at 761 Harrison Avenue and at Cheverus as well as at Xavier from its inception. The gift of \$170,250 from the Xavier community representing surplus of its salaries plus perquisites and gifts was declared by the committee to be impressive. The tuition of \$580.00 was considered a solid ground for the economic future of the school. The increase up to \$900.00, effective September 1969, was to prove a different story.

The final summation on this school was most laudatory even though shortcomings, often of dubious value, were pointed out. The school was to be alerted to the danger of spreading its faculty too thinly -- apparently to supervise its extracurricular activities and to keep its beginners' foreign language course of proper size. While there was little possibility of athletics or extracurricular activities gaining an upper hand, yet an academically-minded committee felt that a little ground might be yielded to some unspecified extracurriculars. How this might be done compatibly with Xavier's academic aims was unfortunately not spelled out.

The only hints along the way seem to be the prescribed curricular physical training in place of heavy reliance on intramural sports, perhaps a later departure time for the school buses, more full-time coaches and a faculty more free or more enlarged to supervise outside activities. So the report ends.

Physical training was not added. In its last full year 1969-70, the faculty of thirty-one listed nineteen Jesuits and thirteen lay associates -- a decrease in one from the thirty-two in 1967-68. Poor extra-curriculars!

The report went to the Executive Committee of the Independent School Commission of the New England Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Xavier received its first ten-year accreditation at the December 1967 meeting of the association. It was at this meeting that, in filling an expired term, no representative of a Catholic school or association was placed on the executive committee of the independent school group. When Fr. Joseph P. Duffy protested this prior to the formal afternoon announcements, he received no satisfaction from the secretary of the independent school group. Some others did not seem to mind. They were content with crumbs. All this was in marked contrast to the membership of the executive committee of the college division.

Hence, the New England Province Prefect represented the case of the Catholic schools in the independent school unit to Mr. Dana Cotton, the secretary-treasurer of the whole association and its chief stockholder, as it were. From his attendance at a Denver meeting Mr. Cotton wrote that he would look into the matter prior to the next meeting of the board. In late January, a telephone call informed the prefect that Mr. Cotton had presented the matter showing the very high percentage in this group of the Catholic schools yet unrepresented. There was the agreement that at the next election, December 1968, this would be

corrected. The prefect was asked to submit nominations. As a result, a long-term superintendant of a Catholic diocesan system -- a third name on the prefect's terna -- was appointed to the crucial executive committee.

What was surprising, even scandalous, was the apathy or timidity of Catholic sisters, brothers and non-Jesuit clerics about taking legitimate issue with the association when the matter had been explained as Fr. Duffy had done in a timely way. If one runs fine schools, one should have the courage and conviction to speak out.

Xavier also had other educational affiliations though it was through the New England Association that formal accreditation came. Xavier joined the Association for Independent Secondary Schools with which Fr. Lorenzo K. Reid, Fr. Arthur J. Sheehan and Fr. Edward B. Rooney were long prominent. And it was affiliated with other associations including the National Catholic Education Association whose annual Easter-time meeting drew large crowds in Atlantic City, usually every second year, and elsewhere when local Bishops or Archbishops extended invitations.

Stemming from Fr. General Ledochowski's Instructio of 1933 had come the National Jesuit Education Association with which Xavier had an active connection. Its first executive secretary was Fr. Daniel O'Connell, briefly a commissarius of education. After 1937 and for over twenty-five years, Fr. Edward B. Rooney held this post. During Fr. Rooney's tenure he had two New England Jesuits as assistants to him not as assistant

directors: Fr. Leo ("Luke") A. O'Connor and Fr. Richard T. Costello. At a later time Fr. Paul A. FitzGerald, then dean of the Boston College Graduate School, was appointed assistant director of the association.

Three contributions of the Jesuit Educational Association were of great help to any school, including Xavier. These were the occasional Special Bulletins with information on current trends and government plans. There was the Quarterly, published from June 1938 to March 1970, with learned, inspirational and statistical articles. There were secondary school institutes with their follow-up reports -- a mine of information, especially for new secondary school people.

In a few months after accreditation was granted, arrangements began for replacing Fr. John P. Foley whose term as rector was expiring. A new arrangement of rector-headmaster was agreed upon on July 31, 1968. Fr. John R. Vigneau was appointed to this post. In a short time the controversial stage at Xavier arose.

Chapter XVII

WITHDRAWING JESUIT PRESENCE -- ITS IMMEDIATE PRELIMINARIES (1968-1969)

Since a notable decline both in applications and in registrations after acceptance was an important factor in the withdrawal of Jesuit presence from Xavier, figures in these matters are pertinent. While applications in December, 1965, for the class of 1970 were a high of 302, only 156 were found acceptable and of these only 108 enrolled as freshmen in the fall of 1966. In December, 1966, for the class of 1971, the highest number of applicants in all its years presented themselves -- 374. The total enrollment of freshmen in 1967, was, however, only 114. By December, 1967, there was a notable decline in applications for the class of 1972. The numbers were down from the 374 of the previous December to 248. Only 157 were acceptable and the actual registration was 110.

The December 1968 application and subsequent slow registration for the class of 1973 became a matter of serious concern. Of the 207 applicants and 131 acceptances by the school, only 100, after a process drawn out to April, 1969, indicated determination to come. This class was generally considered the poorest since the opening year. It was concerning this class application and determination to come to which Fr. Vigneau spoke at the first session of the Province Congress at Round Hills in February, 1969.

As an aside, it should be pointed out that the official statistics widely used on the state of applicants omitted the applicants of December 1966 for the class of 1971 when the number of applicants were the highest. Somehow, this strange omission was detected, but only on one of the archival copies was the missing information listed.

As a sequel to the accreditation process and in view of the slow response of acceptable students to register, a Xavier community meeting took place as early as February 26, 1968. In addition to the Xavier staff, there were invited to attend, but not to vote, other groups and individuals. Invited were all the Jesuit students residing in the community, the Spiritual Father, three theologians engaged in part-time counselling, the Province Treasurer and the Province Prefect for Secondary Schools.

In detail Fr. Francis J. Donovan, Minister and Treasurer, aided by Mr. Doug Smith of the Boston College High School Treasury Office explained what expenditures and revenues could be projected from June, 1968, through June, 1971. These figures could show what tuition must be charged in view of projected and generous raises for lay teachers and for some decline in total enrollment. If the school had from 352 to 383 students, the tuition charge must be \$800.00. If the registration fell to 306 or down to 282, a \$1000.00 charge was necessary. In view of the current \$580.00 tuition, these increases up to \$800.00 or \$1000.00 were notable additions. The only other solution would be a drive for funds usable for general school purposes or to found tuition grants. Discussion followed

this presentation so that voting during the next few days could be informed.

Voting returns showed unanimity on some points, wide cleavages on others and many unanswered results on questions of a crucial character. There were also answers that had a squinting connotation. All twenty-two voters agreed that even as a means of saving money there should be no increases in class size up to thirty and no raising of teaching loads up to twenty-five hours a week.

As to the authentic apostolic value of Xavier, eighteen believed it was apostolic, two that it was not, and two others believed that it probably was not.

If the province were to close two secondary schools or turn them over to others, should Xavier, the community asked, be one of these. Here there was more division. Eleven opposed such a change, four and perhaps five favored this course of action, six abstained. A straight-out-vote on this issue would have been more helpful, especially if any of these six abstentions preferred that Xavier should remain.

As to an immediate rise in the annual pay of \$600.00 to lay teachers, all but one voted affirmatively. Nor should there be any skimping on class ratio. Tuition and gifts were the ways to gain funds.

In view of some criticism on adequacy of Xavier in cultural and athletic facilities, a vote on this matter showed the belief that they were not adequate or, if they were, they were barely so. As a consequence, some more money must be spent



On April 17, 1968 Fr. Harold O. Small, American Assistant of the Society of Jesus, thanked Fr. Vigneau for the copy of the report of the February meeting and its voting conclusions. He remarked, without prescience, that, as long as Cardinal Cushing was alive the Society could not surrender Xavier, since gratitude was a virtue. He thus hinted that some way short of withdrawal should be sought for its problems.

Xavier went ahead with plans to raise funds and to increase tuition. On October 9, 1968, a letter was addressed to the parents of Xavier students by Fr. Vigneau. Even when the school was accredited a year before, he pointed out, there had been a warning that, without a notable increase in tuition, Xavier could not continue as an excellent school. After long studies on possible charges, it was concluded to raise, beginning in September 1969, the tuition to \$900.00 for the first three years of students and to \$750.00 for the class of 1970. This letter ended on an upbeat note concerning the school and its future. There was no intimation of serious problem if the tuition were raised directly from \$585.00 to \$900.00, or to \$750.00 for the senior class.

At the same time, a letter was sent to the province detailing the new tuition charges. It also indicated an earlier undated decision to limit the student body to 400 in view of the province manpower capabilities and the burden of higher salaries for the lay associates. It indicated that no saving of money was anticipated by any increase in class size. Parents with financial ability must expect to pay fully while poorer students

can still be aided. Some sort of an answer was invited to enlighten the province as it studied the apostolate of secondary schools. No copies on any formal reply to this appeal were found in the Xavier archives. I, for one, first read this October, 1968, letter when I received the Xavier files in late November, 1977. Opportunity to discuss these matters with reference to Xavier could easily have arisen in the course of the current province planning and the sociological survey meetings.

The moves towards Jesuit disassociation from Xavier began to move more rapidly on the inside. On February 20, 1969, Fr. Vigneau, as rector, wrote his annual letter to Fr. General Pedro Arrupe. He recalled the preparation for and the announcement of the tuition increase to \$900.00 and set forth some of the results. In December, 1968, there were only 207 applicants whereas in December, 1967, there were 248 and, in 1966, there had been 374. Requests for financial aid had doubled. If a good lay faculty were to be retained and properly reimbursed, a further increase in tuition would soon be mandatory. Not only were additional Jesuits out of the question, but some of the present Jesuit staff were contemplating study or experimental work. The cardinal's choice of Concord as a location for the school was deplored. Nor did Cardinal Cushing, it was said, help by snide remarks about even the \$580.00 tuition. There was an intimation that Emerson Hospital might purchase the plant.

As for the foreseeable future -- without any possibility of governmental or continued province financial aid -- there appeared no market in enrollment for a school whose tuition could be soon forced higher. Fr. Vigneau concluded his letter to Fr. General by asserting that either there was no real apostolic need for this type of education in Concord, or the upper middle class must show a willingness to pay for it and subsidize it.

In the absence of Fr. General, who was on visitation in Australia, one of his general assistants, Fr. Vincent T. O'Keefe, responded on March 10, 1969. If people do not care to pay adequately for superior education, some other use of Jesuit manpower and effort should be sought. As to the Cardinal, a frank conversation with him by Fr. Vigneau and Fr. Provincial was proposed. He might thus be prepared for later closing of the school. Concomitant with this Roman correspondence was Fr. Vigneau's report to the February, 1969, Province Congress at Round Hills concerning the currently low registration of a new and coming class of 1973. It was only in April, 1969, that the minimum required enrollment was reached and, as has been reiterated, it was a less satisfying group of students academically.

Before matters came any more to a head, an interesting study authorized by the trustees of Xavier became available. This study was a nineteen-page Attitude Survey Report dated May 12, 1969. Leo F. Weiner, a professional consultant of Canton, Massachusetts, had been engaged by the Xavier trustees to initiate this study beginning on March 31, 1969. This inquiry

scounded out seventy-nine individuals representing the student body, teachers, alumni, parents of present and former students, officials of the Society and of the Archdiocese of Boston, educators and natives of Concord. For these nine categories queried, a total of seventy-nine being polled seems somewhat small. Pertinent in this report were questions on financial aid to the school, increase in size and recognition or not of the current state of Xavier's financial jeopardy.

As to whether there was a real concern for Xavier's future or continued existence -- on which most had no insights --, students may be said to have been concerned up to eighty percent, parents up to ninety percent, alumni only twenty-eight percent. Even these percentages come from joining votes for considerable concern with the votes of those who are so confident that they experienced no concern whatsoever.

When the question was raised about increasing enrollment in its relation to the Xaverian program and image, there was a problem. Respondents were told that increased enrollment meant not a jump, for instance, from 400 to 500 or 600 students, but only an increase in student ratio to teachers seemingly independent of whether there was a 400 or 500 student body enrollment. To some this ratio type of increase was adverse, less so to others. To eighty-eight percent of the faculty and to sixty percent of outsiders, this change in student ratio would be considered adverse. It was also considered adverse by fifty percent of the parents and twenty-five of the students and seventeen percent of the alumni. There was, thus,

some difference in viewpoint between current and past students and those who have paid the bills or just looked down with appreciation from the outside.

The next question asked, without any reference to image, was whether Xavier should increase enrollment and where. There was no indication in the terms in which respondents were to interpret the word "increase." How, therefore, it was answered seems anyone's guess. To this question eighty-seven of the alumni responded affirmatively but only eighteen percent of the current students. Fifty eight percent of all the outsiders as did seventy percent of the faculty and twenty-five percent of the parents opposed an increase. Coeducation was also opposed by seventy-seven percent of the parents, favored by eighty-seven percent of the outsiders and eighty-six percent of the faculty. Students were in opposition by fifty-five percent.

The recently announced increase in tuition as one way of bettering the financial standing of the school gave rise to a series of questions. Asked if they would send their sons or return themselves to Xavier at this price, the greatest affirmative of 100% came from the parents of alumni. Sixty percent of the alumni would themselves return or send a son, but another twenty percent of the alumni would not and still another twenty percent doubted that they would. Sixty-seven percent of the current students would return and only eight percent were totally negative.

A related question on fund raising dealt with a willingness to contribute. Here, if the definitely affirmative answers were joined to the probability ones, the alumni were favorable to eighty-seven and a half percent, the parents of the present students to eighty-three and a half percent, but the parents of the alumni who were 100% for sending their sons back to Xavier were but seventy-five percent willing to contribute. Tuition, even high tuition, they seem ready to pay, but were less prepared to grant later subsidies. In general, however, all those who did favor contributions wished that the drive for funds had been initiated at once. It was this enthusiasm that brought about a steering committee for this purpose. Its activities, however, were delayed in November, 1969, for practical reasons involved in a possible withdrawal of the Jesuit presence.

Mr. Weiner believed that the young alumni despite some sophisticated views on Xavier would rally round in an emergency. He sensed, too, that, while parents sympathized with Xavier's pull towards inner-city students, they did not want Xavier to overlook boys from the middle economic class. The report ended with a few recommendations to keep Xavier going.

Mr. Weiner thought it would be well for Xavier to know and ponder the view of a headmaster, once an opponent of all sectarian education, who now believed that church-related schools were islands of sanity. This view paralleled those of the executive committee of the Independent School Commission of the New England Association in November, 1967.

More lay trustees were also proposed by Mr. Weiner. A process in this direction was well-started prior to the events of late 1969 and early 1970. He recommended increase in size of the student body up to 500 by aggressive recruiting efforts. He did not recommend a drive for funds but rather emphasized annual and deferred giving.

His final sentences were: "Xavier deserves to remain in operation. Its family and its friends will see that it does." These were brave words. Some friends and family continued to believe them.

The next step towards disengagement came with the Xavier Commencement on June 4, 1969. Fr. Vigneau presented an annual report of four pages which was often referred to later and was widely publicized. In speaking of the widespread disorder affecting so many schools in the past school year, he indicated that Xavier, without favoring change for its own sake or merely enunciating sound moral platitudes, had striven to en flesh in action its social ideals.

Where a stand had to be taken on a gut issue, this was done. Commitments in deeds not just words and ideas were encouraged. Granted that not everything that was done was always correct or secure, Xavier was challenging social structures where and when needed. If such a mission of Xavier were not accepted by students and parents, Xavier would close. Here was a clear and early enunciation of the view that unwillingness to accept this prophetic concept of Xavier, along with its academic excellence, was a signal that continued work there by Jesuits was

not consonant with God's greater glory. Perhaps these words were taken as graduation day rhetoric. They quite obviously were not.

In the same month of June, Fr. Vigneau proposed that the recently combined office of rector and headmaster of Xavier be split. He would prefer that another be rector, in the sense of a religious superior, and that he be headmaster in full charge of the school. Considerable time was spent by Fr. Provincial in studying and finally approving a deliniation of the respective functions. Since these details are not pertinent to the current narrative, they are omitted.

A request for the change along with a terna for a new rector was submitted to Fr. General. In August, 1969, he wished the system of a rector in full charge of school and community to be continued and he was prepared to accept the nomination of Fr. Richard J. Olsen for the post. There was some embarrassment when it became known that Fr. Olsen's name as rector had been approved but that no action on its promulgation was forthcoming.

Further clarification on problems were needed. It had been the understanding of superiors and Fr. Olsen that his temperament and training suited him for the office of religious superior rather than headmaster. After further clarification of the situation, Fr. General acquiesced in the appointment of Fr. Olsen as rector of the community with Fr. Vigneau continuing only as an independent headmaster of the school. Fr. Olsen assumed his office on November 1, 1969. It was during this somewhat of an impasse on jurisdictional matters that plans on increasing trustees with some lay people as members were set

aside.

The next development towards withdrawal of Jesuit presence came from the outside although the group of seven in question included Fr. Vigneau. On November 5, 1969, Fr. Joseph D. Devlin, New England Province Director of Secondary Education since May 31, 1969, met with the principals of the Jesuit secondary schools in the province at 297 Commonwealth Avenue while Loycla House was still Province Headquarters. At this time the principals were Fr. John R. Vigneau (Xavier), James C. O'Brien (B. C. High), Robert J. Starratt (Fairfield), John G. Cornellier (Connolly), James A. Benson (Cranwell) and John J. Bresnahan (Cheverus). The projected purpose of the meeting had been a formulation of a statement on the scope and purpose of secondary education in the province as a way to attract future Jesuit teachers. The focus of the group so changed during the discussion that a different objective was effected. Its members recognized that due to declining manpower there must be a cutback on the number of the schools serviced by Jesuits.

Moreover, a slow process of decision-making was out of the question. According to the last Province Congress, the high schools, for continued Jesuit life, were to rely on self-studies, separate incorporation of community and closer university ties. These devices now appeared overly slow or halfway measures.

Now it was believed by the principals that one top-flight school would be most desirable, obviously in or near Boston to capitalize on its academic and cultural treasures. If there were but one, it might incorporate completely the province

criteria on the promotion of justice and church reform. Two more traditional schools might be maintained but no more. The reasons were the dwindling number of Jesuits ready to be assigned, an increasing number of those seeking other work, and the expensive involvement of adding lay teachers. By five years, the cutback must come on a decision for one or, at the most, for three schools. Three principals unnamed would favor one school or perhaps one additional and traditional one; the other three seemed to favor one major school plus two other traditional schools. In all events, two would have to surrender Jesuit presence in some form, and perhaps even three or four.

At the end of the meeting Fr. Devlin asked and apparently received help for later formulating a plea that could be presented to the congress scheduled for early January, 1970. Whatever Fr. Devlin received for concretizing the proposed motion was to be kept confidential, and so did not appear in the quite ample Xavier archival documentation.

Before the Province congress met at Shadowbrook in early January, 1970, some further developments took place. On November the 11th, the province consultors met and for a time conferred with province curia planners on the forthcoming congress. Dissatisfaction was expressed by two of the consultors that Fr. Provincial had permitted the recall of the 1969 congress personnel rather than authorize new elections for a "province forum" as the group would later be termed. Opportunity for freshness of approach and spirit had thus been lost. Consequently, the prospect for the January, 1970, meeting was of

a drab group with a drab effect on the province.

It was noted also that this same characterization of drab personality and drab outcome was widespread in the province concerning the personnel and predictable conclusions of the congress. Hence, there was need of a gutsy agenda, especially on secondary schools.

Seven days after this consultants meeting, Fr. Vigneau tendered to Fr. Provincial, on November 18, his resignation as headmaster. He wished the resignation to be effective by June, 1970. In this letter he recalled his long involvement in secondary-school work but indicated that he was then impatient with the province dragging its feet on the issue of secondary schools. As an elected member of the two previous sessions of the province congress, he had been pleased with his work but, since its second session, only waiting appeared the outcome. The recent meeting of the principals and their resolves had been heartening. Early and drastic action was, however, needed. Perhaps he had reason to believe his voluntary resignation would advance action in this realm.

There were some reactions in the Xavier community to the announced results of the principals' meeting and, finally, to the resignation. Just before the latter, Fr. Rector, Richard J. Olsen, alerted Fr. Provincial that, after the Province Consultants' meeting, Fr. Vigneau had cancelled the trustees meeting and postponed work on the projected drive for three months. To Fr. Olsen, these actions seem steps calculated to allow the schools to slip downward. At a community meeting on

November the 13th, Fr. Vigneau was reported to have suggested to the community that an offer be made to relinquish its connection with the Xavier School. Doubts had therefore surfaced that on his own he was bringing Xavier to an end as a Jesuit school. It was just after this communication that Fr. Provincial, on return to his residence, learned of Fr. Vigneau's resignation.

On reflection and on advice the provincial wrote on November 25th that he was not ready to accept the resignation at present. Too short a time had elapsed since the last arrangement had been made and there really was hope in the coming province meeting. It was, moreover, to the Xavier trustees, fully informed, to whom Fr. Vigneau's resignation should be addressed. Details of any such trustees' meeting, their decision and any proposed replacement should then be forwarded to Fr. Provincial. He expressed his opposition to any hasty cancelling of a fund-raising plan since this would make the future more hazardous. No precipitative action of any kind should prejudice the final destinies of Xavier.

Fr. Provincial visited Xavier during December and Fr. Devlin visited it once. Concerning his visit, Fr. Provincial wrote on December 16th that he appreciated Fr. Vigneau's anxiety at province inactivity to date on secondary school matters. He indicated, nevertheless, that no resignation could be effective prior to June, 1970, and even an acceptance then was contingent on later decisions. Secondary school matters would be one of the special issues at the coming congress. Fr. Provincial himself would have the matter brought up so that conclusions could be

reached in a matter of months. Any further inaction was out of the question. He ended by recommending a vacation to Fr. Vigneau.

In a memorandum of December 21, Fr. Devlin recounted his visit to Fr. Vigneau who was looking forward to study and contacts in the Boston area and performing some secondary school work in the province. Fr. Vigneau denied all allegations of trying to close Xavier. He had informed one lay teacher of his resignation and would inform others if no satisfactory action were taken at the coming congress. He stressed that it might well be a preference policy for Jesuits to work in other peoples' institutions rather than in their own. He had a low opinion of current province high school teachers. There were too many psychologically sick, insecure, negative and angry ones. He urged psychological interviews for all Jesuit faculties as well as some due process devices to hear complaints of Jesuits who might be removed by principals from the classroom.

Fr. Vigneau made one more preparation in advance of the congress. He dated a three-page document on December 31, 1969, for immediate delivery to Fr. Provincial. He wished the congress to know what had happened at Xavier since his report in February, 1969, on the matter of low registration which had improved to an extent in April of that year. Presently, some at Xavier were doubting the apostolic value of that school and of other schools as well. For some, this view was the decisive factor for their planned departure from Xavier. The raise in tuition to \$900.00 had kept the school solvent for the present, but estimated needs

for higher lay salaries would necessitate a further rise. Of the fourteen Jesuit teachers currently on the staff, six were definitely planning to leave and probably a seventh. The principal of a choice of ministries could possibly help to bring in new recruits, but it could also lead to so few that the school would die on the vine. It was crucial for all to know that the current applications and its consequent registration were extraordinarily low. There was also an opportunity to sell the property, but a prompt decision on the continuance or not of the school was needed to take advantage of any offer to sell. A developmental drive for funds he called a chimera. The school, too, had been disadvantageously located and begun at an inappropriate time. His proposal was to close the school as soon as possible and, by all means, not to accept a new class for September, 1970. These opinions were his own although others shared them. A failure of the congress to decide definitely on Xavier would be cruel -- worse than a crime, a blunder as it were.

With this document the initial phase of withdrawal of Jesuit presence at Xavier comes to an end. Since this term on withdrawal of Jesuit presence will frequently be used as a middle term and frequently be misunderstood or ignored rather than denied, it is advantageous to explain its technical sense found in germ in the congress resolution and elaborated upon as one concrete issue is regularly brought into play as to its amplitude.

The New England Province, after an agreed on date (June, 1970, or at latest, June, 1971) will no longer assign Jesuits to administer and instruct at Xavier or to serve as its legal trustees. If some other group should take over the trusteeship of the school, Jesuits who volunteer to work at Xavier may, after dialogue with Fr. Provincial, be authorized to teach there but none will be assigned there as a result of any contract with any new (non-Jesuit) trustees. This definitive and unwavering position was either not understood or was protested as will be seen from the numerous efforts to have unnamed volunteers guaranteed the title to teach at Xavier even with the ultimate power of trusteeship vested in a Jesuit group. It is the making of this decision and the efforts both to explain it and to illustrate its limited scope to which the next chapter is devoted.

Chapter XVIII

WITHDRAWING JESUIT PRESENCE -- ITS ANNOUNCEMENT (1970)

At the Province Congress, it was Fr. Provincial who took the initiative in expounding in confidence the situation at Xavier. According to the minutes, he asked whether the congress had a better alternative to Xavier's closing at that time. In a memorandum prepared as a basis for this talk can be found a fuller exposition of his views.

The recruiting of the students had been difficult especially in the early winter of 1968-69 although this situation had been somewhat ameliorated by the spring of 1969. He recalled the subsequent divisions of authority at Xavier, the recent realizations expressed by the province's principals of secondary schools on over-expansion due to declining membership in the Society, the recent resignation of Fr. Vigneau accepted by Xavier's trustees but not yet by himself. He set forth the urgency for an immediate answer.

Moreover, in view of the province's criteria on the promotion of justice and reform of the church, it was questioned whether Xavier's catering to the upper class was really the best use of apostolic talents. Finances for the moment were satisfactory but, with the projected rising scale in salaries, tuition then at \$900.00 must be further raised. Six to eight Jesuits planned to leave Xavier on reasons of "spiritual, personal, psychological and apostolic nature." Prospects for new students were very low. There were, in addition, possible

prospective purchasers for the property. Decision must be made quickly to determine whether in this very month new candidates for September should be accepted. He wished to make clear he was not asking a ratification of his decision but for a viable alternative from this session of the congress to a move to "disassociate ourselves from the school." This formulation "to disassociate ourselves from the school" is sharper than a "closing Xavier down" as his thought was reported in the minutes.

A discussion was carried on both in the afternoon and evening sessions of Friday, January 2, 1970. Much time was spent on the exact meaning of secondary school education which, as an undefined term, was generally favored. A fair number of the Xavier staff, either delegates or observers, presented their views with most of them urging a discontinuation of the school. It was fine, they said, in many ways but not the current appropriate outlet for apostolic zeal.

After some time, Fr. Robert P. White moved that the congress "recommend to the Provincial to withdraw Jesuit support for Xavier in the future." This concretized the more general provincial statement of the minutes, that is, "Xavier's closing down," and was in clearer accord with the memorandum formula to "disassociate ourselves from the school." This motion of Fr. White's was seconded.

There was a brief added discussion. Fr. John C. Ford requested a written ballot. The chairman (Fr. Joseph D. Devlin) agreed on such a written ballot. The voting was forty-eight for, and two against the White resolution. Seventeen abstained.

Immediately after this vote a motion was introduced to set up a commission to gather all pertinent data on the other five secondary schools. It was amended to say that the composition of this commission would not be specifically voted by the congress. After one question was raised on the composition of the commission, the proposal as amended was passed. Another motion was also passed for a full history of Xavier so that salutary lessons might be drawn.

On January 16, 1970, prior to the publication of the minutes the executive committee of the congress issued, as part of its preliminary report on all aspects of the congress, the following comments on the Xavier role in the total secondary school discussions. There are some underscorings here. The first is in the text, the second is mine.

Secondary Education. This discussion was obviously one of the most urgent sessions of the congress; focused, as it were, upon the decision about Xavier although the decision had been looming during the last year, the time for decision came to a focus only at the congress. Fr. Provincial asked for the floor and announced to the congress that, unless they could come up with a feasible alternative, there seemed to be no other option than to withdraw Jesuits from the direction and staffing of Xavier.

Extensive discussion took place in which almost one half of the Xavier faculty spoke in favor of the decision. As in past congresses, a number of Xavier people were present as observers at the congress.

The major thrust of their decisions both individual and collective emphasized their perception of greater responsibility to the needs of future service even when this meant the most difficult decision.

At the end of this discussion, despite the fact that some felt they needed further information, the final vote to endorse the Provincial decision was yes, forty-eight [seventy-two percent]; no, two; abstained seventeen.

Hence, the congress by a seventy-two percent majority voted its inability to offer a viable alternative "to recommend to the Provincial to withdraw Jesuit support for Xavier in the future" (the words of the White resolution) or, in the words of the report "to endorse the Provincial decision" ("to withdraw Jesuits from the direction and staffing of Xavier"). This action came quickly to be formulated in the technical expression of withdrawing Jesuit presence from Xavier. This expression excluded any continued, even though limited management of Xavier by any contractual guarantee of any set number of Jesuits who might labor there under other people's management. If Jesuits were to be there, it would be by personal arrangement in discernment with Fr. Provincial, as men then often worked at state colleges or elsewhere. Such arrangements were in keeping with the freedom of choice in ministry as passed in the second session of the 1969 Province Congress and officially approved.

Rumors spreading in the town of Concord on the sale of the Xavier properties spurred rapid action. On January 4th, Fr. Provincial planned an appointment with Cardinal Cushing to

explain the situation. The appointment for Fr. Provincial, Fr. Vigneau and Fr. Francis X. Miller, the Province Treasurer, was at 10:00 A. M. on January 6th, the very day the president of the nearby Emerson Hospital wrote of his interest in the Xavier property. In the meeting with the cardinal, the circumstances were explained, possible ways of dividing profit or losses were presented and the cardinal accepted the inevitability of the decision to withdraw.

A five-page letter was addressed to Fr. General on January 8, 1970. Much was detailed that has already been seen in this narrative. It recounted the visit to the cardinal and his acceptance of the proposal to withdraw. It alluded to the fact that Xavier was serving a middle or upper middle class student body in days of increasing awareness of the poor and the underprivileged. Hence, Fr. Provincial could not turn aside requests for change in status in keeping with the personal and health needs of men at Xavier in order to save a school barely able to survive. He appeared sanguine about a sale of property to Emerson Hospital or to the Concord-Carlyle regional school district. Since there could be (although it seemed far-fetched) some religious or private group ready to continue with the school, no sale would be consummated until this possibility had been explored. The plans on placing the students elsewhere were explained. A brief timetable on plans concerning public announcements and legal and financial plans were also included.

Plans for assimilating the Xavier student body were quickly arranged. In the event that even the Class of 1971 would not be kept at Xavier, both Boston College High School and Cranwell School agreed to accept any who requested a place. Since the Classes of 1972 and 1973 would not be kept at Xavier, these same two schools agreed to accept the current sophomores on application and to give special attention to applicants from the freshman class. Fr. J. C. O'Brien, the Principal of Boston College High School, and a former Xavier teacher, proposed that, in return for the generosity of Boston College High School in accepting transfers, it receive the library, audio-visual and scientific equipment plus a good choice at several excellent teachers with one of them placed at the top of this list of desirables.

On January 9th, a brief report was made available to the Boston press on the withdrawing of Jesuit presence from Xavier. The announcement was brief:

The Jesuits at Xavier school, Concord, through the headmaster, Rev. John R. Vigneau, S. J. announced that they are withdrawing from the school. Half of the Jesuit teachers will leave in June 1970 and the remainder will depart in June 1971. The reasons for this definitive decision and the alternatives which might be considered by interested parents and others will be explained at a public meeting to be held in the school auditorium on Tuesday, January 30 at 8:00 p.m. Representatives of the mass media will be present at this meeting.

The century old Jesuit presence at Boston College High School will be strengthened by the decision of the Jesuits at Xavier, and the administration at Boston College High School has made generous offers that will facilitate the transfer of many Xavier students. The details of this arrangement will be explained at the public meeting.

On this same January 9th, the assembled students were informed. At this meeting, it was announced that Fr. Raymond J. Callahan was acting headmaster until further notice. Fr. Vigneau would now be only the President of the Xavier Corporation. The same day, signed while Fr. Callahan was director of admissions, a copy of the press release was given to each student at the school assembly for the benefit of parents. Prior to these releases and announcements on January 9th, the faculty had been informed of these matters by Fr. Vigneau. Its members were asked not to pass any comments prior to the public meeting and to assist the students to keep a sense of Christian perspective.

The much heralded and awaited public assembly took place as scheduled. Fr. Vigneau assumed the brunt of the announcement in a nine-page statement. For the withdrawal, he cited the lesser numbers of available Jesuits and the very low number of new applicants. Several seasoned teachers, for spiritual reasons, were departing the staff to serve "even greater needs." For these departures there were no obviously trained Jesuit replacements. Only one of the lay staff would consider continuing in these new circumstances. In a short time even a tuition charge of \$900.00 would be too low to maintain the school's excellence. The steering committee which had worked on finances was thanked but their efforts were no longer considered germane.

In last place he stressed what earlier had been intimated at Xavier, Jesuits were not fulfilling service for the greater glory of God to which they were committed as an ideal. A Jesuit commitment involved risk, flexibility and, while it promised itself nothing, demanded all from self. Xavier school did not make such service possible.

Matters of a pragmatic character were also expounded. There was a willingness to cooperate with any group that might take over the school but not to arrange for Jesuits to remain. The current junior class of 1971 could graduate from Xavier provided enough enroll for the following year. They might transfer if they wished to Boston College High School or Cranwell School or attempt early entrance into college. Those in second year, who would not be continued at Xavier, could be accepted by one or other of the same two Jesuit schools. Those in first year could apply for acceptance by these two schools and be given every possible consideration. No new class of 1974 would enter in September, 1970. Xavier alumni will be affiliated with Boston College High School's alumni.

Fr. Vigneau concluded this address with pride in a heritage that, while creating first-class institutions, could be flexible enough to move on when God's greater glory beckoned.

Newsweek, in its February 2, 1970, issue, carried an extended article on the problems of maintaining Catholic schools. The article had a paragraph on the Jesuit withdrawal from Xavier. When asked, according to this article, to explain the gnawing doubt about the lesser value of work in Xavier, Fr. Vigneau was

reported as saying, "I want to try something new and I think I would like to work among the blacks in Boston." This remark, continued Newsweek, brought applause from many students and silence from parents. There are in the Xavier files several letters applauding Fr. Vigneau's credo.

Opposition to the Jesuit withdrawal was at a high pitch for the next few months. In the files of Xavier are eighty-five telegrams and twenty-nine letters sent during January. By some Emily Post system of etiquette, the letter writers received a gracious form letter, but no response appears to have been forwarded to the senders of telegrams. Three additional letters which came later were separately and personally acknowledged. The letter sent out at the end of January in reply to pleas for some form of continuation at Xavier was the following:

Thank you for your letter concerning the recent announcement that the Jesuit Fathers [sic] are withdrawing from Xavier School, Concord, Massachusetts.

As you are aware this was not an easy decision to make. I did so only after consideration of all the factors involved and I regret any inconvenience that this decision has caused you. It is, however, irreversible. I am sorry that I could not answer your letter personally but the large amount of correspondence received on this issue precluded any such arrangement.

With best wishes and a promise of prayers for you and your intentions, I am

Sincerely yours,
William G. Guindon, S.J.
Provincial

That, at the public meeting, it became known that some of Xavier's Jesuits were ready to remain and perhaps be joined by others from other sources led to one important warning as well as to proposals on continuation of some Jesuit efforts to save the school. As to a warning, Mr. Ralph O. West, Director of the Evaluation Commission on Independent Secondary Schools of the New England Association, recalled that since Xavier had been accredited as a Jesuit school with a sizable Jesuit staff, any marked change in that personnel would affect seriously the accredited standing of the school.

As to a way of continuing Xavier with Jesuit assistance, plans such as the Shreveport or Austin Prep plan came into prominence. These are set forth in detail later in this narrative. These possibilities became the chief hopes of a group of parents under the leadership of George A. Coleman, Dr. Harry Ernst and Dr. Richard Stanton.

Reactions of New England Jesuits to the decision as presented to Fr. Provincial were varied. Some expressed the view that they regretted the manner in which the withdrawal had been made, but they took no further action. One who wrote was informed that the Xavier experiment was really just a boat drill; more than a boat drill could be expected elsewhere.

Other views expressed strong doubts on a variety of issues. The congress was not given adequate time to make so drastic a move. There was some doubt whether Xavier's financial situation was as weak as alleged, and whether the enrollment was as hopeless as pictured. But the greatest stress was laid on the

presence of enough and qualified volunteers to join that portion of the Xavier staff who were ready to remain.

Time and again, and from a variety of sources, this matter of volunteers arose. At no time was a list of these people with their qualifications presented to Fr. Provincial. One letter in the files written by an official of another Jesuit school than Xavier did list some seven people. Three of these were Jesuits who as priests had had experience in secondary school work, three had their priestly experience in colleges, and one had experience in both. Of these seven, some were of college retirement age; a few were actively teaching in Jesuit secondary schools.

Other points were also urged as grounds for reconsideration. Even the congress had placed great emphasis on the value of Jesuit secondary education; yet it was here that contraction was made. Comparison were made with the continued support of three colleges where stress on Jesuit values was not always too evident. It seemed to objectors that, if lack of manpower was a decisive factor in withdrawing Jesuit presence from Xavier, it should be the colleges rather than the secondary schools that should be affected.

Personalities, too, at times obtruded into the objections raised. Fr. Vigneau was charged with too single-handedly able to effect the closing of Xavier. In view of the freer hand given to younger Jesuits in life style, it was argued that older men willing to continue Xavier might have the use of the Xavier faculty residence while working in the school

as volunteers.

To these objections a settled answer was given. The decision favored by the clear majority of the congress and ratified by the provincial was to stand. There was a financial and enrollment problem at Xavier. As to any volunteers, they would have to work with some group, whatever it might be, that might assume the fullest legal, financial and academic responsibility for Xavier. Jesuits, so inclined, could volunteer to teach there under these outside auspices and, after dialogue with Fr. Provincial, have their requests seriously considered under the principle of the freedom of choice of ministries.

Moreover, it was emphasized that any new setup was in no circumstances to include any Jesuit trustees even when others assumed financial responsibilities. Nor was any arrangement to be judged compatible with withdrawal of Jesuit presence which would require any guaranteed number of Jesuits as could be a feature in some proposals. Since no group, as will be seen, ever assumed responsibility for the continuation of Xavier, the topic of volunteers and their sanctioning never came to a test.

Even while these objections were being raised by Society members, a new reaction on January 17, 1970, came from Cardinal Cushing. This was occasioned by newspaper accounts and some public pleas which had reached him. In a letter to Fr. Provincial, he noted the possibility of volunteers and seemed worried by public dismay and disenchantment along with consequent ill effects on other aspects of Catholic education. He recalled the past sacrifices made for education, especially by Jesuits.

He discerned apostolic value to the archdiocese in Xavier and indicated how the school had enhanced, and could continue to enhance, adult education. In view of these desirable effects, and to stem advancing secularism, he believed the preservation of secondary school education necessary.

Because of his necessary absence from his office, Fr. Provincial could not respond until January 27th to this letter concerning the decision "to relinquish responsibility for staffing and directing Xavier High School." As to the volunteers, they were presumably retired men between sixty-five and seventy years of age. Their names had not been disclosed to him. Hence, there can be no decision on their availability. Appreciating the value of secondary education, the province was willing to turn the management and staffing over to some other group rather than to close the school. Adult education was realized as a valuable contribution, and one of those priests who was withdrawing from Xavier planned to prepare himself for fuller time at it. The sad fact about Xavier was the lack of available and qualified teachers, and of qualified students, only twenty-five of whom had appeared ready to enter a class in September, 1970, where 200 could be enrolled. This response is the letter which the Coleman Report was to characterize as abrupt. It was undoubtedly to the point, not on closing Xavier, but on withdrawing Jesuit presence. It was hardly disrespectful, as the term "abrupt" might imply.

The narrative now turns to a fathers' group interested in, and even militant for, some retention of Xavier, and then to the final decision sanctioned by the General to withdraw Jesuit

presence from Xavier.

Chapter XIX

PARENT GROUP REACTION TO JESUIT WITHDRAWAL AND FINAL DECISION (1970)

The narrative now turns to the efforts of George A. Coleman and Harry R. Ernst as representatives of a parents' group to propose a plan for the retention of Jesuits at Xavier. A letter from Mr. Ernst came to Fr. Provincial William G. Guindon, both by mail and by hand, and set forth the proposals. The parents incorporated would not take trusteeship, but would, by lease, under a new group of Jesuit at Xavier trustees, assume authority for legal and financial matters. Academic responsibility would rest with the Jesuit trustees.

As precedents, there were cited the Shreveport Plan at St. John's, Shreveport, Louisiana, and the Austin Prep Arrangement, and those concluded with the Philadelphia and Grosse Point Academies of the Religious of the Sacred Heart. Under those arrangements, enrollments had increased and Christian enterprises flourished. The letter incorporating these thoughts eventuated in a telephone conversation on Sunday, January 25, 1970, in which an opportunity for fuller discussion was requested by Mr. Ernst. A briefer resume of this letter was forwarded to Cardinal Cushing, with whom a discussion was also requested.

On January 27th, in acknowledgement of the telephone call to him, Fr. Provincial sent a letter to Mr. Ernst detailing the substance of this conversation. There had been discussion of Fr. John R. Vigneau's statement that some group might propose plans for the continuation of Xavier as a Catholic institution,

and that such proposals would be gladly received. So Fr. Provincial reiterated the manner in which Jesuit volunteers could be authorized to work there, not under Jesuit trustees, but under the trusteeship of such a new group.

Also, on January 27th a three-page proposal was sent to Fr. Vigneau, along with a copy to Fr. Provincial. This detailed the plan which was submitted in the names of Dr. Harry Ernst, George A. Coleman, and Dr. Richard Stanton, but signed by Mr. Coleman on behalf of the committee. The letter narrated that a group of fifteen fathers on January 18th had voted to seek an interview with Fr. Provincial to discuss the feasibility and conditions of a Shreveport or Austin Prep Plan to save Xavier. After some statements on the January 25th telephone call, the accuracy of which on some smaller points was open to question by Fr. Provincial, a definite, if incomplete, proposal was made.

The parents' group would first incorporate in order to negotiate. The Jesuits would contract in writing to supply a minimum of fifteen volunteers, with one to serve as principal. Added Jesuits would be appreciated. Then the fifteen Jesuits would be constituted the trustees of Xavier. They would lease the property to the parents' corporation for one dollar (\$1.00) a year. In the event that the cardinal took over the property, the lease would be arranged with him, but the contract for fifteen Jesuits would remain. All legal and financial details of the school would be the responsibility of the lay corporation, and they would protect and enhance the property.

Plans on curriculum, to be approved by the lay corporation and the cardinal, would be presented by some two Jesuit priests as chairmen in the eyes of the fathers' group of the Jesuit trustee group of fifteen volunteers. All these volunteers would be paid by the lay corporation. The initial contract would be for five years, subject to mutual cancellation on six months' notice, but such that no class of students, once accepted, would fail to complete its full four years of instruction. In this way flexibility would be permitted and inequity avoided.

Since this was a statement of intent, fuller details had yet to be arranged. Another month was needed by the group to learn more details on the Shreveport and Austin plans. They wished, however, that pending that time no disposition be made of the property. A brief timetable was appended. If the plan was judged feasible by February 1st -- then only a few days away --, there should be a joint announcement by the cardinal and the provincial that a plan was being worked out. By February 10th, the tentatively established new boards would go over details with Shreveport and Austin plans as models. By March 1, there should be a definite announcement on the future of Xavier. Copies of this letter to Fr. Vigneau went not only to Fr. Provincial, but also to Cardinal Cushing and one proposed Jesuit trustee.

Since Mr. Coleman personally delivered to Fr. Provincial his copy of the letter, they conferred for a time on its substance. After the session, Fr. Provincial prepared at once a memorandum on the conversation, and on the same day

composed a response for Fr. Coleman. He stressed his opposition to having Jesuits comprise the board of trustees since withdrawal from this task was an integral part of the withdrawal of Jesuit presence from Xavier. As for volunteers, he was in the dark about any names except two who were presumably volunteers. Even with the possibility of a turning over of the property to Cardinal Cushing for school use, there was need of a real estate appraisal, and time for this was still required. Hence, February 1st was an impossible date if and since appraisal must precede negotiations. As to volunteers, there would be no contractual agreement on numbers, but the methodology for their being sanctioned as volunteers to the proposed lay management was detailed. These points of the memorandum were incorporated into a letter.

The letter referred to some factual matters which, while annoying, did not attest the substance either of the plan or its rejection. It might also be observed that, up to this point, nothing was said about Jesuit contributions from their salaries to the school. In the Shreveport contract, according to a telephone conversation of Fr. James C. Carter, S.J., Director of Education for the New Orleans Province to Fr. Joseph D. Devlin, on February 2, 1970, the Shreveport Jesuits were obliged to contribute eighty percent of their salaries back to the school corporation.

Fr. General was the next recipient of pleas and complaint. Prior to his receiving the extended plea for a continuation of Xavier, which was dated February 8, 1970, he had

written to Fr. Provincial on February 2nd. In view of the public statement of January 13th, there seemed little on which to comment concerning Fr. Provincial's letter to him of January 8th. He trusted that the matter had been fully discussed in advance with the Xavier community since some letters from its members had objected to certain assertions made in the public statement. He reminded the provincial that there would soon be need for a formal petition to suppress Xavier as a religious house undoubtedly erected canonically.

The Coleman documentation which went nominally to Fr. General was also distributed to Cardinal Cushing and to all who had been official participants in the January Province Congress. It consisted of a two and one-third page letter signed by the three spokesmen for the fathers' group, plus a series of accompanying documents and an index page.

In first place, among accompanying documents, was the recent correspondence between Cardinal Cushing and Fr. Provincial, a rather unusual use of private correspondence. It was later learned that the Cardinal had supplied this correspondence. Another important and controversial enclosure was A Considered Reaction to the Speech of Fr. Vigneau Announcing to the Public the Abandonment of Xavier School -- January 13, 1970. Next appeared a series of facts and events occurring during the past year, designed to show that the situation was not as clear-cut as alleged. Next came accounts of the Shreveport and Austin plans as submitted by officials in those schools. The Wiener Survey was included to show the strength of the school.

The optimistic letter of the headmaster on May 29, 1969, was added. Dangers to students were indicated through newspaper clippings concerning a lecture at Xavier by an ex-priest, Arthur Melville. There was data from the Steering Committee, set up to establish a better flow of thought on sensitive matters between school and parents. To conclude the data there appeared Fr. Vigneau's speech of January 13, 1970.

The letter proper stressed the excellent grades given to Xavier until complaints arose about the demolition of the original chapel and the substitution of a liturgy room with a different type of ornamentation and without reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. The charge was made that it was the headmaster who had determined to close the school without prior consultation with relevant groups such as the trustees, advisory lay board, faculty committee, parents, students, alumni. This unilateral decision was disclosed to Fr. Provincial who was allegedly able to use the "pro forma" backing of the congress to accomplish the purpose. Hence, the deed, according to this letter, was really accomplished by two men.

Reasons given on January 13 were alleged to be misstatement, or open to other interpretations. The lack of students was denied since alumni and parental assistance in recruitment had not been used. Staff was hardly lacking since half the present staff was remaining and there were twelve new volunteers. These latter, plus two of the current staff, were under sixty years of age and were ready to commit themselves for five years. If lay teachers were leaving, it was because they

had been informed that the school was closing. Efforts of parents in raising funds had been thwarted in November, 1969.

An earlier statement of Fr. Vigneau on the value of teaching at Xavier was contrasted with his present view. There was the remark that, if there was a place where the value could be doubted, it was in the completely secularized Jesuit colleges which were being kept open. The decision was particularly unjust toward those in the two lower years.

The proposal on the Shreveport system, offered on January 27th, was rejected by Fr. Vigneau as lacking sufficient detail and by Fr. Provincial's postponing any decision until March, when a financial report would be available. Such a delay made the proposals being considered too late. Cardinal Cushing's pleas had been turned down abruptly as the enclosed correspondence would show. The two plans submitted (evidently referring to the Shreveport and Austin plans) were precedents for the retention of Christian education in an age when colleges were becoming increasingly secularized. The sponsors guaranteed, in conclusion, that the project would be forwarded, not in the public media, but in the family of the church.

The Considered Reaction required close attention since views on its authorship and sponsorship were to arise. It was, its content declared, the work of parents who have the responsibility, even after Vatican II, to seek out a Catholic education for their children. They denied Xavier's insurmountable financial difficulty since they had not been sufficiently asked to aid it. There was also, for some future

years, enough Jesuit volunteers to rescue Xavier without loss to other institutions. It went as far as to assert that, over a span of years prior to 1970, there had been volunteers to salvage Xavier. This was a very intriguing statement for a province prefect who had been kept in the dark about this group clamoring in vain to be assigned to Xavier. Parents, too, were never given the opportunity to explore possibilities of increasing next year's first year enrollment, or to study reasons, perhaps (perjoratively?) revealing and instructive, as to why there was a notable drop in applications.

Much space was allotted to Fr. Vigneau who equated the will of some Jesuits at Xavier, not only with the will of all at Xavier, but with the will of the entire province. He seemed oddly disposed against Xavier clientele, though not equally so against that of other Jesuit schools. Nor should a reason, even based on personal apostolic grounds, override the rights and expectations of parents. There was much talk of readiness to cooperate with groups ready to conduct Xavier. The cooperation had been cold and remote, more a radical unchristianity than the radical Christianity heralded.

This first portion of the Coleman report was followed by another section referred to as the Xavier Episode. It really was a repetition, perhaps by a different hand, of what had already been said, but worded in somewhat more emotional terms. In failing to consult the laity on the planned withdrawal, repudiated clericalism was evident. Since there was no exact yardstick to measure the value of work among blacks, the poor and

in the ghetto, as against work at Xavier, people were asked to accept this evaluation against Xavier on a say-so.

As for a plan for a lay board as trustees to contract for volunteers, the door was slammed in its face. Refusal to meet such plans was not cooperation, but dictation. Nor could doubts be cast on volunteers since most were under sixty, and the fact that they would be obtained from other Jesuit high schools could not be called pirating.

Nor was time enough allotted for consideration. Hence, they must term the negotiations as secretive, chilling, impersonal, Olympian and triumphant. If the greater glory of God was to be used as a measuring rod, it should rather apply against the Jesuit colleges which left so much to be desired. The Jesuit stewardship of Xavier school, built by archdiocesan funds and handed over completely to the Society, was strangely irresponsible. Yet this section ends irenically in that it asserted that the struggle to retain Xavier will be carried on, not in the media but within the church family.

The page on facts and events as well as the earlier section on the financial, educational and apostolic excellence of Xavier were designed to offset the poorer picture of these matters alleged to favor withdrawal. A note of concern entered as material was introduced on the more Marxist presentation to the Xavier students by an ex-priest. The early appreciation of the Steering Committee was contrasted with its demise for "practical reasons" in November, 1969. The complaints on the new chapel appeared to have stymied the Communications Committee.

The Shreveport Plan was described from data supplied on January 26th to George Coleman by Rev. Roy Schilling, S.J., Principal of St. John's at Shreveport. That school then enrolled 300 pupils, charged tuition of \$456.00, had a faculty of nine Jesuits and thirteen lay people, plus a full-time business manager. When it had seemed that the school might closed, this plan was approved experimentally for a five-year period subject to termination on notice given six months prior to the opening of the next school year. The contract could be continued for additional years.

Moreover, there were two distinct corporations -- the community and the school. The community was incorporated under the old charter as St. John's College of Shreveport. The new corporation "The Jesuit High School of Shreveport" had not been set up by February 5, 1970. This school corporation was to be essentially lay, but with a small non-controlling number of Jesuits. All control of the school, except finance, was vested in the Jesuit community corporation. The school Jesuits worked under contract to the school corporation. Their salaries were not above the level of poverty and, from the surplus of these salaries, money was to go to the school as a contribution. The lay corporation guaranteed the upkeep of the property. As to funds previously held in the bank by the one corporation (except the account of the Jesuit salaries) but including scholarships, these were made over to the lay corporation. If the venture were dissolved, unspent funds were to be returned to the Jesuit community. There was no reference to the data learned on

February 2nd that it was eighty percent of current Jesuit salaries which were being contributed to the school.

The Austin Prep Plan was described in material supplied by Robert Jenkins, a trustee of the prep. When, in the spring of 1969, the Augustinian Provincial had publicly announced that the school must close due to lack of religious teachers and financial problems, a four-hour discussion had led to a reprieve for the school provided a suitable plan was submitted to provincial headquarters in Villanova, Pennsylvania. Nineteen men worked on a plan and five flew to Villanova for a two-hour conference.

Agreeing that he had made a mistake, the provincial proposed an increase in trustees, up to eleven, to include five priests at Austin, five lay men, and himself as board chairman. At the time of the Jenkins Report the five priests taught only theology but exercised such administrative functions as discipline, hiring and transporting. Tuition had been increased from \$450.00 to \$650.00 and there were twenty lay teachers. The 1969-70 registration was 605. There was the usual hired help. An executive committee of five laymen and two Augustinians operated the school and met regularly. Since the laymen were pleased with the current arrangements, they were willing to discuss them with those interested in a similar plan for Xavier.

The final item of this sheaf of documents was a copy of Fr. Vigneau's January 13th address. The text was underscored at key points and at times punctuated with question marks to indicate what were considered overly personal and questionable remarks. One could sense the conclusions to be drawn from these

emendations by referring to the content of the official letter and the Considered Reaction.

As early as February 14th, an answer to these communications came by telegram from Fr. General to Fr. Provincial wherein he requested that the advisability of the Shreveport Plan at Xavier be discussed. Only on February 16th did Fr. James C. Carter forward to Fr. Devlin his previously promised views on the Shreveport Plan. He indicated that the question remained open of whether or not St. John's, Shreveport, was a truly Jesuit and Christian school. A week later Fr. John R. Walsh, Rector of the School, sent Fr. Devlin copies of pertinent legal documents. Annual Jesuit salaries for 1969-70 were projected at \$58,764.00, and the projected Jesuit contribution to the School at \$16,764.00. It did appear that the nine Jesuits on the staff, out of a faculty of twenty-one, would be able to increase the contribution to \$20,000.00 -- not eighty percent of their salaries as earlier indicated. Fr. Walsh had no adverse comment.

After receiving the Coleman data, Fr. Provincial conferred with individual consultants and wrote a series of letters on February 12th and 14th. By Telex to Fr. General he requested that no substantive response be given to the Coleman group until he had an opportunity to confer in Rome with Fr. General on March 5th. At that time, he would be in Rome on a return from a visit to New England Jesuits in the Middle East.

On the same day, in acknowledging to Mr. Coleman his reception of the material, he wished firmly to seek an explanation of the inclusion of his correspondence with Cardinal Cushing in response to a letter from the cardinal. He requested no further distribution of this material.

Fr. Provincial also wrote to Cardinal Cushing that Fr. General, in an upcoming conference in Rome, would be interested in how correspondence between the two of them had come to the public domain. Although distressed by this situation, he would appreciate a conference prior to his departure on February 20th. It is interesting to note that papers on February 15th carried a formal statement from Cardinal Cushing on the closing of Catholic schools due to financial drains on parishes and lack of religious, who were preferring other forms of social over school activity. The cardinal also observed that some who might have become religious were opting directly as lay people for social service.

On February 14th, Fr. Provincial sent a four and one-half page letter to Fr. General, with copies forwarded to Cardinal Cushing, Mr. Coleman and one Jesuit proponent for continuing Jesuit presence. He explained how it was that he would be in Rome in early March and informed Fr. General of the names of the other recipients of this letter. He referred to the inclusion in the Coleman Report of private correspondence between the cardinal and himself and his request that the source of its being divulged be made known. He then made the charge that, if not the cardinal's letter of January 17, at least the Considered

Reaction, supposedly written by a parent, was written by a New England Province Jesuit. Any such use by Ours of externs to overturn decisions of superiors was a serious matter.

He then discussed the theoretical possibilities on Xavier. To continue as before was impossible. A Shreveport arrangement requiring some definite number of Jesuits, could not be supplied. Any retaining of Jesuits as trustees was against the withdrawal of Jesuit presence from management as much required as withdrawal from administration and teaching. Some possibilities of handing over the school to others, or its sale, were outlined.

It could be doubted that the cardinal would continue a school. He could be relieved of a burden if Xavier School were sold in his behalf. The cardinal, on the return of the school, might dispense of it himself, with the Society receiving a pro rata share in liquidated assets. He reiterated the reasons in manpower shortages and student decreases as grounds for his decision. He did have the good news that enough of the present junior class had made an advance deposit to guarantee the continuation of the school for them during 1970-71.

In addition to this provincial communication, a letter with sixteen pages of documents was forwarded on February 16, 1970, to Fr. General by Fr. Vigneau. Since Fr. General was later to praise this memorial, it is set forth in detail. It was written, according to its opening words, with a heavy heart. Trained as he had been, he found it difficult to defend himself; but the good of the province demanded an explanation of his views

on Xavier and on the extended course of action leading to the decision concerning it. He regretted that some good men had failed to speak out at opportune moments, but they must now face reality with courage and Christian hope. Even lay people who are saddened at the decision to withdraw were concerned with the public display of disloyalty of some Jesuits. Even the formal protestors represent only fifteen Fathers.

As for the Shreveport Plan, of which Fr. General had requested consideration, Fr. Vigneau offered a series of reasons for opposing it. A commitment asking for fifteen Jesuits at a new Xavier was impossible to make, especially if the whole province manpower needs were kept in mind. The request ignored the current decrease in student applicants and the low quality of those accepted one year ago. The debt of Xavier was ignored or considered non-existent. A less clear statement was made on gratitude due to, and expected by, Cardinal Cushing. In the form of control proposed, there was but management under lay control, while legal control remained with the Society. Hence, there was not the most basic withdrawal, he correctly implied, from legal trusteeship.

Moreover, the whole plan was suspect, due to the racist atmosphere of Shreveport -- a point, as has been seen, not touched on in the two long February letters of the Shreveport rector and principal, but which had been indicated in an earlier phone call from the Director of Education of the New Orleans Province of the Society of Jesus. Nor was this consideration a feature in the analogous Austin Prep situation. There was easy

provision in the Shreveport arrangement to withdraw if untoward social objectives, arising out of racism, were attempted.

Twelve pages followed giving a chronological history of Xavier, from its beginning in 1962, when the School had to subsidize the bus transportation of students. It concentrated on the period from January, 1966, when it was voted to raise tuition from \$400.00 to \$585.00, and continued through the January, 1970, Province Congress. Fr. Vigneau cited his paper on manpower shortages, written October, 1966, for the Province Sociological Survey, and published in November, 1967.

As a result of some critical remarks in the accreditation report of 1967 on the need of increases in manpower and salaries, a document had been sent to Rome and acknowledged in April, 1968. He had stated at the Round Hills Conference on Social Apostolates in November, 1967, that quality in secondary schools could only be maintained, in view of decreasing manpower and inadequate money, by closing some of them or turning them over to others. That some such action should follow was a conclusion of this conference with sixty-nine Jesuits in attendance, and at which Xavier was mentioned as a logical place at which to begin a cutback.

The increase in tuition to \$900.00 was announced only after consultations, and with reasons, in the hope that any responses would throw light on the apostolic ministry of New England Secondary Schools. Shortly after this letter on increased tuition rates was sent, a meeting of parents resulted in a Christmas appeal for funds. Prior to the first Province

Congress, a meeting on Xavier's status was held by trustees and community, and an account forwarded to Fr. General on February 20, 1969. At the Congress the precarious position of Xavier was brought to attention.

Even in the First Phase of Planning going on after December 8, 1968, some Xavier faculty agreed on withdrawal, while little was said by present proponents of non-withdrawal. In the various plans in the second volume of Phase I Planning (a document dealing with renewal by the Jesuits in New England), forty-two favored a withdrawal from Xavier. Only Fairfield Prep had a lower number of recommendations for being discontinued. In view of this opposition to the continuation of Jesuit presence at Xavier, little reaction was evident to maintain it or to fight for its continued life.

To show his long continued view on the need to narrow secondary school apostolates, Fr. Vigneau cited his remarks at the April 27, 1969 session, of the Province Congress, which appeared in the report of the Planning Program. He had told of the honest struggles at Xavier to come to grapple with a death warrant, and expected that the province would supply norms whereby the Xavier community could judge whether it had truly worthwhile apostolic work. He had urged that the congress satisfy that demand. In reality, the second congress had, in addition to setting up the two criteria for all work, proposed for secondary schools what later seemed to be halfway measures such as continued planning, possible increased collaboration with colleges and separate incorporation. Quite honestly, he was

convinced, these solutions only led to, or continued, drift.

Following these statements came the actions of the final seven months prior to the January, 1970, Congress. These included the June, 1969, headmaster's report, the first meeting of a steering committee to see into possible raising of funds, a September 20 community meeting on the application of the two criteria and the possibility of staying at Xavier, and the October 20, 1969, meeting of the steering committee where doubts had arisen due to wonderment on continued Jesuit presence at Xavier. On November 6th, he had written to this committee that he could not begin a process to raise \$500,000 in view of the need of the province to study its secondary school commitments. This view he had made known to high school principals and to several of the province staff. Hence, there could be no steering committee meeting until January. At the November 11, 1969, meeting of the province consultors he had vigorously insisted on the over-commitment in secondary schools being on the agenda of the coming congress. Community meetings at Xavier on this subject had been stormy. His resignation as headmaster came on November 18th. An offer to discuss this matter privately was taken up only by one member of the community. The remainder of the narrative was more of a journal of what has been previously seen, and ended with his report of December 31st, submitted to Fr. Provincial urging some ending to Xavier.

Pages thirteen to seventeen of this communication to Fr. General made a series of propositions. There had been concern over expansion as far back as 1962. The province

concern, therefore, on over-expansion was five years old. Xavier had been especially mentioned wherever the question of contraction had been raised. The community at Xavier had been well informed on its financial status. The faculty had known of the problem of increased recruitment efforts, along with poorer results. Even five of those who complain about Xavier's theology courses had declined to teach them. The community has known of the challenges to its continued existence in province meetings but, when they did not agree, remained silent until they then showed negative and emotional reactions.

At the end Fr. Vigneau appended refutations of those striving for the continued Jesuit presence at Xavier. First singled out was one advocating a Shreveport plan with the aid of some nine other Jesuits. Another Jesuit who once saw the need of cutting back schools and, specifically Xavier, was soliciting Jesuit teachers for Xavier. Lack of cooperation was denied and datelines for details were then set until March 31st. The original lay board of advisers had believed they were imposed upon, even in the raising of tuition to \$900.00. The newly planned group would arrive only when registration was so low as to spell disaster. Hence, there was the need of early province action.

He ended this section by saying that it was better for him to take the blame himself. These details made clear that Fr. Vigneau had long championed the idea of contraction in the province secondary school apostolates and that his recognition of Xavier as one to go had not begun, as the parents' group

indicated, when complaints on the modernized prayer chapel were raised. His narration also showed that there had been, or should have been, questions on the solvency of Xavier, a fact that is seen that \$204,875 of its debt to the province was absorbed by the province. It would have been better had the last pages on personalities not have been written, but they show the bitterness on his part as well as the bitterness he found in his opponents.

Dated the same day as Fr. Vigneau's communication was a letter to Fr. General from Fr. James C. O'Brien, then Principal of Boston College High School, long a member of the Xavier English department and a recipient of the Coleman material as a member of the Province Congress. He regretted that it was from Xavier that the withdrawal had occurred, since Xavier was clearly and courageously implementing the two criteria on church renewal and the reform of social structures. He noted that such a social policy did not seem to meet the sympathy of the Coleman group. He was not convinced that Jesuits have the competence to make a solid contribution to the ghetto apostolates, and he believed that there were many disadvantaged people in the affluent suburbs. The manner in which the withdrawal was decided and promulgated was not the best. Xavier's closing showed, too, what happened to an overexpanded apostolate when key people are transferring to other works. Despite all this the decision was probably inevitable.

Moreover, with so many leaving Xavier, any "resurrection" would be reaction, not "aggiornamento" in view of the known social (or anti-social) views of its chief lay

proponents. With the group of Jesuits who are staying on, he is in sympathy, but about alleged newcomers, some of whom he names, he is less sanguine. These two groups would have little in common. With the new influx a continued attraction of younger Jesuits would be stymied. While hoping that Fr. General will concur with the request for withdrawal, he does hope he will insist on learning what has happened so that mistakes will not be repeated.

Fr. O'Brien did not conclude his statement of views on the Coleman data merely by writing to Fr. General. He also sent a separate letter to Mr. Coleman on February 17th making clear the view that the proposed continued Xavier would be more reactionary than forward-looking, and by this very situation would cease to attract a younger generation of Jesuits.

Fr. O'Brien also forwarded a copy of this letter to a proponent of a continued Xavier. A reply singled out the failure to deal with the two lower classes at Xavier whom it was believed, along with their parents, were being treated unjustly. Also noted was Fr. O'Brien's use of the poor registration and financial situation as basis for withdrawal, but no mention of the apostolic reason which had been made paramount. He asked, too, for a kinder impression of the Coleman group and their motives. They needed a dram of empathy.

This spate of letters appeared to conclude with a February 15 one from Mr. Coleman announcing that Cardinal Cushing had granted permission for the use of the correspondence enclosed in the material sent to Fr. General, and, as previously

indicated, supplied widely to all who had been delegates at the Province Congress. He still did not believe that the substantive issue of Xavier's future had been met. He did not understand, or was unprepared to accept, the basic determination made to withdraw Jesuit presence in trusteeship, administration and teaching and, to permit only under the principle of choice of ministries, the sanctioning of Jesuit volunteers for a Xavier under some non-Jesuit trusteeship.

A conference was held at provincial headquarters by Fr. Provincial on February 17th. At it were present three province representatives: Fathers Paul T. Lucey, Francis X. Miller and Joseph D. Devlin; and three Xavier trustees: Fathers John R. Vigneau, Richard Olson and Francis J. Donovan. It had been preceded on February 13th by an inconclusive meeting at the Parker House by some similar group, but at which the presence of some outsiders precluded much more than trivia.

As the basis for the meeting were three pages of comments on the proposal of George Coleman concerning Xavier School written by Fr. Provincial and dated February 13th. A set of jottings set forth the progress of the meetings. Although the appraisal of the property was ready, there were but two copies available temporarily and in confidence. This precaution was taken since appraisal price was not necessarily the asking price. Money owed by Xavier to the province was not to be too great a concern. \$85,000 was a clearly discernible amount, but province taxes due and minor amounts could be waived in gratitude to the cardinal for his numerous benefactions.

As to the Shreveport Plan, on which Fr. General had urged consideration, it left the Society members as trustees, a notable presence from which the official decision called for disassociation. Fr. Vigneau summarized the position to be maintained by the Xavier trustees that there was no Jesuit responsibility to staff the school or to service as the board of trustees. Should a lease be offered, this must be referred to the cardinal. Any school he might sanction would not have to be a Jesuit school with its criteria as guides.

There did not seem to have been discussed other aspects of the "Comments." These dealt with the possible ways of returning the property to the cardinal, either for a school by others or for sale by the Society or the cardinal. There was a section on necessary retrenchment in secondary school work and of its foreseen inevitability. In addition, there was declining enrollment and desire for other activities. There was, too, the serious matter of Jesuits seeking by extern aid to overturn official policies. On this matter, Fr. Provincial had conferred a few days earlier with one of his consultors who was prepared to urge jurisdictional action if culprits were known clearly.

On Monday, March 9, 1970, there was a meeting of Xavier trustees and their legal and financial advisers with interested groups. A few days before the meeting there had been a request to have the girls of the 1970-71 senior class of the closing Rose Hawthorne School in Concord join with the Xavier seniors. Because it was realized that keeping the school open even for one year was requiring a province subsidy and since expenses exceeded

tuition returns, this request was rejected.

At the March 9th meeting the Parents Group of Xavier was joined by a few non-trustee Jesuits. Some others were present as interested parties: Anthony Saltamacchia, Alba Taylor, and John Kinsbury. This last gentleman had approached Fr. Callahan with an enthusiastic but vague notion of an ecumenical school for which he was seeking aid from an Episcopal clergyman. The purpose of the meeting was to hear serious proposals for the continuation of Xavier as a school, and to discuss facts and figures on its educational and financial status. Fr. Donovan set forth the conclusions of the February 17th meeting at provincial headquarters.

The status quo was impossible. A modified Shreveport plan left direction to the Society and expected men directly supplied by the province, both of which were contrary to the announced withdrawal of Jesuit presence. Any decision by the cardinal to continue the school, or to sell, was unknown. When, in the discussion, some fifteen volunteers were mentioned for a Shreveport plan, it was pointed out that, while the parents' group knew these names, Fr. Provincial did not. As an excuse for the silence on the names of these men, it was stated that the volunteers would come forward only when they knew that something definite was to be done. So, in truth, they waited themselves out.

In answer to a question, the legal ownership of Xavier was clarified and the legal steps required for its disposition explained. Whatever funds were received from its sale, it was

then believed, would have to be expended on other similar educational establishments in Massachusetts. No one knew whether the cardinal, if the property was deeded back to him, would continue a school or dispose of the property.

As far as the presentation of some viable plan was concerned for continuing the school, the trustees did not believe they had one. Financial figures showed the poor economic condition of the school. Its appraisal on plant and site was estimated at \$2,700,000 by Mr. Thomas Horan of Meredith and Grew. In a disposition of property, it was believed that the cardinal would receive ninety-five percent of the proceeds, and the Society five percent. The problem of Xavier's low enrollment was reiterated. The principle of attraction, in answer to a question which assumed personal decisions to be totally freewheeling, was explained as subject to final provincial approbation for its application in individual cases. There was a brief but inconclusive talk on an ecumenical school. After the meeting Mr. John Dolan, counsel for Xavier, expressed surprise that there was no substantial plan offered to take over the school. He urged that Fr. Provincial, at an early date, consult Cardinal Cushing on his plans for the plant.

Fr. General wrote on March 12, 1970, approving the withdrawal. To Fr. Provincial, he stated that the comprehensive memorial of Fr. Vigneau, together with Fr. Provincial's added information, had justified the announced decision to withdraw. He agreed that these same documents persuasively demonstrated the inability of the Society to introduce either the Austin or

Shreveport plans. He did regret that permission to withdraw had not first been sought from him. He did see how the pressure of the congress would have diverted attention from this step.

Fr. General also wrote directly to Fr. Vigneau informing him that his chronological memorandum of the steps leading to withdrawal had effectively assisted him to see the decision as foreseeable and necessary. Fr. Vigneau's cogent reasons against the Shreveport and Austin plans clearly substantiated their rejection. Hence, Fr. General was deeply grateful and consoling.

A third letter of Fr. General went to Mr. Coleman. He and his associates were to be esteemed for their interest. Despite a commitment to secondary school education, he had, after consultation, approved the decision to withdraw from Xavier; and he also judged the province unable to assume responsibility for an Austin or Shreveport arrangement. If Mr. Coleman were to submit some other plan, that plan should go to the Xavier trustees.

Mr. Coleman took up this final sentence in Fr. General's letter and wrote again to Fr. Provincial on March 31, 1970. His specific question was whether Fr. Provincial would permit volunteer Jesuits to staff Xavier or not. He knew the volunteers to be ready, willing and competent, but added that it was idle for them to volunteer to Fr. Provincial if they were not assured that the school would be carried on. He then turned his attention to the low estimate on the plant, claiming that instead of a value of \$2,700,000, it was more truly valued at \$4,630,000.

He claimed that the lower figure, which incidentally had been divulged at the meeting of March 9, 1970, was the sale price as publicly announced on March 9th itself when Xavier went on the market. How could so low a figure be justified? As for future support from a group of parents, it could well be diminished as a consequence of arbitrary and heartless action.

Concerning this letter, Fr. Provincial wrote a series of jottings. He denied that Xavier, for any price, had been placed on the market on any date. He understood others could cite varying values. He was satisfied with Mr. Horan's appraisal. He could not estimate what were the three plans which Mr. Coleman believed his group had offered. He reiterated in what way he was prepared to sanction volunteers, a way at odds with Mr. Coleman's which had them both as trustees and as guaranteed in number to a corporation that merely leased Xavier from its Jesuit trustees. He concluded that all that had been learned since January 13th had only confirmed the decision to withdraw.

Two different viewpoints had clashed. In the province one, Jesuits would neither be trustees nor administrative nor teaching staff but only volunteers who had Fr. Provincial's sanction to teach under others' auspices after discernment under the principle of the choice of ministries. The parents' view retained Jesuit trustees, inserted a second corporation of laity to be financially responsible and to contract for a definite number of Jesuits, preferably volunteers, and to overview curriculum and class content. This was not a minor exception to

withdrawal of Jesuit presence; it was a continuation of it with an extra corporation between Jesuit trustees to deal with province officers and volunteers.

There never seems to have been a plan offered that could continue at least something like Xavier by having a lay corporation become the actual trustees and, in its hiring of teachers, arrange freely with men who, on appropriate request to Fr. Provincial could, and would, be sanctioned to teach and / or administer as part of the faculty of a non-Jesuit school.

Chapter XX

THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CORPORATION AND COMMUNITY (1970-1971)

As the month of March, 1970, came toward a close, possibilities of selling the Xavier property to a hospital or to a local or regional school district appear to have vanished. As for a group to assume trusteeship and administration of the school, this appeared ended after the March 9th meeting with the representatives of the parent group.

The final inquiry by this group on March 3rd had been to learn from Fr. Provincial whether he would authorize a group of Jesuit volunteers. This was the same question that had been raised and answered in early January. The answer depended on a form of reference. If the volunteers were to teach in a school still under Jesuit trusteeship, even though financial responsibility was exercised by an outside group, the answer was negative. It was even more firmly negative if the volunteers would be authorized by a legal covenant requiring a definite number of Jesuits. In neither of the cases would there be a withdrawal of Jesuit presence.

If the same question were asked in the supposition that some group, such as the fathers' group, assumed the legal trusteeship for the school, could volunteers, under the principle of the choice of ministries and, after discernment with Fr. Provincial, be sanctioned as volunteers? The answer could be positive, but this alternative was not proposed. Hence the impasse.

Prior to this time and in anticipation of sale, lease or return to the cardinal, Xavier and the province had employed the services of Mr. Thomas Horan of Meredith and Grew to work out a detailed appraisal of the whole property, particularly the land and the school. Xavier, in early January, had employed Mr. John Dolan of Hale and Dorr to advise it on all connected legal matters. For similar advice the province relied on its attorney, Mr. Edward P. Hanify of Ropes and Gray.

Because the hospitalization of Cardinal Cushing made the proposed interview impossible, Fr. Provincial wrote at length on the recent history of activities concerning Xavier. He stated the appraised value for property and buildings as \$2,700,000, and listed its basic debts to the province as \$85,000. He then outlined the options open to the Cardinal. If he preferred that some other group run Xavier as a Catholic school, the property would be deeded back for whatever arrangement the cardinal may have approved. If he did not plan any such continuation, the Society would set in motion the necessary steps for selling the school and turning over the proceeds to the Cardinal. If the Cardinal preferred to make the sale himself, the property will be deeded back as a gift. All these actions would be effected through the trustees of Xavier. Since these legal arrangements would be with the Cardinal as the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston (R. C. A. B.), references hereafter will use this standard abbreviation.

By April 2nd, Mr. Horan, who had been keeping in touch with Fr. James Dunn, the business manager of the Boston Chancery, learned through Mr. Dunn that the R. C. A. B. preferred the return of the property for him to sell. Since the Rose Hawthorne property in Concord was also on sale, it was thought preferable that one agency should deal with both properties. Once the basic decision was known and the Cardinal showed it in writing on the same day (April 2nd), both lawyers studied the original deed of property and reached the conclusion that there had been an outright deed and not merely a deed of trust.

A meeting of trustees was planned for April 16th. Since so many arrangements on the school had been dealt with between the cardinal and the provincial's office, it was thought appropriate that Fr. Provincial and Fr. F. X. Miller, the Treasurer of the New England Province of the Society of Jesus, be present. Also invited to the trustees meeting was Fr. Raymond J. Callahan, then serving as acting headmaster of the school.

Prior to the session Mr. Dolan sought information on any intended disposition of movable goods. He was told that school equipment and laboratory material would go to Boston College High School, as the recipient of the major number of Xavier students, or to some other Jesuit school within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The house library and furnishings in the faculty residence would be given to the province for distribution at its discretion. Mr. Dolan and some of his associates believed there could be some legal snarls with the choice which the cardinal had made, but was going ahead and

keeping him abreast of situations.

On April 30th, a confidential meeting of the trustees took place. Prior to formal getting down to business, Fr. Vigneau resigned, as he had indicated his intention to do so on April 21st to Fr. Provincial. The remaining trustees elected Fr. Raymond J. Callahan as trustee and as President of the Board.

As source material for this meeting there was a four-page exposition by Mr. Dolan in the form of a letter addressed to Fr. Vigneau. Mr. Dolan informed those present of the people he had consulted. These included a Mr. Kelleher, Director of the Division of Public Charities in the office of the Attorney General of Massachusetts; the representative of the Exempt Organization Section of the Boston office of the Internal Revenue Service; and Mr. James Dunn. Since the cardinal had expressed himself as favoring the direct return of the property to him as R. C. A. B., Mr. Dolan had learned, despite some initial doubts, that such a conveyance could be affected by a majority vote of the Xavier trustees. They would provide that the President of the Board file, with the advice of Hale and Dore as counsel, a petition in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. This petition should explain the reasons for the dissolution of the Xavier corporation, and request the court to authorize dissolution and provide for disbursement of the outstanding assets after payment of liabilities.

Then Mr. Dolan detailed the terms of the conveyance. In returning the property to the R. C. A. B., Xavier retained the right to use its premises free of charge so that the school

could continue through June 30, 1971. There was also another understanding which was later modified. By Mr. Dolan's original proposal, the R. C. A. B. agreed to devote all net proceeds from any and all disposition to purposes relating to the operation of Massachusetts' schools and institutions of learning conducted under the auspices of the Roman Catholic Church, or affiliated orders or organizations.

As to other goods, it was proposed that the library of 7,000 volumes, and the school equipment and supplies, go to Boston College High School and Cranwell School. Both of these were Massachusetts charitable organizations, the first so organized on March 29, 1927, and the second on June 23, 1939. How this material would be divided would be settled by Xavier directors after consultation with both schools. Scholarship funds (estimated at \$20,646 in June, 1970) were to go to Boston College High School, and both the principal and the interest to be applied to students coming from the communities that Xavier had served. The awards within such geographical confines would be at the discretion of Boston College High School. The community goods in the Jesuit living quarters were to go to the Society of Jesus of New England. No reference was made to any allocation to Bishop Connolly High School in Fall River, presumably since this school was under the ownership of the Fall River Diocese.

As to formalities, the Massachusetts Attorney General was prepared to accept service of such a petition. Mr. Dolan proposed the written assent on these matters from the R. C. A.

B., the New England Province, Boston College High School and Cranwell School. Since Xavier was to be continued for diploma granting until June, 1971, the dissolution of the corporation must be postponed to that time. Probably a partial liquidation of goods must likewise be deferred to that date. Even if some partial transfer of property took place early, creditors' claims must be safeguarded.

In this meeting of April 30th, the subject of severance pay arose since it had been raised by the lay faculty. The cardinal had insisted that there be no legal record of such a payment, but he was ready to make a gift of \$25,000 for that purpose to the trustees of Xavier for their disbursement. This gift was to be made, not at the time of the ultimate sale of the property, but at the time of its conveyance. In this discussion Mr. Dolan recommended that Boston College High School use up the principal, and not merely the returns, from the scholarship moneys. In this way there would be no residual obligation hanging over it.

The province was also to sign a statement guaranteeing creditors all proper claims. Xavier should inform all principal benefactors just how benefactions received were being allocated. During the interim between the initial presentation of the petition and the final dissolution of the Xavier Corporation, all forms of insurance should be reviewed. In 1971, after all requirements were completed, a certificate of compliance was to be filed with the Court. With these terms and understandings, Mr. Dolan was authorized to proceed. At this time he had hoped

that his work would be done in three or four weeks, and that initial court action would take only one week.

Between the end of April and mid-July, while the draft petition was being placed in order, there was a slight development when it was learned that Fr. Vigneau had not merely resigned on April 30th as Xavier trustee and chairman of its board but had set action in motion to cease to be a province consultor and to leave the Society and the priesthood.

During this same spring of 1970, a further change in the post of superior at Xavier was being arranged. Fr. Richard Olson had indicated that he wished to relinquish the office to which he had been appointed the previous November 1st. He desired an opportunity to conclude a master's degree in counseling at Boston College and to reside in one of the nearby province dwellings. His request was granted. Both he and the community were consulted about a new superior for for the final year. There was some recommendation for Fr. James L. Greenler on the grounds that he could talk with differing factions at Xavier. Although this view was also denied, Fr. Greenler was appointed Superior on June 17, 1970.

By the end of June, Mr. Dolan had a copy of the decree ready. The Attorney General had proposed that the list of forty-five cities and towns from which Xavier students had come be specifically mentioned in connection with the use of the scholarship funds handed over to Boston College High School. So the places were listed alphabetically from Acton through Woburn.

The petition consisted of thirteen pages, plus the text of the agreement between the Xavier trustees and the R. C. A. B., plus also a brief Schedule B indicating the date of the deed of outright gift and the date of its registration. A model page was supplied for the province to accept service of the petition. Mr. Dolan added a copy of his own letter to the cardinal indicating the agreement of the R. C. A. B.'s agreement to pay \$25,000 for severance pay. When the deed was conveyed, Schedule A, not then included, would contain the total assets and liabilities of Xavier as of May 31, 1970. This data was submitted to Mr. Dolan by Fr. Miller on July 15, 1970. The exact form by which the Society was to sign the petition for dissolution of the Xavier Corporation was forwarded to Fr. Provincial on July 20th by Mr. Hanify.

Some complications arose on the language of the agreement with the cardinal under which he, as R. C. A. B., must dispose of funds received from the disposition of Xavier land and plant. Mr. Hanify, on July 21st, informed Fr. Provincial that Mr. Leggat, the cardinal's lawyer of Bingham, Dana and Gould, was seeking a modification in the language on the use of funds, even though this very language used had been suggested to Mr. Dolan by the Attorney General. Hence, there would be a delay in the presentation of the petition. While the main change in language was in one paragraph of the agreement, there was a cross reference to this in one item of the petition, and this, too, had to be modified. Since this change was of considerable financial advantage to the Boston Archdiocese, the

original and modified texts are presented. The original text had read:

Any and all proceeds received by the Archbishop from the leasing, sale or other use or disposition of the Premises from and after the date of the Conveyance shall be used or applied only in connection with the maintenance and improvement of the Premises or for purposes relating to the construction, improvement or maintenance and operation of a school or schools in the Archdiocese of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts for the education and religious instruction of boys under the guidance of Roman Catholic priests or other religious orders or organizations of the Roman Catholic Church.

The amended paragraph read:

The parties agree that it is their intent and expectation that any and all net proceeds received by the Archbishop from the lease, sale or other use or disposition of the premise from and after the date of Conveyance shall, to the extent feasible, be applied for maintenance, improvement and operation of a school or schools in the Archdiocese of Boston, Commonwealth of Massachusetts, for the education and religious instruction of boys, under the guidance of Roman Catholic priests or other orders or organizations of the Roman Catholic Church, provided, however, that the expression of intent herein contained shall not be deemed to impose any trust on the Archbishop with respect to any such proceeds, it being understood that the Archbishop may, in his discretion, apply any and all such proceeds for such purposes within his corporate power as may, in his uncontrolled discretion, be deemed desirable by him.

With this important modification in the accompanying and signed agreement, a hearing on the petition was held on Wednesday, August 19, 1970, before Mr. Justice Kirk. After Mr. Dolan's exposition, the interlocutory decree was granted. Mr. George T. Finnegan of Ropes and Gray represented the province lawyer at this court session.

The Xavier Corporation met on September 30th and signed the papers deeding the property to the R. C. A. B. This deeded property consisted not only of the original property deeded on March 30, 1962, and recorded on April 13, 1962, but also the contiguous land costing \$8300 acquired by deed on May 31, 1962. Fr. John Kerdiejus, who was absent from the trustees meeting of September 30th, acquiesced in the proceedings by attestation. Copies of all material was placed in the province and Xavier archives.

On October 5th, Mr. Dolan presented his bill for services, including his cash disbursements for \$90.45, for a total of \$3,590.45. To simplify (and more) the payment, he enclosed a check for the same amount as a gift from an anonymous donor. This check could be used to reimburse him without any diminution of Xavier's funds. Up until that date, October 5, 1970, the check for \$25,000 due on the delivery of the property on September 30th had not been received. This, it should be noted, was the time of Cardinal Cushing's resignation and the appointment, on September 8th, of Bishop Humberto Medeiros of Brownsville, Texas, as new Archbishop of Boston. He was installed on October 7, 1970.

Before this entrance of a new ecclesiastical figure into the final unsettled detail on money for severance pay, some reference must be made to Xavier reaction to and acquiescence in the arrangements. That there would be no doubt on the amplitude of purposes for which the Xavier property could be used from September 30, 1970, to the end of the 1971 summer, Fr. Callahan

had this topic checked by lawyers. While rentals to such groups as insurance firms were prohibited, any and all Jesuit educational functions, if approved by Xavier, were appropriate. Hence the Kickoff Day planned for Saturday, September 26th, for the Province Secondary School Program was quite within the terms for use. There were warnings, if any were needed, against any removal or disposition of classroom equipment. Tractors for cutting grass were school, not community, property. But automobiles were at the disposition of the community for use, turn-in, or for sale.

With the death of Cardinal Cushing on November 2, 1970, an interview with the new archbishop took place. The arrangement concerning the \$25,000 check was explained and, on November 10th, Mr. Leggat turned over a check for this amount and, in return, received the deed to the property which he then recorded. During this early November interview, Archbishop Medeiros raised the possibility of a resurrection, in some form, of Xavier. He had requests or pressure from a Dr. Arcide of Concord.

On November 20th Fr. Provincial wrote at length concerning the withdrawal from Xavier. He presented the reasons, for withdrawal of Jesuit presence along with the approbation received from Fr. General. He added the alternative proposals he had made to Cardinal Cushing and the cardinal's choice. In an explanation of terms covered in this narrative, he indicated that the cash balance remaining was to become the possession of the province. This would amount to nothing, since, he pointed out, the province had been subsidizing Xavier and that, for the

current year, a deficit of \$40,000 was expected. Nor had past debts to the province been charged against Xavier's current assets.

Also, in the November interview the Archbishop had referred to some interest shown in property in Concord. This, he was assured, was a reference to the Rose Hawthorne property, not Xavier's. Fr. Provincial did know that some men in their sixties, who had done college and pastoral work and who were now retired, had told others of their willingness to serve Xavier. However, he reiterated that he had never been given such a list, nor had he received any individual volunteering. He doubted, moreover, their ability and readiness to conduct a modern Catholic high school. Inquirers should be told firmly that there was no possibility of continuing a Jesuit presence at Xavier. This letter appears to have concluded the question at the archiepiscopal level.

Before this letter of November 20th to the archbishop had been written, a letter had gone, on November 5th with apologies for lateness, with a form ad bona alienda informatio along with data which the laws (Institute) of the Society of Jesus required to support it. This application is termed a request for a sanatio. In view of the oral and written permission of the General, the alienation had gone along legal grounds and ended with the decree of August 19, 1970. In the course of a detailed but concise answer to the questions asked in the form, it was noted that the student body was becoming almost exclusively upper middle class and that there were slight funds

available to provide a student mix of underprivileged and minority groups. Concerning the ultimate sale by the archdiocese of the property, it was perhaps over-buoyantly said that some out-of-pocket expenses and accrued province tax would be cared for, if the sale were sufficiently large. The enclosed form was dated October 28, 1970, and sent along with the November 5th letter.

An affirmative answer to this clear exposition did not serve to bring a long process to a close. If previous time had been spent on United States' legal ramifications, time was now to be spent on canonical considerations. Fr. General's canonists needed more factual data. How had the property been given? Was it an outright gift which was now being returned, or was it a trust given merely for direction and administration? To this inquiry of December 18, 1970, Fr. Provincial replied on December 31st. The cardinal had transferred ownership without any encumbrance.

The legal steps required in American law had been applied both in the reception by the Xavier corporation and in its being relinquished. Since the province was never the owner, it was the autonomous and self-perpetuating trustees of Xavier who had the power to return the gift. A point was also made of the very limited sense in which "ownership" of such goods applied. Within a month Fr. General, with thanks for the answer, gave Fr. Provincial all the necessary faculties in his competence. Accomplished American canonists, he added, should be consulted to see if any recourse to the Holy See was canonically required.

At this stage of inquiry Fr. Provincial turned to Fr. Robert P. White, S.J., President of Weston College, Cambridge, who was both a civil and canon lawyer. He inquired whether, in view of the outright grant involved, a recourse was necessary to the Holy See. He was not so convinced himself.

Fr. White's reply, dated February 23rd, occupied some five pages. He first set forth the facts as he knew them, and then commented. He did have one notable difference in factual presentation involving two stages, not just one, by which the property had been given. As he understood it, the cardinal, as R. C. A. B., purchased and gave the property to the incorporated Society of Jesus in New England, which in turn gave it to the Xavier trustees. This gift was without legal encumbrance in the sense that there was no mortgage or specific agreement for its return. It was given under a constructive trust in the sense that the property was to be used for the secondary education of archdiocesan youth. Hence the property was given subject to a fiduciam or fidei commissum. When the province transferred the property to the Xavier corporation, the same constructive trust applied. When the continuation of the school became impossible for either the religious house of Xavier or the province, the lands, buildings were deeded back to the cardinal as corporation sole. After some explanation of canonical requirements, he concluded in Section D of his letter:

The transfer of the land and buildings in Concord, from Xavier High School to the Archdiocese, is a gift and subject to canon law on alienation, if there is no contract, agreement or constructive trust (fidei commissum) requiring its return to the Archdiocese upon the inability to conduct a secondary school.

Point F asserted that the presence of a constructive trust was evident. The province could not use the property for any other purpose than carrying on the secondary education. Hence, in view of the obligation to transfer back the property, it was highly questionable whether recourse was required in this instance. If this opinion were followed, the next report to the Congregation of Religious would cite this reason for the non-appearance of Xavier property as an asset.

Another option would be to refer the question to the Boston Archdiocese Chancery. Its officials might agree and the action could be over. They might disagree on the score that there would be a clouded title on property the archdiocese was then holding. In the third place, an immediate appeal could be made to the Holy See for a sanction of the transfer ad cautelam. With no one questioning the gift, this action would be simple. Fr. White recommended his second choice, the appeal to the Boston Chancery. He realized that his own first opinion was at most probable and not totally convincing.

On March 1st, the inquiry was directed to Monsignor Thomas J. Finnegan, Jr., Chancellor of the Archdiocese of Boston, to satisfy Roman canonists on the recent return of the Xavier property to the R. C. A. B. He was informed that Fr. White had been consulted. While not believing that a recourse to the Holy See was needed, Fr. White had suggested that the views of the chancery be sought. Should the archdiocese believe there could be a cloud on the title of property recently returned, the New England Province would request action through Fr. General.

On this same day Fr. Provincial informed Fr. White of this action.

On March 10th, a response was formulated indicating that Archbishop Medeiros believed it preferable to have recourse to avoid any future problems. A final request went to Rome on March 15th asking for the action desired by the archbishop. On May 6th, 1971, Fr. Vincent T. O'Keefe, as Acting Vicar General of the Society of Jesus, enclosed the required rescript from the Congregation of Religious and Secular Institutes, dated March 29th and signed by Fr. Edward Heston, C. S. C., its secretary. At the same time, Fr. O'Keefe announced that the suppression of the Xavier religious house had been submitted affirmatively to those members of the Society's general curia who had the right to attend a general congregation by reason of their office. Through Fr. George W. Nolan, assistant to the provincial, this information about the rescript and a copy of it was forwarded to Msgr. Finnegan on May 11th, and he acknowledged its rescript with thanks on May 12, 1971.

In the meantime, various topics arose concerning the Jesuits remaining for a year at Xavier. These concerned arrangements for their future ministries and about house improvements. A preliminary meeting on their future had taken place as early as the Kickoff Day. Questions arose, too, whether some changes made in the faculty residence were necessary or only extravagant. From September, 1970, Fr. Greenler was making a detailed account of all house items which were ultimately to be allocated. Some had already been disposed of to the novices then

at Weston. Since new houses were being established, provisions were made for their receiving articles once the school year was over. Among these were the projected St. George Street House, for a small community attached to the Immaculate Conception Church on Harrison Avenue, and Maxwell House, which Fr. Joseph R. N. Maxwell planned with the authorization of Bishop Connolly to set up on the Cape in quarters held on an indefinite and free loan basis.

The Maxwell House was commodious and many valuable pieces of furniture were allocated to it. The unexpected and sudden death of Fr. Maxwell in Austria on September 19, 1971, brought an end to this planned apostolic venture. One of the group who had joined it, Fr. Francis V. Sullivan, died on January 11, 1972, after some weeks of hospitalization. Another pioneer from the house, Fr. Edward J. Whalen, resided there for a year. Then the house was returned to its owner and the furnishings assigned elsewhere in the province. Maxwell House, conceived as an apostolic center, died with its originator, a strong man (perhaps too strong) with considerable clout in the Fall River Diocese where his uncle, George, had been a prominent pastor. He had tried to have a larger group in residence for a variety of pastoral works. Some whom he attempted to assemble there, such as Archbishop John J. McEleney, Fr. William E. FitzGerald and Fr. Joseph C. Moynihan, had declined for personal reasons.

By March 29, 1971, Fr. Provincial, sensing that there had been some tension in the Xavier community on the allocation of property, believed some communication necessary to show that

Fr. Callahan was in charge in this area. Each member of the present community was also expected to leave the premises as soon as possible after June 1st, but at the latest by June 15th. They were to take with them only personal belongings. If further requests were received for some of Xavier's disposable goods, the requests should first be referred to the provincial's office for initial settlement. When designations were made, it was to be Fr. Callahan's function to arrange for ultimate delivery to the approved places. Should not all goods be disposed of by the end of August, temporary storage was to be arranged at Weston.

Since the province could reasonably expect some formal and connected narrative on the exodus from Xavier, Fr. Provincial himself first proposed a detailed memorandum on items to be covered. Then Fr. George W. Nolan prepared and corrected some draft statements until a final one was ready by April 7, 1971. This statement was released in the form of a news item for the third (April) issue of the recently established SJ News, edited by Fr. Thomas M. Curran, S.J. The text of Fr. Nolan's statement was contained in four typed pages. The early history was detailed, and the account explicitly pointed out that it was directly to the newly formed Xavier Corporation that the gift of land and structure had been given, not first to the province to give in turn to Xavier. After rehearsing the legal and canonical stages involved, and indicating the carefully planned inventories, the statement indicated August 31, 1971, as the date for the dissolution of the Xavier Corporation. His final remark indicated that any balances would revert to the province, but

warned in the following language:

However, this item [balances] represents an illusory benefit because, during the past year, it has been necessary for the Province to underwrite a substantial deficit for the School. In some way this may be thought of as a return benefaction to the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Boston.

That there was a return benefaction by the province becomes clear when it is realized that in the return of property was also included the adjoining property costing the province \$8,300. Loans amounting to \$145,000 and province taxes of \$59,375 were also absorbed by the province. The province houses and two of its schools were enriched by school and house effects, the vast amount of which had been purchased by the archdiocese. Xavier was likewise aided in receiving the \$25,000 for severance pay for its lay staff. Additional charges might have been added for province aid in smaller ways, but these were passed over in the cause of better feelings on a controversial issue.

As the school year came to a close, Fr. Provincial addressed a two-page letter to the final Jesuit community. He expressed deep gratitude for its support in the final anguished months. June 5th was then set as the date for the end of the Xavier community, and June 30th as the end-date of the corporation. By August 31st the property used, rent-free but with bills paid for light, heat, etc., was made over to the archdiocese. Fr. Nolan and Mr. William Davenport, a scholastic, were to see to transportation of goods. School files were to be kept with Fr. Callahan at Boston College High School. Financial records of the school would be in the care of Fr. Francis

J. Donovan at Old St. Mary's in the North End. Each member of the community was invited, by the end of August, to write up any reflections on any aspect of the closing. Such comments would go to the province archivist, Fr. James E. Powers. Anything that could be useful for the archives should also be forwarded to him. No comments were ever offered to the archivist.

It remains to detail the destination of the members of the final community. Five joined the Boston College High School community: Fathers Louis St. Onge, Raymond Callahan, John H. Collins, William Doyle and Philip Moriarty. Brother Michael L. Greenler went to Campion College, Jamaica; Fr. Francis J. Donovan to St. Mary's and Fr. Thomas J. Gallagher, who had joined the community in its final year, went to Cranwell. The New England scholastics either left the Society before the publication of the next catalogus, or left during the ensuing school year (1971-72). The last superior, Fr. Greenler, also left the Society and arranged to marry.

One might expect that all formalities would be concluded with a handing over of the key to the archbishop on September 1, 1971. But it was only on May 4, 1972, that there was entered a court decree dismissing the cause of St. Francis Xavier School of Concord, Inc., vs. the Attorney General et al. This dismissal was effective as of May 25, 1972.

On May 9, Mr. Francis J. Vaas, as lawyer for the province, had informed Fr. Provincial that Mr. Dolan, due to the press of business, had failed to file the required certificate of compliance, but was now preparing it. Hence, Fr. Callahan was

asked to see that this final step was taken. On June 21, 1972, Mr. Dolan informed Mr. Vaas that, on May 23rd, the final decree had been entered by the Supreme Judicial Court. As at this time in May, 1972, the Xavier Corporation, longer-lived than anticipated, had come to an end. The final decree was signed on June 21, 1972, by Archbishop Medeiros, Fr. Lec J. McGovern, representing Boston College High School, Fr. Raymond J. Swords, representing Cranwell School and by William G. Guindon, Provincial.

Lastly, came the payment of legal fees for Mr. Dolan's services since his first billing. The charge was \$3500. Bro. H. Frank Cluff, the Province Treasurer, forwarded, from province funds, this check for these services. "Tanta molis erat . . ."

When no more Jesuits were in residence at Xavier, mail was gathered by Miss Sheehan to be forwarded to or gathered by Fr. Callahan. Among the last journals coming by subscription to the Xavier house library was the English Province Letters and Notices. That journal, in its truth-telling accounts of English Jesuits, would probably be more severe on some individuals than this narrative has been. This account employed all available sources and has attempted to cover all factual aspects of an extended story, while giving expression to some value judgments and to leave many more to its readers.

