

The History of St. Mary's College

1863 - 1963

by

Brother Matthew McDevitt



Archbishop Joseph S. Alemany,
Founder of Saint Mary's College

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Brother Justin McMahon,
First Brother President of St. Mary's College

We are indebted to Joe McTigue '30 for many of the pictures from his St. Mary's College Memorabilia Collection included in this history.



Top: Father James Croke

Center: (l. to r.) Brother Gustavus of Mary, Brother Justin, Brother Genebern

Bottom: Brother Pirmian, Brother Sabinian



St. Mary's College owes its existence to two pioneers prominent in early California Catholic history, Archbishop Joseph Sadoc Alemany of San Francisco and his vicar general, Father James Croke. The former proposed its establishment, purchased its campus, planned its buildings, and arranged its curriculum; the latter raised the funds. To appreciate the contribution of each, some knowledge of his career is necessary.

Archbishop Alemany was born in Vich, Spain, July 13, 1814, of Anton Alemany Ferrer and Miquela Conill. At sixteen he entered the Dominican monastery of his native town and was ordained March 11, 1837. He volunteered for the American missions and in 1840, sailed for Somerset, Ohio. Ten years in the settlements of Ohio, Kentucky, and Tennessee inured him to the rigors of the frontier. According to a colleague, Father Francis Vilarassa:

The convent is two miles from Somerset, a little city surrounded by forests with a few scattered homes. The people are for the most part Irish and German, almost all Catholics . . . On feast days the faithful come great distances to hear Mass and vespers in spite of the snow, bad weather, and poor roads. . . The hardships of the priests on the missions are very great. They can never count on sleeping in the convent. Many times it happens that one arrives tired out and thinking he can rest, when he must leave at once on horseback and go where he is called without stopping through the rain and snow . . . There is exact regularity in the convent in all that pertains to the Constitutions of the Order and though poor we are happy. Our dinner consists of bread, soup, apples, potatoes, cooked greens, vegetables, and sometimes eggs. (1)

In his labor and travel, Alemany soon realized the need for a native clergy and for colleges and seminaries to train it. For three years he was president of Nashville's St. Athanasius College, a combination college and seminary whose prime purpose was to encourage and train vocations to the priesthood. This institution, whose history parallels that of St. Mary's, familiarized Alemany with collegiate spiritual, scholastic, and

economic problems. It developed too, the patience, resolution and faith for launching St. Mary's and emphasized the paramount role of religion in education. To stimulate vocations at Nashville, Alemany housed students with faculty and seminarians, and stipulated that the curriculum include "besides mathematics and the ordinary branches of a good English education, the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, and Spanish languages. . . under the superintendence of the Reverend Superior of the Seminary."

Alemany's appointment to the bishopric of California and subsequent interest in St. Mary's was rather providential. Some years after St. Athanasius, he became provincial of the midwest Dominicans with right to attend the Seventh Provincial Council of the American Hierarchy in Baltimore in 1849. He made such a favorable impression, that the prelates recommended him for the see of California, vacant since the death of Bishop Garcia Diego y Moreno in 1846. Alemany knew nothing of the endorsement until he arrived in Rome for a General Chapter of his Order. He described his reaction to his mother:

In my good fortune or bad fortune, three days after arriving here I learned that the Bishops of the United States had named me Bishop of Monterey in place of Father Montgomery whose refusal had been accepted because of lack of health, and that the Pope had confirmed me eight days before I arrived here in Rome. I went then to visit the Pope to see if I could free myself from the burden of California; but as they had already told him not to let me resign, I had hardly entered when he began to speak to me in perfect Castilian, and he said, 'You are to go to Monterey; you must go to California. Others go there to seek gold; you go there to carry the Cross. God will assist you. The Bishops of the United States have named you. Thus there is nothing for you to do but to obey, otherwise you will oppose the will of the Vicar of Christ and the Will of God.' I shut my mouth. There was no choice for me there. He just sent me with nice words to California.(3)

On June 30, 1850, Alemany received the mitre from Cardinal Franconi then scoured Europe for funds as well as priests and nuns for California. He sailed September 11, from Liverpool aboard the windjammer Columbus with

Father Francis Sadoc Vilarassa and three Dominican nuns. Two of the latter stopped over in New York. The others boarded the steamer Columbus and arrived in San Francisco, December 6, 1850.⁽⁴⁾

Alemaný lived in Monterey until 1853, when the Holy See divided his diocese and made him Archbishop of San Francisco with jurisdiction over all territory between the Colorado River and the Pacific Ocean and Pueblo San Jose and the forty-second degree latitude. In the 260,000 square miles there were only 22 priests and 60,000 Catholics. For his flock the prelate wanted priests and churches but especially teachers and schools. He was convinced that vigorous religious life was impossible without Catholic schools, consequently he stated:

If the children while they advance in human sciences, are not taught the science of the saints, their minds will be filled with every error, their hearts will be receptacles of every vice, and that very learning which they have acquired, in itself so good and so necessary, will be an additional means of destroying the happiness of the child, embittering still more the chalice of parental disappointment and weakening the foundations of social order.⁽⁵⁾

When the archbishop arrived in California he found that his plan for a Catholic school system had been anticipated by Father Anthony Langlois who established St. Francis Parochial School, San Francisco in 1849 and by Father Flavian Fontaine who opened that of Mission Dolores in 1850. With these two as a beginning, Alemany added the Academy of Santa Catalina, in cooperation with Father Vilarassa and Sister Mary Goemare, at Monterey.

Further expansion seemed doomed until the prelate accidentally met some Notre Dame nuns and persuaded them to open a school in San Jose.

While keeping an eye on the four grammar schools, the prelate took another step forward when he installed two Jesuits, Fathers Anthony Goetz and Peter De Vos, in the Mission of Santa Clara and authorized foundation of a college, in March 1851. In the next three years, the Archbishop

brought the Sisters of Charity and the Presentation Sisters to San Francisco. In each case he spent a great deal of time and money recruiting them yet ironically made little or no provision to support them when they arrived. It is difficult to justify or rationalize an oversight that caused these dedicated women to suffer cold, hunger and discouragement. Possibly, twelve years in the Ohio and California backwoods had made Alemany callous to the niceties of life. In the case of the Sisters of Charity, he had no one to meet them when they landed and after waiting some hours they accepted the offer of a Catholic layman to guide them to their new home. The effect of Alemany's conduct was reported by the nuns to their mother house.

Reaching the shore they were the laughing stock of a crowd of men who had never seen a cornet. A carriage was procured and the sisters were taken to their future home. But what a home for the poor, sick, tired pioneers. After riding up and down and around sand hills that seemed interminable, the driver halted before a destitute looking shanty at the corner of what are now called Market and New Montgomery Streets. . . . The door of their new home was thrown open. An elderly priest in torn and worn cassock stepped out, surrounded by a group of dirty, ragged children who, taking one amazed look at the sisters fled into the house, slamming the door behind them. Father Maginnis came to the carriage and addressing Sister Francis said, 'Are you the boss?' This was almost too much for the poor sisters, yet they did not flinch. Father Maginnis assured the sisters that the soil on which they were about to labor would be well watered with their tears. The sisters entered the house, to find the picture of desolation complete. Not a chair could be seen, only some wooden stools, the handiwork of Father Maginnis. A large wine barrel stood in the middle of the floor, and a few cans of preserved fruit were scattered here and there. Upstairs were seven cots with straw mattresses and little goats' hair pillows. There were neither sheets nor blankets.⁽⁶⁾

The same type of reception awaited the Sisters of the Presentation two years later. As in the case of the Sisters of Charity, Alemany had traveled thousands of miles and written numerous petitions recruiting them, yet when they landed, there was no shelter, work, nor income prepared.

Makeshift accommodations, scanty meals, crowded quarters, and financial stringency were their lot. After two months of teaching in cold, dank rooms, hallways, staircases and gardens of a frame shanty on Green Street, three of the five gave up and returned to Ireland. The others, Sister Mary Comerford and Mary Daly, were about to follow when the archbishop entreated them to continue for the sake of the children "who had. . . few educational advantages and had wonderfully improved under the training of the Sisters." The two acquiesced and the prelate made amends with a new convent and school on Powell Street.⁽⁷⁾

Threat of the nuns to leave had a salutary effect, and the Sisters of Mercy found home, employment and money waiting, when they arrived in November, 1854. The well prepared reception reflected the prosperity as well as the good will of the archbishop. At the time the diocese received subsidies from the state and it was easy to build and support schools. Maintenance of the grant meant halcyon days for Catholic education. Alemany's attempts to continue the allotments are an interesting note, worthy of some consideration.

California's pro rata grant from 1850-1852 resumed in 1854 when the Archbishop wrote to the state legislature:

I beg leave to ask you to aid us with your great influence, that the reported (Catholic) schools may not be altogether cut off from the public fund.

The will of the people throughout the whole Republic is obviously to give such assurance and stability to education, as to have by laws its doors thrown open to every child, to guarantee to all a schoolhouse and a teacher, and to reward through the hands of its prominent functionaries, such as devote their time, labor, and energies to the holy cause of education. . . The schools shown in the accompanying report having substantially complied with the law, by laboring materially in the cause of education, I would respectfully ask of you the kindness of using your influence, towards a pro rata appropriation of the collected public funds, for the number of children taught in the schools.⁽⁸⁾

State Superintendent of Public Instruction John Marvin reported that Catholic schools fulfilled all requirements of the law and recommended resumption of state assistance.⁽⁹⁾

Until 1855 Catholic schools received approximately \$40,000 a year. Unfortunately, opposition raised its head before the ink had hardly dried on the governor's signature. The Protestant Pacific denounced the law as a child of "conspiracy, demagogism, and chicanery by which the putrid carcasses of sectarian bigotry and ghostly priestcraft were saddled upon our Common School System in the expiring moments of our last legislature."⁽¹⁰⁾ Other opponents claimed the enactment violated the principle of separation of church and state, pandered to Catholics, and fostered religious bigotry. Catholics gave unwitting support to the campaign by slipshod instruction and inadequate housing. As Father William Gleeson in his history of the Catholic Church in California admitted, "It is to be regretted that a better arrangement, both as regards the accommodations and the character of the instruction imparted, had not been provided by the Catholic authorities, for thus would have been removed one of the reasons assigned for the withdrawal of the grant."⁽¹¹⁾

Legislators responded to the clamor and killed the subsidy. Despite the failure of several attempts to restore the boon, the Archbishop never gave up hope. Even on the eve of his retirement, thirty years later, he declared:

Our schools are in all respects like the common schools, only in addition we teach the heart and conscience. If we do all the work that teachers do in the common schools, should we not receive compensation? They would not be paid by the Government for the prayers they said, or for the religious instruction they give, but the teaching of the common schools. At our recent Council at Baltimore we discussed this matter and all the bishops were of one mind on the matter; they all agreed that it was best to let time settle the question and to wait until the people came to see the justice of our cause.⁽¹²⁾

Loss of state grants instead of deterring, actually spurred the development of Catholic schools. Four days after the repeal, the prelate with staunch trust in the providence of God, jotted in his diary, "The Jesuit Fathers are freely permitted to begin a college in the southern part of this city of San Francisco, at a reasonable distance from St. Patrick's Church, with permission to have a church or congregation, the limits of which will afterwards be designated."⁽¹³⁾ About the same time the archbishop established a school in the basement of the cathedral at California and Dupont Streets. It opened its doors September 24, 1855, and was, in a certain sense, the nucleus of St. Mary's College because its principal, Father John Harrington, became the first president of the college, and a number of its teachers served on the college faculty. Its curriculum, according to student James Bradford, included "a thorough English course, together with mathematics, the French and Spanish languages and excellent classical studies."⁽¹⁴⁾

By 1855, the archdiocese had made commendable progress in establishing a school system but the Archbishop was not satisfied because there was no college or seminary to foster and train young men for the priesthood. Catholicism could flourish only where there was a native clergy but such was impossible without diocesan institutions to stimulate and develop vocations. Colleges to awaken and foster predilections for the priesthood were as necessary as seminaries. Archbishop Alemany was well aware of this since two of the latter in the diocese had foundered for lack of feeders. Consequently he hoped to build a college that would send a stream of candidates into the seminary.

It was no surprise therefore that he immediately planned construction of a college when John J. Sullivan gave him the block bounded by Larkin,

Polk, Grove and Hayes Streets in San Francisco.⁽¹⁵⁾ The prelate's enthusiasm turned to hesitation when he realized the site would be exposed to the vices of the encroaching city and that a square block would not be a commodious campus. More to his liking was a sixty acre tract on the east side of the old Mission Road, four miles from the center of town. He had received the land from Jose and Carmen de Bernal, who had carved it out of their Rancho Rincon de las Salinas y Potrero Viejo.⁽¹⁶⁾

To raise money for the college, the Archbishop appointed his vicar general, Father James Croke, to canvass the mining towns of the state. Beginning October 11, 1859, the good padre solicited funds from thousands of miners and their families in over two hundred towns, villages, hamlets, diggings and mines. Beginning in the Cascade mountain town of Sawyer's Bar in the northwest corner of the state, he campaigned through the length and breadth of the gold country to Sonora in the southern Sierra Nevadas. By foot, snowshoe, horseback and stagecoach he ranged the Mother Lode until he had \$37,000, sufficient to start construction on St. Mary's College.⁽¹⁷⁾

In view of this contribution, it is proper to pause and comment on the career of this priest who played such an important role in the foundation of the college. Born in Kanturk, County Cork, in 1827 of William Croke and Isabella Plummer, James followed his two brothers and three sisters into religion when he became a seminarian at the Irish College at Paris.⁽¹⁸⁾ On March 16, 1850, Archbishop Joseph Valerga, Patriarch of Jerusalem, ordained him in Paris. The ordinand volunteered for the Oregon missions and sailed with his archbishop, Norbert Blanchet, for Oregon City in the early summer of 1850. When they arrived in San Francisco in the following September, a cholera epidemic was raging. Father Croke got permission to remain and aid the only priest in the city, Father Anthony Langlois.⁽¹⁹⁾ Soon after the contagion ended, Bishop Alemany arrived,

and as the only English speaking priest in the city Father Croke introduced him to San Franciscans.

Father Croke arrived at his station, Oregon City, on the Willamette River, January 6, 1851. His first appointment was assistant priest at the cathedral and missionary to Catholics in the river settlements.⁽²⁰⁾ One of the latter, Portland, grew so quickly that Father Croke was transferred there as its first pastor. In a few weeks he raised \$600, built a frame church in honor of the Immaculate Conception and celebrated the first Mass at midnight on Christmas Eve, 1851.⁽²¹⁾ In addition to pastoral duties, Father Croke cared for Catholics scattered through the thinly settled areas of Southern Oregon and northern California.⁽²²⁾ Of the latter, Archbishop Blanchet wrote to Rome, January 4, 1854:

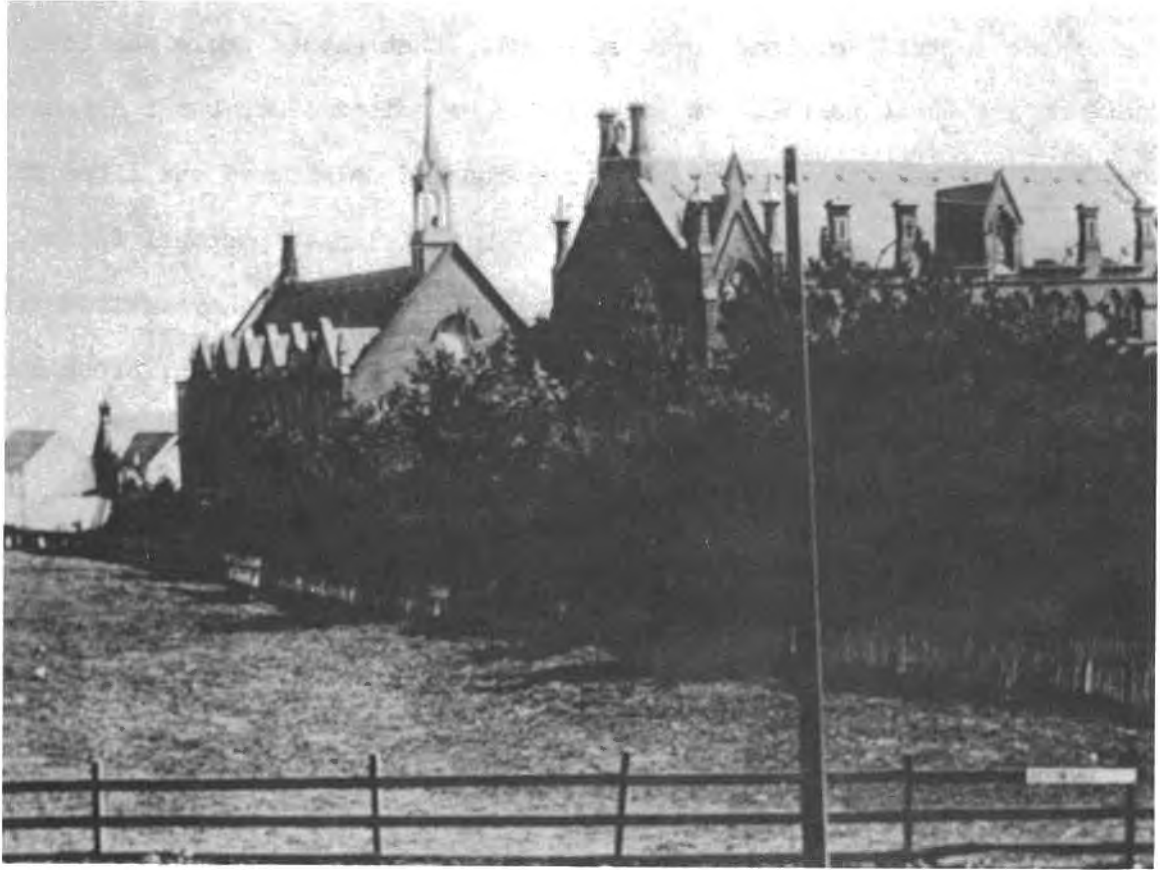
The mission that Father Croke has made to the south of my diocese has lasted almost four months and has produced many happy results. He has found a good many Catholics to whom he administered the aids of religion. . . he has even converted several to the faith. Since his return, a Protestant family has besought me to send him again for the instruction and baptizing of all its members.⁽²³⁾

More enlightening was Father Croke's letter to Archbishop Blanchet on the following September 18:

Crescent City, California

My Lord Archbishop:

I arrived here yesterday and leave this evening for the mouth of Smith's River, fifteen and a half miles north, and inside the dividing line between Oregon and California. As I passed rather rapidly through the mining regions on my way here, I have not yet discovered many Catholics, but intend to make a close investigation on my return. Nearly all that I knew last year have gone to other diggings, and they are so scattered, and sometimes so far separated by inaccessible mountains that it would take whole months to find them all. Not a creek or gulch in the mountains, that there are not some few scattered miners to be found searching for gold, and sharing the wild solitudes with the savage grizzly bears that so much abound in Northern California. They wander about



St. Mary's College, San Francisco, 1863

like Indians, traveling from diggings to diggings and leading a life that is not far removed from barbarism.⁽²⁴⁾

On these horseback trips, Father Croke learned the customs and habits of the miners and mountaineers and this knowledge proved invaluable when he solicited for St. Mary's a few years later. In their turn the pioneers recognized the sincerity and self-sacrifice of the young Irishman and willingly accepted him. Some idea of this mutual feeling is reflected in a letter Father Croke wrote to Archbishop Blanchet:

The Catholics of Jacksonville, Oregon, are very anxious to have a church built amongst them and are willing to help to the utmost of their means. I have given them some hopes of having their wishes realized next year. Next Spring (1855), if mining be successful this winter, there would be a fair chance of making a good collection toward building a little church, which will answer not only for that town but for all the mining districts of sixty or seventy miles around.⁽²⁵⁾

True to his promise, Father Croke persuaded every man in the vicinity of Jacksonville to subscribe to a fund and built a church dedicated to St. Joseph.

Overwork and sickness compelled him at this time to interrupt his work for a year. In company with a Jesuit missionary, he spent the time on a horseback journey through the Cascades and Rocky Mountains to Fort Benton on the Missouri. From the time he left the last white settlement, about 100 miles from Portland, until he reached his destination, some 1800 miles, he met only nine white men, six Jesuits, two Canadian trappers and a half-breed scout. In September, 1855, he camped for a week near the future site of Helena, Montana, and "there was not a vestige of civilization within a radius of a thousand miles from the stream near which we built our camp."⁽²⁶⁾

Father Croke indicated in his correspondence that he was well accustomed to the poverty, hardship and isolation of the frontiersman. To a certain degree he adopted their manners, outlook and togs. When riding

through his far-flung parish, Father Croke wore a long coat, one side of which was khaki color and served as a duster for the road and the other side was black and used for a soutane. He carried only the barest necessities and was accustomed at night after a bare supper, to stake his horse, fold his saddle bags into a pillow, wrap himself in a blanket, and sleep under a tree or in a crevice of the rocks.⁽²⁷⁾

Numerous stories were told of his approach to the hearts of the people. In one settlement, he arrived weary, hungry, and penniless. After stabling and feeding his horse, he put on the Roman collar, turned his coat black side out and started to walk up the single street. Casually greeting settlers, he finally stopped to chat with one who returned his salute. The chance acquaintance insisted that the priest stay with him and use his home as a church. Next morning Catholics of the vicinity gathered and Father Croke heard confessions, celebrated Mass, and administered baptism. During subsequent days, the missionary visited, catechized, and instructed the Catholics of the area. On the eve of departure, the townsfolk presented him with a purse of several hundred dollars, and urged him to return. To their surprise, Father Croke refused the donation but asked that it be handed over to the Justice of the Peace and be distributed to the poor.⁽²⁸⁾

In another case, his sermon was interrupted by two miners carrying an injured man into the midst of the congregation. The entire congregation, led by the pastor, went to the aid of the sufferer. After the wounds had been bandaged and relief given to the victim, Father Croke quietly slipped \$150 into his hand. It was the entire weekly collection for the parish.

A third example occurred in 1856 with a casual Methodist acquaintance who had been condemned to death for murder. After prison authorities refused permission to visit the condemned man, Father Croke learned that the ver-

dict was based on flimsy evidence. The two factors convinced Father Croke that the prisoner's conviction was unjust. After gathering a complete history of the case, he rode 150 miles, presented the facts to the governor, and obtained a reprieve and permit to see the victim. At the interview, Father Croke discovered the accused had acted in self defense. Armed with this knowledge, he persuaded the community to petition the governor for a retrial. Eventually the request was granted and the condemned man exonerated.⁽²⁹⁾

Father Croke was rapidly becoming one of the best known and loved priests in the Oregon country when his health began to fail again. Hardly twenty-eight years of age, the doughty Irishman was unable to stand the rainy weather of the region and was warned by doctors to seek a drier and warmer climate. Consequently as early as April, 1855, he asked to be incardinated into the Archdiocese of San Francisco. Archbishop Alemany promptly granted the request. The prelate remembered Father Croke's work in San Francisco five years previously and summarized his answer for his diary: "Father James Croke, Portland. All freed if your Archbishop permits. I would be happy to serve you with our potatoes."⁽³⁰⁾

But Archbishop Blanchet refused to allow Father Croke to leave. It was only after the Oregon prelate had left for a two year fund-raising tour of South America, that Father Croke was able to obtain an exeat.⁽³¹⁾

Father Croke officially joined the Archdiocese of San Francisco July 10, 1857 and became administrator of St. Anne's Church, Columbia, in the heart of the mining country.⁽³²⁾ He not only had the spiritual care of the Catholics in Columbia and the surrounding towns of Angel's Camp, Murphy's, Vallecito, Douglass Flat, and Carson Hill but also those in the fly-by-night tent cities in nearby creeks and streams. When a permanent pastor arrived, Father Croke moved to St. Patrick's Church, Grass Valley, as assistant to

Father Thomas Dalton. But he was hardly settled when news arrived that he was to go to Oakland as the first pastor of Immaculate Conception parish. When he began his new duties, January 13, 1858, the town had scarcely enough Catholics to support a resident priest, but Father Croke appealed to Protestants as well as to Catholics and raised sufficient money to build a new church. Eighteen months of intelligent and successful administration attracted the attention of Archbishop Alemany and convinced him to make the Oakland pastor his vicar-general.⁽³³⁾ He added a second reward eighteen days later when he recommended Father Croke for the new bishopric of Marysville. In his letter to Archbishop Purcell in Cincinnati, the prelate wrote:

I have recommended the following priests for it (the bishopric) and in the following language: 1. The Very Reverend James Croke, my vicar general as the worthiest. 2. Rev. Eugene O'Connel, Professor of the College of All Hallows in Ireland as very worthy. 3. Rev. Thomas Foley, Secretary of the Archbishop of Baltimore, as worthy. The Rev. James Croke is an Irish priest, now incardinate in this diocese, about 34 years old, very well educated, he excels by his great science. He speaks French, and Spanish proficiently, preaches very well in English and is full of apostolic zeal. And unless I be wrong he will effect much spiritual good through his modesty and docility by which he attracts the hearts of all men. He is a pious, humble priest, well known for his charity. He has fair health and has learned by experience what things are to be done. . . . the Reverend Peter de Vos, S.J. (a Father, venerable for his age, science and virtue) who although his confessor knew him from first hand outside the confessional and who among others wrote me the following about him, 'The Reverend James Croke always was an example of piety and docility and since the time he received holy orders he was distinguished for his prudence, his zeal and charity. By his obedience he is a real son towards his superiors. Wherever he was in ministerial duties or in missions by his prudent charity and very useful and erudite conversation he won the respect and love of all people.'⁽³⁴⁾

Archbishop Blanchet confirmed this opinion when he informed the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide of the candidate's capability and integrity.⁽³⁵⁾

Notwithstanding these commendations, the Holy See bypassed Father Croke and appointed Father Eugene O'Connell, Dean of Dublin's All Hallows College and erstwhile rector of St. Thomas Seminary, San Francisco. During the months that the Papacy was considering the candidates, the Archbishop sent his vicar-general to collect money for St. Mary's.

At the beginning of the campaign, October 11, 1859, a reporter described Father Croke as above medium height, with black hair, penetrating eyes, refined features, with dignified carriage. His easy manner, quiet humor, and fund of anecdotes made him really acceptable among the miners.⁽³⁶⁾ With the blessing of Archbishop Alemany ringing in his ears, Father Croke sailed from San Francisco to Trinidad, Humboldt County and began a hundred mile horseback ride through the wild and rugged Coast Range Mountains to Sawyers Bar, a settlement on the North Fork of the Salmon River. He selected the northwest corner of the state to launch his drive, first because he was familiar with the people and the topography and second because the streams and creeks were alive with miners panning fifty to sixty dollars a day. Of his ride from the coast, a contemporary wrote: "According to the stories of eyewitnesses, most of the brave souls who ventured on this journey. . . through the mountain defiles of this almost impenetrable region were more dead than alive when they finally rode into the hospitable portals of Sawyers Bar."⁽³⁷⁾ To a seasoned horseman like Father Croke the ride was not too difficult yet he was glad to have it behind him if for no other reason than to get his collection under way.

Father Croke's selection of Sawyers Bar was fortunate. His old friend, the Austrian Benedictine, Father Florian Schwenninger, welcomed him to the rectory of St. Joseph's and insisted on being the first contributor with a twenty-dollar donation. True to the traditional hospitality

of the mountains, the Benedictine lodged Father Croke and escorted him around the town. Naturally the two clerics talked shop and Father Florian brought up the painting of the Crucifixion that hung behind the main altar. Destined to become one of the most famous pictures in the northern mines, the pastor had bought it in Austria, carried it, wrapped in silk, through the mining camps and finally had it framed to hang in Sawyers Bar. From its first appearance the canvas became the object of interest, not for its technical or artistic qualities, but because as one backed away from it, the thirty odd figures gradually merged into the background and left the radiant body of Christ alone discernible.⁽³⁸⁾ It was quite possible that these conversations provoked Father Croke to list the names of the contributors in a six by nine inch leather, gold-trimmed day book now in the archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco. On its first pages appear the names of Father Florian and seventy-two of his neighbors, credited with donating \$358.50. It was an auspicious beginning to the trek that led to Eddy's Gulch, Russian Creek, Aetna Mills, Yreka, Indian Creek, Scott Bar, Humbug Creek, Callahan's and other diggings in the valleys, gulches, and canyons of Salmon, Klamath, Scott, Shasta and Trinity Rivers. In November and December, 1859, Father Croke gathered over \$3,500 and after spending New Year's Day in Shasta City left the northern mines for Marysville by way of Horsetown, Red Bluff and Oroville.

At Marysville, Father Croke stayed with his fellow countrymen, Fathers Daniel Slattery and Morris. Like Father Florian, both made substantial donations and introduced the vicar-general in the area. One of the most interesting parishioners was attorney Zachariah Montgomery, who, as an assemblyman, unsuccessfully fought for return of state subsidies for private schools and for California neutrality in the War between the States.

As Montgomery was a leading secessionist, Father Croke was hard put to steer clear of political commitments. With Father Slattery by his side, Father Croke approached almost every prospect in the area. They patiently appealed to hundreds of miners, ranchers, farmers and merchants. In one village, Sucker's Flat, about eight miles from Marysville, they found the main street almost deserted and according to the local journal:

They met a few friends, and for want of other amusement, Father Slattery engaged in some manly exercises with his friends, such as jumping, throwing stones and so on. A plan for getting a crowd together finally struck the pastor. It was this or something very much like it. He gave out that he could beat any man in the neighborhood, jumping and that he would do it at a certain time--naming it. Now be it known that the reverend gentleman is large, handsomely built, and athletic, standing over six feet in his stocking feet, and can jump his twelve feet, forward and backward with the greatest ease. Some of the parties knew this, and noised it abroad; and at the appointed time all Timbucktoo and Sucker Flat were on the ground to see the sport.

Now, we have not learned whether the jumping took place, but we suppose it did, for our informant tells us the clerical gentlemen succeeded in collecting eight or nine hundred dollars before they left, and the crowd must have been pleased at something or they would never have contributed so liberally. We congratulate Father Slattery on the good fortunes attending his mission.⁽³⁹⁾

Father Croke's entry book makes no mention of the above performance but indicates that the Irish Catholics turned out en masse to support the campaign. Frequently mentioned surnames were O'Sullivan, Lyon, Kennedy, Kelly, Kerrigan, Burke, Riordan, Martin and Quinn. The contribution of the Marysville district, after Nevada City and Grass Valley, was the most generous. Two factors were significant in this generosity; the traditional charity of the Irish and the numerous rich strikes that yielded \$400 to \$500 a day. Elated with success, Father Croke took the road east through the foothills to Grass Valley, where another Irishman, Father Thomas Dalton, waited to follow what by then was regular procedure to Father Croke. Among

the first to whom Father Dalton introduced Father Croke was Edward McLaughlin, a prosperous merchant and convert to Catholicism. McLaughlin and his wife were among the most active and charitable Catholics in the town. They had contributed generously in the previous year to the erection of the new church and were happy to give \$100 for St. Mary's. Five miles outside of Grass Valley the two priests came to a group of mines called Allison's Ranch. It must have seemed to the good padres that they wandered into an Irish village where gold grew on trees for within a matter of minutes, the Colberts, Fields, Nolans, Caseys, and O'Briens gave \$2000 in gold dust.⁽⁴⁰⁾ It was almost a repetition when they stopped at Nevada City and the Holohans, Cooneys, Mahoneys, McGettigans and Hennessys gave with an open hand.

In the middle of February, 1860, Father Croke interrupted his work to return to San Francisco and confer with Archbishop Alemany. En route he wrote to the Nevada City Journal:

I have no better resource to drive away the tedium of a six hours trip on a Marysville boat, than to tell you a few of the matters I observed on my way. . . Stage riding you know, is the purgatory we have to pass through to get to the lower paradise--if that is a fair comparison, where we leave bright warm skies and cheerful nature, for clouds and fogs and penetrating winds. The trip from Nevada (City) to Marysville, always disagreeable, is now rendered ten-fold more so by a detour the stage takes from the Empire ranch, to pass through Smartsville, and Timbuctoo. The old telegraph road in '52 was not a circumstance to the rough, hilly, rocky corduroy through and over which you are now jolted, twisted and rubbed, after leaving the old road till you strike it again. I can remember no other incident in my history so physically exciting as this recent rough and tumble fight with ruts and boulders . . . But I can't say the trip was uninteresting.⁽⁴¹⁾

From San Francisco the vicar-general went again to Nevada City and the most profitable fortnight of his tour. In nine days he received \$7,400 from Nevada City, Cherokee, San Juan, Sweetlands, Birchville, French Corral, Jones Bar and Montezuma Hill. After he solicited in Auburn, Rock Creek,

Miner's Ravine, Coloma, Yankee Jim's and Grey Eagle, he returned to San Francisco May 11, 1860 with \$10,800.25.⁽⁴²⁾

Six weeks later he resumed the drive in the Downieville area, where he canvassed such communities as Port Wine, Rabbit Creek, Secret Diggings, Spanish Flat, Whiskey Creek, St. Louis, Cold Canon, Poker Flat, Monte Christo, Jim Crow Creek, Minnesota, Wet Ravine and Brandy Flat. In subsequent months he concentrated on the Stockton-Sonora region.

A country editor who met Father Croke wrote:

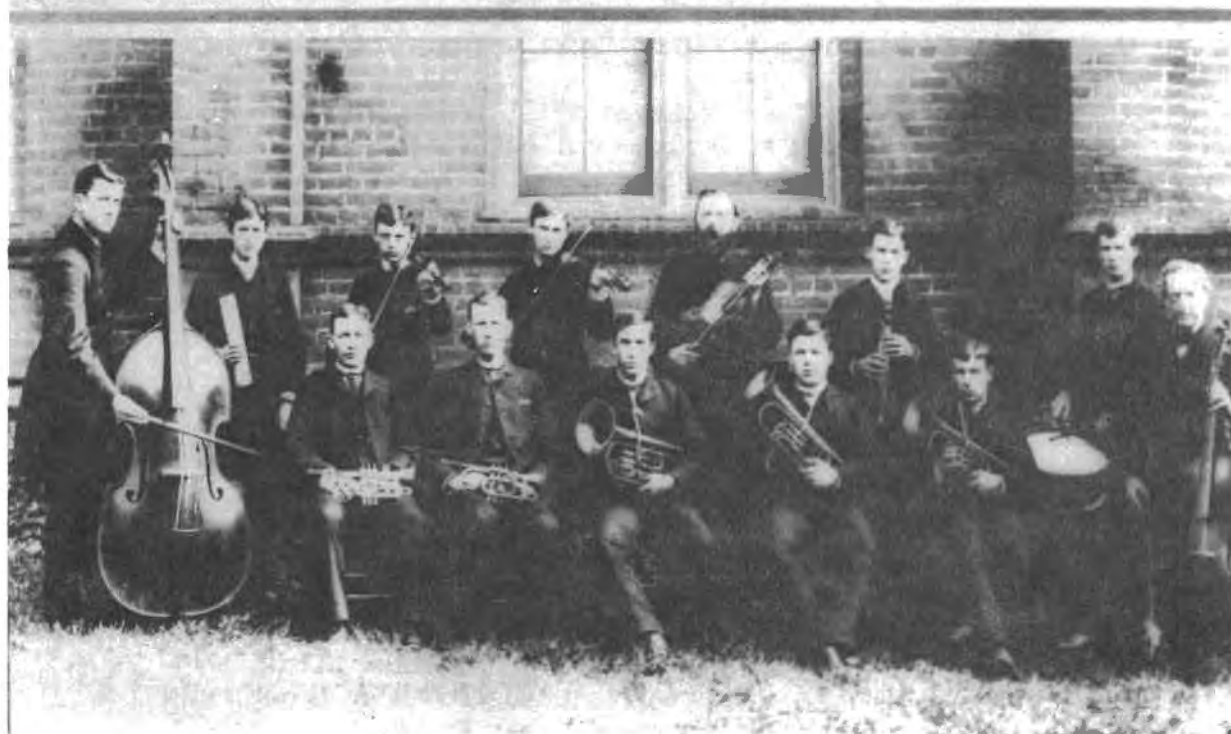
The untiring Father Croke is still traversing the mountains, collecting money to build a college for the education of the poor. We met him last fall (1859) in the mountains of Siskiyou, and now he is at the other end of the state. He is a pious and intelligent young priest, and is esteemed everywhere, by all sects. How well the Church of Rome understands the secret of ecclesiastical power; it entrenches itself in the gratitude of the poor, and is a religion of labor.⁽⁴³⁾

While Father Croke scoured the mines, the newspapers kept the college in the public eye. In March, 1860, the San Francisco Herald reported:

The want of a Catholic College. . . has long been felt where the educational requirements of youth of every part of the state would be met, at a cost sufficiently low to bring the higher branches of instruction within the means of numbers who are precluded from such benefits. To this end the Very Reverend James Croke, V.G., has traveled unceasingly through the counties of Siskiyou, Klamath, Trinity, Shasta, Butte, Yuba, Nevada, and Placer where, in addition to clerical labors, he has devoted himself with great energy and zeal. . . to the promotion of this most important object.⁽⁴⁴⁾

The Marysville Daily Appeal praised the erection of St. Mary's because it would offer the sound, practical education unavailable in the public schools.⁽⁴⁵⁾ Even the Sacramento Daily Union, no friend of Catholicism, followed Father Croke's progress and made friendly comments on his work.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The Protestant Pacific obliquely alluded to the fund-raising in its coverage to Zachariah Montgomery's strenuous but futile effort to re-establish State subsidies for Catholic schools. Under the caption, "A Lesson for Protestants",

Standing: CHAS. W. LYNCH, LOUIS P. OVEDIO, ERNEST A. GARRISON, JOHN TERRY BARRETT, PROFESSOR
 FREDERICK SCHORCHT, WILLIAM J. STANTON, GEORGE BARRON, ~~and~~ *Seated:* FRANK L. SHER-
 HOMAS F. ADNEW, ALBERT J. LAYTON, G. ALBERT GARRISON, JOHN O'NEIL, PROFESSOR KERWIN



St. Mary's College Orchestra, 1897

the weekly bemoaned the proliferation of Papist and stagnation of Protestant academies. While freehand Romanists lavished millions, tightfisted Protestants did nothing. Unless there was a quick and permanent improvement, the editor predicted Papal monopoly in all education.⁽⁴⁷⁾ From the Comstock, the San Francisco Monitor's correspondent announced that "cheerful and ready givers" met Father Croke on every side and that there was "a high proof of the liberality of the citizens of the Nevada Territory."

Father Croke wound up the campaign with an appeal to Oakland, San Jose and Vallejo. He handed over to the archbishop \$37,166.50. Thus within two years, he had singlehandedly raised the money to begin construction on St. Mary's College, the apex of diocesan education. Archbishop Alemany finally could prepare men for the seminary as well as professional and commercial life. It was the culmination of his ambition when he possessed an institution capable of training the mind and the will for the glorification of God.

The dream had been realized, but its continuation was doubtful. Faulty planning and a huge debt imperiled its future. Available information indicates that the archbishop and his advisers had not made a thorough exploration of collegiate operations and problems. A study of this kind would demonstrate the necessity for an endowment to cushion and care for adjustments and contingencies concomitant with the first years of any college. Instead, they saddled it with a debt that drained income, precluded improvements and imposed penury. The regrettable experience of the Sisters of Charity and of the Presentation was to be repeated and aggravated. The big mortgage would bring the college perilously close to bankruptcy on several occasions.

Father Croke's effort, on the other hand, was well planned and executed. The two year canvass through the Mother Lode was successful and self-

less. Had the mendicant padre been given more time there was every likelihood he would have obtained the entire cost of construction. The thousands of contributions and contributors listed in his record book spelled out the vicar-general's achievement but unmentioned are the innumerable hardships, rebuffs, and rejections he accepted to accomplish that goal. The dedication of a priest, the generosity of the miners, and the charity of the Bernal family were the foundation of St. Mary's College.

1863 was a promising year to launch a college in San Francisco. Although the War between the States convulsed the rest of the nation, it had little effect on either the life of the city or of the state. Periodic rumors of rebel intrigues and plots did little to disturb the complacent detachment toward the conflict. Even the jingoistic orations of David Starr King, stimulated little more than patriotic sentiments, financial donations, and a handful of volunteers. San Franciscans were too engrossed in material matters to risk life, limb or property in the internecine struggle. They found it far more comfortable and profitable to enjoy the abundance that flowed from the Comstock Lode or from the overnight fortunes amassed by speculating in mushrooming real estate developments, railroads, and streetcar lines.

Investment in housing projects was particularly attractive since the courts had rejected the claims of Father Prudencio Santillan and Jose Limantour to the entire southern part of the city. The decision cleared the way for forty odd homestead associations to begin construction of dwellings for over a hundred thousand who had been housed in quarters suited for only a few thousand.⁽¹⁾ The entrepreneurs opened tracts, drained swamps, graded streets, and built hundreds of homes. A half dozen traction companies pushed a network of tracks into the new area. A \$60,000 foot bridge across Mission Bay was thought a sound venture because it gave access to a five hundred acre residential project.

Among the beneficiaries of this boom was Archbishop Alemany. In the fifties by purchase and gift he had acquired almost a hundred acres from Carmen and Jose de Bernal, heirs to the Rincon de la Salinas y Potrero Viejo or Bernal Rancho. Although the property was part of the grant made

by Mexican Governor Jimeno Castro to Cornelio de Bernal in 1839, the archbishop did nothing with the property until the Santillan and Limantour decisions cleared the title. At first he planned a cemetery to supplement the overcrowded one at Mission Dolores, but decided to make a college campus when the population began to move southward.

Aleman's decision touched off a realtor's plan for a neighborhood with collegiate overtones. Not only did they give Alemany sixty acres adjacent to the campus but offered similar parcels to other colleges. To create the proper atmosphere, they established the University and College Homestead Associations and dubbed the streets, Yale, Harvard, Cambridge, Oxford, Princeton and Amherst. Lest St. Mary's feel slighted, there were Harrington and Croke (Santa Rosa) Streets for the first president and fund raiser.

The press described the property as "the choicest suburban area in the county," where a 25 by 75 foot lot cost only ten dollars. One release read:

We stepped into Harvey S. Brown's office (co-donor of sixty acres to the archbishop) yesterday and it was the liveliest place we saw during the day. A large number of our citizens were selecting lots in the Bernal property, which Mr. Brown is giving away, charging only the usual fee of \$10 each for making the deeds. This movement on the part of Mr. Brown seems to have met with great popular favor, and he will be amply repaid by the improved value of the lots which he retains. Many of the lots now being taken will be built upon very soon, thus increasing the value of the balance of the property and bringing it much more readily into the market. We have no doubt that if others of our large real estate owners would pursue a similar course, it would result much to their advantage. (2)

Publicity agents also dwelt on the fast, convenient and frequent transportation. Direct horsecar service with downtown San Francisco would be offered by the Front Street, Mission and Ocean Railway Company and steam traffic would move as soon as the San Francisco-San Jose Railroad

blasted a roadbed through the rock and hardpan of Bernal Heights. The cut cost canny Scot railroader Peter Donahue sixteen months and thousands of dollars, but the expenditure was a cheap price for access to the rich passenger and freight business sure to develop.⁽³⁾

Donahue's enterprise, as well as that of the realtors undoubtedly influenced moving the campus to the Mission Road but there were other factors, such an environment, space, finances and climate. As early as 1853, when he arrived in San Francisco, Alemany sought a campus for the college. After considering several he bought the block bounded by Hayes, Grove, Larkin and Polk Streets, for \$7000 on June 27, 1860.⁽⁴⁾ He called for, then cancelled, construction bids because the site was unsuitable. Not only was it too small, but the neighborhood had an unsavory reputation. Something more isolated and rural was desirable, such as the Methodists' Collegiate Institute in Napa. Consequently when that school's president, Angus L. Boggs, put the entire plant and campus on the block, Alemany began to dicker. By the end of May, 1861, a price was agreed on and only a few details remained to complete the sale. Search of the records revealed a clouded title and the archbishop regretfully wrote:

June 13, 1861

Dear Sir:

After careful examination of the title of the Collegiate Institute of Napa, which we intended to purchase, I am sorry to have to state that it was deemed defective. It was rejected at the Land Commissioners by want of proof, it was fatally rejected at the courts on the appeal; and thus the Acts of Congress make the land forever the property of the United States. There may be other objections which likely might be got over with some trouble; but that one seems too serious and forces one to state that, the Title not found satisfactory, I decline purchasing the property....⁽⁵⁾

It was at this juncture that Mission Road became the site of St. Mary's. Architect Thomas England drew the plans and construction started.⁽⁶⁾

As the building rose, so rose the expectations of Archbishop Alemany. It was to be the culmination of his dreams, the realization of a complete system of Catholic education, and an auxiliary for the diocesan seminary. In contemplating the future he could look back on the futility of the past decade. With some sadness, he confided to his diary, "I invited the Fathers (Jesuits at St. Ignatius) here years ago for establishing a college but they have not come up to expectations."⁽⁷⁾ The archbishop claimed that the high tuition, inelastic curriculum, and number of priestly vocations did not satisfy diocesan conditions. These deficiencies, compounded by a refusal to cede title to St. Ignatius Church, became further aggravated when the Jesuits borrowed a huge sum to expand their college and compete with the new St. Mary's College.⁽⁸⁾

As St. Mary's began to take shape, the belated activity of the Jesuits became a spur and a challenge to the archbishop. When the construction schedule bogged down for lack of bricks, he erected a kiln and used clay on the campus.⁽⁹⁾ By July, 1862, sufficient progress had been made to justify setting the date for the cornerstone laying. By commandeering every available surrey, hack and buggy along with a fleet of stagecoaches, five hundred converged on the campus, Sunday, August 3, 1862. Promptly at three o'clock, a procession headed by one hundred acolytes, began to march from entrance gate to building. Father John Prendergast, rector of St. Thomas Aquinas Seminary and orator of the day, opened the program with a succinct description of the destined role of the college in the life of the community. Archbishop Alemany blessed the stone and in an aperture placed a copper box with photographs of Pope Pius IX and Governor Leland Stanford, foreign and domestic coins, the State Register, the City Directory and local newspapers. Also enclosed was a Latin inscription:

On the third day of the month of August, in the year of Our Lord 1862, in the sixteenth of the Pontificate of Pope Pius IX, Abraham Lincoln being President of the United States of America, and Leland Stanford being Governor of the State of California, the illustrious and Most Reverend Joseph S. Alemany, O.S.D., Archbishop of California, laid the cornerstone of this college, under the title of St. Mary, for the instruction of the youth of California, not in literature merely, but what is greater, in true Christian knowledge.

It has been erected by the offerings of the miners and the Faithful of California, through the exertions of the Very Rev. James Croke, Vicar General.⁽¹⁰⁾

In the following months construction kept on schedule but costs soared alarmingly. Prices spiraled unaccountable, donations failed to materialize and last minute changes necessitated revision of estimates. Cash ran out and the archbishop had to borrow \$40,000 just to complete school and refectory. Construction of the south wing or chapel was shelved and one of the large schoolrooms was designated for religious exercises. This makeshift continued for twenty-six years until the college moved to Oakland. The chapel, frequently pictured as part of the Mission Road campus, never existed.

Until the college opened, July 6, 1863, Alemany's journals, account books and diary were filled with notations on St. Mary's. The prelate personally supervised such matters as plumbing, painting, plastering, carpentering, brick laying, and grading.⁽¹¹⁾ Typical was the entry for October 10, 1862, when he paid one John McFadden \$185 "for extra work moulding bricks," or the one on the twenty-seventh of the same month "to Shaw & Co. for Iron face clock for St. Mary's."⁽¹²⁾ He even noted "three dollars to the San Francisco Morning Call for an advertisement for plasterers." In addition to handling expenditures, the archbishop conducted all correspondence. For example, on May 25, 1863, his reply to George H. Briard was:

St. Mary's College will be opened for the reception of students on the 6th of next July. \$150 will be charged to each student for board and tuition &c. during the scholastic year of eleven months. This pension must be paid semi-annually in advance. Every student will be charged \$10 entrance fee, and as much money as will take him from the college to the residence of his parents must be deposited in the hands of the treasurer. The prospectus will soon be printed and published in the papers of the city.⁽¹³⁾

A few days later, he informed Mr. de Brosse Hunter:

I received your favor of the 24 ult. and the application for a situation of Professor of Mathematics for your brother-in-law. I referred the matter to the president of said institution, Rev. John Harrington, and he will give you the needed information.⁽¹⁴⁾

Archbishop Alemany carefully supervised developments for eleven months. He finally opened the college July 6, 1863, and noted the event in his diary, "I bless the little chapel of St. Mary's beyond the Mission Dolores."⁽¹⁵⁾

The brick structures formed an "L". The longer arm of the school building ran parallel to Mission Road and formed, at its north end, a right angle with the refectory, whose rose window gave it the appearance of a chapel. The lower floor of the refectory building contained the main dining room that measured eighty by forty feet and had a thirty foot ceiling. A row of oak columns in the center made it easy to section off areas for lectures, discussions and concerts. On the south side heavy oak doors led to the playing fields and recreational facilities. Adjacent to the dining room was a well furnished wash hall finished in marble. The top floor of the refectory building was a dormitory.

The school building, set back some distance from Mission Road, had its main entrance at the south end. The spacious foyer extended the width of the building and gave access to the presidential suite, administrative offices, infirmary, doctor's office, chaplain's quarters, chapel and library. An ornate staircase led to the second floor and classrooms, study hall,

laboratories, senior room, banking and commercial departments. Dormitories and prefect's studies occupied the third and fourth floors. Some distance to the rear of the principal halls were servants' quarters, laundry, bath house, gymnasium, stable and cowbarn.⁽¹⁶⁾ Illumination came from homemade gas, and two windmills supplied the water. The college grounds consisted of a fenced in area of seven acres surrounded by fifty-three acres of cultivated farmland, that provided all the necessary milk, butter, eggs, vegetables and hay. A sweeping view of the bay and the surrounding territory could be had from any part of the campus.⁽¹⁷⁾

The first president of the college was Father John Harrington, a forty year old diocesan priest from County Cork. He had imbibed a goodly share of Irish patriotism from his youthful association with the Limerick Reporter and the Young Ireland Party, before coming to San Francisco in 1853.⁽¹⁸⁾ His scholastic preparation for the priesthood was a two year course in philosophy and theology from Archbishop Alemany. He served simultaneously as a state paid instructor in St. Francis Parochial School. On Saturday, June 2, 1855, Archbishop Alemany ordained him and James Avila to the priesthood.⁽¹⁹⁾

Father Harrington's first assignment as assistant pastor at San Francisco's St. Patrick's Church, orphanage and school did much to prepare him for his later role in the history of St. Mary's.⁽²⁰⁾ Not only did he teach in St. Patrick's School but he also became a leader in the parochial school system, for which he launched a city-wide appeal for funds. He set an example by giving \$1500 from his own scanty purse. To staff day homes and nurseries, he and Father John Prendergast founded the Sisters of the Holy Family.⁽²¹⁾ Yet all seemed insignificant in comparison to the crying need for more Catholic schools. So many parents had refused to send children to public schools that State Superintendent of Public



St. Mary's College Under Construction, 1888

Instruction Paul K. Hobbs claimed that only 871 of San Francisco's 1847 youngsters of school age attended class and then only spasmodically.

It was in the hope of indirectly alleviating these conditions that Father Harrington accepted the vice-rectorship of St. Thomas Aquinas Seminary at Mission Dolores. His superior, Father Richard Carroll, a semi-invalid after two years of heavy duties and life in the dank, cramped quarters, had allowed the morale, instruction and even the physical equipment of the seminary to slump and deteriorate.⁽²²⁾ Father Harrington's task of rehabilitating the seminary was made more difficult because it was frequently interrupted by his pastoral obligations at Mission Dolores. The problems must have been a challenge to the simple cleric and primary school teacher who suddenly found himself faced with the responsibilities of seminary director, co-ordinator, disciplinarian and instructor as well as spiritual leader of a hundred and fifty parishioners. Undeterred, he threw himself into the work. With three thousand dollars from the archbishop, he renovated living quarters, refectory and classrooms. He doubled the enrollment and overhauled the curriculum. The transformation was so effective that even the San Francisco Herald admitted:

None would ever conceive it (the seminary) to be the same adobe wreck that stood there in 1854. The exterior has been plastered and the interior presents the splendid appearance of a finished building. The two-storied seminary has been repaired and repainted and surrounded by newly planted vegetable garden, flower beds and orchards.⁽²³⁾

Father Harrington's study, bedroom and office were all in one room in the long adobe building fronting Dolores Street. It was cool and pleasant in summer but damp and chilling in winter. The seminary, likewise adobe, was at right angle to the rear of the Mission and adjoined the sacristy. Lecture rooms and library were on the first floor, and a dormitory, curtained off into small compartments, on the second.

The sixteen hour schedule that began at five in the morning was exacting and fatiguing. It demanded long hours of instructing, counselling and supervising. The most difficult task was instructing the seminarians, who except the Irish candidates, were ill prepared for their studies. Precious time was wasted drilling the backward in fundamentals. Yet his charges made progress and pleased the archbishop in their annual examination. Of Father Harrington's work, Alemany wrote on August 10, 1858: "We examined the seminarians at St. Thomas Seminary, very satisfactory."⁽²⁴⁾

If any further insight into the character and ability of St. Mary's first president be needed, it can be found in his extracurricular activities. Numerous citations in the baptismal, funeral and marriage records of Mission Dolores attest his zeal. Sick calls brought him on long rides over the wind-swept sand dunes that stretched from the Golden Gate to the borders of San Mateo County. He gave frequent lectures to raise funds for the Presentation Sisters as well as for his native land. Typical of the latter was the address to the Associated Sons of the Emerald Isle:

Where is there a son of the Emerald Isle whose pulse does not quicken at the very mention of her name? Ireland! glorious old Ireland! Oh, how the memory of her wrongs thrills the soul and stirs up the deepest foundations of sympathy! Ireland has borne the greatest wrongs, endured the most bitter sufferings, made the most heroic sacrifices. . . that she might retain one treasure, one pearl above all price, freedom.⁽²⁵⁾

In the spring of 1859, Harrington was in the midst of another successful year at St. Thomas, when the archbishop asked him to take over the floundering school at St. Mary's Cathedral. If he could save the seminary, it followed that he could salvage the school. Success in one place augured success in another. Harrington was becoming a savior of lost causes. The scene that met the new principal was described by a local newspaper:

The school under St. Mary's Church. . . is one of the best locations in the city; but here again we have to complain of the construction of the rooms, which, on account of the high ceilings and broken angles, caused by the numerous columns that support the upper floor, has an echo that is really distressing. When any of the classes is reciting in the adjoining rooms, it is almost impossible to hear what is going on in the principal's room. The children, to be heard at all, are compelled to recite in a tone altogether unnatural. We would almost as lief teach school in a mill. In fact it is a bedlam, and some steps should be taken during the recess to deaden the sound by double partitions, and destroy the echo by lowering the ceiling. (26)

Father Harrington effected many of the recommended improvements and began a new semester March 7, 1859. Attendance rose to 560, the largest in the city. His staff consisted of six instructors and a number of student-teachers who earned tuition by part time instruction. The curriculum embraced the ordinary primary, grammar and secondary courses together with tutoring in French, Spanish, Greek, and Latin. Tuition ranged from one dollar to a dollar and a half a month. (27) Inasmuch as this was insufficient to meet expenses, Harrington had to supplement the income from tuition with bazaars, fairs, entertainments, lectures and public appeals. From a bazaar staged at Tucker's Academy, he realized \$7000, which he generously shared with the Presentation Sisters on Powell Street. (28)

He always cherished the forlorn hope that the state would resume school subsidies and thus eliminate the financial pinch. State aid would make a profitable operation out of St. Mary's College for which Father Croke was then gathering funds in the Mother Lode. Father Harrington, along with the rest of the clergy, closely followed the maneuvers of the legislative battle in the columns of John Nugent's San Francisco Herald. He could almost quote verbatim some of the perorations of Assemblyman Zachariah Montgomery. (29) But hopes were levelled by a combination of votes from the tax conscious. The bitterness enkindled by the controversy is alleged

to have promoted Catholic opposition to Democratic gubernatorial candidate John Conness. A correspondent of the Sacramento Bee wrote:

I am sorry the priests of the Catholic Church have taken it upon themselves to make this school question an issue in the politics of this state for under no possible political revolution in this state can such a thing succeed. For the whole scope, scheme and intent of such an amendment as was proposed last winter (1860) is antagonistic to democratic institutions.⁽³⁰⁾

Even the sympathetic Herald warned that if the Republicans won "that Catholics would whistle for money for orphans or any other need that they have." When the Catholic Monitor pointedly disregarded the advice and came out for the Republicans, the Herald berated it as "a front for priests who are seeking revenge for defeat of the school bill, which every intelligent Catholic denounces."⁽³¹⁾

Harrington did not allow the legislative defeat of Catholic school aid to dampen his enthusiasm nor embitter his outlook. He raised the standards of the Cathedral school to highest in the state, toiled to expand the Catholic school system, and became engrossed in formulating plans for the new St. Mary's College. Along with the Archbishop and Father Croke, he worked out details for the new institution. From October, 1859, when contributions from the miners began to flow in, until July, 1863, when St. Mary's College opened its doors, Father Harrington was in the thick of preparations. When time came to select a president for St. Mary's College, he was the logical candidate. Ability, experience, and personality equipped him to direct the institution.

The president-elect embarked on his new venture with definite ideas about collegiate functions and his role in those functions. His conceptions formulated and inspired the ideals of St. Mary's College. Its prime purposes were twofold, to impart religious and secular knowledge. Discharging this duty was rendering the supreme service to its students, for "better

is wisdom than the merchandise of silver, and her fruit than the finest gold. She is more precious than all riches, and other things are not to be compared with her." In grandiloquent terms he proclaimed:

In vain do the savage monsters exult in their strength; he (man) subjugates and controls them by the might of reason alone. In vain does the earth conceal within her bosom the precious metals which his industry demands; he tears them from its lowest depths and fashions them to his wants... The stars of the firmament are subjected to his calculations, and serve to direct his course over the pathless oceans or the vast desert.

He was fond of saying that:

Education, to be worthy of the name, must embrace all truth whether natural or revealed. Science and religion go hand in hand and guide man in his journey through this life and so attain glory and felicity in the next.⁽³²⁾

Soon after nomination, Father Harrington began to recruit a faculty. He induced Father Cornelius (Neal) Gallagher to resign the pastorship of St. Rose's Church in Sacramento and become vice-president in charge of temporalities. Born in County Leitrim, Ireland, in 1829, Father Gallagher forsook a medical career to enter St. Patrick's Seminary, Carlow, Ireland, and was ordained April 19, 1859.⁽³³⁾ At St. Rose's he was known for his public-spirited rescue and relief work among the flood victims of 1861. Though warmhearted, Father Gallagher could be contentious and stubborn.⁽³⁴⁾ Consequently Archbishop Alemany emphatically forewarned the vice president to act only "under the direction of the Board (Board of Directors) and with due respect to the president of the College."⁽³⁵⁾ Father Gallagher's term proved to be short-lived, turbulent, disappointing, and unsuccessful.⁽³⁶⁾

As at the cathedral school, Harrington hired student-teachers to supplement the full-time instructors. Little more than the names of the latter have come down, Baumgardner, O'Neill, Payne, Sherwood and Cosgrove. The last later recalled his work:

I with some others, was what is or was known as a pupil teacher--nine-tenths pupil and one-tenth teacher. In the old days when San Francisco was merely an overgrown village, without any of the virtues of the village and all the vices of the city, I was pupil teaching at Old St. Mary's on California Street when St. Mary's College was thrown open to the public... I being then of the mature age of fourteen years and six months. On the day following the opening, Father John Harrington sent for me and Jeremiah D. Sullivan, my chum, and engaged us as pupil teachers for the primary grades. I believe a good working knowledge of the English alphabet was the only literary requisite for entrance. Only \$150 per annum was the fee exacted of pupils for food and learning, and the result of this enticing bait was that the college was crowded on the first day with boys from all parts of the coast, of all kinds of lineage, of almost all races and creeds. (37)

The sixty pupils in each of the primary grades ranged in age from ten to twenty-one years and included Stephen M. White, afterwards United States Senator, and his brother; the Woodward brothers, Robert and William, whose father operated the popular gardens; Vincent Noe, Peter Peralta, and Nicholas Den, scions of pioneer Spanish families.

One of Cosgrove's colleagues, John J. Blake, was Father Harrington's favorite. The president thought he saw a likely candidate for the priesthood and showered attentions on him, such as a fat beer glass or claret at meals. "This," claimed Cosgrove, "used to make us burn with envy, as we were obliged to gulp down coffee that was brewed from roasted Boston beans." (38)

After Harrington had contracted for most of the faculty, he circulated a prospectus throughout the state. It contained a curriculum slightly more advanced than that of the cathedral school. Like many frontier colleges, St. Mary's offered courses for grades one through twelve, and collegiate work in modern and ancient languages, philosophy, mathematics and English. (39) The tuition, as Archbishop Alemany insisted, would be only \$150 for an eleven month year. It was less than half the fee charged by other institutions and within the reach of most incomes. The advertisement was followed

up by a pastoral letter by Archbishop Alemany, who emphasized the nominal expense, the thorough and practical instruction, the modern conveniences and the wholesome surroundings.⁽⁴⁰⁾

The swarm of students who descended on St. Mary's the first day, July 6 1863, was gratifying and encouraging. They came from Oregon lumber mills and cattle ranches, Mazatlan banana plantations, Nevada silver mines, and Mother Lode gold diggings. The college register read like a catalogue of far western towns such as Portland, Virginia City, La Paz, Portwine, Whiskey Bar, Gold Hill, Sonora, Stockton, San Jose and San Juan.⁽⁴¹⁾

Regulations stipulated that all students, regardless of creed, were to attend public religious exercises and have "one neat black suit for Sundays, two other plain suits, three pairs of boots, with sufficient linen, stockings, etc." It was strictly forbidden to have long, straggly whiskers, oiled hair, waxed moustaches, or to use sweet scent of any kind. They were not to wear boots to class, chapel or parlor and were to eschew crude or novel fashions, garish colors, or excess in their dress. In lieu of cash, tuition could be paid with farm and dairy products, grain, livestock and even salt.

Students had hardly settled down when the long arm of government threatened to disrupt their routine. Federal authorities, under Civil War draft regulations, invaded the campus and enrolled every man between the ages of twenty and forty-five. However the officials seemed less concerned in finding recruits than in capturing deserters, bounty jumpers and draft dodgers. When they found none, they departed and left the college to pursue its accustomed ways.⁽⁴²⁾

On September 14, 1863, the student body turned out to watch the first train of the San Francisco-San Jose Railroad pass St. Mary's. A few minutes before nine, the sixteen car Inaugural Special rolled past Bernal

Station. Every available space on passenger and flat car was jammed with shouting, waving, whistling people. One eye witness claimed that as the huge crowd milled around the depot at 25th and Valencia, opposite the Pioneer Race Track, "it looked as if all San Francisco wanted to ride the first train." Once under way, "passengers' hats had to be held on with a tightened grip, while cigars fell out of mouths because the speed was so great that the smokers could not compress their lips."⁽⁴³⁾ Progress had finally come to St. Mary's when the iron horse hurtled by at a mile a minute.

When the railroad built a terminal at Market and Valencia Streets, the few minutes ride to St. Mary's cost only twenty cents. The service was faster, cheaper and more regular than the college was to have a century later. Commuters' convenience has remained outside the pale of St. Mary's solicitude.

The auspicious beginning of Father Harrington's regime initiated difficult times. He had a large student body, competent instructors and effective discipline but little business acumen. Whether it was his or Father Gallagher's responsibility is unknown, but the college fast drifted into financial distress.⁽⁴⁴⁾ Tuition fell far short of covering expenses. Petitions for delinquent payment were ignored. Bills went unpaid and even salaries were months in arrears. Rigid economy was the order of the day, but even that expedient did not delay the downward plunge. Even the archbishop felt the pinch and testily asked the architect Thomas England "please let me know what items are charged to me in the main building of St. Mary's College and how it happens that so much extra work is found?"⁽⁴⁵⁾ The prelate believed that many of England's changes had been included in the original plans and should not constitute an additional expense.

By December, 1863, it was apparent that only a sweeping reorganization

could save the college. Father Peter Grey, the most astute financier in the archdiocese, replaced Father Harrington and Father Richard Brennan succeeded Gallagher. Duties of president and vice-president were interchanged. The former had complete control of finances while the latter was to teach. On the new arrangement, Alemany wrote to Grey:

Please explain to Father Brennan what he has to do. I think he should be devoted chiefly to the advancement of pupils in the classics, regularity, and discipline, catechetical instruction, confessions of children and the like. Yet you remain head of all. The success of the college in future will depend much on the success of the coming months and I am sure you will devote all your energies to the same, acting always with mildness and fairness, dealing kindly towards all. The financial matters should, I think, be attended by yourself. If you cannot, let me know. (46)

Father Peter Joseph Grey, who became president December 27, 1863, was born of Patrick and Elizabeth Hyland Grey at Maryborough (Portlaoise) Queens County, Ireland, July 18, 1823. As a youth he entered the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, at Penzance, England, and became a novice at Notre Dame de L'Osier (Isere) in the diocese of Grenoble, July 15, 1843. After four years at the seminary at Marseilles, Bishop Charles de Mazenod, founder of the Oblates, ordained him March 18, 1848. He served the resurgent Church in northern England until 1852, when he was secularized. (47) Three years later he volunteered for Bishop Loughlin's diocese of Brooklyn. After one year, illness and the climate forced him to move again, this time to San Francisco, where he arrived aboard the Pacific Mail liner Golden Age, April 13, 1857. (48)

After two months of recuperation, Archbishop Alemany appointed him pastor of Columbia and Sonora, two mining towns in the Sierra Nevadas. (49) The next five years were to be the happiest of his life. The large Irish population took him to their hearts, welcomed his advice and liberally



St. Mary's College, 1889

espoused church and school. One of his parishioners later wrote of him:

When Father Grey first came to Columbia the church was in a rather unfinished state and my mother used to tell us how Father Grey would go out among the miners in the creeks, asking for donations. At a certain diggings up the creek every miner gave at least five dollars, except one who, when he saw Father Grey coming, hid himself in a prospect hole. But the miners quickly dragged him out and he was shamed into helping along the cause like the rest.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Grey soon learned that not all was benevolence and amiability on the frontier. Murders, robberies, drunkenness, brawls and claim jumping were common. His first encounter with lynching came when a jealous suitor murdered a rival at the parish dance. Bystanders seized the culprit, dragged him down the street, and hanged him from a pole. A few months later, when Constable John Leary, a parishioner, was shot, a mob similarly dispatched his assassin.⁽⁵¹⁾ The callousness of the community perplexed and bewildered Father Grey, but he was annoyed much more by the bigotry of the frontier. He had unpleasant memories of the Know Nothings in Brooklyn and hoped that their gospel of ignorance would find no place in the Far West. Only a few months before his arrival fanatics had burned the Catholic Church at nearby Drytown and threatened to shoot anyone who attempted to save the building or the furnishings.⁽⁵²⁾ The Know Nothings were not only established in Columbia and Sonora and throughout the state but had elected one of their own, J. Neeley Johnson, the incumbent governor. They revealed the intensity of their antipathy in the campaign to prevent diversion of state funds to Catholic schools. In Columbia they celebrated their victory in the latter cause by firing Bernard Marks, a Catholic, from the public school. The furor and excitement touched off a controversy that was given full coverage by the local press. Know Nothing school trustee William A. Davies reproved Catholics for refusing to expose their children to Bible reading in public schools. Father Grey quickly informed

Davies that the Columbia school used the official Protestant method of Bible reading and thus jeopardized the faith of Catholic children. Consequently Catholic parents preferred parochial schools and orthodox religious instruction.⁽⁵³⁾

As a result of the sectarianism, Father Grey founded St. Anne's School Society to support the parish school. The generosity of the members inspired Columbia Times editor H. C. Bennett to acclaim:

We cannot too highly commend the laudable exertions of our fellow citizens of the Catholic faith in this particular and we assure them that however we may differ with them in religious opinions, we do not violate one pulsation of our feelings when we wish them God speed. We shall feel but too happy in placing our columns at their disposal, in any which way they may require to assist them in their spirited undertaking.⁽⁵⁴⁾

The school flourished from the beginning and a long waiting list induced Grey to plan enlarged quarters. Scarcely had he let the bids when the archbishop assigned him to the pastorate of St. Patrick's in San Francisco. His predecessor, Father John Maginnis, enfeebled by overwork and age had to retire. Parishioners soon learned to respect, if not love, Father Grey, the slim, wiry, cigar-chomping pastor. Busybodies, backsliders, and time-servers learned to keep away from the sharp-tongued cleric. The brusqueness that at times bordered on tactlessness, gave him an air of independence and aloofness. Yet no one denied his business acumen and foresight. Within a year he doubled the enrollment of the parish school, proposed new and larger buildings on Mission Street, and waited boom prices before selling the parish property to William Ralston for the Palace Hotel. Meanwhile he dabbled quietly in real estate and lay the foundations of a \$100,000 fortune.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Talent for making and keeping money profoundly impressed the archbishop and when St. Mary's began to wallow in financial seas, Grey was the logical choice for helmsman.

The new president took office, December 27, 1863. During the ensuing five years he directed both the college and the parish. The dual assignment meant that Grey had to keep one eye on a church and school in the center of town and the other on a foundering college five miles away. It proved an awkward arrangement. Yet Grey did keep St. Mary's afloat, with a thorough housecleaning of faculty, administrators and non-paying students. He fired the student-teachers and hired six well-trained full time instructors. One of the discharged later wrote:

It was in the month of January, I think, in 1864, when Father Grey succeeded Father Harrington as head. One of his first and wisest official acts was the summary firing of all pupil teachers including myself. The kindhearted man in order to soften the blow showed us a ledger weighing about sixty pounds and containing an unliquidated charge for textbooks. Mine was for fifteen dollars and seventy-five cents. We referred him to our respective parents, but he was never paid.⁽⁵⁶⁾

The new faculty members included two graduates of Trinity College, Dublin; Andrew B. O'Dougherty, for ancient languages, and John Spottiswood, for mathematics. M. H. Guerrier of the University of Paris, was to teach modern languages, while Henry Boyle and Thomas F. Meagher were instructors for the secondary grades. James E. Murphy had charge of the primary department. For extra-curricular activity Thomas Meagher acted as disciplinarian and Mr. Guerrier directed the band.

With instruction in fairly capable hands, Father Grey concentrated on financial matters. He summarily dismissed supernumeraries, pared expenses and curtailed operations. He sent out petitions to delinquent parents, and, when his own importunities failed he had the archbishop write dunning letters, such as:

Mrs. Ann Roach, Empire Hotel. Shasta, California.
Your little boy, William, was left with us some time since. I hope you will pay his board and tuition fees, which amount to \$100.⁽⁵⁷⁾

In addition to collecting delinquent debts, Father Grey bolstered finances by increasing tuition to \$175 a year and introducing annual fees of \$25 for washing and mending, \$10 for linen, \$5 for medicine, and monthly charges of \$3 for either drawing or music. He likewise demanded six months prepayment of tuition and incidental expenses under threat of a ten per cent surcharge or prompt dismissal.

When the expected improvement did not materialize, Father Grey was reduced to accepting tuition in kind and admitting youthful malefactors from local police courts. The authorities believed that improvised cells at St. Mary's were more conducive to rehabilitation than the iron cages at the House of Correction across the gulch. The scheme was a commendable effort in behalf of juvenile delinquents, but both faculty and parents looked askance at it. If the incorrigibles remained, instructors would quit and pupils withdraw. Faced with this ultimatum, Grey abolished the semi-reformatory department. (58)

While seeking new sources of revenue, the new president simultaneously bolstered finances by cutting expenses. Unfortunately, his zeal for economy sometimes went too far. He refused to pay the faculty for vacation work and even held up their regular salaries. John Spottiswood, instructor in mathematics, received his wages only by appealing to the archbishop. When Grey threatened to reduce his salary, notwithstanding a written contract, Spottiswood petitioned the vicar-general, Father James Croke, who had negotiated the agreement for the archdiocese. The latter replied:

I am most willing that all the conditions of our bargain should be complied with, as far as the past years are concerned. . . . In relation to the future I have nothing at present to say. Circumstances may demand a different arrangement and I hold myself free to vote (in the Board of Directors' meeting) for whatever I may deem most conducive to the interests of the institution and at the same time fair towards all who labor for its progress and success. (59)

Not satisfied with this answer, Spottiswood carried his grievance to the archbishop, who replied:

Dear Sir,

I regret very much to have to state, that I must back out from the engagement made with you through Father Croke. I have always been well pleased with your ability, your service, and your kind manner. But poor St. Mary's lost too much these last two years, and this is what will prevent us from continuing our mutual agreement. If you continue acting as Professor at St. Mary's, it will have to be at what Father Grey can afford, which I fear may be a fraction less than what he generally gave last year.

Should you find this not suitable to your interests, please let me know at once.⁽⁶⁰⁾

As he wrote, Alemany was keenly conscious of the college's plight. He had conferred repeatedly, during the preceding weeks, with his council and with Father Grey about finances and concluded that it was imperative to borrow \$12,00 from the Hibernia Savings and Loan Society.

The precarious plight of St. Mary's made Grey feel justified in acts of niggardliness. Consequently the Jesuits of St. Ignatius did not always receive invitations to public exercises. Archbishop Alemany, well acquainted with the president's ways, compensated with a short note such as "Think Father Grey sparing of his invitations to examination and distribution of premiums at St. Mary's College at one o'clock tomorrow; fearing you're not invited, I invite you to come with as many Fathers as you think proper."⁽⁶²⁾

Despite his concern about money, Grey did not hesitate to dismiss stupid, disobedient, or mischievous students. Several times the archbishop intervened in behalf of expelled pupils, as in the case of one Eugene Dupre, who, the archbishop believed, "would rather stay home than study, wherefore he left the college. I'm told that a line from me would induce you to receive him... We might succeed in bringing him around by a little condescen-

sion. Please give the young boy another trial and receive him." (63)

In the midst of the struggle against decreasing enrollment, declining revenue, burgeoning expenses and dissatisfied faculty, Grey became convinced that his task was hopeless. The only logical thing was to mark time until the archbishop persuaded a religious order to take over.

Fulfillment of Grey's hope came on July 11, 1867, when the Pope ordered the Christian Brothers to operate St. Mary's College. In August, 1868 Father Grey turned over the keys to Brother Justin and brought to a close the diocesan control.

An evaluation of clerical administration of St. Mary's reveals a considerable lack of organization, preparation and direction. These shortcomings ensued from inexperience and shortsightedness, not from indifference and indolence. The founders, Archbishop Alemany and Fathers Croke and Harrington, evoke admiration and approbation by their courage, sacrifice and enterprise. Their attempt to finance, build and maintain a college on the frontier was a formidable undertaking. That complete success did not attend their endeavors cannot be entirely laid at their door.

The financial difficulties that plagued the first years started when Archbishop Alemany tried to build the \$150,000 plant with \$25,000. Donations did not materialize and most of the money had to be borrowed at 10% per annum. Decreased enrollment and soaring expenses necessitated more loans to maintain the college.

The unsteady financial situation was, too, largely responsible for Father Harrington's departure from the presidency. His success as instructor and administrator at St. Francis, St. Patrick's, Mission Dolores, and St. Mary's Cathedral demonstrated his ability. Neither was there any question of his training or talent in handling curriculum and faculty at St. Mary's. He merely did not possess the knack of making ends meet.

Archbishop Alemany's choice of Father Grey as a replacement was logical and expected. The new president seemed to be especially fitted to bolster the sagging fortunes of the institution. Few, if any, among the clergy, could match his financial acumen. Equipment and personnel were present; all he had to do was increase the student body and end the hand-to-mouth existence. Although he possessed the ability lacked by Harrington, yet he failed in those areas where his predecessor had obtained at least a modicum of success. He persisted in regarding the presidency as a part-time job, subsidiary to the pastoral task of raising funds for the new St. Patrick's church. (64)

Notwithstanding its financial woes, St. Mary's maintained a status comparable to neighboring colleges. The curriculum provided instruction from the primary grades to university level. The Humanities and Classics were available, but few followed the advanced courses. The science program was limited, and mathematics went only to quadratics in algebra. Briefly, the program emphasized the three R's as well as philosophy, languages, music and religion.

A basis for judging the course of study might be found in the public examinations of June 2, 1864. James La Grave, a graduating student, opened the program with a monologue. He was followed by several musical selections and public examinations of each class. The latter, a common practice of the day, aimed to edify the audience of parents, relatives, and friends as well as to demonstrate the knowledge of the students. The questions ranged from mathematics to classic languages and philosophy. A debate on the topic "Did the Crusades exercise a beneficial influence on Europe and Europeans, or the contrary?" offered a demonstration of forensic skill. The exercises concluded with gymnastic drills and evolutions by student teams. (65)

The academic offerings in themselves were not sufficient for the success of the college; a more efficient administration was necessary. The archbishop recognized that his priests were not suited, either by training or inclination, to direct St. Mary's. He merely hoped they would be a stop-gap until he found a religious teaching order to staff the institution. That he failed to find one until St. Mary's was about to close its doors was not due to a lack of effort or persistence. After seeking for fifteen years and traveling 20,000 miles, he finally acquired the services of the Christian Brothers.

When Archbishop Alemany and Father Harrington began to plan St. Mary's College one of their first considerations was a faculty. Both agreed that a staff of religious teachers could best achieve the aim and purpose of the proposed institution. The problem was where to find one. They were sufficiently numerous but few had the personnel or the desire to operate a frontier college. The archbishop inquired of American and European prelates who had faced the situation and from all quarters came the advice to invite the Brothers of the Christian Schools, a society founded in Rheims, France, in 1679. Accordingly, in the winter of 1856, an appeal was dispatched to Brother Facile, the North American Provincial, who agreed to send Brothers, if he could get the approval of the Superior General.

After waiting patiently for further news, the prelate wrote directly to the Superior General:

San Francisco, California
May 4, 1857.

Very Rev. Dear Sir,

It is a long time since I have desired to have a colony of your good Brothers for the good education of our young men. Some obstacles have been in the way, but I have never lost sight of the original desire. And now when already considerable preparation has been made to secure the good education of our girls; I would wish very much to secure the christian assistance of good teachers for the young men. . .

I therefore beg of you to have the kindness of giving the necessary faculties for such an institution, which in time might not only be a very great benefit to the many new churches in this beautiful and healthy country, but also to many other countries, that are daily becoming more in contact with California.⁽¹⁾

On July 2, 1857, the Superior General replied:



St. Mary's after fire of Sept. 23^d 1894

Fire of 1894

Monseigneur:

I have conferred on the matter with Brother Facile who happens to be in Paris at the present time. I realize fully the great good that is waiting to be done in your diocese but I find it impossible to second Your Grace's zeal, seeing that neither Brother Facile nor I have at our disposal a sufficient number of Brothers who are proficient in English and experienced enough for your purpose.⁽²⁾

Due to some mishap, common in the precarious communications of the day, the answer never reached California. The lack of a response must have annoyed the archbishop but he did nothing until January 19, 1858, when he appealed again

Very Rev. Dear Sir,

Last May I had the honor to express to you the wishes of this city, or rather of its Catholics, who desire to have a little colony of the Christian Brothers. I stated that I had made application to your Provincial in Canada, who offered to have some Brothers ready to come to California and establish here a Province, or the beginning of one, if I would make application to you, or if you granted permission to that effect. Not having learned anything more on the subject, I fear that my letter of 4th of May last did not reach you.

I would therefore, request of you to have the kindness to recommend the affair to Almighty God, and to beg that He may vouchsafe to direct it according to His Holy Will, and also to be so good as to let me know, whether we may expect within a year or so, to see our boys gathered together and protected from danger and temptation under the good guidance of the Brothers of the Christian Schools. The Brothers can have a large field and I hope very flourishing schools and they with God's blessing would no doubt render incalculable service to religion.⁽³⁾

In penning the petition, the archbishop was confident that the striking growth of the Brothers in America would assure a favorable reply. Certainly a few of the two hundred Brothers in the United States could be spared for the California mission. But the Superior General thought otherwise and answered:

Monseigneur:

I received the letter of Your Grace of May 4th last year. Soon afterwards I conferred with Brother Facile, Visitor, who was

then in Paris and I expressed to you my regret in not being able to do anything then. I am very sorry that my reply did not reach you. . . It is painful for me to be unable to second the zeal of Your Grace for the good education of your young people but unfortunately I still find myself in the same penury of subjects as at the time of my first letter. I join my prayers to those of Your Grace that it may please Divine Providence to furnish me the means of responding to your appeal and pray you to accept the expression of my regrets.(4)

Temporarily thwarted, the archbishop indirectly approached his goal through Father Bartholomew Woodlock, President of All Hallows College, Dublin's missionary seminary. Since All Hallows had supplied many priests to San Francisco, the prelate confidently believed she could unearth a supply of Christian Brothers. Although St. Ignatius Academy had been operating for five years, the archbishop thought it "had not yet succeeded in doing anything of much account for the boys." He wanted Christian Brothers because they are "men altogether reliable for their steadily good conduct and Christian piety and at the same time men of ability, as without this they could not well succeed." In rather moving words, the archbishop prayed Father Woodlock to use any means to get the Brothers, for he declared "I cannot go myself in search of them. . . hence I beg of your charity to act for me in this important matter." To accentuate the pressing necessity for teachers, the archbishop testified that the burgeoning Catholic population, already past the twenty-five thousand mark, saw its boys growing up without any "great means of being properly educated." Relying on the ingenuity and zeal of Woodlock, the prelate closed with the hope that he would soon see at least and at last one group of Christian Brothers "on these promising shores of the Pacific." (5)

The archbishop enclosed a letter in the same vein to Archbishop Paul Cullen of Dublin. With a hint that the Irish hierarchy should at least take some interest, Alemany stressed the fact that "large numbers of Catholic families, principally Irish, are settling throughout the diocese,

chiefly in San Francisco, and the boys are most exposed to grow up in indifference and infidelity unless we take immediate measures for their Christian education." For the sake of their souls and the love of God, the San Franciscan begged for assistance.⁽⁶⁾

Neither Archbishop Cullen nor Father Woodlock succeeded. Alemany confided to the latter, January 4, 1859:

I am very sorry that the Christian Brothers could not come. But I still think they might send two and let them commence. I hate to abandon my diocese and cross oceans and have to go to them and persuade them, and yet I will have to do it probably. But please urge them constantly until they yield.⁽⁷⁾

In the spring of the same year Alemany slightly alleviated conditions by opening a school in the basement of the cathedral. He informed All Hallows, "We have commenced our school for boys, conducted by Father Harrington; but I must not lose sight of the Christian Brothers. I fear their Superior will suffer purgatory for not sending us at least three."⁽⁸⁾ Importunities for Brothers were to continue unabated.

Two more years passed and as miners' donations for St. Mary's College piled up, Alemany renewed the quest through All Hallows' Father Eugene O'Connell, erstwhile San Franciscan and vicar-apostolic elect of Marysville.⁽⁹⁾ To the Superior General of the Christian Brothers, Father O'Connell penned the following:

I am in receipt of a letter from His Grace the Archbishop of San Francisco. . . in which he requests me to do my utmost to bring at least three Christian Brothers with me to his archdiocese. . . It is no matter if your Brothers don't speak English because all languages are spoken in California . . . I hope you may be able to send some either from Paris or New York as soon as possible for the harvest of souls awaiting them in California is superabundant.⁽¹⁰⁾

The petition brought only regrets from the Superior General, for the same reason for refusal three years ago, the lack of manpower. He was conscious of the spiritual distress and lamented his inability to provide

a remedy. Furthermore, he confessed, "It is with great pains that I am able to find sufficient subjects to operate our already existing institutions. Have the goodness then to ask the Archbishop to accept the refusal that I am forced to make."⁽¹¹⁾

O'Connell's failure convinced Alemany that it was impossible to get Christian Brothers and that he should seek another religious congregation. Accordingly he asked Bishop Martin Spalding of Louisville, who had introduced the Xaverian Brothers to America in 1854, to send a group to California. Alemany tersely recorded the reply in his diary, "Bishop Spalding praised his Xaverian Brotherhood as in every way excellent; and advises us to write to Belgium for them; especially if next year I go to Europe."⁽¹²⁾ In 1863, armed with a letter from Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda, the archbishop visited the Xaverian Superior General. But the conference was fruitless, for the Xaverians like the Christian Brothers, were short-handed.

In the succeeding months Alemany implored the Archbishop of Baltimore, the Bishop of Bruges, Belgium, and even the newly appointed provincials of the Christian Brothers in Canada and in the United States. But all they could offer were prayers, regrets and words of encouragement.⁽¹³⁾

Despairing of aid from any established congregation, Alemany launched his own religious order. He would recruit subjects in San Francisco, train them in the Christian Brothers' novitiate in New York City, and then install them as teachers in the archdiocesan schools. On May 9, 1866, he received the first postulant and placed him under the temporary care of Father Louis Lootens, the future vicar-apostolic of Boise, Idaho. Of the neophyte, the prelate scribbled in his diary, "A fine Irishman here, John McGovern, once schoolteacher. . . would like teaching or easy work like gardening. . . Tomorrow I send first one to east to make his novitiate as

Christian Brother, then return to us, perhaps might be founder of such order as we need."⁽¹⁴⁾

Alemaný's estimate of McGovern lends grounds for doubting the archbishop's ability to judge character. No "fine Irishman" would consider teaching as easy work, if done conscientiously. Possibly it was Alemany's enthusiasm that glossed over the recruit's rough spots and led to the eulogistic appraisal. However it was not McGovern but another volunteer, Nicholas Riordan, whom the archbishop first sent back east. There is little doubt that the prelate was jubilant as he bundled his first novice aboard a steamer for New York. To the director of novices Alemany wrote:

The bearer, Nicholas Riordan, goes to join your order with a view of establishing order in California. I believe he is a fine person, well qualified. . . vocation tried by some prudent fathers. . . I'll try to find some more pious young men, send them back to you to make novitiate -- you send them back when finished with two or three other members to found order here. Mr. Nicholas Riordan has means to support himself. If others I send have none, I'll support them.

The exact fate of McGovern and Riordan is unknown.⁽¹⁵⁾ But it is certain that by April 1867, Alemany had abandoned the idea of his own religious congregation and sailed for Europe to lay his case before the Pope. At the Vatican, he described the deplorable condition of the Catholic boys in the archdiocese, recounted the futile pleas for instructors and then begged the Holy Father to send Christian Brothers. Action was swift and effective. At the Pope's direction, Cardinal Barnabo composed the following:

Very Reverend Brother Superior:

On the part of His Grace, Archbishop Alemany of San Francisco, very pressing prayers have been addressed to this Sacred Congregation for the purpose of aiding him to provide for the instruction of numerous children of his Archdiocese who are unable to obtain a Catholic education. Unless this lack is supplied by a sufficient number of qualified teachers, it can easily be seen that grave dangers will menace the Catholic cause in that country.

Therefore, considering the matter conscientiously as is my duty, I write to you to request you strongly to come to the aid of the excellent Bishop, as much as is in your power, by sending to his diocese as many suitable Brothers of your congregation as may satisfy his pressing needs.⁽¹⁶⁾

Conscious that the gracious language of the invitation carried the weight of a directive, Brother Philippe bowed to the order and instructed the North American superior to send a group of Brothers to California. In his dispatch, the Superior General sent the Cardinal's letter and the following note:

His Grace, the Archbishop of San Francisco, came to see me recently, bringing with him this letter from Cardinal Barnabo, which was written, he told me, by direction of the Holy Father. The archbishop told me that his only purpose in coming to Europe was to get Brothers. He said you promised to give them nearly fifteen years ago. I explained that we did not have available Brothers, that the Civil War had reduced many of our American houses to the lowest point, etc. . . . But to everything I said his only response was, "It must be done; It must be done." So, dear Brother Assistant, since the matter must be done, please attend to it. I leave all details in your hands.⁽¹⁷⁾

The Assistant Superior General, Brother Facile, passed on the communications to Brother Patrick, provincial for the United States, and ordered him to make arrangements for the California mission.⁽¹⁸⁾ In a conference held in New York City, April 13, 1868, the provincial formally promised Alemany's representatives, Fathers James Croke, Vicar General, and William Quinn, that the Brothers would take over St. Mary's College, and received \$800 passage money. The conferees were unable to agree on other financial matters.⁽¹⁹⁾ The stumbling block to a definite contract was the demand that the Brothers pay \$3000 annually for use of St. Mary's. It was useless for the Vicar General to wax eloquent on the admirable and advantageous location, climate, transportation, accommodations and facilities of the plant. The adamant provincial remained unmoved even when told that the college ranch supplied all vegetables, milk, butter and eggs; that

illuminating gas was made on the premises and that two wells furnished all the water.⁽²⁰⁾ To him, it was wishful thinking to expect a \$4000 profit by increasing tuition from \$175 to \$200 a year. Parents who never or reluctantly paid the smaller fee would not experience a sudden change of heart toward the larger. It would have been disconcerting had someone predicted that within a year parents would gladly pay \$250 annually. Not equipped with clairvoyance, Brother Patrick could only logically conclude that the Brothers could not even make a living if they paid the exorbitant rent. With this thought in mind, he wrote:

My dear Brother Assistant:

I wish to pass these papers to you respecting the proposed mission to San Francisco. . . I answered through a priest of New York and the Vicar General of San Francisco, whom I saw the day before yesterday in New York, that we accept in principle. It was necessary to answer in order that His Excellency might pass the money necessary for the expenses of the voyage. I have not made any arrangements. I leave that burden to you and I send you these papers in order to assist you in making a final decision. I think that it suffices to make these stipulations for the one that you send there.⁽²¹⁾

Unfortunately Brother Facile refused to assume the responsibility of negotiating a contract. He appointed Brother Justin, president of Baltimore's Calvert College, a leader of the group, and gave him the freedom to arrange matters in any way he saw fit.⁽²²⁾

The procrastination of the superiors created an ambiguous and uncertain financial condition destined to plague and embarrass the Brothers for the twenty-one year stay in the diocesan plant. Without a clear cut assurance of their future and only trusting providence, the Brothers prepared for their departure for California. Brother Justin gathered eight volunteers, bought the steamer tickets and received the last instruction that he must depend entirely upon himself. New York might send a few additional Brothers, but he would have to do his own recruiting in California if he wished to

survive.⁽²³⁾

Departure was fixed on Thursday, July 16, on the steamer Ocean Queen at 1 p.m. At nine in the morning an impromptu farewell committee boarded the Manhattan College yacht and with the band blaring led a flotilla of neighborhood craft down the Hudson to Canal Street, where the Ocean Queen was berthed. A newspaper reported:

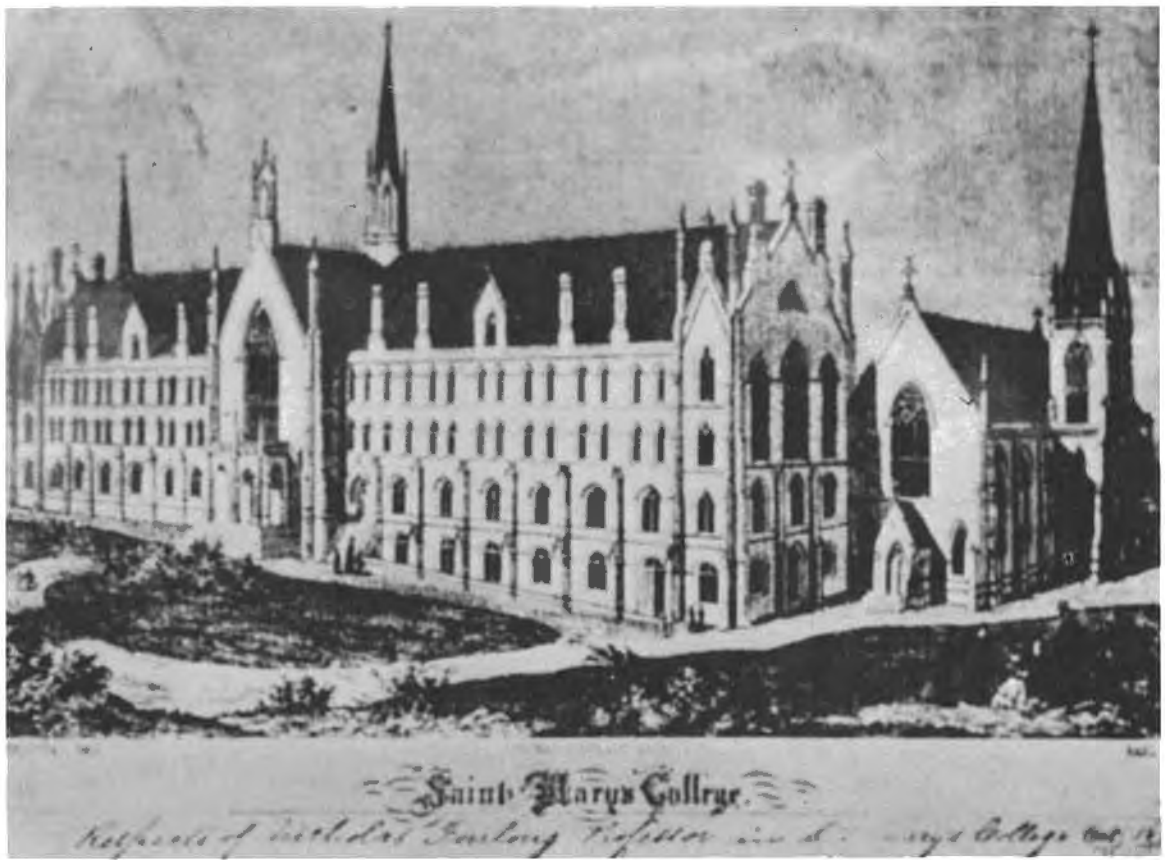
The cheers and waving of hats and handkerchiefs on board the college boats freely attested the cordial love the escorting party entertained for the departing Brothers, and this enthusiasm for their friends affected them so deeply that not a few had to withdraw from the public gaze to give vent to their feelings in secret. At one o'clock the Ocean Queen steamed majestically from the wharf and was accompanied by the yachts to the Narrows. The trip down the Bay was enlivened by the strains of the band as it played the popular airs of the day.⁽²⁴⁾

After an uneventful voyage the travelers arrived at Aspinwall, crossed the isthmus by train and boarded the Pacific Mail's wooden side-wheeler, Montana. The 2600 ton steamer sailed for San Francisco July 28, 1868 with a manifest of 627 passengers, 1267 tons of merchandise, 176 bags of mail, 27 sheep and one calf. On the thirteen-day run up the coast the weather was unusually pleasant and uneventful. The only unfortunate incident was the death of Chief Engineer F. A. Brierly, two days out of Panama.⁽²⁵⁾

In San Francisco, Archbishop Alemany, informed by telegram of the departure of the Brothers, had his secretary, Father Denis Nugent, on the dock when the Montana arrived August 10. He escorted the voyagers to the Brooklyn House on Broadway near Sansome, to spend the first night. The next morning, the archbishop cordially received them at his residence and insisted that they remain for lunch. In the afternoon, with Fathers Prendergast, Gallagher, Harrington and Nugent, he rode with the Brothers to the college. There he introduced them to the retiring administrators, Fathers Grey and Brennan, handed the keys to Brother Justin and declared

that St. Mary's College was now in the hands of the Christian Brothers.

That night the archbishop recorded in his journal, "A.D. 1868 Die 11 Augusti inauguro Christianos Fratres in Collegio de Sanctae Mariae hujus civitatis Sancti Francisci." On the following Sunday he expressed his satisfaction from the pulpit by declaring: "I made a journey of twenty thousand miles to get the Brothers. I have at last succeeded. Let us give thanks to God."



St. Mary's College, 1860
Architects Plans

San Franciscans who read the Daily Alta California's front pages on August 11, 1868, were justifiably baffled by nine names that appeared on the passenger list of the S. S. Montana. The voyagers were introduced as the Rev. Justin, Rev. Glestavus (Gustavus), Crauau (Cianan), Pinian (Pirmian), Sabinian, Dimidrou (Dimidrian), Genebern, Adrian and Emilian.⁽¹⁾ The misspelling aroused no comment from the citizenry and went unnoticed.

Yet publicity was not long in coming. Four days after arrival the Catholic Monitor reported the transfer of St. Mary's to the Brothers and eulogized their accomplishments.⁽²⁾ The editor predicted that the number, experience and devotion of the new staff would enable the college to "realize the most sanguine hopes of its founders." A leading daily informed its readers:

We learn from these gentlemen that their object is to give a thoroughly practical education to those confided to their care. They appear to understand in what education really consists and how important it is to train our youth in such a manner that they will be able on leaving college to take their place with credit in the counting house, the mining district or the law or medical school.⁽³⁾

No less laudatory were other journals, but lest the public forget that a new era had come to St. Mary's, advertisements with the full curriculum appeared in newspapers for thirty days. Some thirty-nine courses in commercial, scientific and classical studies "as taught in our best colleges and universities" were available.

If more attention were needed, it came when the archbishop circulated a pastoral letter through California, Nevada and Utah, urging the clergy to give their fullest support to the new administration, and followed it with a prospectus that featured the advantages of the Christian education offered by St. Mary's.

The results were satisfying. Within three months the student body tripled to one hundred and twenty and the staff from two to nine. By the end of the scholastic year there was a full complement of two hundred boarders and over forty day students, despite the increase of the annual tuition from \$200 to \$250. The achievement was striking in that it was made in the face of a smallpox epidemic that raged for months and swept away hundreds of San Franciscans. Simultaneously a series of earthquakes rocked the city and closed the schools for a week.⁽⁴⁾

The man primarily responsible for the transformation of the floundering and bankrupt institution was Brother Justin (Stephen McMahon), who was born of James and Catherine Fox McMahon, April 4, 1833, in Cong, County Mayo, Ireland. Stephen was the third in a family that eventually numbered five girls and three boys. He attended a private school in the village, operated by his paternal uncle, John, a scholar of some local repute. There was little in Stephen's boyhood that set him apart from the youth of the day. Even the incidents that later stood out prominently in his memory were events common to most adolescents.

His elder brother, John, later Brother Bettelin, recalled that Stephen frequently served Mass for the village pastor, Father Michael Waldron. On one occasion after services, Stephen slipped into the sacristy and guzzled the heeltaps in the cruets. Later, overcome with remorse, he wept openly for the deed.⁽⁵⁾

Like most youngsters in rural Ireland, young McMahon was fond of horses. After he learned to ride well, monotonous jogging along roads became too tame. He preferred a helter skelter race across fields, hurdling hedges and ditches. With his brother, John, he often engaged in feats of horsemanship. Mounted tandem, the two would ride sedately from their home

to the first turn in the road where they began jumping the horse. First one, then the other went over logs, trenches and barriers. In one instance, John was thrown going over a particularly high wall. Undaunted, Stephen studied the ground for a few minutes, quieted his mount, then by lengthening the run, cleared the wall easily.

The first eleven years of Stephen's life were comparatively uneventful and comfortable. Then suddenly in 1845, famine, starvation, disease and death stalked the land. The potato blight and cattle murrain reduced thousands to eating carcasses of diseased animals. Typhus turned whole villages into charnel houses. Plague and starvation accounted for over a million deaths in three years. Decimated and debilitated, the Irish were too weak to respond to the revolutionary spirit that toppled the governments of Austria, Italy, France and Prussia. The restless Young Irelanders could only ignite a few feeble riots before the flames of rebellion sputtered out. Yet fear of civil war, with its inevitable blood bath, drove the McMahons into the swelling exodus to America.

Once settled in New York's lower East Side, Stephen became a clerk on Grand Street for a few months, then joined the firm of Watkins & Company, at higher wages. He rose rapidly to general manager, and on the eve of entering the Brothers, refused a proffered partnership. It was his custom to rise at 4:30 for morning prayer and forty-five minute meditation on the life and virtues of Our Lord or the saints. A brisk mile and a half walk to and from St. Vincent de Paul's Church for Mass, left just enough time for a quick breakfast before work. After a twelve hour stint, selling shirts, suits and hats, Stephen returned to a frugal dinner and a session of study. Before retiring, he joined in the family rosary. "A practice," averred his brother, "that was never interrupted nor overlooked in the household."

On September 19, 1853, Stephen entered the Christian Brothers Novitiate at Montreal. The strict seclusion and rigorous discipline of the following months tested his vocation and instilled into him the spirit of the Institute. By prayer and meditation, he sought to learn if he was suited to the Brother's life. The seldom-varied sixteen hour schedule began at 4:30 and included prayer, meditation, rosary, Mass, spiritual reading, instruction, manual labor, study, choir practice and community recreation. Three months after arrival, he received the habit, the name Brother Justian (Anglicized to Justin) and, formal status of a novice. At the end of the novitiate, he left for Calvert Hall, Baltimore, and the beginning of fifty-eight years of teaching.⁽⁷⁾

Devoted and enthusiastic, Brother Justin deliberately shunned administrative or supervisory roles. He wryly advised his companions: "Let us always be lively and playful; in this way we shall not be made Directors." Either the counsel was poor or poorly followed, but in either case, three years later, he was appointed vice-principal and instructor of the senior class at Les Glacis Academy in Quebec. The superior, Brother Hermenegild, soon recognized the abilities of his new assistant and engineered his appointment as principal of Assumption Academy, Utica, New York, in 1859.⁽⁸⁾

At twenty-six, Brother Justin showed a marked gift for leadership. He raised scholastic standards, increased enrollment, and overhauled equipment. In public examinations under the Utica Education Commission, the academy received the highest commendation. The new principal became leader of a group of Catholic educators and deftly blocked several obnoxious bills in the legislature and even persuaded that body to subsidize Catholic orphanages. Brother Justin's persuasiveness impressed many officials, including Governor William Sulzer, who pointed out:

Many years ago, I met a great man, Brother Justin. He taught me some things which I shall never forget, and I have tried

to teach them to others. For fifty years there has been a struggle on the Capitol Hill to pass a simple and honest bill, and for fifty years the bill could not be passed. It was called the freedom of worship bill, which allowed a man to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience. Brother Justin had more to do with the passing of the bill in New York than any other man in the state.⁽⁹⁾

When a temporary shelter was needed for the Catholic orphans of Utica, Brother Justin converted a wing of the faculty quarters for their use. For three years, he housed, fed, clothed and instructed the youths. He regarded their care, not as a burden, but as a blessing, for he frequently said that the care of homeless waifs was the greatest glory that could be given to anyone on earth. "God," he declared, "considers the poor and abandoned as His children of predilection."

In 1866, Brother Justin returned to Calvert Hall as principal. The only events recorded of his administration were the lasting friendships begun with Archbishop Martin John Spalding and a young curate, later known as James Cardinal Gibbons. His work must have been satisfactory for it convinced the superiors that he was an ideal leader for the California mission. The provincial of the Brothers of North America, Brother Facile, gave him full authority to make arrangements and conceded, "I will be greatly astonished if he does not succeed."

In a term of eleven years at St. Mary's, Brother Justin lived up to expectations. Everyone from students to parents and civic leaders learned to esteem the first Brother President. One of the first students, Jackson Graves, later a prominent lawyer and banker of Los Angeles, wrote in his autobiography:

In all my life, I never saw a man with as much energy as Brother Justin. He would have made a name for himself in any calling he adopted. He was an earnest, convincing speaker. He would have made a wonderful lawyer. No man of proper understanding could listen to the daily exhortations, not altogether religious in

character, which Brother Justin delivered to the whole school in the general assembly room, without being permanently affected thereby. He preached honesty, integrity, the clean life, earnest endeavor, respect for parents, due regard for the rights of others; and, of course, as it was his duty, he inculcated also the doctrines of his religion.⁽¹⁰⁾

Brother Justin's typical approach to students is also recorded by Graves, who "rode into the College one day (August, 1870), tied the horse to a hitching post, rang the bell, and was shown into the parlor by an attendant. I asked if I could see Brother Justin." In a few minutes in bustled a short, heavysset man whose blue eyes twinkled behind silver rimmed glasses. He stretched out his hand with the greeting, "Well, sir, what can I do for you?" When Graves explained that he was a San Francisco High School graduate anxious to enroll as a day student, the president exclaimed, "Good, good," slapped him on the back, and began firing questions as they paced up and down the room. Background, aptitudes, and preparation had to pass muster before Brother Justin was satisfied. With admission assured, Graves timidly confessed that he was not a Catholic and received the warm assurance, "That does not make a bit of difference. You will receive the same attention here as if you were one." In later life Graves was fond of saying, "After my parents, he (Brother Justin) was the first human being to take an interest in me."⁽¹¹⁾

Interviewing applicants was a presidential duty in addition to counselling students, purchasing supplies, keeping books, teaching literature, and directing the faculty. Naturally Brother Justin was not entirely responsible for rejuvenating the institution. It came from a common effort. The faculty, lay and religious, were in some instances more learned, devoted and estimable, yet their work went unnoticed and unrecognized. Of this service little is known except that Brother Cianan taught the junior class; Brother Genebern, the sophomore; Brother Sabinian, the freshman.

Brother Emilian taught the classics, Brother Gustavus the commercial courses, and Professors Byrne, Lawrence Taafe and Hyde lectured in miscellaneous subjects.

One of the most experienced of the faculty was Brother Cianan (Joseph Griffin) vice-president and junior class teacher. Born of Francis and Mary Butter Griffin, June 24, 1833, in Hillard, County Clare, Ireland, Joseph migrated to Canada and became a surveyor. Like many of his colleagues, he entered the Christian Brothers in Montreal.⁽¹²⁾ His first teaching assignments were in St. Matthew's Academy, Washington, and Calvert Hall, Baltimore. Subsequently, he was lecturer in mathematics in Rock Hill College, Maryland, and in Manhattan College, New York. Genial and gregarious despite frequent bouts with illness, he served as liaison for faculty and students. Moved by compassion, he occasionally crossed swords with Brother Justin on the rigid observance and enforcement of rules. One of his first students recalled the day Brother Cianan enrolled him in the primary grades. As they trudged down the hallway, hand in hand, the gruff, heavily bearded mentor whispered, "Now I'm going to give you a very nice Brother, but if he spansks you, you tell me, and I'll spank him."⁽¹³⁾

A twenty-four year old Swiss, Brother Genebern, (Frederick Steiner) had tutored at Rock Hill College before volunteering for California. Prefect of Discipline and a stickler for regulations, he was fair and consistent. Brother Genebern's daily but unpredicable appearance in every classroom raised the status of instruction and enabled him to evaluate every instructor and student. He spent most of Saturday and Sunday meticulously correcting student papers. Extant specimens support one student's conclusion that "Brother Genebern's classes were remarkable for the neat and artistic homework the students handed in."⁽¹⁴⁾

Of the same age, but German, was Brother Emilian Walter (Carl Petermann) a consumptive in search of health. Despite illness, he was an inspiring instructor in Latin and Greek and was long remembered "as one of the most lovable men who ever walked the face of the earth."

Another German, but of a different stamp, was Brother Pirmian (Frederick Moller) recruiter and novice master. He opened the novitiate at St. Mary's in November, 1868 and remained in charge of it at Oakland and Martinez until 1890. A holy and practical guide, with a fetish for thoroughness, cleanliness and order, he abhorred incompetence and slovenliness. On March 17, instead of celebrating, he insisted on penance and recollection as preparation for the feast of St. Joseph, two days later. Never a master of English, malapropisms blurted in a thick accent and in exasperation or irritation, titillated suppressed chuckles and created humorous reminiscences. One novice remembered, "When Brother Pirmian went to the city, he had to assemble secular clothes from different sources, so great was his spirit of poverty." One morning, without any explanations, he asked the assembled students, if anyone had a duster. Immediately a volunteer raised his hand and then hurried out to get the duster. When he returned with a feather duster Brother Pirmian stormed, "You be the jackass! That is not the kind of duster I want." Another time the novice master and a companion rushed to the station for a train. They arrived in time to see the last car disappear around a turn. Disconsolate, Brother Pirmian moaned, "The train is already gone."⁽¹⁵⁾

The three remaining pioneers, Brothers Sabinian, Dimidrian and Gustavus, were native Irish raised in the United States. The first, who had been Brother Justin's vice-principal at Calvert Hall, became unofficial chairman of the department of religion and author of an explanation of the Baltimore Catechism. A young consumptive, Brother Dimidrian lived, but

never taught at St. Mary's. A chronic invalid, he died February 2, 1869, the first Christian Brother in California to win an eternal reward.⁽¹⁶⁾

Brother Gustavus (Francis Fitzpatrick) arrived at St. Mary's with a high reputation for organizing and directing schools. As principal of academies in St. Louis and Newark, he had "worked wonders" with faculties and students. An assertive character, he was described as the possessor of a "clear and penetrating mind, excellence in judgment, acuteness in observation, great strength and nobility of character, energy and endurance." His experience led him to be somewhat opinionated so that he "did not always see eye to eye with Brother Justin." The details of their differences are not recorded but at the end of two years Brother Justin transferred him to St. Joseph's Academy as principal.

The sole American in the group, Brother Adrian Denys (William Jay Gaynor) returned to New York two days after his arrival in San Francisco. One of Brother Justin's proteges at Assumption Academy, Utica, he had taught only a short time when he began to waver in his vocation. Hoping a change of environment would cure the vacillation, Brother Justin invited him on the new mission. One look at the frontier hardships sent him scurrying for home and secular life. Eventually he practiced law, served on the bench and became mayor of New York City (1909-1913).⁽¹⁷⁾

Providentially Gaynor's place was filled by Roderick Kane (1848-1928). Fourth son of Sir Robert, president of Queens College, Cork, Kane was a San Francisco civil engineer and volunteer catechist when he joined the Christian Brothers. After a novitiate, he joined the pioneers as Brother Benezet Thomas and taught Latin, Greek, philosophy and religion. His thoroughness and conscientiousness led Brother Justin to inform the superiors, "Young Kane is a splendid scholar and as pious and simple as he is talented."⁽¹⁸⁾



St. Mary's Orchestra, 1903

After being made vice-president in charge of the curriculum and spiritual exercises, he rigorously insisted on the observance of rule and the preeminence of religious studies. Like most mild natures, Brother when sufficiently provoked became furious. Overhearing a string of imprecations and curses, he grabbed the culprit by the back of the neck, ran him down the corridor and out the front door. The following day he made the expulsion permanent. Yet the sick, underprivileged and backward found him solicitous and helpful.

Subsequently Brother Thomas became president of Manhattan College, New York, assistant superior general, and subject for possible canonization. One of his favorite maxims was, "Keep Almighty God in your mind, eternity in view and the world under your feet."⁽¹⁹⁾

Brother Thomas and his Irish, German and Swiss colleagues dedicated themselves unselfishly to the common cause. Stifling racial antipathies, they exchanged experience and skills to fashion an effective curriculum. To the mediocre pedagogy of the frontier they brought competence and unity of purpose. Bolstered by vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, their cooperative effort was substantially religious and practical instruction.⁽²⁰⁾

Closely associated with the pioneer Brothers, was Father William Gleeson, chaplain and Latin instructor from All Hallows College, Ireland. At St. Mary's he began a "deep, life-long friendship with a spirit congenial to his own in every way, Brother Justin. . . A great bond of affection grew up between the two."⁽²¹⁾ A strict disciplinarian, he possessed "unshrinking courage, abhorrence of falsehood. . . and an earnest attention to duty and study." He imposed severe penances for trivial offenses such as the scansion of twenty lines of Horace to a student who guilelessly asked for the translation and definition of a

vulgar term. Fifty-seven years later the victim wrote in his autobiography:

I went out on the enclosed porch adjoining the classroom, to a desk there, with grammar and lexicon, and went to work. About five o'clock here came Brother Justin. He slapped me on the back. "Well, well, what are you doing here?" . . . I told him the whole story. I assured him that I did not know the meaning of the word; that I supposed that Gwin (a classmate) could not find it in his dictionary, and knowing that Father Gleeson had an immense one which we all consulted at times, had asked me to get the meaning of the word. Brother Justin was much concerned and sympathized with me.

"You are innocent of any wrong," he said. "That's a frightful task. You will be here all night." Then he added, "Wait a minute. I will send you to Brother Emelian to help you out."⁽²²⁾

Brother Emelian translated the passage as fast as it could be written and slipped it under Father Gleeson's door. Meanwhile the president conferred with Father Gleeson, who admitted acting in haste and accepted the translation.

Admittedly not the ideal teacher, yet Father Gleeson contributed much through scholarly inspiration and interests. Fluent in languages that ranged from Arabic, Hindostani, and Persian to Gaelic and Latin, the versatile Irish priest could as easily turn out a critical essay on archaeology as on sociology.⁽²³⁾ Despite his duties as chaplain and instructor, he published a two volume History of the Catholic Church in California. Destined to be the only work of its kind for more than a century, the Catholic Monitor lavishly praised Father Gleeson because of the

incalculable amount of painstaking research exhibited in his history. Nor has he been by any means a mere compiler, he has not given us a bare digest of extant works upon California. He has brought to bear a critical acumen, an appreciation of evidence, not surpassed by the few historians whose works are of the highest standard reputation.⁽²⁴⁾

The San Francisco Catholic Guardian extolled "the caution and judgment that he exercises in dealing with the subject matter under consideration."⁽²⁵⁾

Even Hubert Howe Bancroft grudgingly acknowledged the thoroughness and originality of Father Gleeson's contribution and conceded, "He has given us a pleasing and tolerably accurate picture of mission life and annals."⁽²⁶⁾

Under the religious, clerical and lay faculty, student life flourished with small classes, tight surveillance, rigid rules, and strict discipline. With a faculty of twenty Brothers and four laymen and a student body of 250, St. Mary's was "fully equal to any two colleges in the State." Classical, scientific and commercial curricula ranged from philosophy to chemistry, to geology, mathematics, bookkeeping and salesmanship. Frontier utilitarianism made the commercial course the most popular because it provided a "thoroughly practical education, one that will fit the student for business."

The daily schedule was exact and undeviating. From reveille at six to taps at eight-thirty, study, class, prayer, meals and recreation followed in precise sequence. Noting the punctuality, one parent boasted that he could look at his watch and tell what his son was doing. Only for the most serious reasons was permission granted to leave the campus and then only with the approval of the president. According to one student, recreation took place on

an immense playground, surrounded by a high board fence, with sheds on the inside of a great deal of it for protection from the rain. In this playground the boys spent their noons and recesses, practiced playing ball, marbles, jumping, running, and I am sorry to say, here they sneaked out to get a fugitive whiff of a cigarette as often as possible. It was astonishing to what lengths the boys went to get a smoke.⁽²⁸⁾

On Thursdays there was an excursion or long hike with two or three Brothers. The springtime picnics at San Pedro Rancho, Visitacion Valley, or St. Joseph's Academy were gala events. Holidays were as rigidly scheduled as any other event, but on October 2, 1868, there was an unexpected free day when an earthquake rocked the campus. The first shock, in the midst

of breakfast, precipitated a pandemonium and a wild dash outdoors through flying glass and plaster. The tremblor so terrified the students that it was impossible to conduct classes during the remainder of the day.⁽²⁹⁾

Although the college had a large student body, a representative faculty and an excellent reputation, it lacked official standing. To remedy this defect, Brother Justin formally requested the State Board of Education for recognition under a fifteen-man board of trustees. Six months later, May 28, 1872, a charter was granted to St. Mary's College and the right "to confer degrees of literary honors and grant suitable diplomas in testimony thereof as well as such other powers as are conferred" by the laws.⁽³⁰⁾

The Board of Trustees held the initial meeting May 29, 1872, elected Brother Justin, president, and Brother Sabinian, treasurer, formally thanked the State Board of Education and appointed a committee to draft by-laws. It granted an A.B. to Alpheus J. Graves, a B.S. to James J. Lawler, and Commerical Certificates to Edward J. Murray, Edward Sweeney, Hugh McAvoy, Herman A. Kellum, Thomas Donlin, Thomas P. Sullivan, Edward O'Connor, James Duffy and John P. Camou.

Alpheus J. Graves later wrote in his autobiography:

I was the first graduate from St. Mary's, taking my A.B. in 1872. I then went back and taught a Latin and Greek class for my tuition and in 1873 was given my A.M. On the fortieth anniversary of my graduation I went to St. Mary's . . . and delivered an address to the graduates and the college conferred on me the honorary degree of LL.D.⁽³¹⁾

Meanwhile Brother Justin had initiated programs for providing feeders for faculty and students. A few months after he arrived at St. Mary's he had enrolled the first student-brothers, August Faure and Denis Phelan.⁽³²⁾ The normal school or novitiate occupied a few rooms in the college until

noise and distraction made monastic seclusion impossible and forced a transfer to St. Joseph's Academy. Brother Justin later reported to the higher superiors:

In May 1870 we rented a house in Oakland with the privilege of buying it at the end of 2 or 3 years if it suited our purposes. This house is erected on a block, 300 x 200, and surrounded by a high fence. It is also nicely shaded by various kinds of trees and well laid out. It is in the city of Oakland, which is about 15 miles from St. Mary's College. Here we opened our little Novitiate with postulants from St. Mary's College. . . God blessed the good work and the Brothers seemed to think it would suit for a Novitiate.⁽³³⁾

Archbishop Alemany enthusiastically supported recruitment and urged young men to consecrate their lives "to the noble cause of education, for what mission could be more exalted? what profession more worthy of admiration than of devoting one's life and energies to the furthering of Christian education of youths?" He believed the heroic sacrifices demanded of a Christian Brother brought incalculable good to society and religion. This plea together with Brother Justin's state-wide recruitment campaign attracted a sufficient number of probationers to assure new personnel for the college faculty.

To provide St. Mary's with a regular influx of freshmen, Brother Justin planned a state-wide system of preparatory schools. In August, 1870, he opened St. Joseph's Academy at Fifth and Jackson Streets, Oakland with students from the lowest grades of the college.⁽³⁴⁾ Within three years he bought the property for \$14,000 when the student body reached fifty boarders and a hundred and fifty day students.

When St. Joseph's was fairly well established, Brother Justin proposed the erection of Sacred Heart High School in San Francisco. He astonished Archbishop Alemany when he asked permission to raise \$100,000. The astounded archbishop could only ask: "But how will you do it? How can it

be done?" Brother Justin then explained that the new school would serve the entire city and would have the support of all sections and all classes. He was confident that if the archbishop gave the project his blessing and support that it would be easy to obtain the funds.

Still dubious, the archbishop answered: "Well, dear Brother, I will cheerfully cooperate but I am afraid your goals are too high. You are not in New York. How much do you expect to get in individual subscriptions?"

"\$5000 each, Your Grace, from a few rich men, otherwise we cannot build. Let us work and pray. Your Grace, here is the question of a great work and of course a great effort will be required."

"Do you believe it is possible to do it, Brother?"

"There is no doubt of it, Your Grace."

The following day in the archbishop's name, Brother Justin circularized subscribers. The whirlwind that struck the chancery office evidently dismayed and daunted the archbishop, who tried unsuccessfully to moderate the pace. First appeals went abroad to wealthy realtor Denis Oliver in Rome and merchant prince Denis Murphy visiting England. When the archbishop received the former's cable for \$5000 one morning at dawn, he immediately sent it and a note of congratulation to Brother Justin, who later related:

I went in to see His Grace immediately and His Grace was very glad. I said, "Now, Your Grace, I will go out and get \$5000 more." And I went to see Mr. Joseph Donohoe. I showed him Mr. Oliver's cablegram. He was very much pleased. I said, "Now, Mr. Donohoe, we want \$5000 from you." "Certainly, Brother, you shall have it."⁽³⁵⁾

Subsequently Peter Donahue and Michael O'Connor matched Oliver's contribution. Other donors were Dunphy and Holdreth, Judge Hastings, Cornelius O'Sullivan, Martin Murphy, John Sullivan, William Sharon, and Senator John P. Jones of Nevada. A bazaar netted \$10,000 and a systematic house-to-house canvass pushed the total to \$100,000. It was a remarkable achieve-

ment because it was done in odd moments snatched from teaching and administrative chores. "It was plain sailing," Brother Justin attested, "for the first \$50,000 , but for the second it was indeed difficult."⁽³⁶⁾ The clergy offered little assistance, yet Brother Justin, as he had promised, gave the land, buildings and furnishings of Sacred Heart to the archbishop "because the money had come from the people and therefore should remain with the representative of the people."⁽³⁷⁾

A year after its dedication, Sacred Heart was the largest private school in the bay area and the best feeder for St. Mary's. Elatedly Brother Justin reported

There are about 700 pupils attending it (Sacred Heart) at present, as many as our dear Brothers can teach. There are 18 Brothers, one secular professor. The boys in the advanced classes are from 16 to 18 years of age. The business department has just been organized on the same principle as at St. Mary's. The boys in mathematics are at analytical geometry. They have passed examinations in surveying and spherical trigonometry very creditably. ⁽³⁸⁾

To secure students from the Sacramento Valley, Brother Justin opened a boarding and day school in the state capital in 1876. Like its counterparts in Oakland and San Francisco, the Sacramento school sent a consistent stream of students to St. Mary's. However, such was not the case in Southern California. Brother Justin had high hopes of drawing students from this area when he began operation of a small school near Santa Inez. After five years of financial and administrative difficulties, the institution had to be closed in 1882. ⁽³⁹⁾

In the midst of these activities, Brother Justin contributed much to raise the status of all Catholic education in California. As a leader of the archdiocesan educational conference, he formulated a curriculum for all levels. He described the results in the following words:

The impetus given to education by the coming of the dear Brothers is difficult to describe. It occasioned quite a change in the grammar schools, high schools, and State university. The State Board of Education, as well as the City Board, made and are making great efforts to induce the few who attend our school to go back. I say few, compared to the large number who still unfortunately go to the public schools.

Thank God our Catholic schools also received an impetus. They are better taught and better attended than they were before the Brothers came. The Brothers have in some, even in many cases, at the request of His Grace, the Most Rev. Archbishop, examined the pupils of these Catholic Schools, and with the happiest results.⁽⁴⁰⁾

While revitalizing Catholic Schools, Brother Justin paid particular attention to improving religious instruction for Catholic public school children. He recruited a corps of teachers, organized courses, and persuaded hundreds of youngsters to attend the catechism classes. He even taught juvenile offenders at the San Francisco Industrial School after persuading the superintendent that such lessons were conducive to better discipline and higher morale.

It was only natural that as the Brother President came into the public eye, that he would assume the role of spokesman for the Irish-Catholic community. In a St. Patrick's Day address he exploded the myth of the unpatriotic Irish-American by citing their number and valor in the War for American Independence. He pointed out that even the Continental Congress had commended the Irish as a nation that "has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of America and humanity." Attempts to sow dissensions were contrary to the American traditions that decreed freedom and tolerance for all creeds, colors and races. He asserted, "If the Irish are opposed to democratic principles, then God Himself, the author of these principles, the source of liberty, of order, of every good and perfect gift, is opposed to free institutions."⁽⁴¹⁾

He again championed toleration of race and religion, when he espoused the cause of forty-seven Capuchin and Dominican exiles from Guatemala. As chairman of a relief committee, Brother Justin presided at a three day bazaar in their behalf. In his opening address to a throng of "mammoth proportions" he congratulated San Franciscans "on this great work you have so successfully commenced -- on this protest against tyranny. It is worthy of you, worthy of our great city, worthy of these noble exiles." The city of St. Francis welcomed his persecuted sons, and rejoiced to assist them. Only tyrants called them "lazy tools of popes and enemies of liberty and education." Defense of the downtrodden, instruction of the ignorant, and relief of the impoverished belied the detraction. In a ringing apostrophe, he said:

Shallow, narrow-minded men, examine the records of the past and you will find what they were, what you call "lazy monks." The genius of history ever pursues her course with untiring zeal, and places on worthiest brows in every age her chaplet of immortality. Examine and you will find that these men have ever been the truest benefactors of humanity.⁽⁴²⁾

He later came forward to aid a group of exiled Mexican Sisters of Charity. Before an overflow audience presided over by General William Rosecrans, former ambassador to Mexico, Brother Justin welcomed the refugees to America "where the iron heel of persecution -- where blind passion and prejudice do not interfere with the heart's expression of its homage to its Creator."

Most comment on these expressions was favorable but one partisan journal took umbrage for Brother Justin's failure to recognize Protestant leadership in this country. The tolerance extolled existed because "the people rule and not the Pope, or the Catholic Church." Non-Catholics fashioned the Constitution that made the people's will, not the Pope's, the law of the land. The editor wryly admitted:



St. Mary's Orchestra, 1904

Father (sic) Justin is a very nice man who thinks liberty is a fine thing for Catholics in Protestant countries; but wholly unnecessary for Protestants in Catholic. His idea of liberty is like the wolf's millennium, where the wolf and the lamb lie down together, the lamb inside the wolf.⁽⁴³⁾

It was almost a matter of course that Brother Justin's activities would provoke the ire of anti-Catholics. Through no fault of his own, he was most bitterly attacked when Archbishop Alemany had Democratic Senator Eugene Casserly propose the sale of St. Mary's College to the United States Government for \$150,000.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In brief, the essentials of the incident were the following:

On March 25, 1872, the United States Senate resolved that

The Secretary of the Treasury be and he is hereby authorized to inquire as to the necessity of a marine hospital at San Francisco, California; and also, if the public service requires such a hospital, whether the St. Mary's College and grounds, in said city, would be suitable for any accommodation so required, and on what terms said property can be purchased, and report thereon at the next session of Congress.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The following December, George S. Boutwell, Secretary of the Treasury, informed the Senate that a marine hospital was needed in San Francisco, but it should not be located in St. Mary's College. Fierce ocean winds swept continuously over the campus and the facilities were unadaptable "for the convenient, economical and successful treatment of a large number of sick men."⁽⁴⁶⁾

Some observers believed the rejection to be due to the Republican control of the Congress and the Presidency as well as to the opposition of the Boutwell clique which favored a site on Angel Island.

The only result of the Casserly bill was the denunciation of its sponsors. One journal accused the archbishop of writing a pastoral letter that read:

It is patent to you, all my beloved children, the necessity we have of voting often and early. . .

We want a majority in the Assembly and Senate. We have got to return Mr. Casserly to Washington, or else we cannot sell St. Mary's College to our Uncle Samuel for a Marine Hospital, the proceeds to be invested in erecting a magnificent college in the pleasant suburbs of Oakland.⁽⁴⁷⁾

The following issue carried a cartoon captioned, "How Eugene Casserly bought his seat in the United States Senate." Depicted was a clerk in the Hibernia Bank receiving \$10,000 each from St. Francis and St. Brigid's Churches, a like sum from the cathedral and \$15,00 from St. Patrick's.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Illness compelled Casserly to withdraw from the campaign and public life, but the attacks continued against St. Mary's and Brother Justin. In a backhanded editorial, a weekly congratulated the president because he

came out of his sheet in a manly way and told the world of the intentions of the Pope's subjects in this country upon the school question. We admire his pluck. We have a majority of citizens in this city and State, thank God, to whip Justin and his ignorant believers, should they dare to revolt. Nevertheless, Justin and his clique have managed so far, to cram the public schools of this city with Roman Catholic teachers, the only place where sedition can be effectually sown in the minds of the rising generation. We have a handsome majority of city officers in this city at the present time, to teach Justin and his followers that we will not stand any nonsense.⁽⁴⁹⁾

In a similar vein, another article, sarcastically labelled "An Excellent Appointment," berated Brother Justin for securing a Police Court clerkship for alumnus Joseph Coffey. City Hall leaders were sure to approve the appointment when they learned Coffey graduated from St. Mary's by studying the mysteries of Republicanism, freedom and independence "as taught by Brother Justin of the Society of the Jesuits."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Even the dedication of Sacred Heart College by Brother Justin was not allowed to go unnoticed. San Franciscans learned that at the new institution "Jesuitical tricks are guaranteed to every pupil gratis. Now is the

time to send the hoodlums (to Sacred Heart) as the County Jail is crowded."⁽⁵¹⁾

Vilification ended after the chief protagonist, George Thistleton, drew a year's jail sentence for libeling Father Hugh Gallagher, pastor of St. Joseph's Church. The objects of the calumnies, particularly Brother Justin, St. Mary's, and Senator Casserly suffered little. Of the senator, Hubert Howe Bancroft wrote, "Casserly . . . was a man of pure private character, and also of varied talents and accomplishments, superior to Conness (Senate predecessor) as a man, but inferior to him as a manager of party politics, if, indeed, he were not above the business."⁽⁵²⁾ The Catholic Guardian eulogized Brother Justin for his "large-hearted humanity and genuine Christian zeal," and Californians continued to send their sons in larger numbers to St. Mary's than to any other men's college in the State.

Success came to Brother Justin in practically every phase of college administration except the financial. He was never able to clear St. Mary's of debt. The college netted the Brothers \$5000 annually, but the archbishop paid insurance, taxes, incidentals and interest on the mortgage. The fiscal difficulties had begun in 1863 when the archdiocese had borrowed \$100,000 to complete the college. Under the operation of the diocesan clergy the college had lost money or had barely met expenses. The Brothers had assumed control with the understanding that any profit would be used to care for the infirm Brothers or to educate the young Brothers. Unfortunately, this was not spelled out. There was no written agreement.

The first of many disagreements occurred in New York, four months before the Brothers sailed for California. According to Archbishop Alemany

The college had debts of about \$75,000 when the Brothers took direction of it. . . . At that time I said to Father

William Quinn, Vicar General of New York, who negotiated the matter in my name, that when the Brothers came I hoped that they would accept responsibility for a part of this debt, say \$25,000.(53)

The Brothers refused to pay either the debt or \$3000 annual rent. In addition to rehabilitating the college, they had to establish a province, construct a novitiate, and recruit subjects. These obligations made further expense foolhardy. The New York provincial reported to the motherhouse:

I told Father Quinn of New York and the Vicar General of San Francisco (Father James Croke), whom I met yesterday in New York, that we accept the mission in principle. It was necessary to answer in order that His Excellency might forward the money for the expenses of the journey. I have not made any arrangements; I leave that to you. I am enclosing these papers in order to aid you a little in arriving at some decision. I think that it is sufficient to make these stipulations for the one whom you shall send there. On my part I feel satisfied and even delighted with everything the Vicar General tells me.(54)

The superiors thought that the full title of the college and campus awaited the Brothers in California and that minor details of the transfer could be ironed out by Brother Justin. They believed that the maintenance of a sixty acre campus would be too burdensome and suggested the sale of all land not necessary for the operation of the college. The exhilaration of opening new territory, added to the archbishop's importunity, blinded them to realities.

When the Brothers arrived in San Francisco, Brother Justin possessed little authority in financial matters. He had to have the permission of the higher superiors in France to spend or borrow large sums of money. Consequently, when Archbishop Alemany proposed that the Brothers purchase or rent St. Mary's, Brother Justin should have told him to discuss the matter directly with the motherhouse. Instead, Brother Justin assumed

the role of middleman and unnecessarily burdened himself for years of fruitless negotiations.

Under the assumption that Brother Justin possessed untrammelled financial power, the archbishop made several vague hints for a rent. When the suggestions bore no fruit the archbishop did not press the matter because he believed that "the financial affairs of the diocese would continue to prosper." Later, when the archbishop became more explicit in his demands, Brother Justin reported:

I told him (the archbishop). . . we would give no money unless he could give us a deed. He said that he could not give a deed, that it was forbidden by the Council of Baltimore. (55)

The refusal of the Brothers to meet his claims exasperated the archbishop, and he made the above mentioned attempt to sell the college to the United States Government for \$150,000. When this effort failed, the archbishop re-opened negotiations. This time, however, Brother Justin refused to haggle. He asked the archbishop to take back St. Mary's and give the Brothers an unencumbered school. When the archbishop claimed that this would violate the agreement, Brother Justin related that he asked, "Of what agreement do you speak? I have letters from Paris authorizing me to make certain agreements and I know of no others."

The archbishop replied: "Your superior in New York said you wanted no deed; so Father Quinn wrote me."

To this Brother Justin answered:

If Brother Patrick (Provincial of New York) said any such thing as that, he certainly meant what I mean and what the superiors in Paris mean, that we pay no money. Why, Archbishop, we can get any number of houses if we only take them. Why should we pay money for the privilege of teaching your boys? But if Your Grace wishes, I will write to Brother Patrick to know what he did say, if he recollects. (56)

In his letter to Brother Patrick, Brother Justin bluntly put the question, "Did you say to Father Quinn that we would pay \$20,000 for the privilege of teaching in St. Mary's College and be liable to be turned out of it?"⁽⁵⁷⁾ The exact answer is unknown, but it is reasonable to assume that it was negative because Brother Patrick clearly stated, in communications prior and subsequent to this time, that he had made no promises or agreements.

A definite lull followed, due probably to an upswing in diocesan finances. In June, 1872, William Ralston paid \$400,000 for St. Patrick's Church and Orphanage as a site for the Palace Hotel, Horace Hawes donated property on Mission Street for the new St. Patrick's and Brother Justin begged \$100,000 to build Sacred Heart High School.⁽⁵⁸⁾ Creditors ceased badgering the archbishop and there was no need to eke pennies from straightened religious.

Oddly, it was Brother Justin who reopened the discussion when he proposed to purchase the college. Emboldened by success in the Sacred Heart drive as well as by the bright prospects of St. Mary's, he believed the time ripe for such action. A decade of steady growth in population and business would boost the value of the campus to \$600,000. In a letter to his superiors, Brother Justin declared:

We could now in all probability purchase all this property for \$80,000 cash and receive an absolute deed inserting the proviso that whatever portion of the property should be sold after paying the cost, that is the \$80,000, should be employed for educational purposes in this diocese.⁽⁵⁹⁾

Furthermore, he could clear the debt in two or three years without interfering with development of the college or the construction of a novitiate. All that was needed to launch the program was authorization.

When the superiors refused permission, Brother Justin repeated the

request in different terms. Instead of authority to spend \$80,000, he asked for sanction to conduct discussions with the archbishop about purchase of the college. He received the following reply:

We would prefer that you remain at St. Mary's without title to the property. However, if it be the wish of Archbishop Alemany, you may purchase the college for \$25,000. (60)

Negotiations dragged through the spring and summer of 1878, with both sides jockeying for advantage. Finally in September, Brother Justin offered \$30,000 cash and a \$50,000 non-interest bearing mortgage. To this proposal the archbishop answered:

As soon as I had a moment free I considered your proposition of yesterday, and while it nearly meets my views, I think it has some small defects, which I hope you will correct and then the transaction can be accomplished before I go to purgatory.

One of the defects is that you set no limits to the term of the mortgage, the other is that such mortgage should be without interest. I would therefore suggest that the term of the mortgage be fixed at from five to ten years; and that the interest be four per cent per annum.

If this be not entirely agreeable, then I would propose that the figure \$50,000 be changed to \$40,000, with you paying interest on that for any length of time not exceeding ten years at and to the Hibernia Bank now lending at 7%.

Or if this be not altogether agreeable, then I would propose to return to your original proposition of a mortgage for \$50,000 without interest but only for the term of two or three years. (61)

His Excellency regretted the necessity for making the demands, but inasmuch as he had paid over \$70,000 interest on the college debt and owed \$300,000, he could not offer more liberal terms. Brother Justin termed the alternatives just and even generous, yet declined to consider them. St. Mary's could not meet the terms, nor would the Mother House; yet at the Archbishop's wish he forwarded them to Paris. As expected, the answer was, "we are not prepared at present to meet the conditions of

His Grace." The Brother Superior General pointed out that conditions in both Europe and America demanded utmost caution in assuming financial responsibilities. Instead of a counter-offer, he simply expressed the wish that the archbishop would allow the Brothers to continue their good work in his schools.⁽⁶²⁾

However, both sides continued to discuss and explore possible solutions to the dilemma. In February, 1879, the archbishop reduced the price of the college and ten acres to \$70,000, \$40,000 of which could be in a mortgage "payable within a tangible time." Brother Justin promptly informed his superiors of the new offer but before he received a reply, the impatient archbishop wrote again to demand that the Brothers

purchase St. Mary's College with 8 or 10 acres around it, at \$75,000, or purchase the same college with the whole tract of land contiguous to and in front of it for \$125,000 - - - with interest from the time you commenced to use it. With the good disposition and great energy which God has given you, and the encouragement which I most willingly give, I believe that you can realize any of the above proposals.⁽⁶³⁾

Brother Justin apprized the Brother Superior General of the new turn of events and that the Brothers must raise their bid. Sale of St. Joseph's Academy would bring \$30,000 and five college acres, \$40,000. The orphaned novitiate at St. Joseph's would be sheltered by friends "who shall come to our assistance when they shall see that we are in need."⁽⁶⁴⁾

In the interim, the Superior General, Brother Irlide, mulled over the proposals and concluded they were too hazardous. It was foolhardy to sacrifice St. Joseph's Academy for the sake of a tottering college with a precarious future. In the absence of a bona fide offer from either St. Joseph's or any part of St. Mary's campus, it was preposterous to expect to raise \$70,000 by their sale. Experience, sound principles and good sense opposed every aspect of Brother Justin's proposal. The archbishop's

requests were likewise unacceptable. It was preferable to abandon St. Mary's than to attempt the impossible. However, knowing that Brother Justin's heart was set on retaining the college, the superior general tried to soften the blow by pointing up the pitfalls of financial negotiations, the difficulties of collegiate administration and the attractions in secondary education. It was better to advance slowly and surely by well tested methods. Wiser, too, to retain St. Joseph's in its double capacity of school and novitiate, than throw it on the market in the wild hope of saving St. Mary's. It was more honorable and sensible to leave St. Mary's flourishing than to see the college flounder later as the result of maladministration or of antagonistic influences. All was not lost for there was the pre-college field, where Brothers had most experience and success and which was the most necessary for society. (65)

The Brother's decision to leave St. Mary's effected a radical change in diocesan demands; a modest annuity replaced requests for purchase or delinquent rent. The archbishop wrote to the superior general,

I find that I must ask in justice some monthly or yearly amount from your Brothers on account of St. Mary's College . . . Good Brother Justin is very good, kind, charitable and all that could be desired; but he naturally prefers to devote all he can save for the benefit of the Order and I would fully and heartily concur with him if I were not too embarrassed (financially).

I therefore have to apply to you for some holy equitable consideration on the subject. (66)

The Mother House gave no hasty reply. The superiors felt that since the Brothers had not contracted the debt, they should not be forced to pay either principal or interest. It was only reasonable to suppose that the archbishop had made these demands only because he had forgotten that the timely arrival of the Brothers had saved St. Mary's from closing its doors. Had operations ceased then, interest would have continued to mount as well



St. Mary's Orchestra, 1903

as repair and maintenance costs. He was evidently unmindful too, that the Brothers had raised \$125,000 for the new diocesan high school and had maintained his College of Our Lady of Guadalupe at Santa Inez for four years while he received the income from the 36,000 acre Canada de los Pinos, granted by Mexico to support the college.⁽⁶⁷⁾

The archbishop's unwillingness or inability to fix a definite rent puzzled the higher superiors and caused unnecessary delay in reaching an agreement. To determine an equitable rent, the superiors ordered Brother Justin to forward a detailed financial report that ranged from the salaries of the kitchen help, farm hands, and professors to the operating budget of the infirmary, and from annual average tuition of pupils to the seasonal income from campus crops. He was to estimate the cost of such contingencies as sickness, accident, death, fire or earthquake as well as the assessments that devolved upon the community for the maintenance of the province and the Institute.⁽⁶⁸⁾

Brother Justin submitted the itemized account together with the comment, "You require these details with a view of seeing how much rent we can pay without injury to the proper management of the college. I must say in all candor and sincerity, we cannot pay any." Yet something had to be done; therefore in addition to \$1000 for taxes and insurance, St. Mary's would pay \$1000 annual rent. Admittedly the sum was small, but it was impossible to give more. As the president observed, "It is possible that with a better manager more money could be saved; and it is also possible that the receipts might be less."

To buttress his decision, and to convince the Mother House of St. Mary's financial straits, Brother Justin painted a dismal picture of the economic prospects in California as well as the alarming decline in atten-

dance and income of most Catholic Colleges in the United States. He admitted,

I do not know how to account for the signal blessing that has attended the College in the number of its students. I would not be surprised if the number fell away one half. The tendency in America is that way. . . all over the country. Money is scarce and the middle class which chiefly patronize Brothers' Schools is passing either into the rich or poor class. Besides public schools are multiplying rapidly in the country districts where most of the students come from. Faith is not very strong and many parents risk the salvation of their children in the public schools rather than pay for them in Catholic schools. All these causes are on the increase and it will require great effort to retain what we have in regard to attendance. To be candid, I fear it cannot be done. (69)

The Mother House approved Brother Justin's proposal to pay a total of \$2000 a year for St. Mary's. The archbishop accepted and for a few months seemed to be satisfied with the arrangement. Suddenly, he changed his mind and asked for more money. Without consulting Brother Justin, the archbishop wrote directly to Brother Irlide, Superior General:

I have delayed proposing to you a fixed sum because the good Brother Justin had commenced to send me money. . . I have reflected and consulted on this affair and it appears that considering the great sums that I was forced to borrow in order to complete the building of St. Mary's College and the enormous interest paid over many years, that I should receive \$2500 each year. (70)

As usual when Alemany went over his head, the president was irritated. He informed the superior general that the rent, taxes, insurance and maintenance paid for St. Mary's totaled more than \$2500, and that the sale of a few substantial diocesan investments would solve the predicament. He suspected that a great deal of the difficulty lay with unsympathetic archiepiscopal advisers. Despite misgivings, Brother Justin recommended an increase from \$1000 to \$1500 rent.

The archbishop was not content; for some unknown reason he insisted

on personally paying the taxes, after the Brothers gave the money. He suggested, "I would propose that the Brothers pay me \$2300. . . and I will pay the taxes. This would come to about the same as far as the Brothers are concerned." Again, the higher superiors acquiesced although with some apprehension for with the request, Alemany disclosed:

I am anxious to establish a seminary for educating priests; but I do not know yet when or where. In case that I would need St. Mary's College for that or any similar institution, I would not take any step without first having an understanding with you with plenty of time and a holy mutual understanding.⁽⁷¹⁾

Although the agreement was not equitable, yet it brought an end to the vague demands that had disturbed the Brothers for thirteen years. There were no more efforts to sell, shift, transform or close the institution. The Brothers paid the Archbishop \$2300 a year until 1889, when they moved to their own building in Oakland.

The financial arrangement was reached after Brother Justin left St. Mary's, yet it can be considered the final chapter in his administration. In 1879, some months before completion of negotiations, Brother Justin returned to the East as head of the New York province. During his stay in California he had transformed St. Mary's from a run-down, bankrupt institution into the most progressive, flourishing college in California. From a faculty of two and a student body of 35, he had increased the personnel to 24 instructors and 250 students. In addition to rehabilitation, he reorganized the academic and administrative departments, obtained a charter from the State Board of Education, founded a normal school for student-Brothers, and opened a state-wide system of college preparatory schools.

During his presidency, Brother Justin's most conspicuous virtues were

faith and zeal. Not only at St. Mary's but during his entire life, he worked for, with and through God. In his eyes, it was more important to do the will of God than to achieve success, recognition or commendation. It was this spirit of faith that induced him to cooperate magnanimously with diocesan leaders for the common good. When he was about to be transferred to New York, Archbishop Alemany expostulated with the higher superiors: "I am a religious too and I know what obedience means, so I can make no difficulty in regard to this change; but I will say that in taking Brother Justin away from me, you are almost cutting off my right hand."

The habit of seeing things in the light of faith did not blind Brother Justin to the realities of life. For him, respect for the cloth did not mean servility to the cloth nor did he believe that an ecclesiastical office endowed the holder with universal infallibility. His ability to face reality was manifested likewise in dealing with faculty, students, and acquaintances. He showed himself surprisingly shrewd, yet charitable, in judging men and their character. Often his acumen and insight in analyzing problems and difficulties surprised associates and led many, especially business leaders, to believe that he wasted his talents by remaining a college president.

From the faith of Brother Justin came almost inevitably an eager and enthusiastic zeal. Once he decided that an objective would further the glory of God, obstacles and opposition meant little. His extraordinary zeal first manifested in the schools of Albany and Baltimore, found ample scope for exercise in San Francisco. He welcomed the challenges of the western frontier with zest. Within two years of arrival, he had a full roster of students at St. Mary's, a novitiate and a flourishing pre-

paratory school in Oakland. When he proposed to raise \$100,000 and build the largest Catholic school in California, Archbishop Alemany threw up his hands in amazement and could only ask, "How will you do it? How can it be done?" The sheer boldness of the proposition astounded the archbishop because one Christian Brother dared to collect, in a few months, a sum that the Jesuits at St. Ignatius could not amass in seventeen years.⁽⁷²⁾ When Brother Justin performed the task, it was not surprising that the archbishop began to look upon him as his "right hand." It is difficult to tell to what length Brother Justin's zeal would have gone had he remained in California until his death.

In New York, Brother Justin served as provincial until 1899, when he was suddenly cashiered and transferred to a grammar school in Toulouse, France, as a teacher in English. He had been judged guilty of agitating for the return of Latin to the curriculum contrary to the decree passed by the General Chapter of the Christian Brothers in 1897. Despite the humiliation, Brother Justin devoted himself to the work with the same faith and zeal that had characterized his action at St. Mary's. After three years, he was allowed to return to America as president of the Christian Brothers College in St. Louis. He remained at this post until stricken with paralysis. He died February 28, 1912.

It was almost a century since Brother Justin directed St. Mary's College, yet his name and memory are still revered. His undaunted spirit, unwavering loyalty, and fraternal charity are frequent subjects of conversation. He occupies a unique place in the annals of the college because of many contributions, particularly those that sprang from his faith and zeal.

When Brother Justin left for California in 1868, his blood brother, Brother Bettelin, was beginning his fourth year as president of Rock Hill College in Ellicott Mills, fourteen miles southwest of Baltimore. Three years older than Brother Justin, Brother Bettelin (John McMahon) was born in Cong, County Mayo, Ireland, February 8, 1830. He entered the Christian Brothers in Montreal in 1857 and began a career in religious education that stretched over six decades in the United States and Canada. Described as an ungainly Lincoln-rail-splitter type in appearance, Brother Bettelin was "tall, lanky and plodding, often irksomely placid and imperturbable, lacking the intellectual gifts and the blustery, virile, combative and dynamic personality which spontaneously endeared Brother Justin to so many." Despite these limitations, Brother Bettelin possessed sound judgment, keen foresight and an excellent competency to deal with men and affairs. He had established a reputation for rugged piety, punctual observance of regulations, and for kindness and affability. As the principal of the Christian Brothers' school in Toronto, he exemplified admirable restraint in ignoring the bigoted outbursts of the Orangemen. Again at Rock Hill College, where Civil War feelings ran high, he refused to become involved on either side. When student partisans of the Blue and the Gray staged a campus free-for-all over slavery, he dismissed forty combatants, over one-fourth the student body. Undoubtedly his sense of justice and dignity had a great deal to do in persuading a reluctant Maryland legislature to grant to Rock Hill a charter in 1857.

During a fifteen-year administration of Brother Bettelin, Rock Hill, enjoyed one of its greatest periods of success. Its distinguished faculty was led by Brother Azarias (Patrick Francis Mullany, 1847-1893), the leading English scholar of the Christian Brothers in the United States. Others on

the roster were Brother Abraham (Michael Cusack, 1841-1908) in mathematics, Brother Florian Joseph in classics and Brother Benedict in history.

When the time came to select a successor for Brother Justin at St. Mary's it was only logical that the superiors would consider Brother Bettelin at Rock Hill. He had endeared himself to the Brothers, developed the curriculum, expanded the facilities and had demonstrated financial acumen. Consequently on October 22, 1879, the Superior General of the Christian Brothers appointed Brother Bettelin provincial of the Brothers on the Pacific Coast and de facto president of St. Mary's College. The appointee lost no time in packing his bags and departing for the far west. With a minimum of fanfare, Brother Justin handed the reins of office over to his brother and left for New York where he spent the next twenty years as provincial. Meanwhile on January 24, 1880, the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's College held a special meeting on campus and elected Brother Bettelin president of the corporation and president of the college. The Board also passed a resolution of thanks to Brother Justin expressing gratitude to him for the efficient manner in which he had discharged his presidential duties.

One of the first acts of the new president was to organize the bi-centenary celebration in honor of the founding of the Christian Brothers. Highlight of the exercises occurred on June 24, 1880, when Archbishop Alemany celebrated a pontifical high mass in the college chapel assisted by the student choir under the direction of Professor Frederick Schorcht. In keeping with the spirit and practice of St. de la Salle, founder of the Christian Brothers, a banquet followed the chapel exercises. Along with the archbishop and seventy-five priests, the faculty, visiting Brothers and a number of prominent laymen sat down to a sumptuous repast.

With his grace as toastmaster, the postprandial speeches began with a toast to St. John Baptist de la Salle to which the president responded. Father William Gleason, pastor of St. Anthony's Church, Oakland, spoke at length on "The Christian Brothers," and the well-known journalist and legislator, Zach Montgomery followed with a lengthy encomium on "Christian Education." When Brother Justin's health was proposed a prolonged ovation greeted his name. Father John Harrington, first president of St. Mary's and current editor of the Monitor delivered a tribute to the Catholic press. The banquet began at 11:30 A.M. and ended at 7:00 P.M.

During preparations for the bi-centennial, Brother Bettelin began to expand Brother Justin's idea of feeder-schools for the college. He organized a committee of Brothers to formulate a uniform curriculum for these institutions and establish closer contacts with the college. He aimed at creating a Christian Brother-orientated system from primary grade to college. With this idea in mind, he began the foundation of parochial schools. During the 1880's, he established the Brothers in five schools in Oakland, namely St. Anthony's, St. Mary's, St. Patrick's, Sacred Heart and St. Francis de Sales, one in San Francisco, St. Peter's and one in Portland, St. Michael's. In the succeeding decade, he started operations at St. Vincent's in San Rafael, Holy Cross in Santa Cruz, St. James in Vancouver and De la Salle Business School in Walla Walla. Not only did the president want to insure a source of recruits for the college but by concentrating on the Catholic schools in Oakland, he hoped to have a plentiful supply of students from the immediate neighborhood of the new college.

Shortly after Brother Bettelin arrived in San Francisco it became quite apparent to him that the Brothers could not long remain on the San Francisco campus. Archbishop Alemany insisted that the Brothers either buy the college or pay an annual rent of \$1500. Inasmuch as Brother Bettelin thought out-

right purchase was inadvisable, the Brothers began a semi-annual payment of \$750 on November 20, 1881 and continued the practice until June, 1889. In the meanwhile Brother Bettelin resolved to buy a new campus and build a college with the Brothers' own money. In addition to the financial factor, the campus on Mission Road was exposed to ocean fogs and violent winds. However the most important element in the decision was the change in the hierarchy that occurred in 1883 when the Most Reverend Patrick William Riordan of Chicago became co-adjutor Archbishop of San Francisco with right of succession. A few months after Archbishop Riordan succeeded to the see, he willingly agreed with Brother Bettelin's plan to move the college. The new campus was an eight acre tract located in the suburbs of Oakland at 30th and Broadway Streets. It was thought that the location would be sufficiently close for day students who commuted from the fast growing East Bay cities and would be easily accessible to boarders from nearby areas.

The land selected for the new campus was part of a real estate development called the Academy Homestead Tract that had been carved out of the Rancho San Antonio, granted by Spain to Luis Maria Peralta in 1820. Inasmuch as bigotry was still rampant in some parts of Alameda County, Brother Bettelin wisely purchased the land through an agent, Francis S. Wensinger of San Francisco. When Wensinger inquired about the property, he was told that it would soon go under the hammer by an order of the court. He also learned that it was planned to run Piedmont Avenue through the area to Webster Street. Despite these shortcomings, Brother Bettelin instructed Wensinger to buy the land and trusted to Providence to close Piedmont Avenue at Broadway. Wensinger immediately contacted W. K. Dingee, broker for the owner of the largest parcel in the desired tract. In the conversation Dingee claimed the land was worth \$30,000 but Wensinger contended it could not bring half that amount on the open market. After a bit of haggling a tentative price of



St. Mary's Rebuilt, 1912

\$14,000 was agreed on just two days before the date of the scheduled auction. On the following morning Dingee declared the deal was off because the owner would not sell for a dollar less than \$16,000. When Wensinger refused to budge from the tentative price, Dingee left the conference in a huff only to reappear in the afternoon to close the deal at \$14,000. Wensinger then followed up the negotiation by buying up scattered holdings in other parts of the tract. He bought the property in his own name, secured quit-claims from all former owner, obtained a clear title and had it properly recorded. On August 13, 1886, in consideration of \$22,000 Wensinger conveyed all the land, thirty-two lots, to the trustees of St. Mary's College. Wensinger gave the land to St. Mary's at cost, he refused to accept any commission or remuneration for his services or in the words of Brother Bettelin, "he charged us never a cent."

A more difficult problem now presented itself. If Piedmont Avenue were run diagonally through the property to Webster Street, it would destroy the campus. Brother Bettelin charged Brother Walter Erminold (George Francis O'Malley, 1855-1907) teacher of the senior class, with representing the case of St. Mary's before the City Council of Oakland. In his arguments Brother Walter stressed the value and the necessity of a unified campus and as well as the uselessness of extending Piedmont Avenue past Broadway. After months of parleying and haggling, the Council finally passed an ordinance, September 20, 1886, terminating Piedmont Avenue at Broadway and insuring an undivided campus for the new college.

In the meanwhile Brother Bettelin faced the task of raising approximately \$350,000 to build the college. In the 1880's this was considered a huge sum and it demanded a great deal of faith to plan the expenditure of this money without having any of it on hand. But the new president had inherited a goodly share of Celtic trust in Providence; furthermore he knew

from past performances that he could confidently rely on the generosity and cooperation of the people of San Francisco and the West. Furthermore, being a hardheaded administrator, he had begun to build a fund by initiating a policy of economy and retrenchment in all of the Brothers' schools from the early years of the 1880's. The small pittances that trickled into St. Mary's from these communities were literally pennies from the poor. Even though vowed to poverty and eking out an existence from niggardly allotments, the Brothers cheerfully skimmed on necessities to contribute over \$15,000.

In addition to the Brothers collectively, individual Brothers made outright gifts from their patrimony. Brother Adrian (William Byrne, 1829-1909), a manual labor Brother at St. Mary's, gave a lot at Folsom and Sixth Streets, San Francisco, valued at \$3,600. The property brought \$7,870 when it was raffled in a lottery with chances at five dollars apiece. Brothers sold the tickets throughout the entire province and the winner was the sister of Charles Geggus, an old time St. Mary's baseball player. Brother Julius (Martin Noonan, 1829-1896) of St. Joseph's Academy assigned property in Victoria, British Columbia. After a long and stubborn legal fight by Brother Bettelin it brought \$3,700. Brother Walter Erminold (George Francis O'Malley) donated \$1,200 and collected \$1,500 in contributions from his friends.

Other benefactors included Archbishop Riordan, Father Michael Connolly, Father Lawrence Serda, Francis Wensinger, Mrs. A. M. Parrott, Mary Pleasant and Thomas Fitzsimmons. Their donations ranged from \$180 to \$250. The total was far below the \$100,000 that Brother Justin collected almost single handedly in San Francisco hardly a decade before.

The work of raising the money was very difficult as was evident from the amount contributed, the widespread locations of the donors and the length of time spent in obtaining enough money to cover initial expenses.

From 1886 to 1889 Brother Bettelin tried numerous means of raising funds, even circulating delinquent parents with a letter that described St. Mary's hardships and financial plight and ended with a plea for payment of overdue tuition. Construction of the college took three years and during this time, expenses frequently exceeded the cash on hand. In these cases, Brother Bettelin had recourse to emergency loans, some thirty-one in number, just to keep the work going.

While the task of securing the property and obtaining funds was going on, Brother Bettelin was gathering suggestions and proposals that were, he asserted, "original and entirely of our own idea." The president commissioned J. J. Clarke, a young and promising architect of San Francisco to draw up the plans. With data from Brother Bettelin, Clarke made a set of blue prints that were rather elaborate and considered fit for a palatial structure. When the plans were finished many critics contended that Clarke was incapable of putting into concrete form the Brothers' idea of a boarding school and that his designs were more suitable for a hotel than a college. Despite the truth of some of these contentions, Brother Bettelin forwarded the plans to Brother Patrick (John Murphy, 1822-1891), Assistant Superior General at the Mother House in Paris, who approved the draft with only a few minor improvements.

It was unfortunate that more care was not taken in the selection of the architect as well as in the scrutiny of his work. Brother Bettelin and his advisers had enough experience with school buildings to detect and correct the flaws in Clarke's drawings. And such was more certainly the case with Brother Patrick whose two counselors, Brothers Paulian (Patrick Fanning, 1831-1913) and James (Hugh Carney, 1842-1910) of St. Louis, had supervised the construction of many schools and institutions east of the Mississippi River.

Although a great deal of affection and sentiment was to be attached to the building in later years, there is no gainsaying some of the criticisms leveled by Brother Zeticus Joseph (Edward I. Fenlon), a long-time resident. He contended that the building was the result of shoddy planning and that "as an educational structure designed for a boarding college, was very much of a failure." More than a score of palpable defects were easily recognizable by a competent school administrator, such as staircases, wash and clothes rooms that occupied choice sections of the building and cut off the western sun to some of the most vital rooms. Certain classrooms knew no sun while the hallway alongside was flooded with it. Almost the same may be said of the two floors below with respect to study hall and dining room. In addition a great deal of space was wasted.

From the point of view of the Brothers' living and study rooms, the inconveniences were many, notable and annoying: there was no real privacy either from the students or from visitors, the bathing facilities were two stories below the dormitory (a congested curtain-cell affair), to the rear of the chapel. The heating plant, in lieu of occupying a central location, was positioned in the extreme north corner, making uniform warmth impossible. The infirmary was poorly lighted with the windows so high in the wall that a person had to stand on a chair to get a view of the street.

Although the planning was incompetent, the actual construction was well done because of the careful supervision of Brothers Julian (John McDonald, 1843-1895) and Valdanus Adrian (William Byrne, 1829-1909). The former, described by a colleague as a "thorough-going mechanic," looked after the carpentering, plumbing and roofing and the latter, the masonry. Inasmuch as most of the building was brick, Brother Adrian rendered yeoman's service in demanding and obtaining excellent workmanship. Doubtlessly his watchfulness was increased by the sudden and unexplained jump in price of brick

to eight dollars per thousand but it was primarily due to his pride in doing a job well. In several cases he demanded that poorly constructed walls be torn down and rebuilt. When he noted that part of the front wall was being slovenly set, he halted the work until the contractor gave assurance that the defects would be remedied and that the type of work would not be repeated. During the subsequent forty-three years the solidly built walls withstood a fire that gutted the entire interior, withstood the historic earthquake of 1906 and remained practically unscathed in a second fire in 1918 that ravaged the rest of the plant. When wreckers attempted to raze the building in 1928, they had to dynamite the lower parts of the walls that were fifteen feet thick.

When the foundations were completed and the walls rose to the first floor, the cornerstone was laid by Archbishop Patrick Riordan on Sunday, October 22, 1887. The Oakland Tribune noted that at the entrance to the ground floor an arch had been raised, the voussoirs twined with red and white bunting, and the apex surmounted by a gilded cross. Immediately below the cross was suspended an inscription that read, "New Saint Mary's College." Above the only joist in place two large American flags floated. On the north side of the floors was a raised dais which bore the words, "Religion, Science, Morals." In the background was a statue of the Blessed Virgin beneath the inscription, "We fly to thee, O Holy Mother of God." To the right of the Virgin's statue was the throne of the archbishop under a red canopy.

Some minutes before the ceremonies started, all the space between the building and Broadway Street was dense with people. The sidewalks on either side of Broadway were likewise packed with spectators. Through this throng marched a parade of students from the Christian Brothers Schools. The first contingent, 150 from St. Joseph's Academy were preceded by the Oak

Leaf Band of Oakland. They were followed by the boys from St. Mary's of West Oakland, Sacred Heart of Temescal, St. Anthony's and finally those from St. Mary's College. After the students came the St. Joseph's Benevolent Society, Young Men's Catholic Mutual Aid Society, Young Men's Institute, St. Mary's Cadets and the Catholic Knights of America.

The archbishop escorted by some twenty-five priests and eighty Christian Brothers blessed the cornerstone and inserted in its cavity a tin box containing an inscription that read, "This cornerstone was laid by the Most Rev. P. W. Riordan, Archbishop of San Francisco, on the 22nd day of October, in the year of Our Lord 1887, Pope Leo gloriously reigning, Grover Cleveland, President of the United States; R. W. Waterman, Governor of the State; W. R. Davis, Mayor of the City of Oakland." Other items enclosed in the box were a medal of the Immaculate Conception, a picture and a relic of St. John Baptist de la Salle, 1, 2, 5, 10, 25, 50 cent pieces and a silver dollar; and copies of San Francisco and Oakland newspapers.

After the archbishop had lowered the cornerstone into place, he led a procession of priests and altar boys in a circuit of the building in order to bless the entire plant. The ceremonies closed with an address delivered by Father Joseph Sasia, S.J., President of St. Ignatius College, San Francisco.

One whose presence was missed sorely at the rituals was the founder and first patron of St. Mary's, Archbishop Alemany. Four years before he requested and obtained Archbishop Riordan of Chicago as co-adjutor with right of succession. In November, 1883, he met his successor at Salt Lake City, the eastern border of the archdiocese and escorted him to San Francisco. Among the institutions to welcome the new archbishop was St. Mary's College. Brother Romuald, (Jean Pierre Lentz, 1831-1896) spiritual director of the

college, presided at the reception. After the ovation that greeted the arrival of Archbishops Alemany and Riordan subsided, Brother Romuald rose and in a well worded and charming address greeted the new archbishop. He assured the prelate that the entire college prayed for his health and length of years on the Pacific Coast. He invited him to come often to the college that had been founded by his venerable predecessor and ably directed by the good Brother Justin. After a series of instrumental and vocal selections, Archbishop Riordan thanked the faculty and students for their kind welcome and paid a high tribute to Brother Romuald, whom he had known for eighteen years. After giving the students his blessing and a half holiday, he joined the faculty in the dining hall for a repast.

With the arrival of his successor, Archbishop Alemany prepared to leave for Spain and retirement. He paid his last visit to the Gothic pile that caused him so much anxiety, on April 30, 1885, when a farewell reception was tendered to him. In the presence of clergy, faculty and students, the old cleric bade good-bye to those whom he considered his very own.

One of the last events in the annals of the college in San Francisco was celebration of a solemn triduum to honor the beatification of St. John Baptist de la Salle, founder of the Christian Brothers. The three day observance was held in old St. Mary's Cathedral on California Street, February 14, 15, and 16, 1889. According to a contemporary account, "all that exquisite taste and liberal expenditures could do, has been done to beautify the interior of Saint Mary's Cathedral. . . . Not a pillar in the long nave has been left without a banner of red silk, edged with gold braid, similar ornaments are hung at short intervals along the walls." The gallery was draped in red velvet and the large chandelier in the center of the nave was wreathed in garlands of smilax. In the sanctuary, a picture of the beatified was exposed for public veneration along with three authenticated relics.

On each of the three days, morning solemn mass and evening vespers were celebrated. At each service a sermon was delivered. The choirs of the cathedral, St. Mary's College and Sacred Heart College sang the musical selections of the masses and vespers. Accompanying the organ was the entire orchestra of the Tivoli Theatre. At the gradual of the mass on the first day, the latter rendered a selection from Wagner's "Tannhauser," and at the conclusion of the ceremonies gave a spirited interpretation of the overture in Wagner's "Lohengrin."

It might not be amiss to mention that before St. Mary's left Mission Road it lost a most faithful and competent lay instructor, Lawrence Taafe who left the college in 1884 after fifteen years of service. Taafe was born in Ireland, April 9, 1842, and got the rudiments of an education in the national schools of that country. When he was ten, he moved to St. Louis, Missouri and enrolled with the Christian Brothers in their Cathedral Male Free School and later in Christian Brothers College. Despite the Civil War and the fact that the Federal Government used part of the college for a prison, Taafe continued his course and was graduated in 1863. In St. Louis, Taafe met Brother Justin and six years after graduation joined him at St. Mary's College. During his first years on the faculty, Taafe taught the natural sciences and mathematics in the second collegiate. Later as an instructor in English he became known for the themes that he exacted regularly, read scrupulously and corrected minutely. Quiet, unassuming and persistent, Taafe exerted a beneficent influence on hundreds of students. He was always cooperative, especially with pupils and this willingness to help contributed materially to his status as a counsellor of no ordinary ability. His stature on the campus was recognized in 1880 when he was elected to the Board of Trustees.

After leaving St. Mary's, Taafe taught at Sacred Heart College, San Francisco and in several of the public schools of that city. In 1902 he became principal of Humbolt Evening School and remained in that office until his death in 1912.

Two years after the laying of the cornerstone, the new St. Mary's College was dedicated, August 11, 1889, by Archbishop Riordan. It was just twenty-one years to the day that the Brothers arrived in San Francisco. Before an audience estimated variously from six to ten thousand, Father William Gleeson, pastor of St. Anthony's Church, Oakland, delivered the oration of the day. In his peroration he predicted a glorious future for St. Mary's:

And now, Brothers, allow me to say a word to you in particular. Today you take your stand before the community in the great work you propose to accomplish on this Coast. Every eye is upon you and much is expected of you. But you have much in your favor and you commence under the most favorable auspices: climate, location, the sympathy of the community are all on your side. If you fail, the failure will be your own work. But I have no doubt about your success. I have known you for twenty long years. I have lived under the same roof with you, and I know your system and your manner of teaching, so I repeat, I have no fears for your success. No, failure is a word that has not yet been written in your history. Nor shall I be the first to write it. Succeed you shall, and St. Mary's of Oakland shall become an honor to your name and a glory to the diocese of San Francisco.

After the ceremonies the spectators tramped through the five story brick building that had a hundred and ninety foot by sixty frontage on Broadway and rose one hundred and ten feet throughout. Two perpendicular wings ran west at the north and south ends of the Broadway frontage and measured forty-five in width and one hundred twenty-five and one hundred and fifty feet in length respectively. The main entrance, located in the middle of the main wing, was a striking piece of stone work. A broad flight of granite steps, fifteen feet wide, ascended to the first floor.



50th Jubilee, 1913

An elegant stone vestibule, some eight feet wide, led to the main hall, parlors, study hall, music room and chapel.

In the basement were located the kitchens, bakery, and refectories for students, faculty, maintenance men and visitors. In addition there were billiard parlors, reading rooms and bathrooms. Although this floor was called the basement, in an ordinary building it would be considered a "story" for it was fourteen feet in height.

On the first floor, in addition to the rooms mentioned above, was the chapel occupying most of the entire length of the south wing. The second story was devoted to classrooms, library and Brothers' community room. The first were of moderate size and were described as being "arranged as regards light and ventilation in the most approved manner." The library and the community room in the south wing were connected by sliding doors and could be used for public lectures or receptions. The third story was divided between the Brothers' cells and the students' dormitories. The latter, two in number, were very spacious and measured forty by one hundred and fifteen feet and sixty by twenty-five feet, respectively. Each dormitory had a large clothes room together with suitable lavatories. In the attic were the infirmary and private rooms for students. Each wing had a broad flight of stairs and the main or east wing two flights. These stairs were so located that in emergency boarders could quickly reach them.

The general plan of the building was simple. Most of the hallways were twelve feet wide and sixteen feet high and every room opened directly onto a hallway. One of the most modern conveniences were the wash and bath rooms located on every floor. Other modern devices were the passenger elevator, dumb waiter and chute that ran from the basement to attic.

On the Thursday following dedication, students began to register in the new building. The faculty consisted of Brother Bettelin, president,

Brother William, Director of spiritual exercises; Brother Bertram, modern languages; Brother Lascian, Economics; Brother Walter, philosophy and composition; Brother Agnon, mathematics, logic and elocution; Brother Peter, English; Brother B. Joseph, Latin and Greek; Brother Florinus, chemistry and natural philosophy; Brother Urban, history and composition; Brother Hyacinth, typewriting; Brother Hilary, prefect; Frederick Schorcht, music; C. Proesch, art and William J. McCormick, composition.

Brother Bettelin attempted to live up to the expectations of the new college by initiating a series of public lectures. Soon after the new plant opened Archbishop Riordan spoke on "Books and How to Use Them." Then in successive months from November to March, the District Attorney of San Francisco, Jeremiah F. Sullivan, lectured on "The Catholic Church and Civil Liberty;" Father George Montgomery, subsequently coadjutor archbishop of San Francisco, on "The Duties and Opportunities of the Educated Laity;" Father Thomas McSweeney, "The Inquisition;" Father Joseph Sasia, S.J., "The Catholic Church and Modern Science;" and finally, Brother Bermond Joseph on "The Study of the Classics."

To further enhance the college, Brother Bettelin persuaded the higher superiors to transfer Brother Benezet Thomas (Roderick Kane, 1848-1928), president of Manhattan College, New York, to St. Mary's. Brother Thomas arrived in December, 1890, and became pro-director and inspector of classes. As has been mentioned above, Brother Thomas was born in Blackrock, Ireland, the fourth son of a distinguished Irish family. After graduating from Queen's College, Dublin with a degree in engineering, he migrated to California where in 1870 he became the seventh postulant in the newly opened novitiate at St. Mary's College. He remained at St. Mary's until 1883 when he left for New York. Consequently his arrival in San Francisco

was something in the nature of a homecoming to some of his contemporaries but not to Brother Thomas. By nature he was opposed to wasting time on sentimental reunions or long-winded reminiscences. Instead he got down to business immediately. As pro-director of the college, Brother Thomas was in charge of the spiritual life of the Brothers. As such, he believed it paramount for him to direct this life according to the spirit and letter of the rules of the Institute. He bent every effort to direct the mind and the will of the Brothers towards the interior life of recollection, prayer and sacrifice. While insisting on exact regularity he simultaneously took a keen interest in the Brothers intellectual and pedagogical advancement and neglected nothing to inspire and encourage scholarly research.

As inspector of classes he formulated a program for the expansion of the science department and the classics. In his approach to extra-curricular activities, it was evident that his experience at Manhattan College had matured and broadened his views. He inaugurated Annual Field Days, that were to become an integral part of the campus life. On such occasions there would be a large gathering of relatives and friends to watch the students compete in a variety of athletic activities. The guests were entertained at a banquet at which speeches were made and there was a distribution of prizes. He was sufficiently tolerant and understanding to relax the rule against smoking on campus. Although the use of tobacco was widely frowned on, nevertheless Brother Thomas solicited funds and built a hexagonal smoke-house conspicuously in the center of the courtyard.

In 1891 Brother Thomas published the first catalogue of the college since 1878. The arrangements, style and format were so well done that they were retained by subsequent catalogues for the next twenty-four years. The 1891 catalogue of fifty pages contained a reprint of Brother Justin's initial pamphlet, roster of the faculty, regulations of the three

departments, Arts and Letters, Science and Commerce, contents of each course and the requirement for diplomas, degrees and certificates.

One of the noteworthy features of the catalogue was that the title of "President" was given to the de facto head of the college. Until this time either Brother Justin or Brother Bettelin were addressed as "President" although perforce they spent most of their time in provincial administration. Consequently, since 1891, the provincial of the Christian Brothers has been president of the Board of Trustees while the administrator of St. Mary's has been president of the college. The catalogue of 1891 named Brother Cianan as president, the fifth occupant of the post. His predecessors were Father John Harrington, Father Peter Grey, Brother Justin and Brother Bettelin.

Another "first" in the 1891 catalogue was mention of alumni officers. They were: Bartley P. Oliver, '73 president; George Catts, '81, vice president; Frank J. Kierce, '82, secretary; and R. R. Myrick, '81 treasurer. Directors were: Honorable T. Graney, '80; Honorable Frank J. Murasky, '83; Thomas J. Lennon, '85; Reverend Charles O'Neill, '81; and J. E. Richards, '87.

It was only logical that Brother Thomas would insert this roster in the catalogue because in March, 1891, he had reorganized the Alumni Association that had been dormant for many years. At the March meeting, the Alumni approved and adopted a constitution and a set of by-laws, elected a slate of officers and sent the following cablegram to Brother Justin, then in London: "The members of the Alumni Association of Saint Mary's College this day, in meeting assembled, send greetings to their old President, teacher and friend. Graduates from '71 to '91 cheer your name and join in wishing you God speed in your new labors. B. P. Oliver, President." After the meeting, Brother Thomas greeted the old boys in the dining room. Others on the welcoming committee were Brothers Bettelin, Agnon, Erminold, Cianan, and Alexander

along with Professors Lawrence Taafe and William J. McCormick.

Brother Thomas' participation in social events was not come by easily. For he was not by nature a "good mixer" nor by temperament exuberant or jolly. On the contrary, he was modest, reserved, recollected, and a lover of solitude, work and prayer. He was so much opposed to trifling conversation that to some he appeared cold and distant. It was therefore only by effort against his own natural bent that he could be pleasant and accomodating to friends and relatives of the students as well as to the graduates. However his courtesy and thoughtfulness were not merely a veneer but were genuine and came from conviction of duty. Many of his confreres testified to his willingness to interrupt the duties of office in order to attend to the sick Brothers, sometimes staying up entire nights with them.

What would have been the results of Brother Thomas' program had he remained at St. Mary's is merely conjecture for he was transferred to Ireland in October, 1891. The man responsible for the move was Brother Justin who had just founded the De la Salle Training College in Waterford, Ireland and needed a competent administrator to head the institution. Consequently, when the "obedience" or order of the Superior General arrived, Brother Thomas left St. Mary's as he had come, quietly. After twenty years as president of the Waterford College, Brother Thomas became an Assistant to the Superior General of the Christian Brothers. He resigned the Assistancy in 1923 and died five years later at Lembecq-Les-Hal, Belgium, October 25, 1928 in the eight-first year of his life and the fifty-ninth as a Christian Brother. Those who knew him in life frequently speak of his humility, abnegation, austerity, kindness and flawless obedience to rule. He guided his life by principle and was indifferent to personalities.

Brother Cianan, President of St. Mary's (1891-1892) assumed the duties of Brother Thomas and performed the dual task of president of the college and inspector of classes until his appointment to head the Christian Brothers' School, Sacramento, in January of 1892. His successor, Brother Yvasian Michael (Michael Joseph Dorgan, 1855-1911) came to St. Mary's after a successful term of three and a half years as principal of St. Michael's College, Portland. One of the principal events in the administration of Brother Michael was the visit of Brother Justin in the spring of 1894 in company with Brother Maurelian, Secretary-Manager of the Catholic School Exhibit in the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. At the reception tendered to Brother Justin, senior student Patrick T. Collopy, '94, delivered the address of welcome and a quartet from the glee club sang "Home Again." The Alumni followed this up in its annual banquet at the Palace Hotel, San Francisco on the evening of May 26. The program of toasts included "Alma Mater," responded to by Bartley P. Oliver '73; "Our State," Garret W. McEnerney, '81; "Our Professors," Reverend Edward Dempsey, '87; "Our College Memories," T. F. Bonnet, '82; "Our Country," Patrick T. Collopy, '94; and the Honorable Frank J. Murasky, '83 spoke of "Our Absent." When John T. Greany, '80, proposed a toast to the health of Brother Justin the banqueters greeted the name with an ovation. Brother Justin accepted the opportunity to express his gratitude and recall some memories of pioneer days such as the tolerance of Californians in general and San Franciscans in particular.

The presence of Brother Maurelian in San Francisco at this time was not merely to attend the banquet but to supervise the exhibits of St. Mary's College in the Midwinter Fair at Golden Gate Park. In the previous year, Brother Maurelian had successfully performed the same task for St.

Mary's as well as for every other Catholic school in the United States at the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago. Of Brother Maurelian's work, General John Eaton, former Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Education, wrote:

The Catholic Exhibit of Education was a surprise for those who believe that the Catholic Church seeks its ends by concealed means. Here, for the examination of every one who came, was the work of students in every subject taught, from those in the kindergarten to the most abstruse in the professions. . . . The whole was an appeal to American boasted fairness. . . . The exhibit was phenomenal. . . . No statement, no statistics, no discussion ever conveyed such an idea of Catholic education as was here disclosed.

Brother Maurelian brought St. Mary's exhibit west and installed it in the West side of the Liberal Arts Building in the Midwinter Fair. The display which occupied about one thousand square feet of floor space featured freehand drawings, architectural designs, oil paintings, mathematical calculations, copy work in various languages, the works of Saint De La Salle and the textbooks published by the Christian Brothers in the United States. May 25th was St. Mary's Day at the Fair but rain cancelled the entire outdoor exhibition with the exception of a calisthenic drill by the pupils of St. Joseph's Academy. The program held in Festival Hall was more fortunate. About six thousand visitors witnessed the afternoon and evening entertainments. The principal of the eight numbers in the former was the speech of Brother Justin who was given an ovation when he appeared on the rostrum. In the evening, Archbishop Riordan gave a glowing tribute to Catholic education and to Brother Justin.

A new era at St. Mary's started when Brother Erminold Walter (Charles A. O'Donnell, 1854-1902) became president in June, 1894. The seventh president of the college was born in Glenanare, County Limerick, Ireland and entered the Christian Brothers at the newly opened novitiate in St. Joseph's Academy at Fifth and Jackson Streets, Oakland, in 1870. Students, alumni, and clergy hailed the appointment of Brother Erminold as president with delight. One contemporary described him as "a real leader, an excellent teacher, and an outstanding speaker, a man with a big heart, friendly to the young Brothers." One confrere declared that his dominant trait was putting himself at the service of all - the talent of being "all things to all men. It pleased him to be asked, and if he had to refuse, he did it with such good grace that one had to admire his good will and generous heart."

At no time since the departure of Brother Justin, fifteen years before, did the future of the college seem so bright as it did in September, 1894. New plans, new hopes and new prospects were in the air, optimism pervaded the campus. All was well, when Brother Erminold left for a speaking engagement in the novitiate in Martinez. As he was returning on Sunday afternoon, September 23, 1894, suddenly from the train window his eye caught a glimpse of flames out towards the Piedmont Hills. He had no idea it was the college. It was only when he arrived on the campus that his direst fears were realized. The entire plant was engulfed in flames. The Brothers told Brother Erminold that the fire had started in the waste chute in the middle of the building about five o'clock. For a time the Brothers had kept the fire from spreading with the fire hoses in the building. But when a strong wind sprang up they had to abandon the fight. The city fire

department was less effective than the Brothers. When the fire engines did arrive, only one had a hose sufficiently long to reach the building. The equipment of the engines was either obsolete, inadequate or defective. After the fire Chief Lawton declared, "I asked for four thousand feet of hose and I cannot get them from the Council. Just as soon as I stretched one lead of hose it burst, so that I was delayed to make another line." When hoses were assembled, it was found that the hydrants could supply only about one sixth of the water needed. In the face of these inadequacies, it was not surprising that the whole interior of the building was gutted. The only things salvaged were the scientific apparatus and a few books. Father Thomas Sweeney of Saint Francis de Sales church braved the flames to take the Blessed Sacrament from the chapel and deposit it in his own church.

It was with heavy hearts that the Brothers and students fitfully slept on the lawn that night, the whole scene dimly lit by the glow of the smoldering embers.

In the meanwhile on the other side of the continent in New York, news of the fire reached Brother Bettelin who was about to embark for France and the twenty-eighth general chapter of the Christian Brothers. He returned immediately to California and bravely faced the task of reconstruction. Brother Bettelin had to have both faith and humility to face the staggering financial burden. Through his own negligence there were no funds to repair the damage. He had neglected to renew the fire insurance policy.

The days that followed the fire were among the most crucial ever faced by St. Mary's. Brother Bettelin later recalled, "Were it not for the encouragement extended the Brothers at the time by His Grace, Archbishop Riordan, it would have been difficult for us to obtain the necessary funds for the rebuilding of the college structure." On his own volition, Archbishop

Riordan assembled a group of Catholic businessmen to devise means for restoring the college. John Burnett, son of the first governor of California and a lawyer, Reverend John McGinty, pastor of Holy Cross Church and James R. Kelly, president of the Hibernia Bank, voluntarily formed a committee to solicit money for reconstruction. Among the most generous contributors were: Francis Wensinger, \$600; Mrs. Frank Sullivan, \$500; A. M. Parrott, \$500; Mrs. Peter Donohue, \$300; Dr. Charles Clinton, \$250; the estate of J. C. Roberts, \$250; A. M. Wilcox, \$200; Dr. Vincent Buckley, \$250; Dr. Joseph Oliver, \$100; J. Donahue, \$100; Kohler & Chase, \$100; Mary Pleasant, \$100; J. A. Graves, '72 of Los Angeles, \$500; The Misses Miller of San Rafael, \$200 and the Reverend E. Hayes, '78, Imogene, Iowa, \$300. Archbishop Riordan remitted a debt of \$2500 owed by St. Mary's to the archdiocese and took up a collection in all the parishes of Oakland and San Francisco. Even some Brothers gave from their small patrimonies like Brothers Walter, \$1200; Francis, \$750; Dative, \$500, Bermund Joseph, \$250; and Vandelinian, \$200.

While the work of raising funds was going on, a temporary quarters for St. Mary's had to be found. Brother Bettelin described the search;

We had trouble to get a place for the school while the college building was getting repaired. The Old Saint Mary's was now a dairy. What had been the main school building was used by Father Peter Brady to house St. John's parish. Portions of the house were used for a stable. Not being able to do better we had to fit it up for the purpose. We determined it should be ready in a month and so advertised the reopening. At the same time bedsteads, mattresses and class utensils had to be provided. It required an effort to have things in time. The day came. Not a mattress was on hand in the morning and but a few bedsteads. During the afternoon they came in loads. Pupils also came pouring in. It was a scene in the evening to behold the young men carrying mattresses and bedsteads to the dormitory and there arranging them. Before 12 o'clock all were in the arms of Morpheus. Thus ending a few week's strain or more than ordinary tension.

On the night of October 20, 1894 when St. Mary's was moving into its new quarters, St. John's parish was conducting a fair and a bazaar in the

old study hall. At the height of the festivities, Father Peter D. Brady introduced Brothers Bettelin and Erminold, announced the return of St. Mary's College to its first abode and then asked the two Brothers to address the throng.

Meanwhile in Oakland, progress in the reconstruction of St. Mary's was slow and filled with annoyances. Hardly had the work begun when the cold and rain of winter added to the difficulties. Delays of lumber and brick increased the discomfiture of the Brothers who wanted to return to the Oakland campus as soon as possible. Delays, difficulties and obstacles seemed to multiply and it was not until fifteen months after the fateful fire that the restored building was ready for occupancy. Archbishop Riordan re-dedicated the building in December, 1895 and classes opened in the following January.

In the previous June, sickness and overwork compelled Brother Erminold to resign the presidency and Brother Walter (George O'Malley, 1855-1907) took over the reins of office. A native of St. Louis, the new administrator was not only the first American but also the first student of St. Mary's to lead his Alma Mater. He had been graduated from the high school department in 1870 and entered the Christian Brothers novitiate, then housed on the campus. After several years as an instructor in St. Joseph's Academy and Sacred Heart College, he took over administration of the College of Our Lady of Guadalupe, a semi-orphanage or protectory for delinquent boys. This institution located near Mission Santa Inez had originally been a seminary and after some years of idleness had been turned over to the Christian Brothers. When Archbishop Alemany sold the thirteen thousand acre "College ranch," the main support of the school, Brother Walter closed the plant and returned to St. Mary's College as teacher of the senior class. He then moved to Sacramento and was acting as principal of the Christian Brothers College when the call came to succeed Brother Erminold.

The calm, dignified Brother Walter lost little time in his efforts to revive the college. In 1896 he issued the third catalog in the history of St. Mary's. Modeled after the one printed by Brother Thomas in 1891, it combined the features of a year book and a prospectus. Of its one hundred and four pages, thirty gave a synopsis of the history, courses, fees and faculty of the institution. Then followed a rather detailed account of the contents of each course, requirements for degrees and the program of the thirty-third annual commencement. The last sixteen pages carried photographs of campus scenes.

Among the names of the thirty-two professors and instructors on the faculty was that of Brother Albion Benedict (James P. Dooley, 1855-1907),

professor of Latin and Greek, who had come to St. Mary's from St. John's College, Washington, D.C. in 1893. Considered by many to be the outstanding classicist among the Brothers in the United States, Brother Benedict had been at Rock Hill College, Maryland with Brother Bettelin from 1874-1879. Many stories are told about his fluency in the ancient languages, such as the one about his encounter with a Jewish rabbi in a railroad train. The squat, rabbinical-looking Brother conversed pleasantly and fluently in Hebrew with the rabbi for some time before he quietly admitted that he had no synagogue and was not even a member of the faith. Not only was Brother Benedict accepted among scholars and linguists but was recognized as a competent and devoted teacher. Many of his students remembered the after school hours and weekends he spent with the backward or those preparing for the seminary. One group of the latter testified that Brother Benedict's exacting and thorough instruction made it comparatively easy for them to obtain good grades in Latin and Greek while making their priestly studies. In addition to Greek and Latin, Brother Benedict was fluent in Gaelic. When an Irish-Catholic weekly called The Leader started in San Francisco, Brother Benedict was given charge of the Gaelic column. Even when he moved back to the East Coast, he continued to send his weekly contributions to the paper.

It was almost inevitable that St. Mary's would be drawn into the maelstrom of bigotry that agitated California and the nation in the nineties. As it had done in the generations since the founding of the United States, intolerance once again appeared. This time under the banner of an organization called the American Protective Association, commonly known as the "A.P.A." The association was a revival of the defunct Know-Nothingism of the 1850's and had been founded in Clinton, Iowa, March 13, 1887. Within a year of its foundation it spread across the

country and established branches in most states. It charged, among other things, that the Catholic Church was corrupt and immoral and that the Papacy was an untiring, extensive engine, working to destroy republican ideas of government. The rabid, anti-Catholic campaign was led by ministers and ex-ministers like Dr. A. C. Hirst, Elbert R. Dille, C. D. Brown, John Quincy Adams Henry and Charles W. Wendte. In frequent lectures from podium and pulpit in Bay Area cities they urged their auditors to prove their belief by action and to pledge themselves neither to employ, cooperate with nor vote for a Catholic. The A.P.A. circulated black-lists of firms owned by Catholics or partial to Catholics, sponsored a slate of candidates for state and municipal offices and promulgated a series of charges that seem preposterous when viewed in retrospect. Among the most vicious accusations was that every Catholic domestic in a Protestant home was pledged to poison at least one member of the household and that battalions of Catholics were poised to massacre Protestants on a designated day. It was solemnly asserted that regiments of potential murderers drilled every morning at three o'clock in the basement of St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco. The East Bay headquarters and arsenal was in St. Mary's College.

Among the first to "expose" St. Mary's was the editor of the Occident, an A.P.A. journal published in San Francisco. According to the Occident, seven hundred stands of arms were discovered in the basement of the college soon after the fire of September, 1894. To confirm the report, the Occident sent a delegation of ministers composed of the Reverends C. Coyle, Victor Stewart and A. J. McMurty to St. Mary's College. The committee returned with a declaration that they had investigated the charge and found it correct. Despite denials of the allegation by the college authorities, the Santa Ana Blade and the Pasadena Evening Star carried the story in their columns as reliable. Thereupon Brother Walter published the following:

Dear Sir:

I have just been handed a clipping from the Santa Ana Blade of March 27 (1895) wherein the dead and buried lie about the seven hundred stands of arms found at St.Mary's College, Oakland last September, is resurrected and presented to the readers of that paper as plain, unvarnished truth. Now as far as the report being true, it is basely and maliciously false. The fact that old, condemned U.S. muskets (purchased) at Benicia a few years ago, were and still are at St.Mary's College, Oakland, no one connected with the College has ever denied. The Monitor stated the fact. The police saw the guns in the hands of the College Cadets both in Oakland and in San Francisco. There was no secrecy in the affair. Twice a week on the College campus the cadets were put through the manual of arms by Colonel Geary and the public were not hindered, if they so desired, from watching the whole proceeding. Of this then the Santa Ana Blade can rest assured: There were and still are some old muskets at St.Mary's College, Oakland; not however, such as the soldier would like to have on active duty, nor yet such as the sportsman would wish, for they might prove as disastrous to himself as to the game.

Instead of the seven hundred stands of arms allegedly seen by the ministerial committee, Brother Walter, insisted that the most thorough and rigid scrutiny could not uncover more than one hundred on the St.Mary's College campus.

It is doubtful if Brother Walter's refutation convinced many opponents. For not long after his tilt with the newspaper, he had to face another attack when his adversaries urged the city of Oakland to run a street through the campus. It will be recalled that Brother Walter had forestalled continuation of Piedmont Avenue across St.Mary's, nine years previously. This time authorities seemed determined to complete their plans and had already installed curbing,sewers and catch basins for the projected thoroughfare before Brother Walter persuaded the city council to abandon the scheme and leave the campus intact.

The A.F.A. crusade continued to disturb the life of the college as it did most Catholic institutions in California. The leaders of the campaign did not hesitate to revive some of the hackneyed charges bandied about since colonial days such as a good Catholic could not be a

good American. In a series of widely publicized debates, the Reverend Charles Wendte, pastor of the Oakland Unitarian Church, contended that it was impossible for an intelligent and reasonable Catholic to love America. For some unexplained reason he admitted that priests could be patriotic, even though they knew and practiced Catholicism better than most of their co-religionists.

The bugaboo of the unpatriotic Catholic as well as the rest of the imputations of the A.P.A. movement temporarily ceased with the mass enlistment of Catholics in the Spanish-American War. Almost two-thirds of the First Regiment, California Volunteer Infantry, were Catholics. One of the arch foes of the A.P.A. and a prominent Catholic, James A. Smith, was appointed regimental commander and a Catholic priest, Father William D. McKinnon, chaplain. The First California Regiment commemorated Father McKinnon's heroism by placing his statue in Golden Gate Park, San Francisco.

In the midst of the A.P.A. disturbances, disquieting rumors began to circulate among the Brothers at St. Mary's of an attempt to eliminate Latin from the curriculum of all Christian Brothers' schools. For some years prior to 1897, individuals inside and outside the Christian Brothers had labored in vain for this purpose but on the eve of the 29th General Chapter of the Institute, prospects for success looked bright.

To understand the significance of this move a glance at the history of the Christian Brothers might be helpful. In the late seventeenth century, when St. De La Salle founded the Institute in France, Christian and non-Christian education of the poor was ignored. The plight of these unfortunates touched the heart of the saint and he established his organization primarily for their Christian education.

In composing Rules for the Institute, St. De La Salle formulated legislation that was geared to contemporary conditions and aimed at providing

elementary education for the poor and neglected. Inasmuch as there were no compulsory educational laws and slight value attached to the benefits of learning, the lower classes spent little time in schools. To make the most of this time, St. De La Salle ordered that instruction in the Brothers' schools be given in the ordinary speech of the people and that

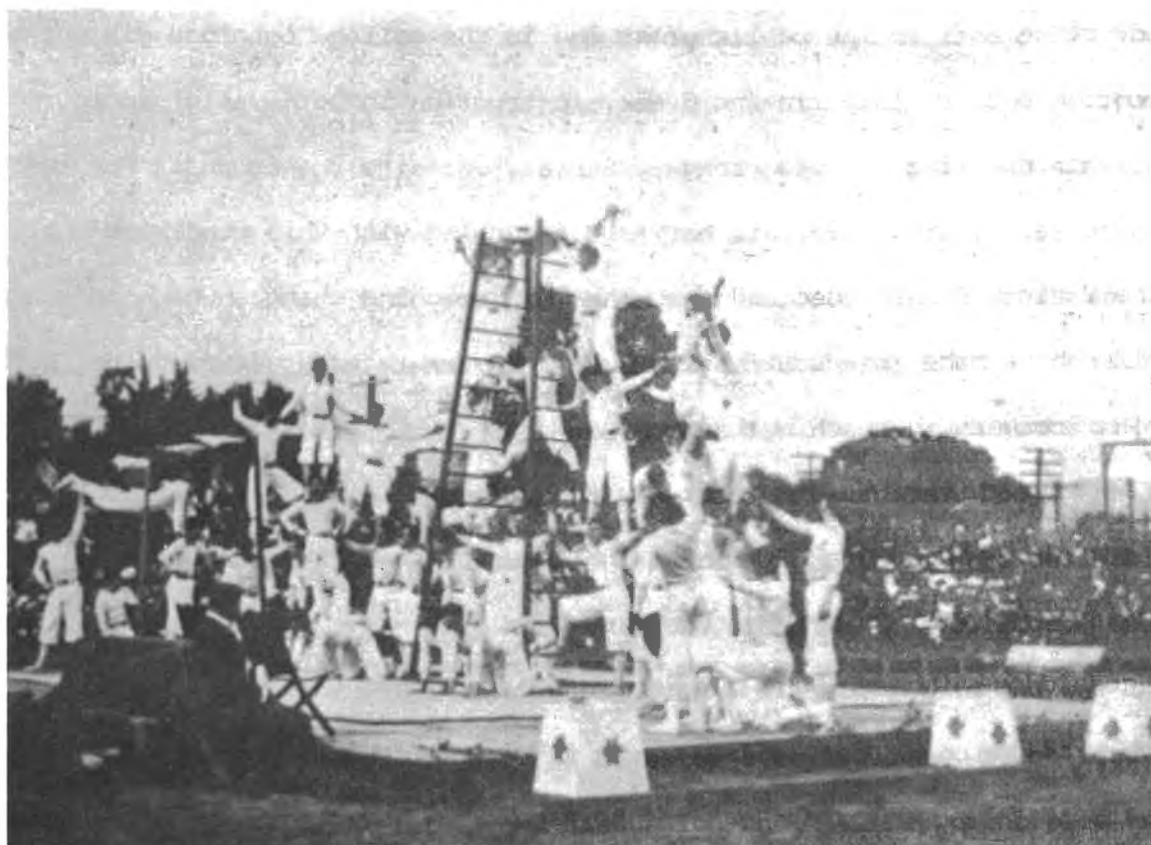
The Brothers who have learned the Latin language shall make no use thereof after entering the Society. . . . No Brother shall be allowed to teach the Latin language to any person whatever, either within or without the house.

In subsequent years the schools of the Brothers began to give more than instruction in the rudiments. The curricula came to include higher mathematics and science. When the Institute expanded to countries outside of France, such as the United States, the Brothers were faced with problems radically different from those in France. One of these was the preparation of a native clergy. The repeated plea of Archbishop Alemany for this purpose brought the Brothers to St. Mary's in 1868. Encouragement of vocations to the priesthood by providing instruction in Latin remained an integral part of the curriculum during the remainder of the nineteenth century.

When the General Chapter of the Institute opened in Athis Mons, France in March, 1897, more than half of the delegates were French with a tenacious adherence to the letter of the Rule and little appreciation of conditions in America that would justify modification of that Rule. In the proceedings representatives from the United States supported by numerous petitions of constituents pleaded for keeping Latin in the curriculum. The majority, mostly of French origin, believed that such instruction was a flagrant violation of the Rule and was to cease immediately. This decision was appealed to the Vatican's Sacred Congregation of Propaganda who ruled that

after the lapse of two years the Brothers in the United States should cease to teach Latin. At this juncture the American hierarchy decided to go to the aid of the American Brothers and sent Bishop Thomas Byrne of Nashville to Rome to plead their cause. Negotiations dragged along for six months and ended in failure. The Vatican refused to budge from its decision. However the American bishops were not discouraged. Their second envoy to the Eternal City was Archbishop Patrick Riordan of San Francisco. Despite the eloquence and cogency of the San Franciscan's remarks, Rome remained adamant. As a matter of fact, its directives became a little more specific for in its communication to the American hierarchy it stated that teaching Latin in the Brothers' schools and colleges was to stop at the end of the spring semester, 1900.

To make certain that classes in Latin would end the Superior General of the Christian Brothers transferred several leaders of the American cause to other parts of the world. Among the most prominent of these were Brother Justin and his blood brother, Brother Bettelin. The former was deprived of his office as Provincial of New York and assigned to a primary grade in Toulouse, France. The latter, likewise was stripped of office and sent to Troy, New York, as director of an orphanage. Among the other exiles were Brothers Bernard and Fabrician of Manhattan College, New York, who were kept in Europe for several years as punishment for their intransigency. Both of the latter were to play prominent roles in the history of St. Mary's.



50th Jubilee Gymnasts, 1913

In the midst of this controversy, Brother Walter resigned as president of St. Mary's. Although sickness was given as the reason for the resignation, the Latin question undoubtedly hastened the decision. His successor was his predecessor, Brother Erminold, who evidently felt that the Vatican's ultimatum on teaching Latin could be taken with a grain of salt. Although advertisements in the public press and in the college catalogs did not mention courses in Latin and Greek, instruction in both was given in a private dwelling at 2042 Broadway Street, opposite the campus. For twenty-three years, 1900-1923, St. Mary's was hobbled with this condition until the Vatican finally decided that the "far reaching changes which modern times have made in educational programs and statutes" justified the Christian Brothers in teaching Latin.

After making arrangements for the makeshift classes in Latin, Brother Erminold turned his attention to the celebration of the canonization of St. De La Salle, founder of the Christian Brothers. On October 26, 27 and 28, 1900 a solemn tridium was held in St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco. On each of the three days, morning and evening services were held and the exercises culminated when Archbishop Patrick Riordan presided at a pontifical high Mass. To commemorate the occasion a souvenir booklet was printed in which the life and work of the founder was described.

The most important contribution of Brother Erminold to St. Mary's was founding the School of Civil Engineering. To take up the slack left by the downgrading of the classics, St. Mary's expanded the curriculum to include not only civil engineering but a number of other branches of science such as metallurgy, hydraulics and assaying. The man primarily responsible for founding the School of Civil Engineering was Brother R. Bernard (Thomas

Patrick Kelly, 1859-1912). A native of Canada, Brother Bernard was the first Christian Brother to graduate with a degree in civil engineering from the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale University. He was early associated with the founding of the school of civil engineering at Manhattan College, New York. Among the students of the pioneer class, only two of the original twenty-eight graduated, Brother Bernard was considered a very exacting teacher to whom near misses were total failures. When the Latin problem arose, Brother Bernard took a leading role in defending its retention in the curriculum. For his efforts, he along with twelve other protagonists was sent into exile. In Cairo, Egypt, Brother Bernard established an excellent school of engineering that lasted until the regime of President Gamal Abdel Nasser in 1957. When he arrived at St. Mary's in 1902 he found that the preliminary work for the school of civil engineering had been done by Brothers V. Leo (Augustus McKinnon) and Alfred (John E. Donovan). The curriculum laid out by Brother Bernard consisted of twenty courses ranging from the fundamentals of land surveying to the theory of trusses and from the principles of hydraulics to the drainage problems of sewers and tunnels. During the subsequent twenty-nine years, the school of civil engineering consistently graduated well-trained and competent men. Brother Bernard remained as chairman of the school of civil engineering until 1908 when failing health forced him to resign the post and leave for New Mexico where he died in 1912. With the departure of Brother Bernard, his assistant, Brother V. Leo succeeded to his post as head of the school and retained that position until civil engineering was abolished in 1931.

In addition to sponsoring the introduction of civil engineering to the curriculum, Brother Erminold readjusted other features of the courses of study to meet the changing conditions of the time. However his willingness to adapt to new conditions did not mean wholesale jettisoning of the past. He still rigorously followed the regulations established by his

predecessors during the previous thirty years. Only he, as president, could permit a student to go home on a visit and then only occasionally, for such outings were considered detrimental to the student's advancement. Strict censorship of all incoming mail was maintained. All printed materials, such as books, pamphlets, periodicals and even newspapers were subject to examination and if thought objectionable, were not delivered. All letters, except from parents or guardians, were liable to inspection. Parents were allowed monthly visits to the campus on condition that they did not infringe on study times. Students were expected, under all circumstances, to be gentlemen. Those guilty of profanity, insubordination and vicious acts were promptly expelled. The daily schedule for faculty began at 4:30 A.M. and for students at 6:00 A.M. Half hour after the rising bell, students assembled in the study hall for one hour of class preparation under the supervision of a prefect. After breakfast at 7:30 there was a few minutes of recreation followed by another stint in the study hall. Classes began for all at 9:00 and lasted until 4:00 in the afternoon with the exception of short recesses in morning and afternoon and a lunch hour at 12:30. After dismissal of classes at 4:00 students were allowed one hour of recreation on the campus, then back to the study hall for another sixty minutes of book work. After dinner at 6:00 and a half hour of recreation, it was supervised study again until bedtime at 8:30.

The administration was careful to point out that every day four hours were to be devoted to supervised study; five and a half hours to class work, and three hours to recreation and physical exercise. Instead of the weekly holiday, that was customary in most colleges, Wednesday and Saturday afternoons were designated as free time. Although frequent visits of parents to the campus were discouraged, St. Mary's kept them well informed of their son's academic progress with monthly report cards.

In keeping with the tradition of St. Mary's, Brother Erminold kept the fees at a minimum. For thirty-two dollars a month the student received board, tuition, medical attendance, washing, mending and books.

One of the unrealized ambitions of Brother Erminold was to have the college staffed entirely with Brothers. Inasmuch as the shortage of Brothers in the province made this impossible, the president had to supplement a staff of sixteen Brothers with nine laymen. The large number of secular instructors aroused forebodings in the minds of some contemporaries who were alarmed that the number of laymen had jumped from three in 1891 to nine in 1902. One complainant lamented that it boded ill "for an institution like St. Mary's to have to revert to the necessity of hiring laymen for its work. The evil will never be eliminated in its entirety, but the pernicious effect of secular teachers on the students and on the mind of the institution requires that their number be kept to a minimum."

Despite the voices of doom, the administration of Brother Erminold bore many of the earmarks of success. The president lent prestige and vigor to much that he undertook. His versatility and wide interests encouraged healthy institutional life and attracted the support of church and state leaders. Seldom had the college been visited by so many prominent officials as during his regime and their hospitable reception recalled the heyday of Brother Justin. A virile and magnanimous individual, he was candid to a fault, and like many of his kind, made strong friends or enemies. One of the former recalled "Brother Erminold was president of St. Mary's College when I was there on April 30, 1901. That evening the seniors put on a show - the name escapes me. Brother Erminold made it a point to talk for quite a long while to me. Two months later Brother Erminold was in Martinez and met the novices and postulants. He asked who was the young man from

Walla Walla. I replied: 'It is me.' In a real, gentle and masterful manner he informed me and the group that that was not the generally accepted usage. Needless to say I remembered: 'It is I.'

In keeping with his character, Brother Erminold seldom if ever allowed his personal difficulties or health problems to mar his cordiality and thoughtfulness of others. Although his colleagues knew that he had suffered from stomach trouble for years yet so well had he concealed his illness, that the Brothers made elaborate preparations for a surprise birthday party in his honor. When the evening of November 4, 1902 finally arrived, Brothers and guests gathered around the banquet table but the guest of honor was absent. Near the end of the festivities, he appeared for a few moments to thank his well-wishers. Two days later he was dead, the first St. Mary's College president to die in office. He died as he had lived, thinking of man and of God. On his deathbed, when told that he had only a few hours to live, he said, "Yes. I feel that I am done for. May the holy will of God be done. Please call in the chaplain to hear my confession."

Brother Erminold's funeral was one of the largest in the history of St. Mary's. Hundreds of mourners passed by his remains as they lay in state at the college. On the day of the funeral, Immaculate Conception Church at Eighth and Jefferson Streets, Oakland, was packed with ecclesiastical and civic dignitaries as well as faculty, students and friends. Father Peter C. Yorke, a friend of many years, delivered a very moving eulogy. Few felt the passing of Brother Erminold more than his confreres and students. One of the latter, Nathaniel F. Bradley '03, wrote a seven stanza poem in which he declared:

I loved him as a mentor
And I loved him as a friend
And from my heart come gushing
All these simple lines I've penned;
But the page is blurred and moistened
And my eyes are dimmed and red,
For the blinding tears are falling - -
Brother Erminold is dead.

Two months after the death of Brother Erminold, Brother Zenonian (John J. Brannan, 1867-1935) succeeded to the presidency. A native of Madison, Indiana, Brother Zenonian had come to California with his parents on the same boat as the pioneer Brothers. When the thirty-five year old educator took the reins of office, he became the second native American to occupy the post. More progressive than most of his predecessors, the new president not only continued but expanded many of the improvements initiated by Brother Erminold. This was particularly true of the new science courses and fledgling civil engineering school.

Inasmuch as there was a great deal of expense involved in establishing the curriculum, Brother Zenonian appealed to the alumni for assistance. The response was immediate and generous and sufficient money was obtained to build and equip laboratories and to purchase the necessary instruments and implements.

To develop further interest in the science courses Brother Zenonian encouraged Brother Bernard to found the first science society at St. Mary's. It was a chapter of the S.S.S.S., a national society of scientific research founded at De La Salle Institute, New York.

Of necessity, the president had to give a great deal of thought and effort to the new departments, yet he did find time for the other schools. The most lasting accomplishment was the establishment of a student publication called The Collegian. Previous to its publication, students surreptitiously circulated a typewritten newssheet and it was probably knowledge of this activity that led the president to give his blessing to the printed publication.

According to the first editor, Andrew Burke, '04, students had desired

some sort of publication for a long time but it was only when two freshmen, William McStay and Frank Smith, tackled the project that anything was done. They recruited the support of a junior classman, Andrew F. Burke and the three presented a plan to Brother Agnon.

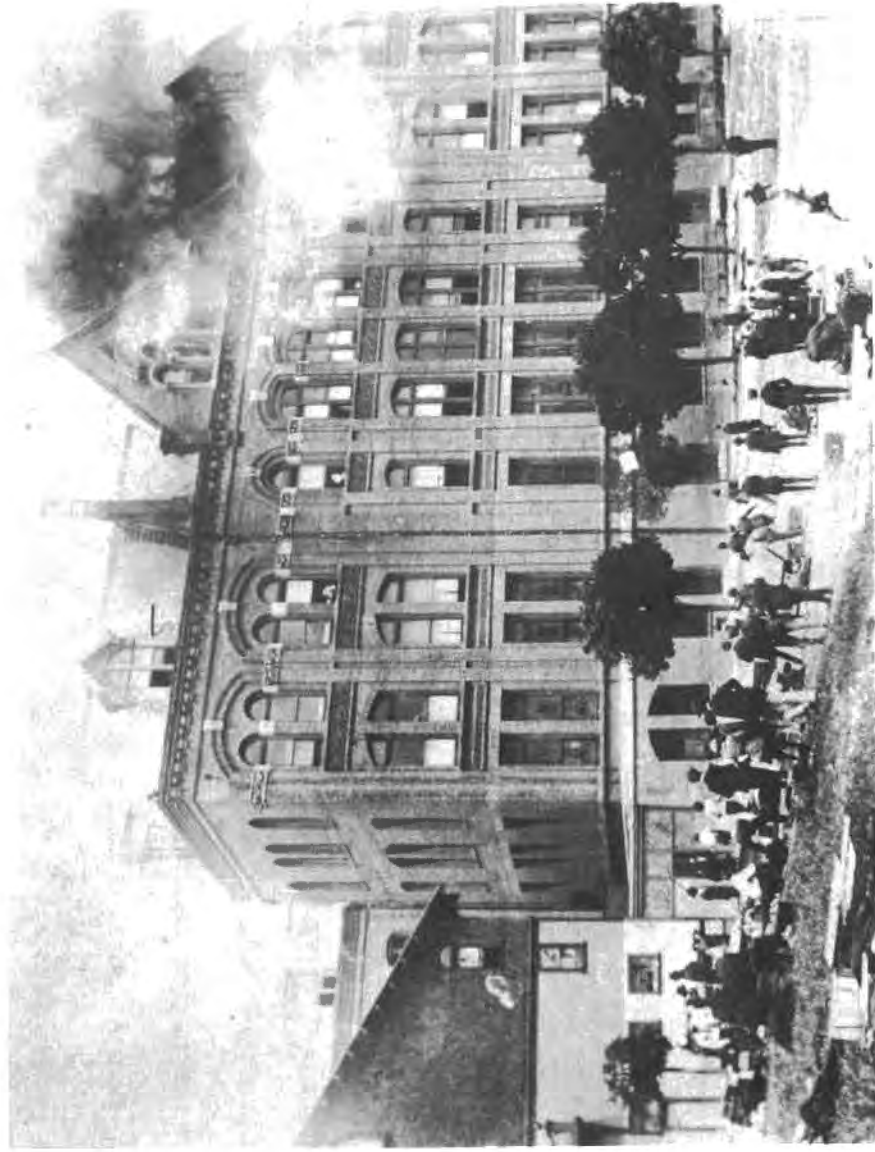
The first issue appeared in October, 1903. It was a twenty-three page monthly magazine and featured essays, verse, short stories, sports and college news. In his initial declaration, editor Burke promised "The Collegian shall be devoted to whatever pleases or instructs, and with the determination to leave nothing undone to achieve lasting success, we place our young journal before the public. It is intended that our paper will be the mouthpiece of the students of the college, giving from time to time an account of all matters of interest pertaining to the institution, its hopes and aspirations."

Students received The Collegian with a great deal of enthusiasm even though they had to pay fifteen cents a copy, which was a considerable sum at the turn of the century. In the first months of publication the big problem was not shortage of help or copy but of money. Editor Andrew Burke had foreseen this difficulty and made a special appeal to the alumni asking for their patronage and reminding them that "magazines must live, and their food is the financial support of their friends." The plea was heard and through contributions as well as advertisements the monthly was able to make ends meet. In its subsequent issues the periodical expanded to a half slick half pulp thirty page magazine with a series of excellent photographs of students and campus activities. Outsiders contributed essays to the Collegian and one of the most prized was that by John Philip Holland, on "Submarine Boats," in December, 1903. The author, world famous as the inventor of the submarine, was the brother of Professor Holland of the St. Mary's faculty.

One of the saddest tasks of Brother Zenonian was to bid farewell to Professor Frederick Schorcht who retired after teaching music and singing at the college for thirty-two years. He was the oldest faculty member in point of service and had become a symbol of excellent orchestral execution. His son, Frederick Schorcht, Jr., succeeded him as director of music.

In July, 1904, Brother Zenonian completed his term of office and handed over the reins to Brother Vellesian (Henry I Mallon, 1870-1950). A native of Portland, Oregon, Brother Vellesian entered the Christian Brothers in 1886, six years before his blood brother, Brother Urban (Gregory Arthur Mallon, 1877-1935). The two were destined to be presidents of St. Mary's, the second time in its history that the college had two leaders from the same family. Brother Vellesian began his teaching career at St. Joseph's Academy located at Fifth and Jackson, Oakland. After various assignments he became principal of the Christian Brothers College, Sacramento. The predecessor, Brother Ambrose (John O'Malley, 1862-1895), erstwhile St. Mary's instructor was one of the six hundred drowned when the French steamer La Bourgogne collided with the freighter Cromartyshire in mid-Atlantic, July 4, 1895. After two years in Sacramento, Brother Vellesian moved to St. Mary's College as prefect of discipline. In this post there was comparatively little teaching yet the incumbent had more contact and influence with students than most faculty members. It was an excellent training school for the presidency, and undoubtedly was responsible for a great deal of the success Brother Vellesian had in that office.

To attract attention to the college, and its activities, Brother Vellesian arranged a series of public lectures delivered by prominent figures such as Reverend A. P. Doyle, '75, editor of the Catholic World; Theodore Bonnet, '82, editor of Town Talk, of San Francisco; Brother Z. Leo, Chairman of the Department of Arts and Letters; Dr. J. R. McNurdo, '01; Reverend Henry Stark, C.S.P., '99, chaplain, Yerba Buena Naval Training Station; Brother R. Bernard, Professor of Civil Engineering; Brother V. Leo and Father Joseph P. McQuaide, famed chaplain of the Spanish-American War.



Fire of 1918

Publicity likewise was the aim of a one hundred and ninety-four page catalog. In the days when such publications were not common, its appearance could not help but arouse the curious. To satisfy this type, the catalog had thirty pages of descriptive material on the extracurricular activities of the students such as theatricals, entertainments, debates and oratorical contests.

The catalog makes mention for the first time of the secondary school department. Before this time all classes below the freshman collegiate were known as the "preparatory." This high school or academic department had four divisions or classes and its well defined schedule aimed at preparing students for entering college. Prospective students were also informed that another Christian Brothers' institution, St. Joseph's Academy, a boarding and day school offered an education in all grades below the secondary school. Incorporation of such information in mid-twentieth century college catalogs would be unacceptable but Brother Vellesian believed in a system that would educate from child to man.

One of the achievements of Brother Vellesian was establishment of a library. When he came to the college the "library" consisted of a collection of books kept at the back of the study hall. The president cleared out one of the museum halls, installed book stacks, reading tables and lights and began to build a library. He appealed to students, alumni and friends for books, established library fees to build a fund for purchasing books and began to budget money for the library as part of the operational expenses of the college. Reminiscent of the student-teachers in early St. Mary's history, the library employed student-librarians.

The efforts of Brother Vellesian to improve the academic status of the college were assisted materially by the arrival in January, 1905, of Brother Fabrician (Felix Pelerin, 1843-1926), from France. With his confrere,

Brother Bernard, at Manhattan College, Brother Fabrician had been sent into exile by the superiors for insisting that Latin be retained in the curriculum. After five years in French schools, Brother Fabrician, the last of the exiles, returned to America and lost no time getting back into harness. Brother Vellesian realized that he had received a windfall and appointed Brother Fabrician, Dean of the Department of Arts and Letters. It was a post for which the incumbent was eminently fitted by nature and experience. A Canadian by birth, he had spent most of the previous forty-five years as a teacher and administrator in American schools and colleges. Successful in both roles, his greatest achievements had been made as president of St. John's College, Washington, from 1890 to 1899.

One contemporary wrote:

His ability, his address and expression, the elegance and charm of his manners, his wide experience, the sagacity of execution - all these qualities gained for him authority and influence, especially with the diplomatic body.

When the superiors removed him from the presidency of St. John's the Washington Post reported that the news of the deposition caused genuine sorrow among his hundreds of friends. "All day long a stream of visitors and numerous notes and telegrams of regret were received at St. John's. Not since the forced retirement of Archbishop Keane from the Catholic University has a removal in Catholic circles caused such a profound sensation."

In the midst of reorganization and renovation an earthquake struck St. Mary's, April 18, 1906. The same tremor caused havoc and death in San Francisco but did little more than severely shake the three hundred occupants of the college. Owing to the solid foundation and thick walls the building came through the test practically unscathed. Outside of a few cracked ceilings, the interior remained undamaged but the exterior suffered when the granite cross and coping on the gable of the roof fell and demolished

the front porch and upper flight of stairs. Classes were suspended for a few days while the entire student body helped to clean up the debris.

The entire cost of repairing the damage of the earthquake was about \$20,000, a rather considerable sum at the turn of the century. Added to this financial woe was a city assessment of about \$12,000 for installation of sewers and bitumen surfacing of adjacent streets. It took all of Brother Vellesian's financial skill to meet these expenses while paying the interest and monthly installments on long standing loans to the college. His colleagues believed that Brother Vellesian would have halved the debt had the earthquake and improvements not taken place. However two factors helped materially in stemming the drain on the institution's finances: a large student body and the assistance of the alumni. To stimulate the latter, the first Alumni or Homecoming Day was held on June 16, 1906. The program began with High Mass followed by a reception in the study hall. In the afternoon there was a baseball game between the alumni and the varsity teams. Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament followed. The alumni banquet brought the day to a close. In the afternoon and evening talks, speakers stressed the inadequacies of the facilities of St. Mary's to perform superior collegiate work. In the absence of any other resource the college had to depend on the alumni to provide the financial means to bring the equipment up to standard. The Alumni Association immediately took up the challenge and pledged support of the needed improvements.

Among the first projects in the improvement program were construction of a gymnasium and stadium. The man primarily responsible for completion of both was Brother Z. Joseph (Edward I. Fenlon) in 1907. Despite the misgivings and advice of his best friends and with "absolutely no encouragement from a soul," Brother Joseph singlehandedly started a publicity campaign

to obtain assistance. He was successful and in July, 1908, Brother Theodorus, Provincial and chairman of the college board of trustees, signed a contract for construction of a two story gymnasium and theatre. According to the specifications the building was to be erected on the west side of the campus along Webster Street, immediately behind the main building. The frame structure was to measure 163 by 60 feet and contain an all-purpose auditorium 115 by 60 feet; a gallery 60 by 20; reading and dressing rooms, showers and offices.

The original contract for the gymnasium fixed the cost at \$11,000 but the figure rose to \$18,000 before completion. One of the biggest factors in this increase was the swimming tank which was not included in the original plans. When it was finally decided to build the tank under the gymnasium, the work on the building had to be stopped while new trusses capable of supporting a longer stretch of floor were constructed. This not only added to the cost but delayed completion of the structure. During the eleven months of construction, Brother Joseph was frequently hard put to find sufficient money to meet current expenses. Although the cost of labor was low, material was at a premium because of the post-earthquake building boom in San Francisco. During these trying days one of Brother Joseph's friends asked, "What will you do when the contractor calls on you for money for his men?" The only answer Brother Joseph had was to continue to plead for money.

After almost a year of this touch-and-go existence, Brother Joseph finally saw the gymnasium completed in June, 1909 and dedicated in the following October. The student publication reflected some of the pride and satisfaction of the students and alumni in having the new facility. They described it as "a thing of beauty," predicted that it would be "a joy forever," pointed out that it was one of the two largest gymnasiums in

the Bay Area. Naturally the day of dedication was a gala occasion for a long program that featured an opening address by Joseph F. Coffey, '75, boxing and wrestling exhibitions by the Olympic Club team, vocal and musical selections, the dedication speech by Honorable Frank J. Murasky and a social hour.

While the gymnasium was in progress, work had begun on an athletic field located on the north side of the campus. The complex, called "St. Mary's Stadium," was four hundred feet long and one hundred and thirty wide. A track sixteen feet wide and having a course of three hundred yards was built according to the most advanced techniques of engineering. In the center of the oval was a space for regulation field events as well as an outdoor basketball court. The bleachers had a seating capacity of twelve hundred. The formal opening and dedication occurred November 7, 1908, with the annual track and field meet of the Pacific Amateur Association.

One of the strongest supporters of these improvements was Brother R. Bernard who not only encouraged student participation in athletics but took a leading role in raising funds for their construction. Although an admirer of sports he was destined not to see completion of the projects for he was taken suddenly ill and had to seek a cure in New Mexico in July, 1908. During his six years in St. Mary's Brother Bernard had always been bothered with a pulmonary weakness. He aggravated the condition when he broke his arm in an accident. When healed, the arm had to be rebroken and reset properly. The pain and attendant sickness was too much, Brother Bernard failed to regain his vitality. The doctors ordered him to Albuquerque, New Mexico, where the high altitude and rest would restore him to health. He rallied sufficiently to move to Santa Fe but he again fell ill and had to return to Albuquerque where he died June 4, 1912, in St. Joseph's Sanitarium. During four years in New Mexico, he wrote constantly to California expressing his love for St. Mary's and his desire to return.

In May, 1910, one of the oldest traditions of the Broadway college came to an end when the sacrament of Confirmation was administered for the last time. The minister, Right Reverend Dennis Joseph O'Connell, auxiliary bishop of San Francisco, confirmed some fifty students from the college and from St. Joseph's Academy. The following year a few collegians were confirmed in St. Joseph's Church in Alameda and in the subsequent years in some neighboring parish. It was not until May, 1929, that St. Mary's students were again confirmed in their own chapel.

The same year that saw the end of Confirmation in the chapel of the Oakland campus likewise witnessed the end of Brother Vellesian's administration. His six years in the presidency were marked by energy and vigilance. As chief executive he felt it was incumbent upon him to inspect the classes regularly. In his mind, college instructors could be as unprepared, uninformed and inefficient as those on any other educational level. One way to cure the evil was to visit the lecture rooms unexpectedly. The president was also curious to see the results of instruction and frequently conducted and corrected examinations. It could be said with truth, that Brother Vellesian knew every student in the college and every student knew him. His administration was a personal one, no department escaped his vigilance and no detail of the collegian's life was too minute for his observation and care. The constant vigilance of the president was due to his genuine interest in the welfare of the college, students and faculty. It was a solicitous, rather than a captious attitude that prompted his concern. Evidence of this was found not only among student but of faculty. Both groups looked upon him as a competent and sympathetic leader rather than an authoritarian overseer. It was the beneficent guidance of Brother Vellesian that was an important factor in the steady growth of the student body and the stability of the faculty. In the latter case, instead of the wholesale changes of the earlier years, the staff remained almost unchanged for nearly a decade.



Ruins of 1918 Fire

In June, 1910, Brother Florinus Peter (Richard Doyle, 1857-1933), nephew of the pioneer Brother Sabinian succeeded Brother Vellesian as president. During the single year that Brother Florinus was president, the most significant event was the appointment of Brother Vantasian (Joseph Sharkey, 1869-1945) as head of the department of commerce. It was an excellent choice, for Brother Vantasian had sixteen years experience in business theory and practice, nine of which had been as director of the De La Salle Business School in Walla Walla, Washington. Not only did Brother Vantasian improve the quality of instruction but did much to refurbish the facilities. He remodeled a chemistry laboratory and used it as a typewriting room and then rebuilt the cages and wickets for the banking class. Although students in the department were considered part and parcel of the student body, their studies did not lead to a degree. The college catalog explained that "the aim of this (commerce) course is to ground the students in the principle of mercantile routine, whilst laying the basis of a broad general culture. The mother tongue receives special attention and commercial correspondence is taught throughout the course, so as to afford ease and facility in diction."

Although graduates of the department of commerce did not receive bachelor's degrees, they did have they felt, a relationship with certain significant events in the history of the college. Commercial studies were part of the curriculum from the earliest years. The catalog of 1877-1878 outlined an extensive four years' course of studies under the caption "Commercial Department." Business forms and bookkeeping were the major studies during the first three years of the course and banking in the fourth. Publicists for the department liked to point out that it had

pioneered the instruction of typewriting, shorthand and multigraphing, and that its graduates consistently rose to high levels in the business world. It was a matter of pride too that graduates could legibly form the letters of the alphabet and were not reduced to scribbling undecipherable Etruscan-like characters. The most memorable group in the department was known as the "32nd Commercial," a hodge-podge of students from almost all parts of the country, all walks of life and almost all ages of man. A contemporary described it as the "Mecca of the Nations" with ages that ranged from fifteen to twenty-one years and with sizes that were equally varied. It was a cosmopolitan group "who knew too much of one thing and not enough of another" or those mavericks labeled "special students" who had to be kept someplace until they received a schedule.

Few presidents of St. Mary's were more adequately endowed for the post by nature and experience than Brother Fabrician (Felix Pellerin, 1843-1926) who held office from 1911 to 1914. The sixty-eight year old Canadian had spent most of his life in the United States as a teacher and school administrator. In the latter capacity he had been a principal in Brooklyn, Providence and Utica; president of La Salle College, Philadelphia and St. John's College, Washington. To this experience, he added the vital, enthusiastic desire of the good teacher to stimulate intellectual activity in all his charges, be it student or faculty member.

To raise the scholastic status of St. Mary's, Brother Fabrician gathered a staff that was exceptional for its scholarship and competent instruction. Among the leaders of the group were Brother V. Leo (Augustine McKinnon, 1867-1954), co-founder and longtime dean of the School of Civil Engineering, Brother Z. Leo (Francis Meehan, 1881-1966), English scholar, author and lecturer and Brother Constantius (Matthias Graham, 1852-1930) philosopher and student of note. Academic improvement became the goal of the new president from the first day of his administration. In his inaugural address to the students he bluntly told them that they "did not come to St. Mary's to run the quarter mile nor play in the backfield on the football team. You came to college to study."

"St. Mary's," Brother Fabrician insisted, "existed for the formation of moral and intellectual habits, not for the display of physical prowess."

Students should aim at the creation and development of noble moral and intellectual ideals. The essential function and paramount ambition of their collegiate life was to assimilate the correct philosophical principles of life and to mould themselves into the character of cultured, Christian gentlemen.

Among the methods Brother Fabrician took to improve the intellectual life of the college was the appointment of Brother Z. Leo as Dean of the Department of Arts and Letters. In addition he had the courage and initiative to break with tradition and make it possible for Brother Leo to have time for more writing and public lectures. Brother V. Leo was given more power to strengthen the courses in civil engineering, Brother Cornelius (Hermann Braeg, 1877-1962) was made full time librarian, and a series of public lectures by the faculty was arranged. If this were not enough, the new president inaugurated a preparatory curriculum in law and gave renewed impetus to student dramatics.

One of the most stimulating parts of the program was the faculty lectures. In the winter of 1913-1914, Brother Constantius launched the project with an address on the "Principles of Socialism." Brother Z. Leo in the following lecture discussed the work of Canon Sheehan in "A Recent Irish Novelist," while Brother Vantasian, Dean of the Department of Commerce, gave an illustrated description of Yellowstone Park under the title, "Wonderland." In the following talk Brother Lewis revealed interesting historical material in a discussion of the "History of Ireland." The spring part of the program included Brother Cyril's inspiring "Pages from the History of Old St. Mary's," San Francisco City Engineer M. M. O'Shaughnessy's authoritative "Hetch Hetchy: Its History," Brother Constantius' informative "Educational Reforms of St. De La Salle," and Brother Z. Leo's humorous answer to the query, "What is Literature?"

As was mentioned, Brother Fabrician not only stimulated the scholarly activity of the faculty but aroused and encouraged the students' intellectual efforts. Well versed in the theory and practice of the psychology of adolescents, the president possessed a keen understanding of the students' character, inclinations, virtues and weaknesses. Because he was vitally

interested in their welfare, he willingly sponsored any movement, plan, proposal or suggestion that would further their interests.

A typical example of this attitude was the student drama association. Upon petition of a few students, Brother Fabrician organized the nucleus of a drama department under the direction of Brother Z. Leo. It was not long before the neophytes were writing, directing and staging theatrical productions. So successful were their efforts that many consider this the beginning of the "Golden Age" in St. Mary's dramatics.

Among the highly regarded original presentations were "The Verdict," "The Business Way," "The Governor's Gift," "His Mother," "Thieves in the Night," "The Infernal Feminine," "Midnight," and "The Exploded Shell." The success of the thespians was attributed to "Brother Fabrician's encouragement, Brother Leo's skill and everybody's will."

One of the players later recalled, "We had nothing, so we did everything. We erected a stage, planned, built and painted scenery, borrowed or sewed costumes, wrote advertisements, sold tickets, ushered audiences, and had a lot of fun."

Inasmuch as student and faculty had grown accustomed to appear before the public, it was not too difficult for them to organize a reception for James Cardinal Farley of New York. On the morning of November 5, 1912, His Eminence accompanied by Archbishop Riordan and party arrived at St. Mary's. Ceremonies opened with a group of classical arias by the college orchestra and was followed by an address of welcome by Brother Fabrician. The president recounted the events in the rapid progress of education on the Pacific Coast and pointed with pride that St. Mary's was in the vanguard of western Catholic colleges.

Richard Curtis, '13, greeted the distinguished visitor with ;

Your presence here is an inspiration to us.
The memory of this hour shall live with us
through all our days, shall serve to brighten
the glory of our faith, shall make us stronger
Christian soldiers. To have seen a high priest
of the Most High, to have heard him speak, to
have received his blessing, shall uplift our souls
and inspire us with a greater zeal, shall give us a
confidence of victory in fighting the good fight.

The cardinal responded with an inspiring discourse on the importance of the spirit of faith. He complimented the Brothers on the excellence of their work and bestowed the papal blessing on the college, faculty and students.

Two months later, January 22, 1913, St. Mary's was again honored. This time by the initial visitation of the newly consecrated Auxiliary Bishop of San Francisco, Edward J. Hanna. The occasion was memorable because it marked the beginning of a friendship, cherished among the most precious in the annals of the college. His reception was characterized by the same simple dignity that marked the welcome of John Cardinal Farley. The program consisted of orchestral selections, a few introductory remarks by the President, a speech of greeting in behalf of the student body and an address by His Excellency.

In his discourse, Bishop Hanna spoke of the cordiality he had encountered in California. "I came," he stated, "as a stranger in a strange land, and the priests and the people have received me as a friend."

He lauded the Christian Brothers for their selfless work and recalled that his early education was received from the Christian Brothers. To them, he attributed the sure foundation for the entire framework of his success.

"I have," he continued, "observed three particular characteristics of the graduates of Christian Brothers' Schools, namely, a deep and abiding faith in their religion together with a practical piety free from frills and insincere display; a certain self-control blended with a spirit of self-reliance and independence among men; and that practical knowledge of American

men and American methods which alone will make the successful business man."

The bishop was leaving the gymnasium, in fact he was almost out of the door, when he turned back and with a smile of rare amusement announced that he had almost forgotten one of the most important points of his visit; the granting of a holiday to the students. He smiled again at the thunderous applause that greeted the announcement, and departed.

The visits of these prominent guests as well as the activities of the faculty and student body attracted a fair share of attention but they were surpassed by the publicity given to the Golden Jubilee of the college.

It was planned to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the college during the entire year of 1913 but most of the ceremonies took place during May and June.

Among the first celebrations was a picnic and dance on May 13. Festivities began at 12:30 when a huge caravan of gaily decorated automobiles lined up in front of the college, in parade formation. At the sound of the grand marshall's claxon, the line slowly moved forward on its journey to the picnic grounds. One journal reported

The automobiles, bedecked with flags and pennants presented a gala sight as they wended their way down Broadway. The immense line of automobiles, more than a mile in length, made an extensive tour of the business and residence sections of Oakland and then proceeded out the road to Hayward where a picnic luncheon and dance were held for the benefit of the Jubilee fund.

One bystander claimed that the outstanding feature of the parade was the white-and-gold outfitted band from the Christian Brothers' orphanage at San Rafael. The boys rode, four tiers high, in a giant auto truck and enlivened the way with some sparkling tunes. But where the youngsters really shone was at the pavilion at Hayward, where their music was enjoyed by a large throng.

The parade and picnic served to awaken interest in the week-long celebration beginning June 8th. On the first day, Sunday, the Students' Circus took place in the stadium on the north side of the campus.

According to a local newspaper

It was truly a gala day. The weather was typical of the California balmy summer. The circus field and rings as well as the bleaches and walls of the stadium were profusely and artistically decorated with American flags, banners, pennants and thousands of yards of red and blue bunting. The cries of 'barkers' and shouts of the merry circus throng, filled the air and made the day one long to be remembered.

Shortly after two-thirty in the afternoon amid the blare of trumpet and roar of the crowd, the circus parade led by the League of Cross band, entered the stadium. Performers, clowns, acrobats, equestrians, and animals marched around the entire performing area and then went into their acts. The program consisted of over twenty-five stunts including boxing, wrestling, tumbling, and calisthenics. Skillful feats by the equestrians, hilarious antics of the student clowns, frolicsome pranks of imitation bull and bull-fighters, and the pompous performance of "Bubbling Water," a retired race horse, brought applause and gales of laughter from the overflow audience.

The affair proved a success beyond the most optimistic expectations. The advance sale of tickets had indicated a large attendance with demand for additional temporary bleachers but the turn-out was so large that many were unable to get in.

The following day, Monday, was Alumni Day. Graduates from all sections and classes converged on the campus to renew acquaintances and relive experiences. In the late afternoon the "old boys" assembled in the gymnasium and elected a slate of officers for the coming year. For one of the few times in its history, the alumni elected a priest as president. He was the Reverend Joseph A. McAuliffe, '90, pastor of St. Charles Church, San Francisco.

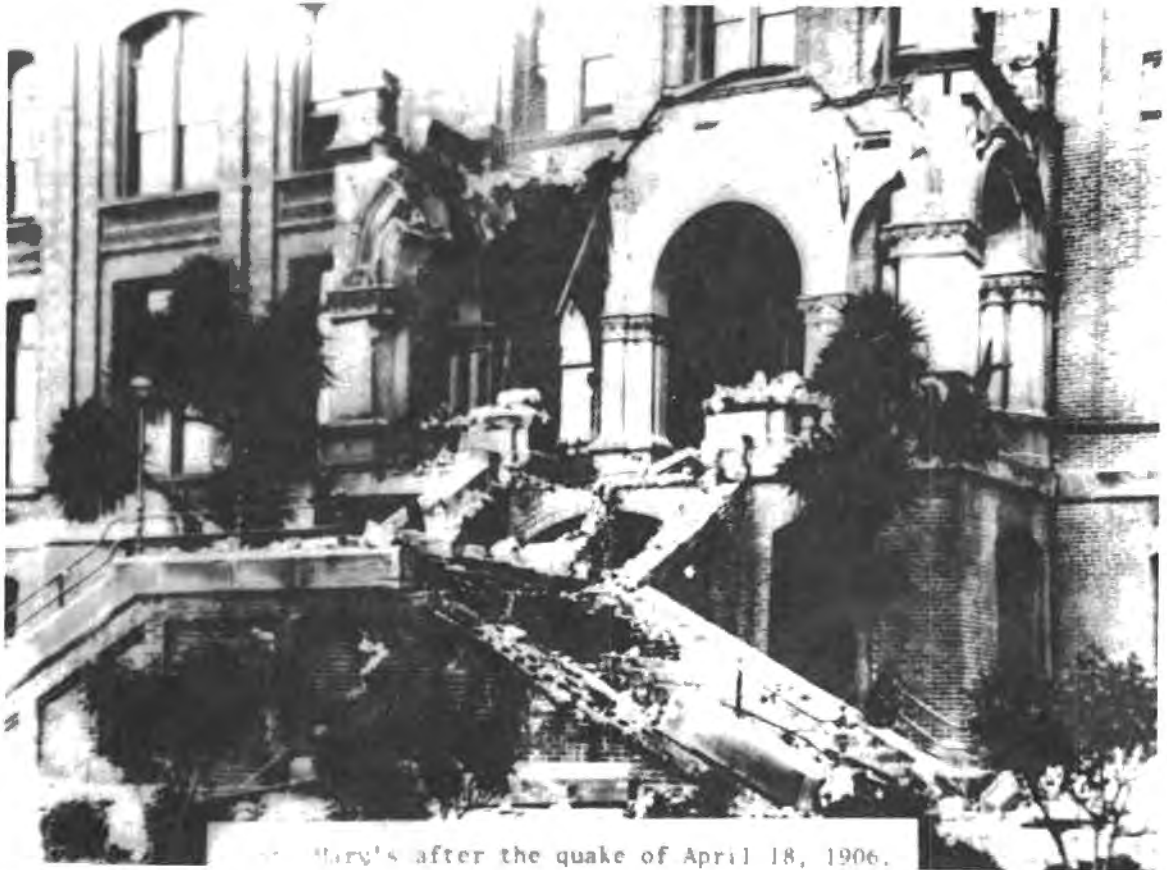
At the Jubilee banquet, Judge Frank J. Murasky '83, declared

You can't associate closely with one without getting something from him. It may be good and it may be bad, but a close companionship with any one person always is productive of some of the other's characteristics. A Brother is a teacher, pure and simple. He lives for the students and gives his life, that the growing generation may profit. It is a great and noble work and whatever success is attained by a student leaving these walls can be traced to the instruction received from the Brothers. It is an indefinable spirit. It is the spirit of the college. It is the spirit of St. Mary's.

The religious ceremonies of Jubilee Week were solemnized on Tuesday, June 10th, with the celebration of Pontifical High Mass in St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco. The eulogist, Reverend Michael D. Connolly '78, fondly recalled the pioneer Brothers and the high esteem in which they were held. The gratitude of the old students for their Alma Mater should be matched by their generosity and those who were priests could encourage boys and young men to give their lives to a work so productive of good and one to which God has promised such a glorious reward.

The only note of sadness was the absence of the Brothers' staunch friend and admirer, Archbishop Patrick W. Riordan of San Francisco. From a Chicago hospital, the prelate wired, "I send from a sick bed my most cordial and loving congratulations to the Brothers of St. Mary's College on the occasion of the celebration of its Golden Jubilee. It is a great trial not to be with you."

Wednesday in Jubilee Week was marked by graduation exercises for the commercial department. The program began at eight-thirty in the evening with a medley of popular selections by the college orchestra. This was followed by presentation of "The Jester," a three act comedy, written, directed and produced by two members of the college graduating class, Gerald Brusher and Louis F. Le Fevre. The address of the evening was delivered by John F. Mullins, Chairman of the Oakland Board of Supervisors,



St. Mary's after the quake of April 18, 1906.

Earthquake Damage, 1906

President of the Commercial Alumni Association and graduate of the commercial department in 1917.

June 12th was graduation day for the high school department and on the following evening, the college proper. The college commencement was notable for the frequency of the number thirteen. There were thirteen graduates, the day was June 13th and the year nineteen hundred thirteen. This combination of fortuitous circumstances was duly noted by the public press. One newspaper article under the caption "College Grads not afraid to face the Jinx" reported

If there's any lurking weakness in the physical make-up of Friday-the-Thirteenth hoodoo, that fearsome creature would better make itself scarce tonight in the vicinity of St. Mary's College. . . . For tonight's the night of the Class of '13 to shine. Thirteen members are to graduate, and of all the nights in 1913 they chose this Friday because it fell on the Thirteenth, upon which to receive their sheepskins. . . . If that is not tearing tradition to tatters, what is it?

Commencements brought the celebration of the Golden Jubilee to a close. A cursory glance at the activities and speeches in the commemoration reveal several striking facts, the most significant was the predominant influence of Catholicism. For a Catholic college it was only logical that this should be so but in view of the inconsequential role assigned to Catholicism in many nominal Catholic colleges, subsequent to 1913, St. Mary's position was noteworthy. Bishop Hanna declared that Catholicism had created "a deep and abiding faith" in faculty and students, Judge Frank Murasky claimed it was responsible for the "indefinable spirit" of the St. Mary's man and Brother Fabrician attributed to it "the spirit of faith" that existed on the campus. Whatever its appellation, it meant that St. Mary's was trying to live up to the purpose for its foundation and existence, namely the instruction in and the practice of Christianity. Catholicism was the element

that gave being, vitality, activity, purpose and reason to the institution.

Closely associated with the preeminence of Catholicism in the life of St. Mary's was the life and the calling of the religious who operated it. For the first time many learned of the Catholic laymen who voluntarily stripped themselves of property, family and friends and devoted themselves to the religious education of youth. The uninformed and the misinformed became acquainted with the Christian Brother who lived by one of the strictest rules in western monasticism. According to his regulations, the Brother prayed, studied and worked on a daily schedule of eighteen hours. Frequently and with justification called "The Trappist of the Active Apostolate" the Brother led a life of devotion, simplicity, anonymity, poverty and sacrifice. He practiced what he preached "a deep and abiding faith in his religion; a practical piety free from frills and insincere display; a certain self-control blended with a spirit of self-reliance."

They had been faithful to their vocation, as was readily testified by hierarchy, clergy and students. If for nothing else the college and the citizenry of Oakland and San Francisco could sincerely salute the presence of these men for fifty years.

During the celebration of the Golden Jubilee, many of the administrative chores were done by Brother Fabrician's right-hand man, Brother Stephen (Thomas P. Lessard, 1849-1929). A native Canadian, like the president, Brother Stephen had been a successful teacher and administrator in the schools of his fatherland for twenty-seven years. Pulmonary trouble compelled him to seek relief in the warm climate of southern France where he taught until the anti-Catholic government expelled him in 1905. After three years in the Christian Brothers' school in Algiers he migrated to California and became the steward at St. Mary's. It soon became apparent that the two Canadians had much in common, in fact some thought they had

too much in common and did not share enough with the other members of the Community. One contemporary wrote

It was in Brother Fabrician's presidency that the Art Department was set on foot. With Brother Stephen, who counselled him (Brother Fabrician) in many things, he decided that a well equipped art and architecture department should be established at St. Mary's similar to those found in the Brothers' higher schools in Canada and France the combination of Brother Fabrician and Brother Stephen did not flourish. It found much opposition in the faculty and as a consequence Brother Fabrician had a very hard time. As soon as his three year term as President was finished he left the District and went to the Christian Brothers College at St. Louis.

One reason for Brother Fabrician's troubles undoubtedly came from his insistence on scholarship. He had no tolerance for the sports enthusiast, especially among the faculty. One of these was Brother Agnon Francis (John McCann, 1858-1934) who frequently received a reprimand for attending games. Brother Agnon or "B" as he was known for almost sixty years, was the perennial freshman and athletic buff. He had a genuine interest in any student activity and wanted to be present at all their functions. Inasmuch as such ubiquity was not to the liking of the president, there was a clash of wills. This disagreement caused Brother Fabrician a great deal of soul-searching. In one morning meditation, he was heard to say, "I must make Agnon obey." This sililoquy was the source of a great deal of good-natured fun among the Brothers who saw the humorous side of both personalities.

However, Brother Fabrician could see little humor in the attitude of Brother Agnon or his sympathizers. He simply refused to accept anything but the best a man could offer. When his three year term expired he promptly accepted the offer to be president of Christian Brothers' College, St. Louis.

It should be noted that the regime of Brother Fabrician was noted for the spiritual and academic improvements at St. Mary's. Students in later years were wont to recall the influence of the cultured and urbane leader.

They retained vivid impressions of his dignified manner, wise advise, exact expression and clear instruction. The three years from 1911 to 1914 were golden years for the college.

The scholastic program of Brother Fabrician was continued by his successor, Brother Vellesian. The latter, a member of the administrative, rather than the scholarly, school of college presidents was nevertheless just as anxious as his predecessor to maintain the prestige of the college.

The determination of Brother Vellesian to raise the status of the college took a very practical turn when he sent Brother Z. Leo to study at the Catholic University. The chairman of the School of Arts and Letters became the first of a long line of Brothers to earn graduate degrees in American and European universities. The presence of these men on the staff brought a certain nominal and extrinsic value to the instruction and a substantial increase to the reputation of St. Mary's.

From experience, Brother Vellesian knew that the mere presence of a learned faculty did not necessarily mean a scholarly student body. An interested staff, expensive equipment, and elaborate facilities were desirable but a school progressed only if its students advanced in knowledge. One of the means established by Brother Vellesian to achieve this end was a course in the art of study. For one semester every student was obliged to attend a tri-weekly lecture and discussion on the aims, principles and psychology of study.

The same desire to stimulate intellectual activity lay behind the celebration of Shakespeare's tercentenary. Students were told that the commemoration exercises

could easily be made a drum-and-trumpet celebration with wigs and costumes and newspaper photographs galore. Such proceedings might possibly constitute a good ad for the college, but more improvement even though less advertisement would result if the students learned to get close and stay close to the Bard of Avon.

The plan adopted was simple. Most of the regular courses in English were suspended during April, 1916, and the time devoted to lectures, readings, and evaluations of Shakespeare's thirty-odd dramatic masterpieces. It was hoped that during the "Shakespearean month," the students would make vital contact with the thoughts of Shakespeare rather than what people thought about Shakespeare. The results were gratifying. The great Elizabethan was read and debated inside and outside class, quoted in the locker room and parodied in the dining room. Even Freshmen appreciated the Bard's deep insight and serene vision. After a month's perusal, reflection, analysis and assimilation of the ideas, students were ready for a Shakespearean festival, May 3, 1916.

The program for the afternoon and evening opened with a dramatic overture by the college orchestra followed by tenor Clement Bonnemazau's rendition of "Songs of Shakespeare." In the ensuing orations Edmund V. Collins pointed out "The Catholic Element in Shakespeare," and Emmett O'Connor enumerated the claims that the Bard of Avon had as a "World Poet." An original "Tercentenary Ode," by Samuel H. Holton, was recited by Karl A. Vasche. The principal attraction was the deposition scene from "Richard II."

The student festival, for all its unpretentiousness, was considered a "tribute of reverence and love laid devoutly upon the tomb of the Bard of Avon." It was likewise a manifestation of intelligence, practicality, and good sense on the part of the administration.

One of the immediate results of the Shakespearean observance was a number of articles in the student publication. Among these was Andrew Perovich's "Some Theories of Hamlet," James H. Wall's "Three of Shakespeare's Women," Howard F. Magee's "Shakespeare's Reformer," and James L. Hagerly's "Ode to Shakespeare."

Not to be outdone by his students, Brother Z. Leo published an article entitled, "The Master Dramatist" in the Catholic World. In this study the author stated that Shakespeare was able to see life steadily and to see it whole and that the range of his genius was as wide and as sweeping as life itself. As the most catholic of poets, Shakespeare could roam unfettered through the world, unconfined by place and time, studying all manner of human relations, actions and conditions.

During the Shakespearean festival many missed the presence of Professor John B. Quinlan, an enthusiastic admirer of the Elizabethan poet. Professor Quinlan had died some two years before on October 31, 1914. A native of Tipperary, Ireland, Quinlan had been graduated from the Dublin Normal College and began to teach in the public schools. For three consecutive years he won the coveted Blake-Argyle award and rose to the principalship of a secondary school. Active in the Irish revolutionary movement of 1867 and 1869 and a severe critic of the arbitrary eviction laws of the eighties, the young pedagogue was forced to emigrate to the United States. He joined the faculty of St. Mary's in 1896 and during the subsequent eighteen years taught literature, composition and poetry. Of Professor Quinlan, one of his associates wrote "Than John Bernard Quinlan, a more lovable disposition, a brighter companion, a nobler man and warmer friend was difficult to meet in this broad world. To know him was to love him, and to love him was to augment an attachment which only death can sever."

Scarcely three weeks after the passing of Professor Quinlan, death struck again, this time it was Brother Dative (James Sullivan, 1831-1914). A native of Ireland, Brother Dative like many of his countrymen, joined the British Army and served in India during the Sepoy Insurrection of 1857. Resigned from the service, he moved to California in 1869 and three years later joined the Christian Brothers. An intermittent prefect and econome

between 1872 and 1903, he was known for simple, rugged piety and faithfulness to duty. The possessor of an enviable army record earned amidst hardship and trouble, Brother Dative tried to teach his charges to make light of life's difficulties. When one student, Charles McGettigan, later an eminent surgeon, received a wide gash on the chin, instead of sympathizing with him, Brother Dative told him it would improve his looks.

A month after the death of the venerable Brother, St. Mary's lost one of its staunchest friends when Archbishop Riordan died. For thirty years the prelate had been the friend, adviser and benefactor of the college. Beginning in the first year of his administration, 1884, he recommended and assisted in moving the institution from San Francisco to Oakland. He laid the cornerstone of the new edifice in 1887 and dedicated it in 1889. Five years later, when fire gutted the plant, the archbishop gave temporary quarters for the institution in San Francisco and then gave a substantial sum to reconstruct the "Old Brickpile."

In the light of these facts, few could appreciate better than St. Mary's men the words that Bishop Hanna spoke in eulogy, "A noble man, a loyal friend, a great citizen, a valiant soldier in the army of the Lord, a faithful priest, a mighty ruler in the Church of Christ has passed from earth to his reward."

In 1917 the second administration of Brother Vellesian came to an end. A short review of the three year regime would note the president's energy and interest in everything pertaining to the college. These points were particularly striking in those times when Brother Vellesian added to his ordinary duties such tasks as teaching class, correcting assignments, conducting examinations, and supervising instruction. His activity was all the more remarkable in that it was done despite the outbreak of World War I, compulsory military service and a large debt that prevented vital improvements.

BROTHER GREGORY'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

(1917-1922)

In 1922 Brother Gregory (Arthur Mallon, 1877-1935) ended an administration that many considered to have been one of the most notable in the history of the college. Faculty, alumni, friends and associates united in praise of Brother Gregory as a religious, executive, educator and gentleman. His deep, abiding faith, steady unruffled poise and simple Christian charity were noted by persons in every class and stratum of society. The students, who knew him best, called him "The Prince," because with the unerring instinct of youth they regarded him as a prince in the perfection of Christian life.

When Brother Gregory succeeded his older blood brother, Brother Vellesian, in 1917, he brought to his new position a wealth of experience as teacher and principal. He had been an instructor in various Christian Brothers' schools from 1894 to 1910 when he became president of Sacred Heart College, San Francisco. As director of Sacred Heart, then a junior college, Brother Gregory planned, financed and constructed a new plant at Ellis and Franklin Streets, to replace the one destroyed by fire and earthquake in 1906. After seven years of splendid work, the superiors were confident that Brother Gregory possessed the requisites to guide St. Mary's.

The new president believed that best progress was made slowly, consequently he made few changes either in faculty or curriculum during his first years. This hesitation to experiment was almost obligatory in view of World War I. It was the first time that the nation had to shift from a peacetime to a wartime economy and to demand the united effort of every citizen. It necessarily resulted in creation of complex and critical

problems. Among the most vexing faced by colleges were those created by the draft, demand for labor in war industries, high cost of food and mounting maintenance expenses.

Despite these difficulties, Brother Gregory succeeded in recruiting and maintaining a student body of 350. He had solved practically every problem that had arisen and was nearing the end of his first year when catastrophe struck the college and almost put it out of existence.

On May 7, 1918, in the midst of the first afternoon period at 1:30, nurses in the Merritt Hospital opposite the college heard an explosion and then saw smoke and flames issue from the northwest corner of the college roof. The alarm was given and everyone quickly evacuated the building. The fire engines arrived a few minutes later, quickly coupled the hoses to the hydrants and then found they could not put a stream of water higher than the lower floors. The water pressure was hardly higher than it had been in 1894 when fire ravaged the college. Firemen had to drag hoses inside the building, up seven flights of stairs, attached them to inside mains and fight the fire.

Meanwhile the Brothers organized squads of students to move furnishings from the college. In the midst of smoke, cinders and ashes, hundreds of students carried clothes, pictures, books, mattresses, desks and typewriters to the gymnasium and piled them in huge heaps. Father James J. Cranwell, the college chaplain, made his way through the flames and smoke and rescued the Blessed Sacrament as well as the sacred vessels and vestments from the chapel.

While the salvage work was going on, the fire raged uncontrolled. The entire Oakland Fire Department was unable to handle the situation. When fire was controlled in one section it would suddenly break out in another. The building seemed doomed. However about four-thirty in the afternoon the fire fighters began to make some progress against the con-

flagration and by five the chief announced that the fire was under control.

A few minutes after the announcement Brother Gregory gathered the students in the gymnasium and declared that in view of the destruction wrought in classroom and laboratory, that classes would be suspended for the rest of the semester. Commencement exercises would be held in the auditorium of the College of the Holy Names, May 17. Then with a voice filled with emotion, the president continued, "Twice we have been knocked down before, but we have come up smiling and we will meet this blow with determination to go on. . . . We shall begin classes on the first of next September."

The shout that followed this historic announcement was remembered for years. The courageous pronouncement of their president filled the students with a feeling that the spirit of St. Mary's was unquenchable and undying. In later years, when the fortunes of the college fell to a low ebb, Brother Gregory's resolution bolstered faith in the future of St. Mary's.

In the evening, the Red Cross under Charles J. O'Connor, director of the Pacific Coast Division, furnished cots for some students in the gymnasium while others found shelter in private homes or in Idora Park, a nearby amusement center. State Senator Arthur Breed gave up his residence at the corner of 30th and Webster to house the Brothers until the opening of school in September. The Blessed Sacrament was kept in a neighbor's house until an altar was ready in the Breed home.

In estimating the damage, Brother Gregory asserted "the building itself was damaged to the extent of \$150,000, while the contents damaged mostly by water, were ruined to the amount of \$100,000." In addition books valued at \$50,000 were destroyed. Later in a statement to the press, the president stated "The value of the building and its contents totaled about \$500,000. . . . and we had in the neighborhood of \$50,000 insurance."

In surveying the material damage, Brother Gregory revealed "the lower floors of the building are all water logged, and the damage by water is nearly as great as that by fire, especially in the two libraries, where many books which we cannot replace were ruined."

After he had an estimate of the damage, Brother Gregory figuratively rolled up his sleeves and plunged into the work of reconstruction. He wired the provincial, Brother Calixtus, at Portland and asked that he meet the provincial council within forty eight hours to plan the rehabilitation program. The council met on May 9 and bids were let the following day. Contractor James L. McLaughlin won the contract and agreed to have the college ready for occupancy by the first of September.

Once the work of reconstruction began, Brother Gregory turned his attention to getting money. He formed an executive committee of Archbishop Hanna, James L. McElroy and Leo J. McCarthy to direct a campaign for \$200,000. One half of the sum would be raised in San Francisco and the other half in the East Bay. The former drive was to be from June 10th to 15th and the latter from August 5th to 10th.

On Sunday, June 9th, 1918, the following message was read from the pulpit of every Catholic Church in San Francisco

Archbishop Hanna invites all the people of this parish who sympathize with the loss recently sustained by the Christian Brothers in the fire at St. Mary's College, to meet His Grace at the St. Francis Hotel tomorrow evening. Besides His Grace, a number of prominent speakers will address the meeting.

Hundreds accepted the invitation of the Archbishop and gathered in the Colonial Ballroom of the Hotel St. Francis. The Honorable Judge Frank J. Murasky opened the meeting and explained the reasons and aims of the assembly. He then introduced the Archbishop who paid a tribute to the sterling quality of instruction at St. Mary's and declared

For fifty years this institution has maintained the high standard of ideal which find reflection in the high national ideals we have placed before the country. We cannot permit an institution of that kind to perish from the face of the earth. It must be preserved that it may hand down to those that come after us the same high ideals. The background of these ideals is wholly religious. Every time democracy has failed in the course of history it is because men forgot their dignity. Religion, and religion only, can teach men the real value of things. . . St. Mary's has been in the forefront of this work in California for fifty years and it must continue. . . St. Mary's must not go. Therefore I make appeal for your help.

President Benjamin Ide Wheeler of the University of California expressed the hope that "the great educational work of the Christian Brothers would not be allowed to terminate" and offered his best efforts in rebuilding St. Mary's. Jesse J. Lilienthal, president of the United Railroads and son of a Jewish rabbi asserted "In any worthy cause that calls for popular aid, we must forget that we are Catholics, Protestants, Jews and the like and be simply neighbors. I ask you with the rest, to help rebuild this great institution of the Christian Brothers."

After the speeches, the archbishop started the contributions with a check for \$10,000 and within half hour \$25,500 was subscribed to the fund.

In the following days workers formed seventeen committees to canvass the professions and various types of business. The press gave enthusiastic support to the drive, such as the San Francisco Call's editorial that it was a public duty to rebuild St. Mary's. In the same vein the San Francisco Bulletin hoped "that lack of money will not prevent the continued activity of a school which now has everything necessary to useful educational work except this one comparatively incidental possession." The San Francisco Examiner likewise insisted "that the work of years should not be allowed to stop suddenly because of an untoward fire. Instead, phoenix-like, the foundation of a newer and larger work should arise out of those devastating flames. . ."

San Franciscans oversubscribed the goal and Brother Gregory in a spirit of gratitude pledged that the Brothers would ever pray for those who had remembered them in their day of need and difficulty.

The campaign then shifted to Oakland where it opened in the latter part of July. As in San Francisco, the archbishop touched off the drive and started an army of two hundred on a house-to-house appeal of the East Bay communities. In addition to pledges, the solicitors carried coupons that sold for ten cents and were stamped with the words, "Buy a Brick." Similar to the War Savings Stamps, then being sold by the United States Government, the St. Mary's "Buy a Brick" coupons made it possible for even school children to aid reconstruction. Cooperation came from every quarter and class in such abundance that it seemed Oakland no longer harbored the bigots of the nineties. However such was not the case, for the prejudice that had made the city so notorious again reared its head with the widespread appearance of a pamphlet that read:

A MESSAGE

TO THE PROTESTANT PEOPLE OF OAKLAND

Don't buy any bricks! but save your dimes and dollars for the Red Cross and our boys in the trenches.

What interest have you in an institution conducted by those who condemn the American Public School System? LISTEN TO THIS!

"Let the public school system go to where it came from - the Devil." Freeman's Journal, November 20, 1869.

"Education outside the Catholic Church is a damnable heresy." Syllabus of Pope Pius IX, issued in 1864, Article 45-46-47-48.

"The State has no right to educate, and when the state undertakes the work of education it is usurping the power of the church." Bishop McQuade, in a lecture in Boston, February 13, 1876.

.....
Why should YOU, a Protestant, and a patriotic American citizen, support such an institution?

DON'T DESTROY THIS, BUT PASS IT ON TO SOME OTHER PROTESTANT. 'NUFF CED.'

The appearance of this scurrilous publication shocked the community, particularly non-Catholics who thought rebuilding St. Mary's was a civic, not a religious obligation. They had made this conclusion since the Y.M.C.A., Oakland, Berkeley, and Alameda Chambers of Commerce, the United States War Savings Stamp Committee and the Knights of Columbus supported the drive. Although some feared the outbreak of a reign of bigotry reminiscent of the nineties, the opposite was true. The attack stimulated instead of hindering contributions. The public press took up the cudgels for the college when it labeled the broadside as "unfair," "narrow-minded," and "un-American." The Oakland Daily Post under the caption "Post offers reward for identification of 'Yellow Dog'," editorialized "Over the blood fields of France today more than one hundred former students of St. Mary's College, in Oakland, are marching behind the Stars and Stripes in the drive against the Huns so that democracy may survive and human liberty may be preserved."

Two days later the same newspaper again ran an editorial under the heading, "Editor of the Post apologizes to all four-legged yellow dogs." After excoriating the pamphleteer for ignoring the heroic sacrifices of the St. Mary's students and alumni, the editor explained that since neither he nor any other executive in the Oakland Post was a Catholic, he could, with exact impartiality, discuss the anonymous assault on St. Mary's. In conclusion, he declared that he "owed an apology to every saffron cur that he has ever seen for having honored the writer of the anonymous circular with the title of 'A Yellow Dog.'"

Brother Gregory wrote an open letter to the editor of the Post and thanked him for "his manly effort in the interest of justice, fair play and harmony among all classes as opposed to a covert and covenanted bigotry and class division."

In the meantime the campaign for funds was progressing but it was only on the last day that the quota was reached when two hundred young ladies descended on Oakland's business community. Practically every office, factory, department store, hotel and restaurant bought a brick coupon. The push was sufficient to put the drive over the top and pay the entire cost of repairs.

The success of the fund raising was due to a number of factors such as the generosity of the citizenry, the tolerance of non-Catholics, the enthusiasm of Catholics, and the leadership of Archbishop Hanna. The restoration of St. Mary's was a noteworthy accomplishment but what was of far more importance and significance was the manifestation of gratitude, esteem and satisfaction for what the college had done during its fifty five years of existence.

When the college reopened in September, 1918, the most important addition in the curriculum was a unit of the Students' Army Training Corps, or SATC. The Corps was a plan of the United States Government to use colleges and universities as training centers for officers. Corps members continued their collegiate studies under the supervision of the national government.

The SATC admitted any male over eighteen years with an eighth grade diploma but preference was given to high school graduates and college students. A member who failed to obtain passing grades was sent to an army cantonment and trained for the ranks. SATC provided recruits with tuition, board, lodging, clothing and thirty dollars a month. Army officers supervised all activities and subjected their charges to the same disciplinary regulations as soldiers. The government compensated the college for use of the facilities and paid the salaries of the faculty.

Official opening of the SATC was October 1, 1918 when two hundred students were inducted into the United States Army. The staff included

Captain Samuel A. Purviance, U.S.A., Commandant; Brother U. Lewis, Academic Director and Instructor in Mathematics; Brother Z. Leo, Director of War Issues and Instructor in English; Brother Justin (Thomas F. Hughes, 1867-1921) Instructor in Physics and Biology; Brother V. Leo, Instructor in Surveying; Dr. Jeremiah J. Maher, Post Physician and Instructor in Sanitation and Hygiene; Brother Agnon, Instructor in Map Reading and (Navigation); Albert V. Van Houtte, Instructor in Military Law and Practice; Brother Ralph, Instructor in Chemistry; Brother Cornelius, Instructor in Map Making and Heavy Artillery; DeCamp Statler, Acting Adjutant and Quartermaster; Brother Gabriel, Instructor in War Issues and Economics; Brother Vantasian, Instructor in Transportation and Economics; Louis LeFevre, Instructor in History and Frederick Schorcht, Instructor in Group Singing.

For two months the SATC transformed the campus into a military camp. Uniformed students entered and left class in formation; began and ended the day with the sound of the bugle; ate, slept and studied under the protection of a bayonet; received furloughs and leaves; and were penalized in guardhouses. It was a unique experience for St. Mary's College and students. The war program and the SATC ended in the first week of December, 1918.

During the First World War, SATC was only one of St. Mary's contributions. Eight hundred and fifty six alumni and students joined the armed forces. Fifteen of these were killed in action. They were James Shields, Berkeley; T. Arthur King, Oakland; William J. Hanly, Oakland; Sidney H. Lyall, Verona, Sutter County; Thomas R. Griffin, Oakland; J. Valentine Fleming, Vallejo; Martin Kavanaugh, Fresno; Lloyd Worsham, San Francisco; Michael J. O'Connell, Berkeley; Joseph P. Flanagan, Portland; Paul Guyler, Merced; Harold Dodd, Alameda; Francis Kelly, Oakland; Joseph Hickey, Alameda and Peter Donnelly, Los Angeles.

In January, 1919, the college returned to the pre-war curriculum that included arts and letters, commerce, civil engineering, pre-medical, pre-legal and high school courses.

One of the most notable events of the postwar era was presentation in May and September, 1921, of Brother Z. Leo's three act play, "Dante, the Wing-Bearer." It was part of the commemoration that marked the sixth centennial of Dante's death. One reviewer commented

The dramatist has caught something of inspiration from his subject, has transferred to the stage a turmoil in which Florence was steeped, a good picture of the courtesy of the period, a courtesy that cloaked daggers and poison, and has given character and reality to the immortal poet.

The press not only commended Brother Leo for his literary efforts but also praised his direction. His skill was particularly evident in the performance of Leo A. Cunningham, in the title role. In the eyes of one critic

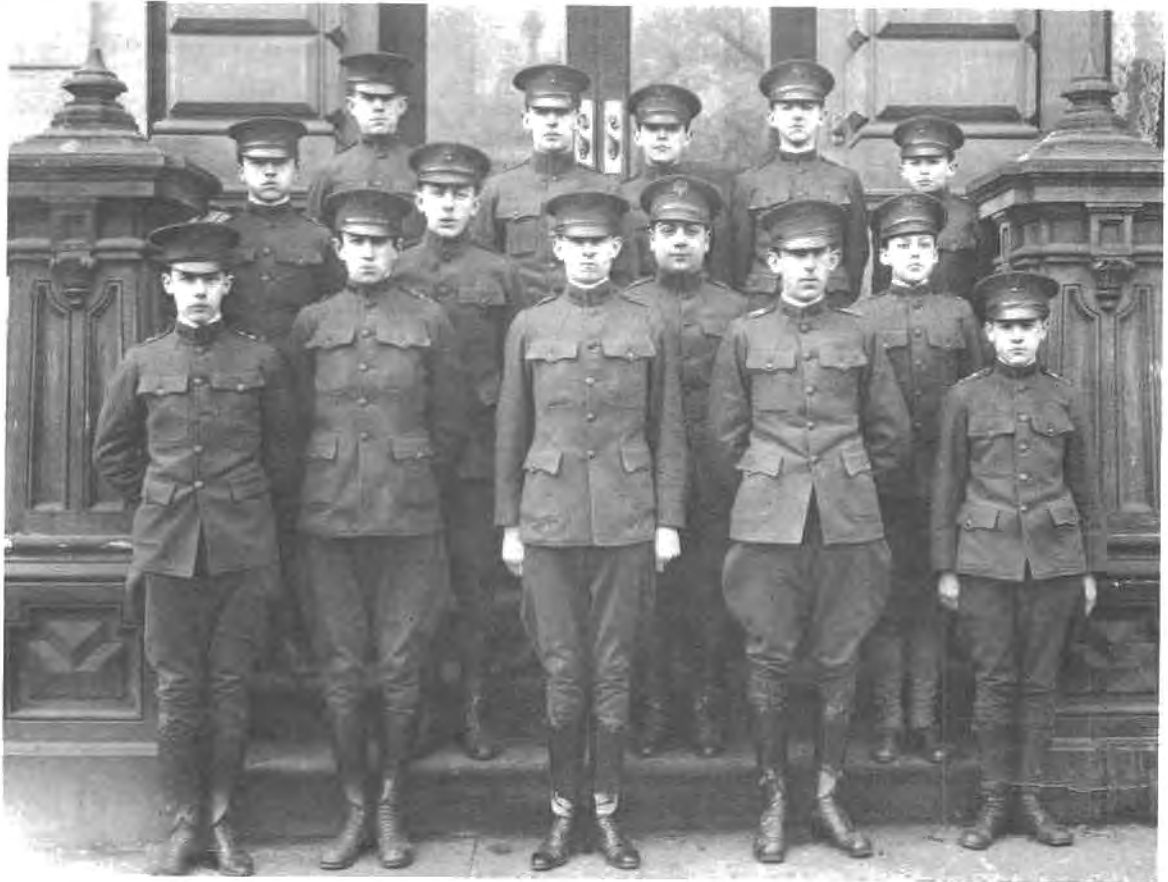
Cunningham's Dante is splendid. Even in appearance he recalls the well known portraits of the poet, his long, straight nose, his sharp prominent chin, his thin face suggesting the Dante of sculpture and painting. . . . He reads his lines well, is natural in his acting, dignified, fiery when necessary, and interesting always.

A few weeks after the last performance of "Dante," the college was saddened by the death of Father James J. Cranwell, beloved chaplain of faculty and students for twenty-six years. Father Cranwell came to California from Ireland in 1886 and after serving in various parishes ill health forced him into the less arduous work of a college chaplain. It was an employment after his own heart for he labored with understanding, kindness and compassion. A firm believer in the school of thought that holds more flies can be caught with a spoonful of honey than a barrel of vinegar, the good padre became the confidante and counsellor of hundreds. With the perception of youth and yet with sincere respect, students referred to him as "Daddy" Cranwell.

It was in tribute to the man and priest that the student body turned out en masse for his funeral in St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco and then marched in solemn procession with the faculty to the junction of Van Ness

Avenue and Market. Many accompanied the remains to Holy Cross Cemetery where it was interred in the priests' plot.

In August, 1922, Brother Gregory, exhausted from overwork, resigned his office. During his five year administration there were many significant and critical events but none so strikingly epitomized his presidency as that which occurred on the afternoon of May 7, 1918. With a fire-ravaged building in front of him and with the air filled with smoke and ashes, Brother Gregory quietly predicted, "Boys, the college will be reopened in September." In those few words were contained the finest elements in the undying spirit of St. Mary's College. It was fitting that they were uttered by one of the most outstanding presidents in the history of St. Mary's.



Officers, Students Army Training Corps, 1918



Students Army Training Corps, 1918

BROTHER VANTASIAN'S ADMINISTRATION

1922 - 1923

The interim service of Brother Vantasian as head of the college lasted but one year. Although but a stopgap between the two terms of Brother Gregory, it did realize one or two improvements. The most important of these was establishment of the office of Dean of the College.

For some years it was evident that the administration of temporal and scholastic affairs was too much for one man and that a division was necessary. As early as 1911 Brother Fabrician complained that his first act as president was to make a contract with the garbage man and not to make a contract with the mind of man. As the enrollment and faculty grew so there was a corresponding growth in number and complexity of problems. A solution for the situation was proposed by shifting responsibility for academic affairs to the new office.

The first dean was Brother W. Edward (Hugh Duffy, 1882-1954). He was authorized to formulate and execute policies and programs for the entire college. His jurisdiction included admissions, departmental regulations, inspection and supervision of classes and arrangement of schedules. By coordinating and directing scholastic activities it was hoped that the standing of faculty and students would be raised and the prestige of the college advanced.

Closely associated with the move to raise academic standards was establishment of the School of Education in September, 1922. Selected as head of the new school was Brother V. Leo (Augustine McKinnon, 1867-1954). A member of the faculty for thirty-one years, Brother Leo had taught in practically every department, was recognized as the faculty's most versatile member and had

agitated for the school for years.

As an adjunct to the School of Education, a scholasticate or training school for student Brothers was opened. The four pioneer scholastics followed the ordinary curriculum in the same classes and under the same conditions as lay students. It was the first time in the history of the Christian Brothers in the United States that such a routine was followed. The novelty of the program created opposition and scepticism. Had it not been for the courage, determination and foresight of Brother V. Leo and Brother Vantasian the arrangement would have had a sudden and permanent end. The beneficial effects of the student Brothers, both in scholarship and morale, on other students quickly and effectively silenced critics and sceptics. The subsequent effects of the scholasticate both for the college and for the Christian Brothers' schools on the Pacific Coast became an eloquent testimony of the farsightedness and good sense of Brothers Vantasian and V. Leo.

BROTHER GREGORY'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

1923 - 1927

In August, 1923 Brother Gregory returned to the presidency. He had spent the sabbatical year visiting universities, colleges and institutions to observe methods of administration and faculty leadership.

The first act of consequence was publication of a code of student regulations. These decreed a uniform course of studies, minimum study load, compulsory class attendance, and passing grades. Students with deficiencies were barred from varsity athletic competition. Inasmuch as the new code hit football players the hardest, the Dean, Brother Edward, assembled the team and explained the academic requisites for intercollegiate competition. Athletes, contrary to the encomiums of the sport pages, were not an elite corps but simple students subject to regulations and punishable for violation of those regulations. Enforcement would be prompt and impartial. To help the athletes in their studies and problems, the Dean appointed Professors James Hagerty and Louis Le Fevre as tutors and counselors.

One of the direct results of tightening standards was admission of the college to the accredited list of the Northwestern Association of Secondary Schools and Colleges in 1927. The first Catholic men's college in the organization. In recommending accreditation, Professor Frederick Bolton of the University of Washington, expressed approval of the "fine, manly and businesslike attitude of the students in the classroom and about the institution." He was impressed "with the instruction. . . and the fine attitude of the faculty" toward the intellectual as well as religious education of their charges. The Washington savant recommended "that the college continue to emphasize the development of very strong departments in the standard subjects of English, foreign languages, history, economics, political science,

sociology, mathematics and the sciences."

Another effect of the improved academic status was the decision of the Superior General of the Christian Brothers to increase the number of student Brothers to twenty-two in the Department of Education. In 1926 a milestone was passed when the first two student Brothers received degrees at the commencement exercises. From that year, St. Mary's has annually sent forth a constant stream of well-prepared young Brothers to teach in the schools of their province.

At this point it might be well to mention the work of Brother V. Leo (Augustine McKinnon) as founder and first director of St. Mary's scholasticate. The gentle and kindly Brother Leo, known to generations of students as "White" Leo campaigned unceasingly for years to establish a program for young Brothers attending college. Because his proposal was new, revolutionary and worldly, it met with opposition and suspicion. To educate young Brothers outside monastic walls was courting the loss of their vocations. Consequently it took a great deal of Brother Leo's prayer and effort to break down the reluctance and fears of the conservatives. It was a milestone when Brother Leo persuaded the superiors to allow the embryo teachers to get a college education in competition with lay students. The experience would bring out the best in both religious and lay groups and for the former they could enter a classroom as sensible, sympathetic and practical teachers not pedagogical freaks.

During the first eleven years of its existence, the scholasticate was directed by Brother Leo. In these pioneer years, he as well as his inferiors had to make many sacrifices and accept numerous restrictions. It was a time of trial and experimentation and critics were prompt to point up any error or mistake. Consequently to sustain his project as well as to give the lie

to his detractors, Brother Leo kept a tight hand on the fledgling program. Not only did he succeed in making the scholasticate a permanent part of St. Mary's but persuaded Christian Brothers in other parts of the nation to follow his example.

Another, but short-lived, experiment was the evening law school founded in 1924. During the summer of that year, the Dean, Brother W. Edward, prepared a curriculum, recruited a faculty and began the nucleus of a law library. Chairman of the new school was Frank M. Silva '98, one of the ablest and most respected attorneys in the state. Classes were in the evenings from 7:30 to 9:30.

On the first night, August 25, 1924, thirty-five enrolled. Chairman Silva bluntly told the neophytes that they faced years of exacting study and arduous preparation but that the reward was fully worth the price. He reminded them of having a Christian ideal and "to keep ever burning the fire to illuminate it, in order that it may be closely followed." Enemies of this ideal were the parasites and scrofula of the legal profession while its proponents found "that no profession outside the priesthood . . . was closer to God."

Scarcely three months after Professor Silva uttered these words than he was called to death. His successor was another alumnus, the Honorable Thomas J. Lennon, '85, Associate Justice in the Supreme Court of California. In his initial address, the new chairman declared he would make no change either in policy or faculty. He would, however, be most careful in recommending candidates for the bar examination. His concern sprang from the desire to turn out thoroughly prepared candidates as well as to increase the prestige of the law school.

Lennon had only one opportunity to propose candidates for only eighteen months after he took office, death struck him down as he was campaigning for

Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court. One of his former instructors, Brother Z. Joseph, then the current provincial of the Christian Brothers, stated that St. Mary's had followed Judge Lennon's rise in the legal profession and "had read with a measure of complacent satisfaction the most memorably of his official decisions and the most impressive of his public utterances, but always and more insistently was ours the understanding and the almost paternal concern of those who received so many and such signal evidences of his loyalty to his Alma Mater, his manly reverence for his old instructors, and his essential fidelity to his Catholic ideals."

For the third time in less than two years, the law school installed a new chairman. He was Albert T. Shine, '06, later judge of the Superior Court of Alameda County and instructor in the law school since its inception. The choice of Mr. Shine was admirable for only after one year of his leadership, it was reported

Very splendid work is being accomplished by the students in the Law Department and the results thus far obtained have been very encouraging. . . A sound understanding of the principles involved in the various branches of study is especially being acquired by the three classes. All are thoroughly imbued with the high standard of requirement fixed in this department and earnestly lend their efforts in the attainment thereof. The faculty is determined upon quality rather than the output and insists upon graduates going out only as finished products.

As the new programs of the college gradually began to take hold, the student body increased and space was at a premium. To provide more room as well as to obtain tax exemption for the campus, the high school department was moved in 1926 to Peralta Park, Berkeley. Housed in a new \$300,000 plant on the site of St. Joseph's Academy, the department took the name of St. Mary's College High School.

Any discussion of the second administration of Brother Gregory would be incomplete without mention of Brother Z. Leo (Francis Meehan, 1881-1967).

Since joining the faculty in 1908, he had been in the forefront of academic activities. A competent and inspiring instructor, his energies and enthusiasms overflowed into extracurricular activities, such as writing, directing and staging plays. Among these were "The Tree of Kerioth," "Ecce Homo," "For All the World," "Dante the Wing Bearer," and "The Holy City." These together with a number from Shakespeare such as Richard III, attracted favorable reviews and focused attention on the cultural and scholastic life on campus. Public lectures on literature and practical psychology and numerous articles in periodicals attracted national notice. More valuable from the standpoint of solid scholarship were Brother Leo's publications on "Teaching the Drama and the Essay," "Religion and the Study of Literature," and "English Literature, A Survey and a Commentary." In the field of religion he published a new version of Thomas A. Kempis' "Imitation of Christ," and "The Story of St. John Baptist de la Salle."

A cursory glance at the work of Brother Leo, the law school, scholasticate and establishment of the Dean's office reveals a definite and long range plan by the administration. A systematic plan of study, close supervision of classes, regular faculty meetings, moving the high school, introduction of professional courses and research and publication by the faculty indicated an effort to raise the academic status of the college. The plan was carried out despite complaints and predictions of doom.

As his plan for enhancing the scholastic stature unfolded, Brother Gregory became increasingly aware of the need for more commodious quarters. As early as 1916 a report circulated that St. Mary's was going to move to a new campus. Among the rumored locations were Los Angeles, San Mateo, Piedmont, and San Leandro. Nothing definite came of the stories until 1919 when Brother Gregory bought 255 acres of rolling hill land in San Leandro. On September 20, 1925, preliminary plans were unveiled. The new complex of thirteen buildings

would start with construction of six units with the rest to be completed at a later date. Simultaneously a campaign for three million dollars got underway for construction costs. But before the public contributed a dollar, students voluntarily pledged \$29,000. During the week of December 3, 1925, East Bay cities promised \$500,000. In San Francisco the story was different. All was in readiness to launch the drive on December 7, when it was postponed. According to headquarters:

The campaign was suspended to permit a free field for the impending Community Chest Drive. In San Francisco our organization was complete; we were on the very eve of the campaign when the San Francisco Community Council sprang into being as if overnight. . . and upon very authoritative. . . advice as also to be gracious to the San Francisco Community Chest personnel and purpose, we withdrew for the time being after an actual expenditure of \$10,000 and following several months of intensive preparation.

A year's delay ensued and when the appeal did get under way, it failed. After seven days and nights of strenuous activity, the administration gave up and admitted defeat. No reasons were given for the fiasco nor was there any report of the sum subscribed. The setback was a bitter disappointment to alumni and friends who had worked so unselfishly.

Soon after the San Francisco debacle, a rumor circulated that St. Mary's would move to a site other than San Leandro. The report got some substance when Brother Gregory announced that less than a million dollars had been promised. Of this sum Oakland had contributed one half. Without the money the college had to plan on finding other means of building the new plant. The opportunity came from the Moraga Land Company who offered to give one hundred acres for a campus. Location of a college on its 13,000 acre tract would not only publicize the natural advantages of the land but attract a flood of home owners. Two alumni, Harry Mitchell, general manager of the railroad through the Moraga Valley, the Sacramento-Northern, and Oliver Kerlein,

secretary of the Moraga Land Company, were the major proponents of the offer.

For some weeks during the first part of 1927, the Brothers considered the Moraga offer and although no decision was reached, Brother Gregory stated

Under present circumstances we simply cannot finance the San Leandro project and as much as we dislike to leave Oakland, we may be forced to do so. If we do accept the Moraga offer, we hope to be able to finance the construction of the new institution from the sale of our present campus, the sale of San Leandro site, and what campaign money was raised in the drive.

Negotiations and conferences took place during the following months.

Brother Z. Joseph, provincial, became the greatest protagonist for the new location. In the spring of 1927, to enlist support, he arranged a special train trip for the Brothers to Moraga to view the site. Unfortunately when the train stopped and the Brothers alighted, they found the tracks under water and most of the surrounding land a swamp. Brother Gregory was so disgusted that he took the next train back to Oakland. What the other Brothers saw turn them resolutely against Moraga Valley. Despite the opposition, Brother Joseph used his power as provincial to ride roughshod over opponents and announce through the press "St. Mary's College . . . will rise on a site in Moraga Valley, Contra Costa County instead of San Leandro and will be ready for occupancy by September, 1928." When the notice was posted on the bulletin boards of the Brothers' schools along the Pacific Coast, the first question was "Where is Moraga?" Opposition instead of crystallizing and growing gave way to acceptance and cooperation. In keeping with their vow of obedience, the Brothers complied with the decision and supported it as if it had been of their own making.

Ground-breaking was on May 15, 1927, feast of St. John Baptist de la Salle, founder of the Christian Brothers. Early in the morning, a crowd began to gather and by mid afternoon, it had grown to five thousand. Promptly at two o'clock, the college orchestra struck up the first of the musical

selections while Archbishop Hanna; Brother Joseph, Provincial; Brother Gregory and Dr. Walter B. Coffey '87, Chairman of the Day, took places on the temporary platform. In the introductory address, Dr. Coffey asserted, "It is the duty of each generation to make contributions to mankind. I am gratified to see that St. Mary's has always been a leader in this respect. The value of religion and morality as a bulwark to the nation can never be overestimated." He predicted that the college would always stand "for the promotion of true science and sound philosophy, for right thinking in things intellectual and right living in things spiritual." After Brother Gregory's speech, the group descended from the platform for an unusual ground-breaking event. Instead of a silver, gold or plated tool, the archbishop used a battered and worn long handled shovel. While news and motion picture cameras clicked, the prelate turned the first bit of earth and prayed, "May the buildings which will grow from this earth house the ideals that have gone into its planning. May truth and unselfish service ever prevail in the halls of St. Mary's College."

After the ceremonies, the traditional academic procession formed and wended its way through the valley to Justin Grove at the east end of the campus for commencement exercises. Among the recipients of degrees was Dr. Walter B. Coffey, who received a honorary Doctor of Laws for research in medicine. He was the first honoree so designated since 1915. In the baccalaureate address, Brother Z. Leo expressed the spirit of the day by stating:

A dream is realized with this college. Not only a dream of the Christian Brothers of St. Mary's, but for all the Order since its founding 250 years ago by St. John Baptist de la Salle. Creation of anything is a long and arduous effort. It has taken centuries of civilization to bring us where we are today.

Thus began the latest chapter in the story of St. Mary's. San Francisco, Oakland and Moraga Valley were three campuses as well as three indices to the growth of the college, each a step on the path to fuller realization of Catholic collegiate education. Specific problems, circumstances, and achievements differentiated one era from another, yet they formed integral parts of the whole. Curriculum, faculty, administration changes brought new interpretations but no radical change in the essential nature of St. Mary's goal, the Christian education of its students.

In 1927, the Superior General of the Christian Brothers rewarded Brother Gregory with the office of provincial of the Pacific Coast. Faculty, students and alumni regretted his departure because he had made substantial progress with a minimum of fuss. Scholastic improvement, a law school, a new campus and termination of high school instruction were highlights of his second administration. It was regrettable that Brother Gregory left St. Mary's on the threshold of a new era but in his new position, as provincial and president of St. Mary's Board of Trustees, he would still have a voice in fashioning policies and directing administration.



Prof. John Furey and S.M.C. Band, 1929

BROTHER LEWIS' ADMINISTRATION

(1927 - 1930)

Brother Gregory handed over the reins of office to Brother U. Lewis (John W. Treacy, 1873-) in August, 1927. Like many of his predecessors, Brother Lewis was an Irishman who migrated to America in his youth and joined the Christian Brothers. He had been on the faculty for most of twenty-seven years in the capacity of instructor, prefect, dean of civil engineering and vice-president. Consequently he was well acquainted with most phases of collegiate life.

Two periods spent by Brother Lewis off campus added experience and prestige. In the first, he helped to rehabilitate Sacred Heart College, San Francisco, after the disastrous fire of 1906 and in the second built a new plant for the Christian Brothers' High School, Sacramento. On his departure from the latter assignment the Sacrament Union editorialized

Irrespective of denominational affiliation, the public spirited citizens of Sacramento will regret the departure of Brother Lewis, president of Christian Brothers College, to a larger field. In his years of incumbency locally, Brother Lewis has stamped his impress on the community as an educator and a citizen. On no other hypothesis can be explained the unanimity with which the community rallied a year ago to his plea for funds for the construction of a magnificent gymnasium at the college. . . In saying 'Hail' to this outstanding figure in educational life and in adding to that the salutation of 'Farewell', the hearts of all true friends of education, of modern educational aspirations, of a fine gentleman, go out without stint and with enthusiasm.

Like most incumbents, Brother Lewis came to the presidency with a great deal of experience in the classroom and in administration. He had demonstrated, to the satisfaction of the higher superiors, that he possessed the intelligence, integrity, disposition and understanding necessary for a college administrator. Although competent to handle the work of the

office, it was fortunate that Brother Lewis had the assistance of such men as Brothers Z. Joseph, Gregory, Z. Leo and Henry. It would have been difficult for one man to have faced and solved the problems that plagued the administration. This was particularly true of building the plant at Moraga. Despite the multitude and perplexity of obstacles, the new St. Mary's was ready for occupancy sixteen months after the ground breaking. Brother Z. Joseph, who superintended construction, declared the four greatest hindrances were revision and adjustment of San Leandro plans to the Moraga layout; rainy weather; underground utilities and lack of money.

When the new campus was changed from San Leandro to Moraga, architects had to change the blueprints for a nine building modern Gothic complex on a 255 acre site to a fifteen unit California Mission style plant on 450 acres. Although the designers worked at top speed, their inability to keep pace with construction delayed progress several times. The heavy rains of 1927-1928 likewise increased the work-load particularly in excavation and transportation. One of the most important projects on the campus, a dam to impound Lake La Salle, was rushed to completion only by working three shifts day and night. Wet weather likewise augmented the task of providing for underground facilities. The adobe soil, when wet, became heavy and tenacious and clogged the excavating machines. Under these conditions, it became a considerable job to dig miles of trenches for water, gas, sewage, steam, fuel, electricity and telephone lines. The last and most important difficulty was money. Sale of Oakland and San Leandro properties furnished about one half of the construction costs; the rest had to be borrowed. Consequently, in January, 1928, through the San Francisco brokers, Dean Witter Company and William Cavalier, St. Mary's floated "\$1,500,000 first mortgage five percent sinking fund gold bonds, due January 1, 1948." The offering price was 98-1/2 with 5.12 percent interest, exempt from California personal property tax. Collateral consisted

of land parcels in Moraga, San Leandro, Berkeley, Albany and San Mateo appraised at \$2,699,916. Additional security was a \$500,000 equity in Martinez and Sacramento investments. With these assurances, investors quickly bought up the offering.

In the light of all these difficulties and problems, it was a relief for the Brothers and friends to see their end. This came Sunday, August 5, 1928, with the dedication ceremonies. When the program began at 2:30 a crowd of over ten thousand from all parts of the state gathered to witness the occasion. An unusual group in the throng were the Carmelite nuns who had received a special dispensation to leave their cloister at the "Brick-pile" and witness the blessing of their new monastery in the chapel complex. In the traditional brown and white habits of Carmel, these Mexican exiles won the sympathy of the huge assemblage by their simple manners and quiet demeanor.

Among the dignitaries on the speakers' stand was Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco, Bishop John Mitty of Salt Lake City, Bishop John Maiztegui of Colon, Panama, Bishop Luis Altamariano of Juajnapan, Mexico, Father Edward I. Whelan of St. Ignatius College, San Francisco, and Brother Z. Joseph and Dean Walter M. Hart, Vice President of the University of California.

After Archbishop Hanna blessed the cornerstone, several speeches were delivered, the most interesting of which was by Brother Z. Joseph. He asserted that the principle of environment in education was of prime importance, insisting

that this principle of environment is not of modern conception or pronouncement. The divinely commissioned church more intent upon the practice than the theory, has moved always in harmony with the psychologic rulings of intuitive teaching. It has ever realized fully that a material object may impart an inspiring lesson. . . . In harmony then with a first principle of pedagogy, and bearing the tradition of the age-old Church, the Brothers

of St. Mary's set about the selection of a site that might become a veritable thing of beauty, even of grandeur, for the students destined to their care.

After Brother Joseph's address, the entire assemblage moved to the new Carmelite monastery where Bishop Mitty blessed the structure.

On September 13, 1928, the college opened its doors to one of the largest student bodies in history. Students from five countries, eighteen states, thirty-five private schools, and eighty-seven public schools enrolled in classes. A week later, at the first meeting of the student body, Brother Lewis informed his audience that the very life principle of the Christian Brothers is loyalty to the Catholic Church. Other faiths are welcomed and encouraged but only within the framework of a Catholic philosophy of life and education.

Among the most important changes on the new campus was introduction of the grade-point system that indicated grades by letters rather than numerals. According to the new arrangement, grade-points were based on the following scale: three points per unit for a grade "A", two points per unit for a grade "B", one per unit for grade "C", no points for "D's", and minus one point per unit for "E's" or "F's". One hundred and forty grade points and units were required for graduation.

Another improvement was tightening standards in the pre-medical course to win approval of the American Medical Association, whose recognition made it possible for students to enter any medical school. About the same time approbation came from the legal profession, when two law school students, still one year from graduation, passed the stiffest state bar test in years. Their success was a convincing demonstration of the adequacy of the law school curriculum.

Few other departments had such bright hopes for expansion and development as the law department in 1928. It numbered 125 students with thirty

in the graduating class only after four years of existence. In the light of these circumstances, it was a complete surprise when the administration announced in the spring of 1928 that it was going to close the law school. Students from metropolitan areas would find it too time consuming and hazardous to commute to evening classes on the new campus. The law curriculum and faculty would continue in Oakland but under the name of the Oakland Law School.

A more positive turn in scholastic matters was the inauguration of public academies. It was another of those intermittent attempts to arouse public interest in the cultural activities of the college. This time it was more definite in that it sought to achieve the end by commemorating significant events in the academic world. The first of these academies or symposiums took place Tuesday, September 3, 1929, the fiftieth anniversary of Pope Leo XIII's encyclical on scholastic philosophy, Aeterni Patris. In the presence of faculty, students, representatives of neighboring universities and colleges and the general public the exercises began with Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco celebrating a pontifical mass in honor of St. Thomas Aquinas. In the gymnasium, chairman of the day, Professor James Hagerty explained the motives and aims of Aeterni Patris in a paper entitled, "The Program of the Pope." Brother Z. Leo's address "Some Scholastic Implications of Literature," traced the influence of scholasticism on poetry and Professor J. Loewenberg of the University of California pointed up "The Need of Philosophic Discipline." Archbishop Hanna concluded the program with a paper on "St. Thomas and Today."

The effort was the first attempt in sixteen years to utilize the faculty in an organized extracurricular activity. The staff had participated in public lectures, seminars and research projects but the academy was a public presentation of the faculty as an integral part of the college. All

participants demonstrated some facet of the cultural interests of St. Mary's. Likewise the academy was evidence that St. Mary's was conscious of its obligation to enlighten and instruct the community in which it existed. The academies continued until 1939 and honored such giants in Western civilization as St. Benedict, Palestrina, St. Augustine, Vergil, Vittoria, Charlemagne and Newman.

In addition to academies, the administration attempted to promote cultural activity by the publication of a periodical called The Moraga Quarterly. In the initial issue, 1930, co-editor Brother Z. Leo wrote: "Is it not a happy circumstance that the Moraga Quarterly is born in autumn?"

Seasoned scholarship is the eternal autumn of the mind. In the best of our universities it is always autumn, for autumn, in the human spirit, as in nature, is enriched and sobered of experience. The shallow, frivolous, undisciplined mind considers scholarship austere menacing and remote but the deep and penetrating intellect welcomes it as the fine fruitage of culture, power, poise and peace.

After making a distinction between stolid and solid scholarship, Brother Leo asserted:

With scholarship of the stolid sort this QUARTERLY of ours hopes to have little to do. Etiquette demands that however much our gentlemen of learning labor in their shirt sleeves, they put on their coats and tie their cravats before sitting down to write for us. We need the sturdy beef of erudition; but we want it properly cooked; judiciously seasoned, even festively garnished. In silence and in secret we may count our calories, calculate our vitamins; but in public we sip the wine of urbanity and pour the oil of gladness.

The Quarterly appeared regularly until the spring of 1942 when the outbreak of the Second World War ended publication.

Other efforts of St. Mary's to attract public attention was a series of lectures delivered by Brother Z. Leo in the San Francisco Opera House. The popularity of the speaker and his ideas drew capacity audiences. It was said, with some truth, that the city had seldom heard a more refreshing personality.

Somewhat akin to expanded public relations was the rejuvenated concern for the alumni. With the prompting of the administration a tour of the cultural shrines of Europe was organized. To stimulate interest, Archbishop Hanna enthusiastically wrote "Efforts to extend the cultural influence of our Catholic colleges have always met with my warm approval and I am pleased to note the splendid program that has been planned by the Saint Mary's College Alumni Association for 1930." Beginning June 15th, the alumni spent two months touring Ireland, England, France, Italy, Austria, Germany and Belgium. The two most memorable events were the audience with Pope Pius XI and the Passion Play at Oberammergau.

Alumni Homecoming Days continued to take place annually but the one on February 19, 1928, needed little publicity nor promotion. It was the last official visit to the Old Brickpile on Broadway in Oakland. When Father James Towey, C.S.P., '02 began the celebration of Mass at 9 o'clock, every seat in the old chapel was filled. At Communion, designated the First Annual Communion of the Alumni Association, teachers and pupils knelt shoulder to shoulder at the altar. The devotion and respect prompted Father Towey to describe the scene as a "striking demonstration of the loyalty and faith of the old grads to the religious teachings they had learned in the old chapel and the old halls of their beloved monument of brick and mortar."

After breakfast, the entire delegation walked to the Sacramento Northern station at 40th and Shafter Streets to board a special train to Moraga and the new campus. After a tour of inspection, they returned to the Old Brickpile in the early afternoon to watch a baseball game between the varsity and alumni teams. At five o'clock Brother Agnon led the contingent through the classrooms and laboratories. If St. Mary's students ever had a chance to say "Good-Bye, Mr. Chips," it was on this informal ramble through the nooks and crannies trading stories, quips, jests and sallies with a man who

symbolized St. Mary's to them. As the cavalcade trooped from room to room, carved and battered desks, well-worn floors, cracked and sagging walls brought up reminiscences and anecdotes.

One of the last events on the Oakland campus was the funeral of Brother V. Daniel (Augustine Haley, 1906-1928), February 27, 1928. Brother Daniel was the first student Brother to die at St. Mary's where he had entered the Freshman class the previous September. Although suffering from a heart condition, he had made a commendable record during his first semester. A Solemn Mass of Requiem was celebrated in the college chapel for the repose of his soul by Father John Turco, faculty chaplain. In his eulogy, Archbishop Hanna asserted "Real promise was here-- promise to fulfill the great ideal which was the vision of his life. . . In this land that is ours, in this country in which we live there is no vocation so necessary, so needed as the teacher, particularly among the men. . . . In a short time he fulfilled great things and the Lord took him because He loved him and wanted him for his own."

In the same year but on the other side of the world and from another century, Brother Benezet Thomas at the age of 80 died in Belgium. As was mentioned previously, Brother Thomas was one of the first novices on Mission Road. In subsequent years he was president of normal colleges in New York and Ireland and Assistant Superior General. He spent the last five years of his life in retirement at the mother house of the Christian Brothers in Belgium. Recently, the Christian Brothers in Ireland have started a move toward the canonization of Brother Thomas.

BROTHER LEO'S ADMINISTRATION

(1930 - 1932)

In August, 1930, the Board of Trustees merged the offices of president and dean into that of chancellor, the title given to the presiding officer in medieval universities. The first incumbent was Brother Z. Leo (Francis Meehan, 1881-1967), a well known teacher, lecturer, scholar and author.

As chancellor, Brother Leo planned to concentrate on the administration and development of the academic life of the college. The spiritual direction of the Brothers, formerly entrusted to the president, was given to Brother V. Jasper (Thomas Fitzsimmons, 1870-1946), erstwhile vocational recruiter on the Pacific Coast.

Despite the new chancellor's opposition, alumni, friends and students staged a testimonial banquet to honor his inauguration. Among the overflow crowd in the Palace Hotel on the evening of September 18, 1930, were Archbishop Hanna of San Francisco and Governor-elect, James Rolph of California.

In the principal address of the evening, the chancellor summarily presented his ideas about college life. In his mind a college existed for a definite purpose. Anything, on or off the campus, that furthered that purpose was good; if it thwarted that purpose, it was bad. Instructors as well as students are good to the extent that they act upon that knowledge. Consequently, the only man who means anything in and to a college is he who thinks, acts and lives in consonance with the purpose of the college. After four years, the right kind of student will unquestionably know more and unquestionably can do more and, more important, he would be more. The graduate, Brother Leo claimed, "will have learned and practiced the plastic surgery of the spirit He will be a new man."

The same practical character was found in the chancellor's conception of a collegiate instructor. No man had the right to be in the lecture halls who did not like to teach, who did not enjoy imparting knowledge and stimulating thought. The genuine teacher preferred the spiritual to the material, acquisition of knowledge to acquisition of wealth and self mastery above self importance. He prepares assiduously, lectures intelligently, reads omnivorously, studies diligently, writes scholarly, and lives sanely. Leo taught a full class schedule to both upper and lower classmen. His course on the Art of Study inspired more students than any other course in college.

In addition to promoting a new spirit in the student body and staff, the chancellor launched a rather ambitious extracurricular program of public academies, faculty lectures, dramatic productions, symphonic recitals, operatic presentations, civic awards and learned publications.

Among the most memorable were the academies. Brother Leo had introduced the first of these public assemblies in 1929 and now he sought to make it a regular part of the collegiate calendar. The fall semester was hardly underway when commemoration of the fifteenth centenary of St. Augustine was observed. Before an audience of seven hundred, a pontifical high Mass inaugurated the exercises whose theme was the relationship of Christian philosophy to modern education. Among the speakers were Monroe Deutsch, Vice President and Provost of the University of California, Bishop Thomas J. Shanahan, rector-emeritus, Catholic University of America, Professor Aurelio Espinosa, Stanford University and Archbishop Edward Hanna, San Francisco.

Numerous comments confirmed the salutary effect of the academy. Typical of these was the one that maintained:

The celebration in honor of the fifteenth hundredth anniversary of the death of St. Augustine. . . was the most brilliant of the series of academies that have been conducted. . . We

take great pride in an event of which all Californians should be proud. We feel somehow that only in California could such an academy be given. Certainly nowhere else in the United States have we record of such an achievement in Catholic education. And we believe that the benefits of so much study and wisdom should not be confined to the students of St. Mary's but passed on to our appreciative readers.

In the following semester on February 23, 1931, an academy honored the memory of Giovanni Pierluigi de Palestrina, famous liturgical composer. Two of the faculty, Father Jean Ribeyron and Roberto Sangiorgi, organized a program designed to demonstrate, by example and discussion, the competence of Palestrina. With Archbishop Hanna as celebrant, Father Ribeyron's San Francisco Cantoria sang Palestrina's greatest work, the Mass of Pope Marcellus. Of the performance one critic wrote:

St. Mary's College. . . set a standard of excellence in the rendition and interpretation of the Gregorian chant. The program revitalized in the community served by the college the finest Catholic tradition of music. . . The quality of Palestrina's Mass in honor of Pope Marcellus . . . is best described in the words of Pope Pius IV when he first heard it. 'Such were the harmonies heard by Saint John the Evangelist when he had vision of the New Jerusalem.' In so beautiful a chapel, inspired with the grace the Archbishop lends to the celebration of a solemn Pontifical Mass, the glory of that morning was declared to be without parallel by all who heard it.

Brother Leo began the discussion of Palestrina by observing that the composer was a great Catholic layman who utilized the human voice as other composers used orchestral instruments, the ideas of God's graciousness and loving kindness. Palestrina's aim, according to the speaker, "Was to take the Gregorian chant and develop it without eccentricity to the finest expression of human personalities praising God in harmony." St. Mary's was interested in Palestrina because it was convinced that he was one of the most important transmitters of the Catholic tradition of Europe. The value of tradition was to accept experience, meditate upon it and apply its proven benefits

to modern problems. To offer proven truth to the community it serves was the purpose of the Palestrina as well as all the other academies.

Father John M. Petter, professor of music at St. Bernard's Seminary, Rochester, and president of the St. Gregory Society of America, not only scarified the travesties on sacred music frequently heard in churches but suggested that Palestrina's "sublime work ought to be sung in every Catholic church in the bay region. . . this is an artistic discipline to which the archbishop, who is a genuine musical ecclesiastical, might well lend the power of his authority."

In reviewing the proceedings, Brother Leo declared that they were significant because they represented an overflow of legitimate educational energy. They achieved a fusion of the arts by bringing together music, literature, architecture, drama, sacred song and spoken word.

The chancellor's efforts to promote the liberal arts were commendable but many regretted his inability to retain the department of civil engineering. Founded in 1901 by Brothers V. Leo and R. Bernard, the department trained some of the most capable minds in the history of the college. Although deprived by illness of the leadership of Brother Bernard in 1908, it retained Brother Leo as its chairman until the very end. To honor his leadership and contributions, the last class in engineering presented a bronze plaque inscribed:

A Tribute to
BROTHER V. LEO
AND
THE DEPARTMENT OF ENGINEERING

1901

1931

C.E. '31

Despite differences of opinion on closing the civil engineering department the chancellor searched for new means to improve the academic

status. One of these was foundation of a summer school in 1930. The most popular and the first to register co-eds was in 1931 when Professors James Hagerty, Henry Soule, Louis Le Fevre, Carl Scholl and Joseph Neary together with Father Ribeyron and Brother A. John (George Donovan, 1901-) composed the staff. The courses ranged from inorganic chemistry and genetics to Elizabethan literature and the theory of knowledge.

Improvement of the St. Mary's scholastic reputation also lay behind Brother Leo's support of the Alumni Faculty Lectures in 1931 and 1932. The theme in the former year was "Catholic Tradition and Modern Life," and in the latter "The Spirit of Civilization." In presenting the series, chairman William Lowery declared its object sought to reach the man on the street by means of public lectures on timely topics. Inasmuch as the people of the bay area have always treated St. Mary's kindly, the college wanted to return that kindness by becoming an active influence in the intellectual life of these communities. Brother Leo struck the keynote when he asserted that a great many thoughtful men and women were convinced that the greatest difficulty of the age was the loosening of traditions and the removal of controls. Barbarians stalk the streets of America because they have no civilized background and have never learned the meaning of control.

In addition to promoting the lectures, the Alumni produced a radio program entitled "Universal Saint Mary's Night." On December 29, 1932, units of the Alumni along the Pacific Coast and as far east as Denver assembled to hear a selection of vocal and instrumental numbers as well as some remarks of Brother Leo and Dr. Frederick West, president of the association. In recognition of the alumni's activities, the college made the chairman of its educational committee, William Lowery '11, first recipient of the Moraga Crest. The honor was bestowed at the commencement exercises, May 10, 1931, "in recognition of a conspicuous contribution to

and interest in the highest ideals of western civilization." In January, 1932, Brother Leo's esteem for the ideals of western civilization led him to name the buildings in "the little white academic city" in honor of outstanding scholars. The liberal arts building was called Dante Hall and the science building, Galileo. The freshmen residence was named Augustine Hall and the sophomore, Aquinas Hall. Center dormitory became De La Salle Hall to commemorate the contributions of the founder of the Christian Brothers.

Esthetic reasons likewise launched a stepped up music program. A concert orchestra, string quartet, choral society, dance band and glee club took shape and staged a series of performances and musicales on and off the campus. These groups became an attractive feature in "Saint Mary's Classroom of the Air," a radio program broadcast by station KTAB, San Francisco, in the late winter and spring of 1932.

Another facet of extracurricular activity was the establishment of a Catholic High School Journalistic Convention on April 2, 1932. Described as "the first of its kind ever to be sponsored by a Catholic college" the assembly began a daylong program with a Mass by student chaplain Father Benjamin Bowling, C.S.P. The 110 delegates heard various aspects of journalism explained by F. Gordon O'Neill, editor of the San Francisco Monitor, Anthony Moitoret, columnist, Oakland Tribune, and Edith Bristol, club editor, San Francisco Call-Bulletin. The conventions have met annually to the present.

While the chancellor was zealously engaged in promoting academic life, he was simultaneously waging a campaign against subsidized football. It is understandable that the ideals embodied in the tradition of European culture would have little in common with the objectives of a highly paid, organized and publicized athletic program. It was rather ironic that an excellent educator and scholar like Brother Leo should become head of St.

Mary's at the very time that the sporting fraternity was making most headway.

Football came to St. Mary's in 1892 but it did not assume major proportions until the arrival of Edward P. (Slip) Madigan in 1921. In the previous year, the team coached by William Hollander had lost to the University of California, 127 to 0 and many wanted to drop the game. At this juncture, Brother V. Josephus (Cornelius Mangan, 1884-1961) recommended Madigan then coach of Portland's Columbia Prep School for Hollander's post. The recommendation was approved and Madigan began to recruit outstanding athletes and arrange a schedule of games with large colleges and universities. Within a few years St. Mary's received more attention for what it did on the gridiron than for what it did in the classroom. Well-paid publicity agents filled the columns of the nation's newspapers and news magazines with the exploits, feats, talents, prowess, derring-do and daily doings of the helmeted brigade. Train loads of fans followed or accompanied the team across the country with stopovers in Cuba or Canada while those forced to stay at home listened to every move of their heroes on the radio. It appeared that St. Mary's was taking on the trappings of a football factory and existed primarily to produce a team that could draw 80,000 spectators on Saturday afternoon. Not only was Madigan rumored to be the highest paid coach in America but was supposed to receive a percentage of the gate and the railroad fares. The excitement, hubbub, and pressure that preceded, accompanied and followed the football season was not conducive to create the quiet, serene atmosphere necessary for scholarly studies. It became evident to Brother Leo that he was fighting a losing battle and consequently he resigned December 22, 1932.

Even a superficial view such as this cannot fail to indicate the loss sustained by the college in the resignation of Brother Leo. For two and a half years he had channeled the efforts and energies of faculty, students



Groundbreaking, 1927

and alumni toward cultural and scholastic ideals. His administrative chores were done in addition to teaching a full schedule, continuing his column "Outlooks and Insights" begun in the Collegian, and delivering public lectures. Outside and inside the classroom he emphasized that the spiritual should have precedence over the temporal, the eternal over the transient and self control over self importance. Seldom had the college more concretely recognized its obligations to the community of which it was a part. St. Mary's was finally acquiring a status of which it was said, "all Californians, Catholic and non-Catholic, should be proud that they have an institution which is lighting the way to a new frontier of knowledge and culture." No college could afford to lose a leader who brought this encomium to her doorstep.

BROTHER JASPER'S ADMINISTRATION

(December, 1932-March, 1935)

Like all his predecessors, Brother Jasper (Thomas Fitzsimmons, 1870-1946) was well seasoned in classroom and administration when he became president. A native of Table Bluff, California, of pioneer Irish stock, Brother Jasper attended St. Mary's on the Mission Road and entered the Christian Brothers in 1889. During the subsequent forty-three years, he spent eighteen as high school teacher and administrator, eleven as master of novices, six as vocational recruiter and eight as college instructor.

During his term of twenty-six months, Brother Jasper followed the general policies of Brother Leo but re-established the offices of president and dean. The latter had charge of the entire curriculum and its three subdivisions or schools with their deans. Not only did Brother Jasper strike out on his own in academic organization but he imparted something of his own deep faith to the extracurriculum as the academies. This was particularly true in the commemoration of the Oxford Movement on November 15, 1933. As one speaker after another emphasized, the Movement was a return to the Catholic unity of pre-Reformation days. It was a spiritual homecoming for a number of Englishmen like Manning, Newman and Faber as well as the restoration of prestige for the Catholic Church in England.

It was not only in public assemblies like the Oxford Academy that the faith of Brother Jasper manifested itself but more importantly in unobtrusive daily practice. He believed with the founders that St. Mary's was established "for the instruction of the youth of California, not in literature merely, but what is greater, in true Christian knowledge." The study and practice of Catholicism was the prime reason for the existence of any

Catholic college. He refused to have any part with those Catholic educators who gave lip service to the primacy of religion in catalogs, baccalaureates, conventions and publicity blurbs but relegated it to a status midway between gymnastics and water polo in the curriculum. It was imperative to give Catholicism a little more attention than it received in the release-time program of public schools. Like Brother Justin, the president did not think it derogatory either to his position or dignity to teach religion and instruct the most backward in its fundamentals. In addition to classroom instruction, the president encouraged any project that stimulated Catholicism. Thus in the spring of 1933 he was instrumental in establishing a shrine to the Blessed Virgin at the entrance of Justin Grove. A few days after Father Benjamin Bowling, C.S.P., student chaplain, had blessed statue and grotto, graduates made their first pilgrimage to the shrine on commencement day.

Although genuinely devoted to Catholicism, Brother Jasper had enough good sense and tolerance to respect the beliefs of all men. Hence it was in keeping with his character that he welcomed the formation of the St. Mary's Club. Unique in that few of the members were graduates of the college, the organization became an inspiration to students and alumni for its devotion and selflessness. In the latter part of August, 1933, a San Franciscan, Louis McGettigan '01, called an informal meeting of forty acquaintances interested in St. Mary's. They agreed to unite and work for the interests of the college. First officials were President Robert B. Donohue, attorney for the Morris Plan; Secretary Charles J. Barry, clerk of the United States Circuit Court and Directors Frank E. Jones, James W. Moyles and George M. Shannon.

First event on the club's agenda was an official visit to the campus on Sunday, September 24, 1933. After Mass, the ninety-piece college band

arrayed in glistening helmets, red coats and blue trousers gave a concert of famous marches and college songs. A tour of the campus and luncheon in the dining hall followed. During the repast guests were addressed by the presidents of the college, alumni and club as well as by coach Madigan and Brother Z. Leo. In writing his impressions, one club member, Ira N. Doak, recalled

The talk of Brother Leo was most impressive. In his mellow voice and with twinkling eye, Brother Leo told us about the real Saint Mary's College. 'Like a big circus. . . we have our side shows, but we must never lose sight of the main tent, what that is to the circus, the spiritual and educational ideals of the institution are to the college.' He (Brother Leo) referred affectionately to the intangible ties which bind the students and the teachers. . . leading them through college to culture, refinement and spiritual development.

After their first taste of campus life, the St. Mary's Club became very active. In addition to supporting the football team, it sponsored a smoker and high-jinks for the students, outfitted the baseball team, established scholarships, staged movies and boxing exhibitions and cooperated in practically every extra-curricular project of the college. Like the alumni, the club had an annual homecoming day. The second of these, September 23, 1934, was the most elaborate. They selected Justin Grove for the site of the gathering and spent weeks building benches and tables, comfort stations, bandstands, dance platforms, barbecue pits, water and light facilities, paths and roads. In addition they printed and mailed thousands of invitations and pamphlets to publicize the event. Celebration of Mass at 10 opened the program and was followed by a band concert in the chapel quadrangle and a tour of the campus. The center of festivities then shifted to Justin Grove where Senor Frank Avilla and a corps of twelve assistants from Mission San Juan Baptista had been barbecuing meat since two o'clock in the morning. According to Senor Avilla the beef had to be roasted with meticulous care

and according to elaborate prescriptions of old Mexican culinary art. Hundreds of picnickers participated in Avilla's repast and expressed complete satisfaction with the senor's methods and philosophy.

The administration of Brother Jasper was marked not only by life but also by death for it was on November 17, 1935, that the end came to the "grand old man of St. Mary's, Brother Agnon." Born in New York two years before Father Croke raised the money to build St. Mary's, young McCann migrated to California and settled in Grass Valley. After his mother died and his father was killed in a mine accident, the orphan entered the Christian Brothers novitiate at Fifth and Jackson Streets, Oakland. On New Year's Day, 1873, John McCann renounced his worldly identity and was clothed in the religious habit under the name of Brother Agnon Francis. In the novitiate the neophyte developed a mastery of public speaking which he was to teach for the next sixty-one years. Later he studied under some of the pioneer Brothers such as Justin, Thomas and Permian and adapted a great deal of their philosophy to his own teaching methods. After a brief assignment in the Christian Brothers Schools in Portland, San Francisco and Sacramento, Brother Agnon joined the faculty of St. Mary's in 1877. Here he remained until his death except for a short period in the eighties at Sacramento.

It was very probable that Brother Agnon became a baseball buff at St. Mary's where the game had been introduced in the first years of the seventies. From its inception, the team had been a success even though the students had to buy uniforms, bats, balls and other equipment. In the thirty-one games played during the first two seasons, St. Mary's was undefeated. Included in the string of victories was one over Santa Clara that set the tone for future meetings by ending in a row. It was in the first flush of these triumphs that Brother Agnon arrived on the scene and lost little time becoming an integral part of the operation. According to one

account he accompanied the team to an out of town contest and at the hotel registered "B. Agnon." The sobriquet stuck and for fifty-seven years he was "B. Agnon" or plain "B" to thousands of young men.

It was however at the "Old Brickpile" in Oakland that he spent the best years of his life. During these thirty-seven years, Brother Agnon taught practically every subject in the curriculum. He handled the metaphysics of St. Thomas with the same ease as spherical harmonics in differential equations, and felt as much at home among the authorities as among the tyros. He taught many faculty members and most of the students, at one time or another. Consequently "B" became the subject of innumerable legends, stories, tales, anecdotes and yarns over the decades. Almost any occasion was suitable for at least one similar instance culled from the repertoire about "B. Agnon." When the alumni gathered, it inevitably got around to reminisce about the beloved instructor. On Homecoming Day, the first questions were seldom, "How's the team?" nor "How's the school?" but "How's B. Agnon?"

The venerable mentor was no respecter of persons. More than one prominent attorney, fresh from a triumph at the bar, returned to the campus and a reprimand on the mispronunciation of a word. Baseball heroes, with the cheers of crowds still ringing in their ears, likewise were told the errors of their ways.

The memory of Brother Agnon was extraordinary. He could meet a graduate after thirty or forty years and call him by his first name and then with a bit of braggadocio run through the class roster, summarize the career of the members and tell a humorous story about each individual. It was little wonder that students cherished and loved the old man who symbolized the spirit of St. Mary's.

Because of the thousands who wished to pay tribute, Brother Agnon was

waked the first night at St. Mary's and on the second at Sacred Heart High School in San Francisco. On the morning of the funeral, the rosary was recited and then a cortege of former students marched to St. Mary's Cathedral. Officials in the solemn Mass of Requiem were former students of Brother Agnon and included Fathers William Sullivan, '99, Henry Stark, C.S.P., '99, James P. Towey, C.S.P., '02, and Albert Duffy, '22.

A few months after the death of Brother Agnon, Brother Jasper was appointed provincial of the California area and had to resign the presidency of St. Mary's. Although only twenty-six months in office, faculty and students learned to respect and admire Brother Jasper's rugged faith, sincere piety, unruffled patience and simple kindness. Inasmuch as he believed that progress in an educational institution should be made gradually and cautiously his administration initiated and developed only a few phases in the life of the college. Possibly the most enduring contribution was encouragement and vitalization of religious life on the campus.

BROTHER ALBERT'S ADMINISTRATION

(March, 1935-July, 1941)

The new president, Brother U. Albert (William Rahill, 1900-), assumed office in the middle of the spring semester, March 4, 1935. He continued the administrative and academic policies of Brother Jasper until the end of the school year; then in August, 1935 instituted a program more in keeping with his own pedagogical ideas.

The most important and far-reaching change was establishment of a School of Science. The new school had equal footing with that of Arts and Letters and Business Administration. Stephen Tomer, first Chairman of Science was responsible only to the Dean of the entire college. In creating the School of Science a number of courses were added including a complete major in physics. The new curriculum made it possible for a student to earn a bachelor's degree in chemistry, physics or zoology or to follow preparatory courses for professional schools in medicine, engineering or dentistry.

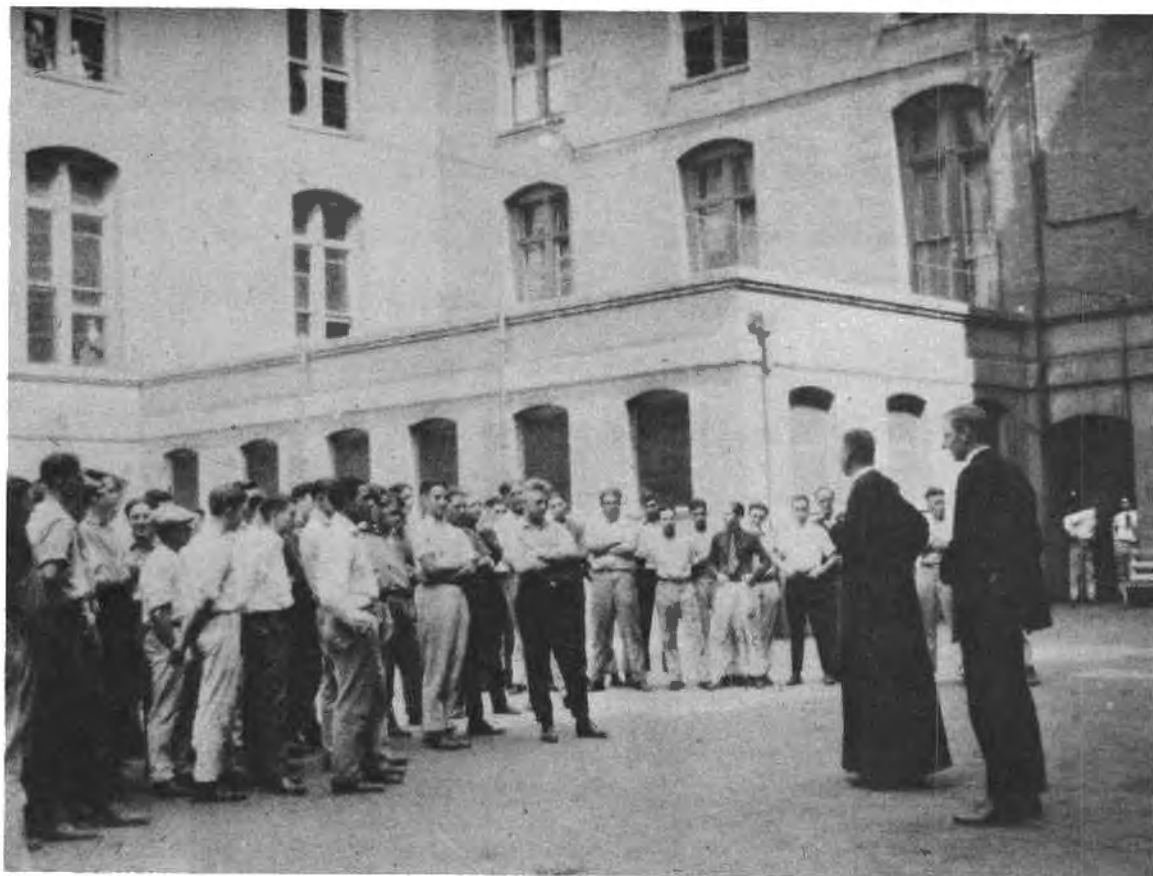
The move to give science its proper place aroused the fears of traditionalists who believed that establishment of a school of science was only the first step in building a monopoly. Brother Albert quickly ended these conjectures by explaining, "We are not throwing overboard the classical tradition. We fully realize its value, and shall continue to emphasize the liberalizing subjects while simultaneously according to science the position that it is its due.

The machinery of the new administration had hardly begun to function when tragedy struck. On November 8, 1935, Brother Gregory died. After more than a year of intense suffering from cancer of the esophagus the eminent educator succumbed. For over forty-four years as instructor and administrator

Brother Gregory was an understanding and sympathetic adviser to countless thousands. "His perpetually serene disposition, his perfect self-possession and poise, his great dignity and simplicity at all times, prompted the students to refer to him with affectionate reverence as "the prince."

In 1917 Brother Gregory became president of St. Mary's and until the day of his death, eighteen years later, he devotedly prayed and worked for its welfare and progress. Under his leadership, St. Mary's was rebuilt after the disastrous fire of 1918, maintained during the critical days of the First World War and expanded in a new plant and campus in the latter part of the twenties. As provincial of the California Christian Brothers from 1927 to 1935, he kept a lively interest in the college and as the time of his death drew near, expressed the wish to spend his last days at the college. His desire was fulfilled and he died as he had lived "heart and soul in St. Mary's."

Spurred by the example and aims of Brother Gregory, Brother Albert instituted a movement to publicize the aims and activities of the college. For this purpose he revived the practice of sponsoring exhibits at expositions and fairs. In keeping with the displays of St. Mary's in the Chicago Columbian Exposition, 1893, San Francisco Mid-Winter Fair, 1894 and the San Francisco International Exposition, 1915, the president established a booth in the San Diego Exposition in 1936. The exhibit contained paintings and sketches by art students, photographs of campus activities and a seven by eight foot map indicating home towns of St. Mary's students. May 16th was "St. Mary's College Day" and students and faculty shared a program to mark the occasion. Three years later, April 22, 1939, another display was staged at the Golden Gate International Exposition on Treasure Island, San Francisco, and consisted of students' work in chemistry, journalism, painting and architecture. As in the other expositions, one day was set aside for the



Typical Courtyard Meeting, 1923

college to stage a program. Among the highlights of the day were the finals of the Catholic High School Debate Congress, a roundtable discussion of "The Basic Elements of a College Education," and a debate with Santa Clara University. The last two were broadcast by radio.

In addition to exhibits, Brother Albert continued to keep the college in the public eye by a radio program called "St. Mary's Schoolroom of the Air," press and speech conventions and academies. The most popular of the convocations honored Charlemagne on April 26, 1936. Before an overflow crowd in the chapel the program began with a series of six selections by the combined choruses of St. Mary's and the San Francisco Cantoria. Stanford University's Warren D. Allen followed with a short recital on the organ. Professor Louis Mercier of Harvard read the first paper on "Charlemagne, the Champion of Christian Civilization." The savant stated that the great leader aimed at establishing a secure Europe under the rule of a universal church. In a favorite theme "European Tradition of Culture," Brother Z. Leo emphasized the importance of recognizing that the foundation of modern culture lay in ancient and medieval civilization and that "The great doctrines of European Tradition, i.e., universality, temperance and magnanimity were essential for a complete life."

Following Brother Leo's discourse, guests followed a conducted tour to an art exhibit that filled the entire lower floor of Galileo Hall. Among the prominent attractions were seventy originals of William Keith, fourteen old masters, and numerous etchings, engravings and students work.

Commentators agreed that excellence and discrimination were the hallmarks of the academy. Some critics ranked it with the Palestrina Festival of February, 1931, while others believed it superior to anything that St. Mary's ever offered.

Soon after the celebration of Charlemagne, the financial plight of St. Mary's began to receive widespread publicity. The difficulties began in July, 1934, when the college defaulted on a bond issue of \$1,370,000. News of the situation touched off a welter of explanations. One had it that the cause lay in "general mismanagement, a heavy investment in the football team, decreased football revenues, small enrollment, difficulty in collecting tuition fees and a drop in value of real property owned by the college." Another that "A combination of circumstances," led to the predicament. Meanwhile the college tried to find a way out of its difficulty. After failure to reach an agreement with the bondholders' committee, the Board of Trustees of St. Mary's, advised Brother Albert to take advantage of relief offered by recently enacted legislation. A Federal law provided assistance for institutions, such as St. Mary's, who found themselves unable to pay off debts geared to pre-depression values. The president refused to accept this remedy because he believed St. Mary's had a moral obligation to her creditors and should seek a more equitable arrangement.

When Brother Albert revealed his position, the bondholders decided to take the offensive. They asked the state corporation commissioner to direct "reorganization of the institution's financial management under pressure of foreclosure." This action immediately started a rumor that St. Mary's was to close. In an angry rejoinder the Collegian took it upon itself to clarify the situation. It denied that the college was either bankrupt or in hands of a receiver and had not been placed in its present embarrassment by over-emphasis of football. St. Mary's like many of the nation's businesses was having financial troubles and could not pay the interest on its bonds. The weekly labeled the rumor "ballyhoo, bunk and sensationalism of the press." It admitted that the bondholders had formed a committee to

discuss the situation with the college. The aim of the committee, however, was to assist, not destroy, the college because its purpose was "to give the holders of college securities legal status so that they could protect the college against any antagonistic minority that might seek to force a foreclosure."

Simultaneously the administration was adding an incongruous touch by declaring that the situation "was the brightest in years. Enrollment has increased, revenues from tuition and athletics are ahead of the past several years, the spirit of the campus is the most optimistic and energetic in . . . history."

In the twelve months subsequent to October, 1935, two efforts at agreement failed. The first offered to redeem the bonds at a figure between twenty and thirty cents on the dollar and the second proposed an exchange of four hundred thousand dollars and all non-operating properties for the bonds. The stumbling block in the latter offer was value of the property. The college said it was worth eight hundred and fifty thousand dollars and the bondholders assessed it at only two hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars. When an impasse developed, the bondholders began to canvass their membership for authority to start foreclosure proceedings. They were forced to take this step because their representative at the college, Comptroller James E. Butler, no longer had control of football revenues. This sum, \$140,680 for the year ending June 30, 1936, formed a large part of the gross income of St. Mary's and could have relieved the financial stringency had it been spent economically. Instead it had been flagrantly wasted and returned only a net profit of \$817.83. In contrast, two minor operations kept under the jurisdiction of Butler, the post office and the infirmary, yielded a net profit of \$2,043 and \$1,960 respectively. Gross incomes of post office and infirmary were approximately one-thirtieth of football, yet the dollar benefit

of each was over twice as much as football.

Financial circles viewed the action of the bondholders as a bluff to hurry payment of interest either by sale of college property or using receipts from football. It was the latter that loomed large in the minds of the financiers and triggered them into action after three months quiescence. When they learned that Brother Albert gave all returns from the Fordham game to "Slip" Madigan, they informed all bondholders of their astonishment at the president's action and proposed that

the sooner the properties of St. Mary's College secured under the deed of trust are foreclosed and an effort made to sell the properties or to use them through some other agency, the greater the benefit which will accrue to the bondholders, unless the college authorities, prior to the foreclosure sale, are able to raise a sufficient sum of money, or to work out some plan of settlement to satisfy its creditors.

In the spirit of an obiter dictum the committee concluded that Madigan received the Fordham check because the college owed him \$36,400 in "commissions" from the three previous seasons. Yet Madigan was only one of many creditors and had no more right to the money than any other creditor. The coach assumed the stature of a bete noire when the committee went out of its way to explain that his "cut" of ten percent was skimmed from the top before expenditure for publicity, hospitalization, travel, equipment or maintenance.

Brother Albert branded the revelations as "high pressure methods of bankers and brokers," and then explained that St. Mary's owed Madigan back salary for several years as well as a share in the gate receipts. These were stipulated in his contract and constituted a just debt. The president admitted "I personally paid him over \$35,000, what we owed him, after the Fordham game."

During the weeks subsequent to this angry exchange, wiser and cooler heads gradually obtained control and by April, 1937, reached a tentative

agreement. The amicable settlement provided for foreclosure as a necessary step in "liquidation of certain outside properties" and sale of the college at auction. The procedure started at 10 A.M., April 25, 1937 when Sylow J. Berven of the Central Bank of Oakland climbed the steps of the Alameda County Court House and solemnly declared the college foreclosed on, lock, stock and barrel. Sale of the college was postponed until July 25, 1938 when Mr. Berven climbed the same steps and in a rapid, subdued monotone began an hour's recitation of the bill of sale. Then as the crowd perspired in the glaring sun reflected by Lake Merritt and a long funeral procession slowly passed by, Mr. Berven called for bids on four pieces of property which included three lots besides the campus. When there was no bid, Mr. Berven announced, "I now offer the four lots in one transaction. What am I Bid?"

A man spoke up:

"I am Gerald S. Levin, San Francisco lawyer. On behalf of myself and Leland B. Groezinger, I bid \$411,150."

He presented a check. Mr. Berven then repeatedly asked for other bids, re-read portions of the bill of sale and finally declared:

"Mr. Levin's bid is accepted. The properties are sold to him."

Mystery surrounded Mr. Levin's identity. He denied that he was buying for anyone but himself. But it was believed that he represented the bondholders committee, who planned to rent the properties to the Brothers while negotiations for final disposal were concluded. Later it was discovered that Levin and Groezinger represented the law firm of Pillsbury, Madison and Sutro, legal counsel for the bondholders.

A few weeks later, September 15, 1937, it was announced that Archbishop John Mitty bought St. Mary's College and St. Mary's College High School for \$715,000. This sum added to \$175,000, the appraised value of land in Oakland, Berkeley, Albany, San Leandro and San Mateo, that was turned over to the bond-

holders, gave them approximately seventy-two cents on the dollar. News of the archbishop's generosity brought relief and joy. Brother Albert voiced the general sentiment when he declared, "Coming as it does at the beginning of our Diamond Jubilee Year, we are very hopeful for the future. Relieved of the financial burden and worries concerning the future of the college, we now have something upon which to build. With the existence of the college assured, I look forward to the coming year with great optimism." Seldom in the history of St. Mary's had the phoenix more aptly symbolized the college than on the occasion of its diamond jubilee. Consumed by the fire of fear, uncertainty, and insolvency for thirty eight months, it rose from the ashes of bankruptcy, vigorous and triumphant to celebrate its seventy-fifth birth year.

In the same month that its financial stability was assured, September, 1937, preparations were begun to celebrate the diamond jubilee of St. Mary's, on the sites of its three campi, i.e., San Francisco, Oakland and Moraga. A faculty steering committee published a calendar of commemorative exercises for the first six months of 1938. Among the highlights were: January 20th, Charter Day and publication of the Diamond (Jubilee) edition of the Collegian; February 22nd, Academy to honor the Sesquicentennial of the United States Constitution; March 20th, Homecoming Day; April 20th Diamond Jubilee Banquet, San Francisco; May 14th Solemn Jubilee Mass in St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco; May 15th Commencement Exercises.

Official inauguration of the Diamond Jubilee Year took place January 20, 1938 with the celebration of a solemn Mass, Coram Pontifice, in St. Francis de Sales Church, Oakland. Archbishop Mitty presided at the Mass celebrated by Father Albert Duffy '22 accompanied by a choir of student Brothers under the direction of Father Jean Ribeyron. In the evening six hundred guests

attended a banquet in Hotel Leamington and heard Monroe E. Deutsch, Provost and Vice President of the University of California. The savant emphasized that Americans recognized the need for spiritual as well as the material education as offered by the Christian Brothers at St. Mary's College. This kind of teaching needed no encomium because "It is superior to manufacturing, for it deals with human intelligence and spirit and not with steel and iron. It is superior to merchandising for it creates and develops. It is superior to law-making, for men are molded infinitely more by teachers than by laws on statute books."

After the Oakland celebration the commemorative exercises took place regularly each month according to the schedule with the addition of Brother Leo's passion play "Ecce Homo" on the eleventh of April on campus. On the nineteenth of the same month, five hundred attended the civic banquet in San Francisco's Palace Hotel. Father Arthur O'Leary, S.J., president of Georgetown, the oldest Catholic university in the United States, delivered the principal address. The religious aspect of the jubilee celebration was solemnization of a pontifical high Mass in St. Mary's Cathedral on May 14. Archbishop Mitty was celebrant and Father Richard Curtis '13, preached the sermon.

The Mass selected for the occasion was Palestrina's "Missa Papae Marcelli." In rendering the sacred polyphony the San Francisco Cantoria gave what music lovers called "the culmination of eight years of hard work under the exacting direction of Father Ribeyron." Its performance was a magnificent climax to the entire jubilee exercise. The exquisite harmony and beautiful music enabled one, however unacquainted with the niceties of voice culture, to appreciate Pope Pius IV's observation of the same Missa that "such were the harmonies heard by Saint John the Evangelist when he had the vision of the New Jerusalem."

On the following day, feast of the founder of the Christian Brothers, St. John Baptist de la Salle, the Commencement was held on the Moraga campus. Monsignor Peter Guilday, of the Catholic University, in delivering the principal address insisted that religion and morality were the essential bases for the endurance of a nation. Christian faith and American democracy go hand-in-hand and a Catholic college does its duty only when it sends out young men to lead, and to restore, Christian ideals of life in their community.

A general view of the entire jubilee stressed the importance of Catholicism at St. Mary's during three-quarters of a century. Practically every speaker expressed or implied that religion was preeminent in the curriculum. The substance of most speeches was that the spiritual view was the core of the program and the most influential element in the life of faculty and students. Catholicism was not merely taught every day, it was taught every hour in every day. There was a religious atmosphere in dormitory, library, laboratory, playing field as well as in classroom; prayer began and ended every exercise, rising, retiring, studying, playing and eating. Although there was frequent recourse to prayer, students unanimously testified that there were few or no religious freaks, reformers or prophets. The campus was singularly free of saintly fanatics. Worship of God was accepted as naturally as eating, drinking or walking. It was accepted as a matter of course that the supernatural life of man had to be sustained by prayer as his natural life was supported by food and drink. The practice of religion at St. Mary's was simple, natural and logical. It was the purpose for which the college had been founded and operated for seventy-five years.

Among the reminiscences recounted during the Diamond Jubilee were those about the legendary figures who peopled the campus such as Brothers Agnon, Justin, Fabrician, Erminold, Gregory and Walter or of Professors like

McCormick, Quinlan, and Schorcht. Frederick Schorcht (1845-1936), "the fellow with the long whiskers and the violin, who used to stamp twice 'Vun, two,' and start fiddlin'!"

The stories about Schorcht were numerous because he had died only a year before. At St. Mary's from 1869 to 1904, the old music master had been born of a prosperous German miller in 1845. Instead of following the footsteps of his father, he preferred the attractions of music. After some years in a conservatory, he won a place in the Imperial Palace Band. Inasmuch as German law prescribed compulsory military training and young Schorcht loathed war, he migrated to the United States. Instead of peace he found conflict for the nation was torn between two factions in the Civil War. Instead of playing lilting Viennese waltzes, the peace-loving German was compelled to fiddle martial airs. When the war ended, Schorcht moved west to Eureka, California and taught music to the children of lumbermen. When opportunity offered in 1868, he accepted the position of band leader at St. Mary's College, San Francisco. For three and a half decades he trained and conducted the college orchestra and band. His name became almost synonymous with St. Mary's in commencements, entertainments, parades, musicales, and concerts. His name and figure were by-words in the vocabulary of generations of St. Mary's men.

Another German instructor mourned by St. Mary's at this time was Brother Claudius Anthony who died May 26, 1937, at the Brothers' summer quarters near Jenner-by-the-Sea, Sonoma County, California. Born Frederick W. Eiermann in Schefflenz, near Heidelberg, June 20, 1878, he, like Schorcht, migrated to the United States. In March, 1895, the young immigrant entered the novitiate of the Christian Brothers in New York. After some years as an instructor, he became successively principal of Assumption Academy, Utica, and La Salle.



Last High School Graduating Class
Broadway, 1926

Academy, Providence. From 1919 to 1924, he taught at St. John's College, Southsea, England and in subsequent years at various schools in France, Holland and Germany. In 1924 he arrived at St. Mary's where he became interested in the history and folklore of New Mexico. He wrote several articles on Los Hermanos Penitentes and Kit Carson. Among his discoveries were the birth, baptism and death certificates of the famous scout as well as the documents that indicated Carson's conversion to Catholicism.

In addition to studies in southwest history, Brother Claudius mastered Assyrian, Sumerian, Syriac and Arabic as preliminary background for a projected translation of the Bible. For recreation, Brother Claudius moderated the Antiquarian Society and the Student Hiking Club. With his death, St. Mary's lost not only a model Christian Brother but a quiet gentleman and a thorough scholar.

BROTHER AUSTIN'S ADMINISTRATION

(1941-1950)

In selecting a new president Brother Jasper, Provincial, turned to Brother Austin Odran (Cornelius Crowley, 1898-), just completing a three year term as Master of Novices. The forty-three year old Irishman had been born in Dunmanway, Cork, Ireland and entered the Christian Brothers in 1914. After nine years in the Chilean missions he arrived in California in 1925. He taught in Martinez, Los Angeles, Sacramento and from 1932 to 1938 in the Spanish Department at St. Mary's.

The new administration had hardly begun operations when it announced that Brother Z. Leo (Francis Meehan) had withdrawn from the Christian Brothers. A native San Franciscan, Brother Leo was born in 1881 and entered the Christian Brothers in 1895. He joined the faculty of St. Mary's in 1908 and for the subsequent thirty-three years was its best known instructor, literary critic, lecturer and author. During his career, Brother Leo conducted the literary department of Columbia, the national magazine of the Knights of Columbus, with marked success from 1924 to 1941; gave more than two thousand lectures in twenty years, often to overflow crowds; spoke on the Catholic Hour in 1939 and was heard on other radio programs, although he was not fond of broadcasting for it lacked reaction and challenge of a live audience. In addition, he taught in the summer school of the University of California since 1931; conducted literary chats in the Missionary and Light magazines; contributed feature articles to the Monitor, the San Francisco archdiocesan weekly for thirty-five years, and wrote seven books and a drama. His publications included a biography of St. La Salle, founder

of the Christian Brothers, an edition of the Imitation of Christ and an outstanding college textbook, English Literature.

In an interview with newspaper reporters, Brother Leo explained that he wished to retire because he believed his work had been completed. He was careful to point out that if a Brother and his superiors feel it is better for him not to remain in the community, his secular status may be restored with no obligations involved; for a Brother is not a priest. Seldom had the departure of a faculty member caused such comment. To many inquirers it had to be explained that Brother Leo had done nothing unusual but simply had followed the prescriptions of the Church in his action. Lay religious, such as Christian Brothers, could obtain dispensations from their vows by applying to the proper ecclesiastical authorities. The loss of Brother Leo was a severe blow to St. Mary's College and to the administration which was just beginning to guide it.

Repercussions from the resignation of Brother Leo had scarcely died down when the United States was plunged into the Second World War, December 7, 1941. Immediately Brother Austin offered the facilities of the campus to the United States Government. His proposal was accepted by Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox who sent the following telegram on February 27, 1942: "St. Mary's College has been selected by the Navy Department as one of the four locations for pre-flight training. Your patriotic cooperation in this vital program is appreciated." The Navy planned to use St. Mary's along with the Universities of Iowa, Georgia and North Carolina in an indoctrination course for 30,000 airmen each year. The first contingent, three hundred cadets, were scheduled to arrive on campus in May for the three month course.

Presence of the Navy Pre-flight School meant that all civilian operations would be limited to a part of the campus. Unlike the Students Army

Training Corps in the First World War that took over all accommodations and hired most of the faculty, the Pre-flight project existed alongside and operated independently from the college. To house, feed and train an estimated population of 2500, the government began to build barracks, field house, gymnasium, swimming pool, boxing pavilion, mess hall, infirmary and rifle range.

In addition to expanding sewage, heating and electrical facilities, they ran a two mile water line to connect with East Bay Municipal Water District near Lafayette. The first official of the Pre-flight School, Lieutenant Commander Clyde King, executive officer, arrived April 22, 1942 and eight days later the commanding officer, Captain George W. Steele. As construction operations gained momentum the quiet of the campus gave way to the noise and bustle of trucks, bulldozers, riveting hammers, steamshovels and earth movers. Work crews, stripped to the waist, worked overtime to unload tons of bunks, bedding, furniture, lumber, cement and other paraphernalia for the new installation. The first cadets arrived in the early part of June and on the 12th of that month, the U. S. Navy Pre-Flight School, St. Mary's, was launched. From this time until June 30, 1946, approximately fifteen thousand recruits received the rudiments of military training at St. Mary's.

During four years the Navy occupied the entire campus except the northern area. Brothers and students were limited to the faculty quarters, the lower floor of Galileo, three jerry-built frame structures overlooking Lake La Salle and to use of chapel, dining hall, playing fields and gymnasium. One of the newly constructed buildings, a two story wooden dormitory, housed students on the first floor and student Brothers, on the second. Instruction was given in Galileo Hall and in a five classroom schoolhouse.

The community room of the Brothers was used as the library. The student body, reduced by the national draft to 250, included 130 boarders. Under these cramped conditions it was inevitable that adjustments would have to be made. On the same day that the Navy announced it would move into St. Mary's, Brother Austin declared that the academic and athletic extra-curricular activities would continue as far as circumstances permitted. Football games scheduled for the fall semester would be played and the present coaching staff would be in charge. The most significant part of the president's statement referred to a new method of instruction. "It is quite possible," stated the administrator, "that the college may put into operation a new teaching policy, allowing for a more extended use of the seminar and tutorial methods with a view to the complete adoption of such a policy on the return of normal conditions." Although Brother Austin formally asserted that the role of a student in the "guiding, forming and developing process of education is that of an intelligent and alert recipient," he permitted experimentation in teaching that allowed students to give as well as receive ideas. At the time the president announced that the principal duty of a student was to receive ideas, Professor James Hagerty introduced a course that modified this passive concept of learning by demanding that students give ideas as well as receive them. Advertised as a study of "The Books of the World," Hagerty's students met to discuss, not to be lectured on, the great classics. The official catalog of the college listed "The Books of the World," under "philosophy," and stated that students would assemble weekly for two-hour seminars "to study the masterpieces of thought in all ages of our Western civilization." The classics of the Greeks would be the subject of discussion for the autumn semester and those of the Romans for the spring term.

At the end of the first year's experiment, there was some question about

continuing the program until the administration categorically asserted that it would "definitely continue." However the course remained an elective, open to all, auditors as well as participants. Some months later, at the beginning of the autumn semester, 1942, the course became compulsory for incoming freshmen. During the spring semester of 1943, a committee of ten faculty members met bi-weekly and thoroughly investigated every course in the curriculum. As the result of its findings a complete overhaul of the entire college took place in August, 1943. The Schools of Science, Economics and Arts and Letters were abolished and replaced by the School of Liberal Disciplines. Henceforth new entering matriculants would follow specifically designed block schedules. Each student was required to carry a program that included English composition, physics, religion, mathematics, public speaking and Latin. Spanish was permitted in exceptional cases only in the lower division. By following this general scheme, the student at the time of graduation would "have completed four years of Science, mathematics, two (sic) languages, composition, religion, public speaking and the Great Books."

Inasmuch as the new approach to collegiate studies was a radical departure from the traditional and accepted method, the administration went to some lengths to justify its actions. It published a booklet entitled The Meaning of Education at St. Mary's College and explained that it adopted the new approach to the Liberal Arts curriculum because of dissatisfaction with the product turned out by the traditional program. The Liberal Arts were originally conceived to be those disciplines of the mind by which the native powers of thought and expression were brought into full and effective play. Yet in recent years there was a startling absence of liberal arts graduates who possessed free and inflexible minds, desire for further learning or enthusiasm for independent research. The products seemed to be weighted with a vast mass of unassimilated miscellaneous information, incapable of

correct thought, efficient calculation, or of forceful and accurate expression. Too frequently their thinking was confused, erratic, and uncertain and they themselves illy equipped to make the transition from collegiate to business or professional life.

The reasons for this kind of graduate were believed to lie primarily in faulty methods of education such as the elective system of courses, the lecture form of instruction and the insistence on early specialization. The elective system was blamed because it turned the student loose to find his own way through a series of unconnected courses in unrelated fields. The lecture was found wanting because the lecturer was no longer guide and tutor but a mouthpiece who poured out "daily torrents of specialized and unrelated information." Early specialization was censured because it began before the student had formed a proper perspective of all knowledge.

The new St. Mary's disciplines corrected these faults. They eliminated electives, lectures and specialization and substituted a required plan of study that contained specific courses pursued in an exact order and obligatory for all. Lectures were replaced either by the seminar discussion with its premium on active, personal participation or by the tutorial (session) with the emphasis on the personal need and ability of the student.

One of the most interesting and highly publicized features of the new plan was the seminar. With a maximum of twelve students ranged around a table the class discussed, criticized, evaluated and appraised not a textbook but a "Great Book" from ancient, medieval or modern civilization. These included works in literature, philosophy, history, religion, mathematics, science and government. Sometimes described as "A Class without a Teacher," seminars under the guidance or prodding of a discussion leader explained, defended or attacked the ideas contained in a classic. The role of the moderator was to stimulate, provoke, incite and arouse comments, interpretations,

inferences and conclusions and thus lead students to discover the central issue of the book and to understand the solution of the author. In this way, books that were the very cornerstones of civilization were penetrated and digested and the great achievements of mankind in thought, word and deed became the subjects of daily argument and meditation. Furthermore, the student mind would become accustomed to ranging freely and profoundly over the critical issues in the life of man and the human community. After four years no area of existence or experience was left untouched and the intellect of the collegian would be rounded and deepened, established in the skills of reasoning and expression and prepared for any task in the business or professional world.

To publicize and further explain the new method, St. Mary's published and distributed around America the Education Bulletin, a four page, eight by ten inch pamphlet. Faculty members described in rather detailed fashion their conception of the various aspects of the innovation. During three years of life, 1945-1947, its eighteen issues included topics that ranged from "The Liberal Arts Program at St. Mary's College," and "The Historical Approach to Philosophy," to "The Freshmen Faces the Epistles of St. Paul," and "Mathematics and Its Value in a Complete Curriculum." One of the most informative was Brother S. Edmund's "The Seminar at the Collegiate Level." The author asserted that the seminar was a "cooperative enterprise in which books, teachers and students have a contribution to make. It engages the best efforts of teachers and students jointly to grasp the meaning of books that have been formative of Western thought." Another article of interest was "Mathematics in Liberal Education," that held "the importance of mathematics in the formation of the free mind is well illustrated in the medieval scheme of the quadrivium of whose four parts, two geometry and arithmetic, were allotted to the science of quantity." The two other parts of the quadrivium,

music and astronomy, "were viewed as scientiae mediae, modes of knowing strangely poised between their termini (sensible phenomena) and their source of light (mathematics)."

All members of the faculty did not favor the new program. One of the most articulate, Brother F. Cornelius (Hermann Braeg, 1877-1962), Chairman of the Art Department, declared the plan was educationally incomplete and therefore illiberal and narrow. It ignored the natural and God-given aptitudes as well as the strong desire of many students for certain studies and their need for initial development in these fields. It did not constitute progress but retrogression by putting the college back to what it was in the 1880's and 1890's "which was wonderful for that time but is not at all adequate today." On the matter of specialization, Brother Cornelius insisted "Today every man must be a specialist and must have just enough knowledge (general knowledge) of the past, present, and probable future, to fit his speciality into it." It is imperative that education enable a student to do that. Generalization and specialization should go hand in hand but it is an error to hold that a generalized obligatory program was necessary throughout undergraduate work. Likewise erroneous is the idea that a student cannot learn to think in a specialized course.

In respect to the Great Books themselves, Brother Cornelius warned that it was a "grave disadvantage, an injury in fact, to demand that students devote one fourth their study hours reading poor English. "For the whole line of the classics on the New Program for the first two years (and the same is the case for a number of those of the following years) are only translations, at best in stiff and unspontaneous English." A greater disadvantage lay in the content of the classics. The Homeric poems, admittedly marvelous material for study and discussion yet clutter the mind with

ridiculous ideas of gods and goddesses who were silly, weak, and immoral. Pagan degradation of home life and society, pagan false philosophy and false ideals of human glory is just "rank stuff given as food for the students' reading, thinking and discussion in a Catholic school and for almost one fourth of his study time!"

Brother Cornelius likewise objected to the position of the President of the College in the New Program. The concentration of power in the hands of the chief executive was likewise a throwback to the 1880's and 1890's, when he directed every member of the faculty. In the 1940's the president had neither the time nor, "even should he be a great general scholar, can he have the necessary knowledge, to do this successfully." The president should only preside, as his title indicates, i.e., keep the heads of the departments within fixed limits of action, keep them from clashing, encourage and help them. It is the chairman of the department, not the president, who should have the authority and the power, the duty and the responsibility over the content and method of the courses.

The highly acclaimed seminar method likewise came in for critical assessment. It was designed to develop the reasoning power of the student but ignored the faculty of the will, imagination and emotions. The discussion or Socratic method of teaching demands that the leader be a highly trained, versatile and ingenious individual. He must be capable of leading auditors to see and firmly acknowledge truths that were more or less obvious so that they would draw for themselves the inevitable conclusions from the premises on which he set them. It demanded a great clarity and power of mind, to say nothing of the great amount of time, to handle one issue after another and thrash them out Socratically in a discussion circle. The New Program called for little else than free expression of opinion on the issues together with the reasons for this opinion, with the hope that each member would see

the truth lies. The discussion method was described as "delicate, difficult, and dangerous." Delicate because it was intimate and dependent on a mutual friendly and confiding mood. If the charm of that mood was disturbed or broken, the discussion would turn into self-willed argumentation or chilled into stand-off non-participation, or even become a farce. Socrates expressed this kind of impasse when he told some auditors, "I cannot teach you because you do not love me." Discussion was difficult because it demanded that the instructor keep strict account of reading assignments, student participation, and student familiarity with the "Great Books" and not with a synopsis, abridgement or "pony." The seminar leader would find it difficult to give an adequate understanding of the setting, causes and aims of any classic. The difficulty increased for the freshmen and sophomores

for their minds are not developed enough to grasp their (the Great Books) import. For most of those 'great books' are great not because they have extraordinary qualities . . . but because they are great reactions and struggles against certain world or social conditions; and unless those conditions are understood the book is not understood.

Finally the discussion method was dangerous because it provided soil for self-opinionatedness and argumentation. Still greater was the danger of disputants advancing many false and harmful opinions and stubbornly defending and spreading them.

In addition to pointing out the inherent difficulties of the seminar system, Brother Cornelius observed that some courses, essential for an education, could not be taught by this method. Foreign languages were a case in point. If the New Program were consistent, it would not include the study of Latin or Spanish for they admit of no discussion and not one student in a hundred advances enough to think in them. Yet, because of utility and demand the New Program carries them, while simultaneously excluding other

practical courses and electives.

The seminar method was widely used only during the years 1943 to 1946. In the latter year it was largely abandoned along with the School of Liberal Disciplines and the requisite thirty-two units of World Classics.

St. Mary's College catalogs for the nineteen forties contain interesting information on the adjustment to and transition from war conditions. As was mentioned above the School of Liberal Disciplines supplanted the Schools of Science, Arts and Letters and Economics during the war. With the return of peace the three schools were restored and "Liberal Disciplines" became an ideal called "The Plan of Study Program." In the latter, the college claimed it could achieve the same ends with the lecture method as it had through the seminar. When St. Mary's returned to peacetime conditions, lower division requirements in the Liberal Arts were fewer in English, public speaking, history and science and more in mathematics and world classics than before World War II. In the School of Economics a similar trend appeared. There were more compulsory courses in science, English and geography and fewer in mathematics and public speaking. World Classics was obligatory after the war. The School of Science returned to its pre-war program. As in Economics, World Classics became a requirement.

In the postwar period World Classics as a requisite suffered most. From a high of thirty-two units for all students during war years, it dropped to sixteen in Liberal Arts, and eight in Science and in Economics. The postwar increase of students contributed to the return of the lecture method. The large numbers, even in World Classics made it difficult, if not impossible, to realize the advantages of the seminar system. The amount of regimentation likewise is of interest. In pre-war years, the School of Liberal Arts (Arts and Letters) demanded sixty-eight units of upper division work but prescribed only twenty of them for all under its jurisdiction. During the war, the total number of units

dropped to fifty-eight but thirty-five of those had to be taken in stipulated courses. For science students, in addition to major and minor groups, thirty-five upper division units in prescribed courses had to be taken during the war, in contrast to eight before and twenty-eight after the conflict. The most rigid regulations in war years existed in the upper division of the Economics Curriculum. All majors had to take the same courses and only eight of the fifty-eight units were elective. In postwar years, the major was raised from twenty-four to thirty-three units but there was opportunity for twelve units of electives.

As the administration had to take extraordinary measures for the regular sessions during World War II, so it had to make noteworthy adjustments for students in the summer terms. In the years 1943 through 1945, St. Mary's conducted a seven week, six-days-a-week, summer program for students who wished to finish college before entering the armed services. Thirty-two courses were offered in science, mathematics, English, foreign languages, and economics. It was the most comprehensive summer schedule ever offered by St. Mary's and possibly the most exacting. No absences were allowed and the entire course of forty-two sessions had to be completed in order to get credit. Students were warned "Anyone called into the service before the completion of the summer term cannot receive any credit because of the condensed nature of the courses." The Collegian printed two issues during the first wartime summer school. It was the first time since 1931 that the bi-weekly appeared outside the regular sessions.

War conditions modified extracurricular as well as curricular events. The St. Mary's Annual Speech Contest ordinarily held on campus had to be moved due to wartime restrictions to Sacred Heart High School, San Francisco, in 1943, 1944 and 1945. It was evident that interest in the tournament had not abated when one hundred and twenty-nine students from fourteen California

Catholic High schools competed for the fifteen awards. The tourney founded in 1938 through the combined efforts of Brother U. Albert, then president and William Simon, instructor in speech, was originally conducted as a debate congress. Subsequently expanded, the meeting consisted of competitions in debating, original oratory, extemporaneous speaking, dramatic declamation and oratorical declamation. The Journalism Convention for California Catholic High Schools likewise moved its locale during the war years. In 1943, 1944 and 1945, the assembly met in Holy Names College, Oakland.

Of prime importance in Brother Austin's plan for academic activity and development was the stepped-up graduate study program for the Brothers. Initiated by Brother Vellesian in 1914, the project for advanced degrees operated sporadically until 1942 when Brother W. Matthew (Herbert McDevitt, 1904-) began doctoral studies at the Catholic University of America. In succeeding years he was followed by Brothers S. Robert (James Smith, 1914-), U. Jerome (Andrew Griffin, 1906-1964), S. Edmund (Eugene Dolan, 1917-), Alfred, Alvan, Austin, Carl, Dennis, S. Dominic, Lawrence, Kyran and others. Bolstering the faculty with new and more highly trained members had such salutary results that the number of student Brothers simultaneously working for doctorates was boosted from one to five or more.

Another effort of Brother Austin's to stimulate a scholarly spirit was to bring outstanding savants to the campus for lectures, conferences and seminars. He made a personal appeal to business and professional leaders for the funds to finance this project. Among the world renowned figures who accepted invitations were Alfred Noyes, English poetry; Goetz A. Briefs, economics; Anselm Strittmatter, O.S.B., Byzantine art and liturgy; Charles De Konnick, scholastic philosophy; Mortimer Adler, Great Books; Robert Kerner, Slavic studies, Raymond Sontag, European history, and John Van Nostrand,

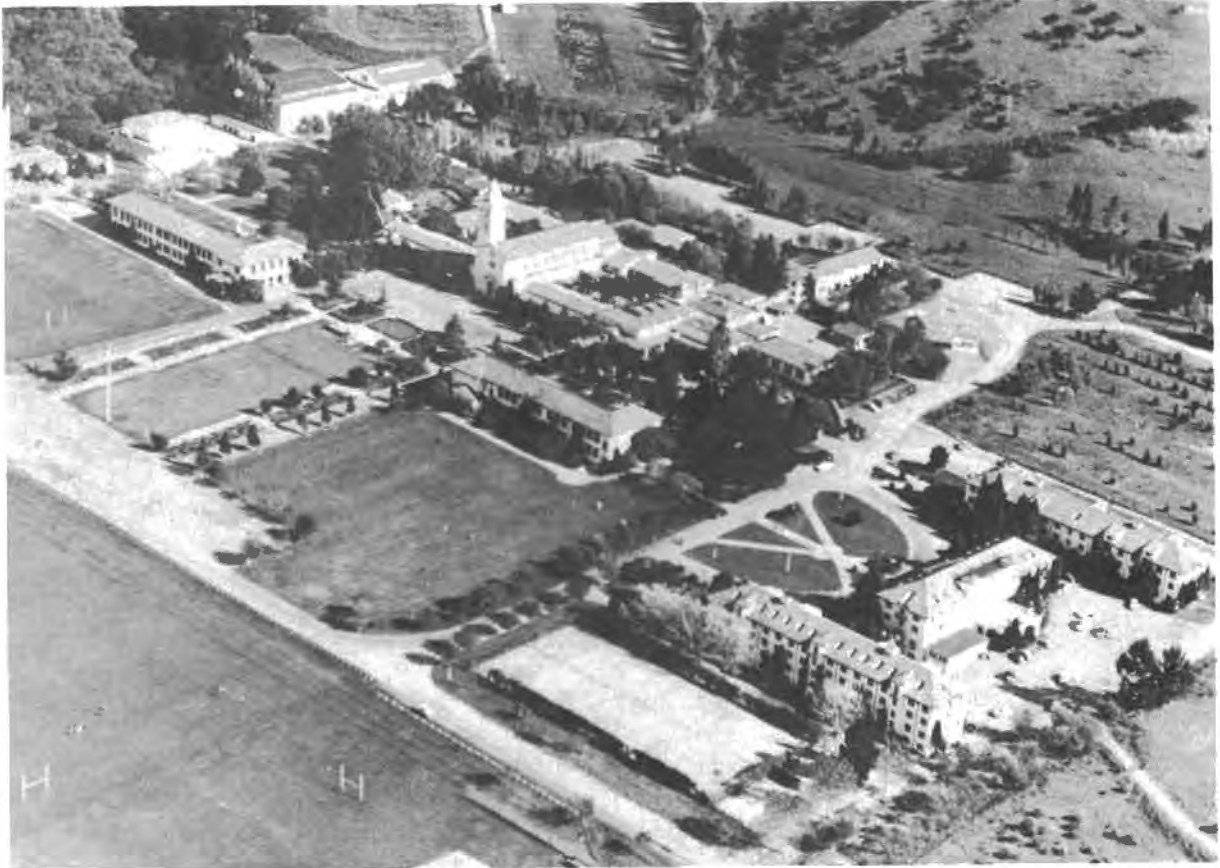
ancient history. The presence of these men made for a scholastically-minded milieu that was beneficial not only to faculty and students but even to themselves. This was particularly true of Professor Van Nostrand who had an enthusiastic and enjoyable experience in the seminar on Thucydides. After one session had gone on for an hour, he asked for permission to make some comments. He noted that every student had participated in the discussion even though it was a warm afternoon. He remarked too, that a bee had buzzed around the room during the entire time but had distracted no one, so close was the attention to the matter in hand. With some amusement, he recalled the eagerness of the student who had climbed almost across the seminar table in an attempt to correct an error of interpretation.

Academies, like the conventions, suffered from war restrictions. The only one during the war years, honored St. Thomas Aquinas in March, 1942. On the Monday following Brother Austin's announcement that the Pre-flight School would be on campus, an assembly of the entire student body and faculty paid homage to the patron of Catholic colleges. Consensus of opinion among the speakers was that reconstruction of civilization after the war, not winning the war, was the most important task of the United Nations. Representatives of each class and faculty made practical application of the ideas of St. Thomas to the peace program of Pope Pius XII and President Roosevelt.

In the spring of 1944, the college honored three members of the faculty who celebrated their golden jubilees as Christian Brothers. Brothers Henry (Leo Lane, 1879-1960), Cornelius (Hermann Braeg, 1877-1962), and Arator (James A. Powers, 1877-1947) were joined by faculty, students, alumni and friends in St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco, to celebrate the happy occasion. Brother Cornelius who spent the greatest part of his teaching career at St. Mary's was born in Switzerland and entered the Christian

Brothers in Maryland. When he arrived at the college in August, 1906, repairs were still being made on the damage caused by the earthquake of that year. During his long tenure Brother Cornelius founded the art department and was instrumental in establishing the library. His deep admiration for artist William Keith led him to establish a collection of Keith's paintings and to spend years in research for a publication of a biography, Keith, Old Master of California. Brother Henry was a native of Vallejo and joined the Christian Brothers in 1892. Almost half of his life as a Christian Brother was spent at St. Mary's in association with the department of English. His forte was the life and writings of Robert Louis Stevenson in which he did considerable study in the British Museum. Brother Arator, a comparative newcomer to St. Mary's, was born in Fort Augustus, Prince Edward Island and worked most of his life in the New York Province. At Moraga, Brother Arator became Director of Public Relations and student recruiter. His visits to high schools, particularly public high schools, persuaded many of their graduates to St. Mary's.

In 1950, after nine years in office, Brother Austin was compelled by canon law to relinquish his post. During his incumbency St. Mary's faced a number of critical situations, none more than that which arose during the weeks subsequent to Pearl Harbor. Faced with the possibility of a military draft that could deplete the student body, the administration frantically searched for a program that would keep the institution solvent during the war years. Gradually, fears of an immediate and universal military conscription began to abate, especially when federal government officials advised colleges "to give them (students) fundamentals and give them well, so that trained intelligent men will be available for the military officerships and other work as well. As for the military training we can take care of that ourselves." The real settling factors were the officer's training orientated programs which deferred qualified students and permitted them



Moraga Campus, 1950

to remain in their classrooms. These were the Navy V-1 and V-7, Army Air Force Reserve and the Army Enlisted Reserve Corps programs. Yet no one seemed to be certain of what the government was going to do about St. Mary's except Brother Austin and his immediate advisers who knew that plans were almost complete for a Navy Pre-flight School on campus. As was later revealed, efforts to have a government facility at the college were underway a few days after the outbreak of the war. The Navy began point by point evaluation December 23 and made a tentative agreement for occupation with Brother Austin a few days later. At the request of naval authorities, the administration said nothing of the negotiations until the Secretary of Navy gave final approval. In the face of this silence, rumors began to circulate that St. Mary's would be sold, that the Brothers would move to Oakland, that the campus would become a radio training center, that a corporation was about to purchase the facilities for a factory and that the Navy wanted the entire campus. There are grounds for believing that some of these stories had a kernel of truth and that Brother Austin did have to argue long and convincingly before persuading Naval authorities to share the campus with collegians. That he succeeded was cause for gratitude for had the college suspended operations or moved to temporary quarters, it is doubtful if it could have resumed normal activities as quickly as it did, if at all, after the war. Likewise the college recognized the contribution of Brother Austin when he adapted its curriculum to wartime exigencies. The seminar system with its emphasis on the Great Books was a courageous attempt to revitalize the intellectual life of a liberal arts college but it was apparently too expensive, ambitious and progressive for students who had to earn a living after college. The quick return to the pre-war curriculum, with hardly a trace of the seminar method, is the most convincing evidence that the administration used the discussion program as a stopgap measure.

BROTHER THOMAS

1950-1956

On July, 1950, Brother Walston Thomas (Clarence Patrick Levi) became one of the youngest presidents in the history of St. Mary's. Born in the Montana mountain town of Conrad, July 25, 1916, young Levi entered the Christian Brothers in 1933. After some years as an instructor in Los Angeles and San Francisco he served successively as director of the junior and senior novitiates.

In his first address to the student body, September 20, 1950, the new president referred to the recent outbreak of the Korean conflict and its possible influence on collegians. Without realizing the full significance of his words, Brother Thomas had touched a sore spot that would plague the entire six years of his administration. Wars had always disturbed studies at St. Mary's and the Korean hostilities were no exception. No sooner had the scholastic year begun when a rash of rumors flooded the campus. Among the most widely circulated were that the Navy would reestablish its Pre-Flight School, that the Army had plans to organize a Reserve Air Force Program or a Reserve Officers Training Corps similar to the SATC of the First World War on the Oakland campus. The canard with widest credence had the government drafting the students en masse. Until October, 1950, the worry was slight but when China entered the war, the restlessness became a problem. The unrest became so widespread that the administration had to assemble the students and assure them that no changes had been made in the Selective Service Act and that any contemplated changes would include exemption of full-time undergraduates. National officials of the selective service temporarily relieved the tension with the announcement that all students doing satisfactory full-time work would not be drafted during the current academic year. If these

statements did not quiet fears, the campus director of military service was available for consultation.

Six months later, in the spring of 1951, danger of the draft was further weakened when Washington announced that it would determine the status of college students by an aptitude test. In addition, local draft boards would begin a review of the scholastic standing of every collegian. On May 26, 1951, St. Mary's students took the three and a half hour examination called the "Selective Service College Qualification Test." A score of seventy won deferment if the examinee's draft board was satisfied with his non-scholastic qualifications. The tests were repeated in December, 1951 and April, 1952. Criteria for exemption was either a passing grade in the government examination or satisfactory work in college. The latter was done by those in the upper half of the freshman class, upper two-thirds of the sophomores and the top three-fourths of the juniors. War veterans encouraged students to remain in college by stressing the importance of a college diploma in any branch of the service as well as the desirability of completing college before military service. One ex-G.I. declared "It is far easier to stay with your studies and complete the academic work in the prescribed four years than return to classes after a hitch in the army." It became a matter of pride for the administration to note that not a single student was drafted during the Korean crisis. Observers claimed that this excellent record was due to the scrupulous care and guidance at Saint Mary's.

The Korean War not only created unrest and trepidation among students but it was also instrumental in disrupting the athletic program. On January 3, 1951, the Board of Trustees solemnly declared "after a protracted study of the atmosphere surrounding major college athletics (the board) has with some reluctance reached the decision that intercollegiate football and baseball

must be discontinued at St. Mary's College for the duration of the emergency." Reasons for the trustees' action were a depleted student financial loss and "growing difficulty of sustaining academic standards the face of inflated competition, particularly in football." Basketball would continue to be played intercollegiately. To fill the gap left by the varsity football and baseball teams, intramural sports for all students would be increased.

Thus with one stroke of the pen, St. Mary's lost two of the most spectacular extracurricular activities in its history. Baseball was played at the college from the first years of its existence and varsity teams went back to the early seventies. Beginning in 1872 a team represented the college annually until 1943 when wartime transportation difficulties caused a temporary interruption. At the end of the war baseball resumed and was played continuously until the abandonment. During three quarters of a century the Phoenix, as the baseball team was known, served as a nursery for professional teams. Such stars as Duffy Lewis, Harry Hooper, Joe Oeschger, Eddie Burns, Dutch Leonard, Frank Kelleher, Earl Johnson and scores of others learned the fundamentals at St. Mary's. The beneficial influence of the sport was not confined to those who graduated into professional ranks but extended into other walks of life. The give-and-take, camaraderie, teamwork, and empathy engendered by the cooperative effort in sports proved an invaluable asset in every career, including the priesthood. While admitting the truth of the highly publicized defects of college athletes and athletics, many believed the merits and contributions of the program justified support and continuation, especially in a college for men.

The same conclusion could be made for football that likewise went back to the nineteenth century. The game was first played at the college in 1892 but did not have a recognized coach until John Jaunet arrived three years

later. Beginning in 1907 regular intercollegiate contests were played even during the two world wars. The heyday of the sport at the college came during the nineteen year regime of Edward Madigan beginning in 1921. After the departure of Madigan, Norman Strader, James Phelan, Joseph Verducci and Joseph Ruetz successively coached the Galloping Gaels.

At the present writing neither baseball nor football have regained their former prominence. But they have been revived. Hardly more than a year after the official abandonment of baseball, Louis Guisto became baseball coach and organized a sixteen game schedule with college and semi-professional teams. In 1967, a spontaneous movement among students raised money for football equipment and played small college and junior varsity teams. To the surprise of many and the consternation of a few, revival of football aroused as much student enthusiasm and support as the widely heralded and organized squads of the Madigan era.

To fill the gap in student interest caused by jettisoning football and baseball, the administration launched an expanded intramural sports program. Under direction of a faculty-student committee students were given opportunity to participate in basketball, badminton, softball, volleyball, tennis, boxing, golf, track and swimming. In addition to athletics the college rejuvenated dramatics. Under the leadership of Yale Meyer, students staged a number of successful productions. Among the most interesting was an original drama from the pen of instructor George Elliot entitled "Behind These Doors." In addition to Elliot's work, one year's repertoire included R. C. Sherriff's "Journey's End," E. E. Cumming's "Santa Claus," and Henri Gheon's "The Way of the Cross." During his tenure, Meyer produced plays that ranged from Shakespeare to Ibsen and from Greek tragedy to modern comedy. By emphasizing artistic achievement Meyer raised the quality of product to the best of the Bay Area's experimental stage. His successor, Arnold Wolf, abandoned experi-

ment and symbolism and strove for excellence in the traditional mode. Although plagued with a dwindling student body and inadequate properties, Wolf won approval of reputable critics. In 1955 Brother V. Matthew (LeRoy Benney, 1921-) replaced Wolf as director of dramatics.

To further bolster public interest, the college organized a thirty-two man Board of Regents. A majority of the appointees had little connection with the college but had readily consented to assist in administration problems and formulation of policies. Furthermore everyone of the new board was an advocate of private education and cognizant of the dangers that threatened its welfare and existence.

One of the recently named regents, Andrew F. Burke '04, helped to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the student newspaper The Collegian. He had been its first editor when it appeared in October, 1903, as a forty page monthly magazine, half slick and half pulp. In its first years The Collegian was essentially a literary periodical that featured essays, short stories, sports, poetry and news. Gradual transition from magazine to newspaper began in 1923 with an effort to achieve a "happy medium between a literary monthly and extreme journalistic type." The transition occupied five years so that by 1928 the publication had all the appearance and style of a regular undergraduate tabloid. During its fifty year span The Collegian appeared regularly except for a brief period during the First World War.

Soon after the celebration of the Collegian's fiftieth anniversary St. Mary's embarked on one of the most significant curriculum studies in its history. Genesis of the study was found during the Second World War when the administration became dissatisfied with teaching and learning in the liberal arts program and decided to search for something better. As noted above, in 1943, the college reorganized the entire curriculum by enrolling all students in the School of Liberal Disciplines and replacing lectures

with seminars. As long as the numbers were small the system was feasible but became untenable with the large influx of students at the end of the Second World War. However dissatisfaction persisted not only at St. Mary's but in many liberal arts colleges throughout the nation. As the result of self-studies in over twenty of these institutions, St. Mary's decided to resume the search for a better way to conduct the studies in liberal arts. In an appeal for financial assistance, the administration declared

Most educators in the field of higher learning are fully aware that the conventional curriculum of special courses progressing over the four year college period is not - of itself - sufficient to provide the beneficial effects of a truly liberal education. It is likewise true that the Great Books curriculum has its critics who find that the mere chronological order for the reading these books is not an adequate substitute for some more penetrating principle to unify the various Great Books which fall in so many fields of learning. . . . A third choice between a "Course-curriculum" and a "Great Books curriculum" is a curriculum of great idea courses.

The Rosenberg Foundation of San Francisco financed a two year experiment of "great idea" courses for freshmen beginning in 1955. Professor James L. Hagerty conducted the experimental classes and Frank L. Keegan of San Francisco's Institute for Philosophical Research prepared the teaching materials. The committee of consultants and reviewers consisted of Professors Edward Strong of the University of California, Wilhelm Strothmann of Stanford and William Nietmann from the College of the Pacific. In the second year of the study, Brother S. Robert (James Smith, 1914-) succeeded Professor Hagerty and the committee of consultants increased to five.

In the first semester, Professor Hagerty with a class of twenty-five volunteer freshmen, wanted to replace all regular courses with "great idea" courses, but at the insistence of Brother Cassian, Dean of the College, limited the experiment to World Classics and philosophy. In respect to the former, Hagerty explained "Educators have long realized that World Classics was a step forward but had several drawbacks. One of these is

placing the emphasis of chronological listing rather than subject matter. In the experiment chronology will be forgotten and the books studied by ideas." During the first year approximately three months were spent on each of the great ideas, i.e., man, nature and God. A book of texts was prepared for each idea and was based on the principle that imaginative, evocative texts are grasped with more ease than the analytic or philosophical. Hagerty and Keegan wrote in the preface of the workbook on Man:

The texts are offered to the reader for the purpose of stimulating his thinking on the subject MAN. They may introduce new aspects to him, which will challenge him to review his present knowledge, sharpen his ideas, develop new ones, arrange his ideas to represent the material more adequately, and propose theories by which he can judge the validity of statements presented to him.

At the end of the first semester Professors Strong, Strothmann and Nietmann approved the teaching and research methods but contended that they should be applied more rigorously and effectively. Texts should be longer and better organized so that discussions would be "more firm and cumulative." It was evident to the consultants "that the wealth of material contained under the ideas was conducive to the breadth and liberality of the discussion, but the discussion itself often suffered from the very heterogeneity of the texts and the frequent brevity of the selection." Students should be given every opportunity to cope with the difficult readings. Consequently extracts were to be amplified "to include the grounds and presuppositions of the arguments" and arranged in a more precise topical order.

In the second year, with Brother S. Robert in charge of the classes, the experiment expanded to world classics, philosophy and English composition. At the end of this year, Professor Ralph Tyler of Stanford conducted a series of examinations in the three subjects for both students in the revised and regular curriculums. The former made higher grades in world classics and English composition and lower in philosophy than their competitors.

The results of the experiment persuaded the administration that the potential of "great idea" courses was sufficiently satisfactory to justify establishment of a four year curriculum called the Integrated Liberal Arts Curriculum. According to the director, the Integrated curriculum "is founded on the wager that it is still possible to appreciate and evaluate all the main kinds of human thinking." Students will be able to learn enough of the technical languages of natural and social science, literary criticism, mathematics, philosophy and theology to follow arguments in these fields. Enrollees "are asked to start with common experience available to all and to go as far in the direction of the various kinds of knowledge as four years of hard work will allow." This would mean that in mathematics freshmen would start with Euclid "who describes the rational outlines of those solids which any expert can show may not be there and which can be treated more easily, more rigorously and more efficiently by a symbolic language whose foundations are almost completely inaccessible except to those long past the apprentice stage." Euclid can be expressed in words and he presents a universe that the imagination can enter. His world is not completely foreign to the world of literature, history or ethics. Simultaneously the logical analysis of Euclid is integrated with classical logic. Having this experience of a world that accepted communication between different arts, forms ideals for establishing such communication in the present. After learning Euclid in his own terms, beginners pursue mathematics to as high as possible in its symbolic and analytical development. Thus students will be able to understand, to some degree, the outstanding intellectual developments of the modern world.

What has been said of mathematics applies to other disciplines, so that the basic plan of the integrated program is to spend four years studying fundamental texts in important areas, performing experiments in biology



Navy Picture of the Chapel, 1945

and physics and in comparing the forms of language as exemplified in the interrelation of Greek and English. Provision is made in the upper division for the traditional majors demanded by graduate schools.

At this near date it is difficult to evaluate the Integrated Curriculum, However some idea of its merit can be gained by comparing the occupations of its graduates during its first decade with those of the twenty-five year period, 1872-1897. For the sake of brevity the following table has been limited to four professions:

	<u>No. of Grads.</u>	<u>Postgraduates</u>	<u>Law</u>	<u>Medicine</u>	<u>Priesthood</u>	<u>Teaching</u>
Integrated Curr.	101	54 or 53%	10 or 10%	0 or 0%	0 or 0%	25 or 25%
Classes 1872-1897	215	135 or 62%	71 or 33%	27 or 12%	20 or 10%	6 or 3%

On the eve of the curriculum study, St. Mary's lost a pioneer faculty member when Brother V. Leo (Augustine A. McKinnon) died. The eighty-seven year old instructor was born March 26, 1867 of Daniel H. and Catherine McDonald McKinnon. At the time the McKinnon home and dairy was at 811 Geary Street on the far reaches of the city along the edge of the sand dunes. Young McKinnon attended kindergarten at St. Ignatius College near Fifth and Jessie. As a pupil and later as an altar boy, he had several narrow escapes from the gangs of hoodlums and rowdies who roamed the neighborhood streets. It was even more dangerous to attend Mass and school at St. Mary's Cathedral because that meant tramping through the "little Barbary Coast" around DuPont Street (Grant Avenue) with its rows of saloons, gambling dens and brothels. Consequently in 1874 it was a relief when the Christian Brothers opened Sacred Heart College at Eddy and Larkin only four blocks from the McKinnon's home. Daniel McKinnon lost no time enrolling his six year old son on the first day the institution opened. The youngster would remember to his dying

day that the principal, Brother Cianan took his hand and as they were going down the corridor said: "Now, I am going to give you a good Brother but if he spansks you, you tell me and I'll spank him." Seven years later, the fourteen year old McKinnon followed the lead of his cousin Angus McDonald (Brother V. Anthony, 1866-1937) and entered the Christian Brothers. After seven months postulancy, he took the habit and changed his name to Brother Vincentius Leo. His first teaching assignment was at St. Joseph's Academy, Fifth and Jackson Streets, Oakland.

The young instructor realized that he was not much older than some of his pupils. Consequently he was not too much surprised when a tot sidled up to him and asked "Do you know, Brother, what they are calling you?"

"Well, no, I don't, absolutely, I don't!"

Naively and affectionately the toddler whispered:

"They call you kid Brother."

Far from taking offense, "Kid Brother" became more solicitous and understanding.

In February, 1891, Brother Leo packed his bags and moved across town to the newly opened "Brickpile" to teach the first year of high school. He was teaching the sophomore class in 1894 when fire gutted the plant and the college had to return to the original San Francisco campus for a year. At St. Mary's Brother Leo was fortunate to have a number of scholarly colleagues who inspired and aided him. Among these were Brother A. Benedict (James Dooley, 1855-1907) who acquainted him with some of the niceties of Greek and Latin, Brother Erminold Walter (Charles O'Donnell, 1854-1902) who encouraged him to pursue his poetic bent and Brother Benezet Thomas (Roderick Kane, 1848-1928) who helped in philosophy. Brother Leo became a good student and genuinely attached to learning. His appreciation of Latin was such that he even ventured to side with those who opposed the abolition of that language

from the curriculum. As mentioned above a General Chapter of the Brothers had banned the teaching of Latin and even prohibited the Brothers to study it. In keeping with the ruling, St. Mary's officially dropped Latin but permitted students to study it across the street from the campus under authorized instructors. Naturally the Superior General frowned upon such activities and took steps to stamp them out. He sent two French emissaries to inspect the operation, investigate its ramifications and ferret out the leaders. The Frenchmen arrived, stopped the off-campus courses but could find no books. Brother Leo had them all hidden under his bed. There is no doubt that the culprit was willing to obey superiors but his keen appreciation for learning triggered the attempt to preserve at least the tools of the trade. The compulsory abolition of Latin, the exile of the Latinists and the parochialism of French leaders made an anti-Gallican out of Brother Leo. As colonials resented the political, economic, financial and military facets of French imperialists, so Brother Leo resented their heavy hand in intellectual and spiritual affairs. His animosity was confirmed by personal acquaintance with and admiration for many Brothers who were exiled for supporting Latin, such as Justin, Fabrician, Maurelian and Bernard. The last, a Manhattan College instructor, spent three years in Egypt before coming to St. Mary's to found the School of Civil Engineering with Brother Leo. During the subsequent years the two men worked, studied and traveled together. The fast friendship that developed ended only with the death of Brother Bernard in 1912. In forming this fraternal bond with the scientifically-minded Bernard, Leo exhibited a versatility of mind and an adaptability of character. Until the turn of the century, he had been concerned with the humanities but the encouragement of the New Yorker had him concentrating on mathematics and science with diligence and satisfaction. For thirty-one years he studied and taught sewerage, hydraulics, surveying, geology, irri-

gation and bridge designing. When the department of engineering closed, he returned to his first love, poetry.

In the classroom, Brother Leo's instruction was simple and direct. He presented material in a manner that could be understood. Outside the classroom, Brother Leo was interested in all young people. He organized and led hiking parties and gave swimming lessons to all comers at Piedmont Baths. The latter were so popular that the management gave him a pass so he would come every day. A familiar sight was a group of youngsters clustered around the muscular, bald headed instructor waiting for a few tips or a free ride on his shoulders into deep water.

Brother Leo was as kind and considerate to the old as to the young. If a colleague was sick or exhausted at the 4:30 rising, he would go down to the kitchen and carry a cup of coffee up six flights of stairs to revive the patient. In case medication or a doctor were needed, he spared neither time nor effort to get relief. When a Brother was unable to go to class, Brother Leo volunteered to substitute. Lay instructors received the same consideration. A typical example of this habit occurred in the summer of 1927. Brother Leo spent three months preparing lectures for a new course on sewerage. On the eve of reopening school one of the engineering faculty became sick and had to be replaced. The replacement expressed a wish to teach sewerage. Without complaint or displeasure, Brother Leo, the chairman of the department, handed over the course and his notes to the new recruit. One time Brother Leo invited a candidate for the Christian Brothers to spend the night at the scholasticate. When time came to retire, Brother Leo discovered the young man had no place to sleep. Acting as if this had been expected, Brother Leo installed the visitor in his room and slept on the library floor.

The most notable and lasting mark of Brother Leo's thoughtfulness was establishment of the scholasticate at Saint Mary's College. As mentioned

above, he had prayed and petitioned for years that the young Brothers be given a better education. Finally the superiors heeded his request and appointed him the first director. In 1922 with a nucleus of four student Brothers, Brother Leo opened a new era on the Pacific Coast. During the subsequent forty-seven years, hundreds of Christian Brothers received a collegiate training that has influenced not only their own lives but that of thousands of their pupils. As director of the scholasticate, Brother Leo presided at religious exercises, gave pedagogical and spiritual lectures, counseled student Brothers and supervised their study. Simultaneously he continued to teach a full schedule in the engineering department. About this time he began to suffer attacks of neuritis which gradually increased in intensity and frequency. True to character, Brother Leo made light of these difficulties. Not only would it be childish to whine or complain but there was danger that the superiors might close the scholasticate if he mentioned his hardships. Eventually he no longer could conceal his pain and he went to the hospital for almost a year. But the scholasticate continued to operate.

It should not be concluded that because Brother Leo was mild and kind that he was incapable of firmness or anger. Like many gentle persons, Brother Leo, when aroused left no doubt of where he stood. This was well illustrated when the provincial treasurer repeatedly neglected to send an overdue robe. After months of waiting and numerous futile petitions, Brother Leo conveniently "lost" his robe and went to class in secular dress. When the provincial sternly demanded an explanation for this public breach of rule, Brother Leo quietly told him the story of the procrastinating procurator. Within forty-eight hours Brother Leo donned a new robe and other Brothers received their habits punctually. His method of manifesting displeasure was not always as indirect. On one occasion a scholasticat found it difficult

to stay awake during morning meditation. Try as he would, the young man could not help from nodding from sheer exhaustion. After several warnings, the director in a fit of impatience, walked up behind the dozer and hit him on the head with a book. No matter what the provocation, it is difficult to justify such actions. As he must have known, Brother Leo had violated not only the rules of gentlemanly conduct but was guilty of a sacrilegious act, striking a fellow religious. Undoubtedly there were extenuating circumstances that lessened his culpability such as the aggravating pain of arthritis, but it still remains that Brother Leo could so far forget himself as to stoop to harshness.

This rare outburst momentarily detracted from the reputation of Brother Leo and probably caused him many hours of misgiving and regret. It was completely foreign to his character and contrary to innumerable acts of nobility and compassion. So accustomed was he to be a gentleman that he could be called a man of principle. He refused to crawl before anyone for anything. When his close friend, Brother U. Lewis (John W. Treacy) as president proposed to close the school of Civil Engineering, Brother Leo refused to stand in the way, even though he had given the best years of his life to build up that school. The emotional maturity of Brother Leo was likewise found in his adaptability to new conditions. When he could no longer teach engineering, he resumed his literary pursuits obediently forsaken almost one third of a century before. In a sense his return to poetry might be described by the words of Alexander Pope "to do good by stealth and blush to find it fame." The poetic fame of the engineer turned litterateur hardly passed the bounds of the campus but it did find ready welcome there. For example, students persuaded him to teach a course in poetry. The Moraga Society of Catholic Poets elected him president and the Moraga Quarterly printed his poems.

When the Navy Pre-flight School moved to Saint Mary's in 1942, the college was squeezed into one corner of the campus. Space was at a premium and Brother Leo's room was needed. The superiors decided to retire him to the House of Ancient Brothers at Napa. Assignment of aged and infirm Brothers was a tradition, but Brother Leo found it a trying and difficult experience. He believed that more than a half century of service to St. Mary's merited more than perfunctory dismissal. Many believed that the administration, with a little ingenuity, could have contrived some kind of stopgap. Once again, Brother Leo let anger get the better of him. He became so incensed at the apparent callousness of the authorities that he tore up many poems and papers whose composition went back to the eighties and nineties. He seemed bent on destroying every vestige of his association with the college.

It is difficult to assess the mental grief of Brother Leo as he left his beloved Saint Mary's for life among the retired. However, faith and obedience took some of the sting out of the reassignment and he gradually adjusted to the leisurely pace of life among the old brothers. After two months, some relief came in an assignment to St. Mary's High School, Berkeley, as supervisor of the study hall. It was almost the same duty, in the same school he had sixty years before when they called him "Kid Brother." Although his hair was snow white, shoulders bent and his step a little heavy, youngsters found the same kindness and understanding as those who called him "Kid Brother."

In his eightieth year, 1947, St. Mary's made some amends by granting him an honorary doctorate and inviting him to return and spend his last days on the campus. Homecoming was June 30, 1948 with all the trappings of a gala celebration. With time at his disposal, the old man spent his days tending flowers, shrubs and trees. In July, 1954, he began to weaken,

physically and mentally and became bedridden in the infirmary.

He daily became more feeble and on September 8, 1954, feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, died. Brother Leo's poem "Evening Sky" could well be used as an epitaph:

The sun has set, and on the evening sky
The canopied procession in review
Star candles lit. The cowl-wrapped clouds now vie
In their chameleon colored robes, with hue
Of vaped gold the censer breeze up-threw.
The vesper flares on reverent faces play
As Benediction torches burn a-new.
The dying embers glow to brown, then gray,
Dull ashes spill from out the Thurible of day.

BROTHER S. ALBERT

(1956-1962)

On July 1, 1956, Brother S. Albert (Roy J. Plotz, 1918-1962), auxiliary provincial and principal of Sacred Heart High School, San Francisco, became president of Saint Mary's. The thirty-seven year old educator brought to his new post experience garnered from sixteen years of teaching and administering secondary schools.

Although a traditionalist, the new president was not adverse to progress. An example of willingness to experiment was the establishment of Open House Day, March 9, 1958, to acquaint parents and friends with the administrators, faculty, and facilities of the campus. Over 750 accepted the invitation and came from as far as San Diego and Yreka to participate in activities. Led by student body president and executive chairman of the day, Bill Weber, students organized the entire program. After registration, guests were officially welcomed by the president and the dean, Brother Cassian. After a short talk by Professor Anthony Chiappe on "The Role of the Lay Teacher in the Curriculum," the visitors were free to inspect a special collection of William Keith's paintings and a demonstration of audio equipment in the language laboratory before a buffet luncheon with the faculty.

Further evidence to encourage new ventures, was Brother Albert's support of a historical research project to film a thirty-three square block area destined to be razed by the San Francisco Redevelopment Agency. The region extended from Eddy to Post Street and from Franklin to Divisadero in San Francisco. Robert Grazzini of the Junior Class snapped 250 photographs of the blighted zone formerly an exclusive residential district. After being developed and catalogued, negatives and prints were formally presented to

President John Rosecrans of the Society of California Pioneers. Some scholars consider the collection the most complete and systematized film coverage of a single region in San Francisco's history.

A building program was another of Brother Albert's innovations. For the first time in thirty years, permanent buildings were erected on the campus. In March, 1959, ground was broken for a fifty-two bedroom dormitory called Mitty Hall. The two story structure, named after the incumbent Archbishop of San Francisco, was completed in eight months. This was followed by erection of St. Joseph's Hall, a residence for campus workmen. The \$100,000, twenty-four room accommodation, housed the occupants of space needed for students in Augustine Hall. By February, 1961, Brother Albert persuaded the United States Housing and Home Finance Agency to grant a loan of \$355,000 for building a student dormitory. The contractor, Raffi Bedayn, promised to complete the work in six months but he underestimated the difficulties. Unusually heavy rains and debris from the Navy Pre-flight School delayed the work of excavation. The water-logged adobe soil became mucilaginous and huge blocks of concrete from Navy installations were uncovered on the site. Even a forgotten cement tank with 7200 gallons of fuel oil was unearthed and had to be cleared away. Despite these drawbacks, the first floor of the new dormitory was ready when school opened in September, 1961. The rest of the building was finished within a month. Formal dedication was on December 29, 1961, during the annual convention of the Christian Brothers on the Pacific Coast. It was fitting that all the Brothers witness the honor bestowed upon their founder, Brother Justin. Two weeks later, January 13, 1962, Ordway Lounge, at the north end of Justin Hall, was dedicated by the donors, Mr. and Mrs. A. B. Ordway.

Construction of new facilities was commendable but Brother Albert believed it should be done with some logical arrangement. As early as May, 1958, he

had appointed a campus Self-Study Needs Committee to evaluate problems and possibilities. After a three year study, it submitted a report to Brother Albert who forwarded it to Stanford University's School Planning Laboratory for incorporation in a ten year master plan for Saint Mary's College. In June, 1961, the master plan, spread over sixty-three pages, was completed by the Stanford researchers. The decennial program envisaged erection of a library, two student dormitories, student's union, theatre, psychology laboratory, administration and faculty offices, science laboratories and kitchen facilities. Brother Albert did not live to see the master plan take shape but his successor, Brother Michael, did.

In addition to expanding the physical plant, Brother Albert attempted to widen the circle of interested friends, particularly those who could assist the college. With this in mind, he sponsored annual campus symposia of business and industrial executives. It was at these meetings that many received their first nodding acquaintance with Saint Mary's and its reason for existence. The first of these conferences had as a theme, "The Role of the Executive in Business." Panel speakers explored various aspects of the executive's functions such as his position in western culture, selection of key personnel, policy procedures and handling the challenge of technology and science. Keynote addresses were delivered by Jesse W. Tappe, chairman of the board of Bank of America, Walter P. Paepke, president of the Container Corporation of America and Mark Sullivan, president of the Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Company. Financial journalists were particularly interested in the ideas of Jesse Tappe who spoke on "The Selection of Key Personnel by the Executive." The board chairman of the world's largest bank contended that the executive should possess the qualities of intellectual activity engendered by a liberal arts education. These are: ability to speak and write clearly,

to understand human nature and to comprehend the forces that govern business. In addition the executive must possess the inner drive to do his job, cooperate with others and have good will and good judgment. Reaction of participants and press were so favorable that definite plans were made to make the assemblage an annual affair.

Nearing the end of his sixth year in office, Brother Albert died in an automobile accident. Returning from a faculty outing in the high Sierras, January 29, 1962, the president together with Brothers Julius and Cornelius, was killed when his automobile hit an icy turn and went out of control. The tragedy occurred on Highway 50, nineteen miles east of Placerville. Police on the scene declared that the three victims were thrown out of the automobile and crushed when the car rolled over them. Brothers Julian and Robert in the back seat were unscathed.

A Pontifical High Mass of Requiem for the three Brothers was celebrated in St. Mary's Cathedral, San Francisco. Celebrant was Auxiliary Bishop Hugh Donohoe of San Francisco and the eulogist Monsignor Nicholas Connolly, a college trustee. Burial was in the Brothers' cemetery at Mont La Salle, Napa.

BROTHER T. MICHAEL

(1962-)

A few days after the death of Brother Albert, a thirty-nine year old Oaklander, Brother Timothy Michael (Thomas Leo Quinn, 1922-) became president. He had entered the Christian Brothers from the Junior class at Saint Mary's in 1940 and had spent most of the subsequent years as teacher and administrator. He had returned to Saint Mary's in 1960 after five years post graduate study at De Paul University where he obtained a Ph.D. in psychology.

The first move of the new executive was to separate the academic and religious duties of the presidency and to shift the latter to Brother S. Dominic (John A. Ruegg, 1918-). With his predecessor's ten year Master Plan as a guideline, Brother Michael took up the most pressing of its proposals, the renovation of kitchen facilities. In the summer of 1964, work gangs started the long awaited task of demolition and reconstruction. The \$450,000 modernization provided dining facilities for eleven hundred students and featured such conveniences as thermotainers, conveyor belts, hot carts, two way ice boxes and serving areas. Included in the project were new dining rooms for lay faculty and office staff as well as a sumptuous presidential suite for entertaining guests.

Concurrently, another part of the master plan, construction of faculty offices got underway. Forty-one carrells and a lounge were built in the attic of Dante Hall. When faculty members vacated temporary offices in Benilde Hall, the structure was refurbished with new floors, stairways, furniture and carpets for \$60,000. With its new look, the old monastery of the Carmelite nuns became home for nineteen upper division student Brothers.

Another segment of the decennial plan started October 4, 1965 with ground breaking for the new library. A substantial contribution from Saint Mary's trustee and regent, Clay Bedford, induced the United States Government to give and loan almost a million dollars toward the total cost of \$1,275,000. The building was named after Saint Albert the Great and was a memorial to the late president, Brother S. Albert (Roy Plotz, 1918-1962). Unveiling the plans touched off a barrage of complaints. Faculty and students labeled the structure "a distasteful bulk" primarily because it was out of harmony with other buildings, that were traditionally long and narrow with regular fenestration, hipped tiled roofs and wide eaves. The square library's partly hipped roof extended planes at the sides of the front and rear and produced a jarring effect. Other targets were the pillared loggia around the first floor and the narrow window slits on the second. One dissatisfied student complained:

It is unfortunate that the architects could not have presented the College with a design more in keeping with the campus. However, I fully realize that there were other considerations in addition to the aesthetic. I realize that the design had to be geared to very definite financial necessities.

The grumbling continued as months seemed to be wasted preparing the site for construction. Because of the soggy nature of the soil, the foundation could not be poured until the area was honeycombed with drain pipe and firmed up with eleven thousand yards of crushed rock. Finally after four months, actual building began in the summer of 1966 and was completed in October, 1967. The finished structure satisfied and silenced most grumblers. Some even admitted the facilities were "modern" and "luxurious" and found to their liking, most of the furnishings. Staff offices, card catalogues, bibliography, periodical, reference, audio and equipment rooms on the first floor passed muster. Seniors forgot their laments as they ceremoniously presented and installed a statue of Madoona and Child by sculptor Clement

Renzi. The unique bronze stood under the central skylight opposite the entrance. The only disturbing appointment on the ground floor was "the ever-persistent and sometimes annoying fountain" that spouted endlessly. The second story was especially designed for study with numerous tables, desks and carrels as well as typing, microfilm and audio-visual rooms. Adjacent to study areas were book stacks with most of the library's 80,000 volumes. The third or mezzanine floor housed the provincial and college archives, photography laboratory, bindery, biographies and periodicals.

During negotiations for the library, the administration announced plans for yet another part of the Master Plan, two new dormitories. Each of the new buildings was arranged according to the "suite system." The seven suites in each dormitory to consist of three study-bedrooms, a lounge and bathroom. According to the architects, the structures would be stylistically similar to others on campus (white with red tile roofs) but smaller and arranged in the Mediterranean concept of informal adaptation to contours of the land. The last feature was a marked contrast to the prevailing "level and right angular alignment" of other dormitories. Another departure from traditional style was colonnaded porches along the length of the buildings similar to modern motels. With a \$600,000 loan from the United States Government, construction began in February, 1967, and finished nineteen months later. In September, 1968, eighty-eight students and two Brother-counsellors moved into the new halls named after St. Thomas More and St. Thomas a Becket respectively. Completion of the two facilities, a theatre, and psychology laboratory accomplished the goals of the master plan with the exception of a student union and science building. The last were practically assured in the autumn of 1968 by gifts of over a million dollars.

In reviewing the achievements of its first master plan, Saint Mary's

had reason for gratitude. When the Stanford School Planning Laboratory came out with the idea in 1961 it appeared destined for the limbo of good intentions, the resting place of many similar projects in the history of the college. As years went by and the plan began to take concrete form many skeptics began to weaken but not without an occasional jeremiad. When difficulties or obstacles arose, grumblers arose with them. For example, when lack of funds delayed construction of the library, sidewalk superintendents berated the administration for procrastination. They complained "in a year when students have been promised the beginnings of campus improvement, the cute little blonde on the line at Saga (Food Service) holds a unique position: she's the one and only campus improvement in evidence thus far." Impatient critics pointed out that it was over a year since officials promised "campus improvements are imminent." Even an act of God did not interrupt the flow of denunciations. When unseasonably heavy rains turned the library site into a quagmire and bogged down graders, censors pounced upon the misfortune for more ridicule. They ran a photograph of the muddy area in the student newspaper and explained "With Dante (sic) Hall looming large and lovely in the background and the unmistakable smell of mud reeking royally in the thick Moraga atmosphere, construction moves on unrapidly on Albertus Magnus Librarius." In the face of these faultfinders, Brother Michael remained unperturbed. He adjusted himself and his efforts to unforeseen obstacles and continued to pursue his objectives.

The administration of Brother Michael is too near for an objective appraisal but there is reason to believe that he has begun the second century of Saint Mary's with achievements that can be used for development and expansion.

On the threshold of its second century, Saint Mary's can profitably pause to consider the achievements of the past and the possibilities of the future. A handy criterion of the former was established by Archbishop Joseph Alemany when he dedicated the college "for the instruction of the youth of California, not in literature merely, but what is greater, in true Christian knowledge." The success of Saint Mary's in imparting Christian and secular truth is difficult to gauge. Yardsticks for collegiate excellence range from student numbers to endowments, facilities, publications and government grants. In most of these categories Saint Mary's would not rank high. Yet despite the dearth of material resources, the college has, in a modest way, contributed to church and society.

This contribution was the result of efforts made by a group of dedicated laymen called Christian Brothers. Unique in the world of Catholic monasticism, the Christian Brother stood midway between priest and layman. He accepted most of the latter's restrictions without sharing in many of its compensations. He stood "in a difficult terra infirma between the layman and the priest, being neither one nor the other. He forsakes the one life, but stops short of embracing the other." Frequently misunderstood and misrepresented inside and outside of the Catholic Church, the Brother led a life of study, sacrifice and anonymity. Perpetually and contentedly penniless, three hundred and twenty-four of these men taught at St. Mary's. Primarily because they labored without salary, the college succeeded in weathering its financial storms.

Even with an unsalaried faculty, pecuniary troubles always plagued St. Mary's. Without subsidies from either public or private agency, the college depended solely on student tuition, a hand-to-mouth existence. It was this precarious arrangement that fell before the onslaught of the economic depression of 1929 and plagued the college into bankruptcy. Had not Archbishop Mitty of San Francisco come to its aid, the college would have gone

out of existence. After its finances were reorganized, the outlook brightened a little as increasing football receipts supplemented the income from tuition. During the Second World War the Navy Pre-flight School gave additional support to finances. After the end of the conflict in the late forties, Mont La Salle Vineyards, a wholly owned corporation of the Christian Brothers, began to pump large sums into Saint Mary's. As Archbishop Mitty was the saviour of the college in the thirties so Mont La Salle Vineyards has been its financial angel in the forties, fifties and sixties. Annually the Vineyards made up a deficit of over \$50,000.

Annually donors and government bureaus have lent a hand. Supplementary to financial aid was the stepped up policy of student recruitment. For the greater part of its history, the college depended on attraction rather than promotion to obtain students. In the last decade, however, it has followed the example of other colleges, and established a staff of full time professional recruiters. The efforts of these men have raised student rolls to their highest on record.

In addition to financial difficulties, the college had to weather more than an average share of adversities. The most disastrous of these were two fires, that gutted the plant, two earthquakes and two wars. These calamities were unavoidable but those that stemmed from the selection of isolated campuses were not. Administrators abandoned the Mission Road site because it was too far from civilization yet did nothing to improve the situation either in Oakland or Moraga by locating the college in the middle of hayfields. For most of the time, the campuses had the solitariness suitable to a monastery not the accessibility of a public institution. It was somewhat paradoxical that Saint Mary's desired to educate young men yet

did little or nothing to make itself accessible. Convenient, cheap, public transportation is farther from the college in 1969 than it was in 1863. The absence of this service has not only kept student bodies small but has stripped Saint Mary's of some valuable facilities. A point in case was the law school that had to be dropped because access to the campus was too inconvenient. After forty years in the Moraga hayfields there are no discernible stirrings for a move even though civilization threatens to surround the campus. Evidently roots have sunk deep enough to withstand the winds of change. With the approach of communities, villages and towns, it is hoped that public conveyances will follow in their wake and St. Mary's will at last be easily available to commuters.

CONCLUSION

As the Christian Brothers face their second century at Saint Mary's, they can find courage in the accomplishments of the past and wisdom in the achievements and failures of their predecessors. Ample evidence buttresses the conviction that integrity in all fields of academic life is desirable and that all vacillation from or compromise with their original ideals impairs their value as Christian instructors. So too, the belief should be carried through the coming century that they are at Saint Mary's primarily for the cultivation of the religious and intellectual virtues and not for vocational or functional skills. The scope of their efforts should lie within the confines of an undergraduate college and not a university or professional school. Tentative attempts to invade the latter field have demonstrated its unfeasibility in finances and personnel. It is far more desirable to operate a reputable college than a mediocre university. Absence of overwhelming ambition should not mean rigid adherence to traditional methods. Survival and progress demand that the Brothers frequently assess their collegiate instruction and curriculum, evaluate the present in the light of the past and adjust themselves to the constantly varying background of scholastic life. Always remembering to keep God in mind, eternity in view and the world under foot.

Footnotes

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER ONE

1. Sister Gertrude Mary Gray, "A Preliminary Survey of the Life of the Most Reverend Joseph Sadoc Alemany, First Archbishop of San Francisco." (M.A. thesis, Catholic University of America, 1942), p. 16.
2. Ibid., p. 19.
3. Ibid., p. 21.
4. San Francisco Evening Picayune, Dec. 7, 10 and 11, 1850 describe the arrival and reception of Archbishop Alemany; San Francisco California Courier, Dec. 26, 1850 gives full coverage of the Christmas Mass celebrated by the Archbishop.
5. Peter Guilday (ed.) The National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy, (Washington, 1923), p. 190.
6. Sister Andrea Vaughn, "Bonnets by the Bay," Academy Scrapbook, 111 (October, 1952), 68.
7. St. Mary's College Archives (Henceforth cited as ASMC), John Spottiswood, "Reminiscences of Old St. Mary's Cathedral," (unpublished), p. 3; William Gleeson, History of the Catholic Church in California (San Francisco, 1871), II, 218.
8. California, Journal of the Fourth Session of the Legislature of the State of California (San Francisco, 1853) Appendix "C", p. 27.
9. Ibid., p. 8, contains Superintendent Marvin's approval of pro rata division of school money.
10. William W. Ferrier, Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936 (Berkeley, 1937), p. 7; Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco (Henceforth cited as AASF) Vol. H26 contains evidence that Archbishop Alemany hoped for the restoration of government subsidies. This is particularly true in the letters the Archbishop wrote to: Rev. Robert Maurice, March 9, 1861; Governor John Downey, March 19, 1861; Honorable Murray Morrison, April 4, 1861 and John Nugent, April 11, 1861.
11. Gleeson, ibid., p. 275.
12. San Francisco Monitor, February 25, 1885.
13. AASF, Vol. H3, p. 16, May 7, 1855; Joseph Riordan, The First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church and College (San Francisco, 1905), p. 73.
14. San Francisco Leader, March 25, 1939.
15. San Francisco, Office of the Recorder, Liber 2 A & B Maps, p. 85. The map was filed November 26, 1861 and showed the block bounded by Larkin, Grove, Polk and Hayes as the site of a "Catholic University."

16. AASF, Vol. G3, pp. 69, 80, 189, 256, 328 and 335; Vol. G4, p. 2. The Archbishop bought the first parcel of the campus from Carmen Sibrian de Bernal and Jose Jesus de Bernal, July 25, 1853, for \$1600; San Francisco, Office of the Recorder, Book 27 of Deeds, p. 429.
17. AASF, List of Subscriptions for San Francisco College, 1859-1860, is a 290 page, leather bound book and contains the names of approximately 7540 contributors from 224 localities.
18. Letter, F. Guedon, Chancery of the Archdiocese of Paris, February 17, 1951.
19. Archives of the Archdiocese of Portland, Oregon (Henceforth cited as AAP), Journal #1, January 6, 1851, states that Father Croke was in San Francisco from September to December, 1850; for the cholera epidemic, see San Francisco Evening Picayune, October 18, 23, 24 and 25, 1850; San Francisco California Courier, October 12 to November 7, 1850; Frank Soule, John Gihon, James Nisbet, Annals of San Francisco (San Francisco, 1855), p. 305.
20. AAP, Book One of Letters, p. 205, Archbishop Blanchet to Father Croke, April 1, 1851; Oregon City Spectator, March 20, April 17, June 19, July 10, 1851 report the activities of Father Croke.
21. AAP, Book One of Letters, p. 225, Archbishop Blanchet to Father Croke, October 1, 1851; Journal #11, February 2, 1852 contain Archbishop Blanchet's notation "Blessed the church in Portland;" H. W. Scott (ed.) History of Portland, Oregon (Syracuse, 1890), p. 348.
22. AAP, Journal #11, August 1, 1853; Henry L. Walsh, Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails (Santa Clara, 1946), p. 258.
23. AAP, Book One of Letters, p. 271.
24. Edwin V. O'Hara, Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon (Portland, Oregon, 1911), p. 188.
25. Ibid., pp. 189f.
26. San Francisco Monitor, March 6, 1889; AASF, Father Croke's Book Number 54, contains his sermon to the Indians.
27. New York Catholic Protectory, In Memoriam of the Very Rev. James Croke (West Chester, New York, 1889), p. 6.
28. Ibid., p. 8.
29. Ibid., p. 12.
30. AASF, H26, p. 10, May 31, 1855.
31. AAP, Book One of Letters, pp. 309-311, Archbishop Blanchet to Cardinal Fransoni, May 30, 1858; pp. 344-345, Archbishop Blanchet to Cardinal Prefect, April 21, 1860.

32. AASF, H26, p. 53.
33. AASF, H5, p. 21B.
34. University of Notre Dame, Archives of Church History, Archbishop Alemany to Archbishop Purcell, March 8, 1859.
35. AAP, Book One of Letters, pp. 344f., Archbishop Blanchet to the Cardinal Prefect, April 21, 1860.
36. San Francisco Herald, March 31, May 26, 1860.
37. Walsh, Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails, p. 264.
38. San Francisco Chronicle, May 2, 4, 7, 1951.
39. Marysville Daily Appeal, February 2, 1860.
40. AASF, H26, passim, contains frequent references of money received by the Archbishop from Father Croke. The entry on p. 101, March 2, 1860, notes for the first time the name "St. Mary's College;" San Francisco Bulletin, June 3, 1858, described Allison's Ranch as "the greatest gold mine in the world."
41. Nevada City Journal, February 24, 1860.
42. AASF, List of Subscriptions for San Francisco College, p. 86; D1, Cash Book, passim.
43. San Francisco Herald, May 12, 1860, quotes the Downieville Sierra Citizen.
44. March 21, 1860.
45. February 10, 1860.
46. March 10, 1860.
47. San Francisco Pacific, September 4, 1862.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER TWO

1. San Francisco, Municipal Reports, 1863-1864 (San Francisco, 1864), pp. 337, 348; Henry G. Langley, The San Francisco Directory for 1862 (San Francisco, 1862), p. 37 lists some of the homestead associations.
2. San Francisco Herald, October 17, 1861; San Francisco News Letter, May 24, 1862 and San Francisco Walsh's Humorist, October 17, 1861, carry additional information on the real estate developments.
3. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California (7 Vols., San Francisco, 1884-1890), VII, 537, 598.
4. Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco (Henceforth cited AASF) A4, p. 283; Sacramento Union, July 11, 1860, reported the purchase of six 50 vara lots "opposite the mossy, sandy Yerba Buena Cemetery," by the Archbishop.
5. AASF, Copy of Letters, March 3, 1861 to March 30, 1862, p. 20, Archbishop Alemany to A. L. Boggs; cf., Rockwell Hunt, History of the College of the Pacific (Stockton, 1951), pp. 48, 50.
6. AASF, H26, p. 125, Archbishop Alemany to William England, April 10, 1861..
7. Ibid., January 4, 1857.
8. Joseph Riordan, The First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church and College (San Francisco, 1905), pp.111-116; San Francisco Bulletin, March 1, 1862, reports the progress of both colleges.
9. Joseph Baker, Past and Present of Alameda County, California (Chicago, 1914) II, 268; AASF, H27, p. 21, August 12, 1862, reports a meeting of the Archiepiscopal Council on the matter of bricks.
10. San Francisco Alta California, August 4, 1862.
11. AASF, D1, Cash Book, September 22, 1862 to December 31, 1869, passim; F23b, Expenses a/c St. Mary's College, 1861-1862; F23c, Accounts of St. Mary's College with Archbishop Alemany, 1860-1867; and F23d, St. Mary's College, Boys' tuition, 1860-1863, were catalogued but could not be found in the archives.
12. AASF, D1, Cash Book.
13. AASF, H15, Journal of Correspondence, August 14, 1862 to May 7, 1868, p. 31.
14. Ibid., p. 35, June 3, 1863.
15. AASF, H2, p. 23.

16. Langley, ibid., p. 28.
17. Archives of the Christian Brothers Mother House, Rome (Henceforth cited as ACBR), Father Peter Grey to Archbishop Alemany, n.d.
18. San Francisco Monitor, February 11, 1893.
19. AASF, H5, p. 14.
20. San Francisco St. Mary's Cathedral Journal, November 10, 1890, p. 1 contains Father Harrington's "Reminiscences of Old St. Mary's;" San Francisco Bulletin, October 28, 1856.
21. San Francisco Monitor, February 11, 1893.
22. Ibid., September 17, 1898.
23. San Francisco Herald, June 24, 1861.
24. AASF, H26, p. 68.
25. San Francisco Monitor, March 20, 1858.
26. San Francisco Bulletin, March 18, 1858.
27. Langley, ibid., p. 187; San Francisco Bulletin, August 27, 1862, reported that a public night school conducted classes in the basement of the cathedral.
28. AASF, F4, p. 150, contains the names of contributors; San Francisco Herald, May 31, June 2, June 4, June 9, 1860 describe the progress of the bazaar.
29. AASF, H26, p. 131; San Francisco Occidental and Vanguard, April 21, 1866, claimed that Montgomery sponsored the bill in the State Legislature to subsidize all private schools.
30. San Francisco Herald, August 6, 1861, quotes the Sacramento Bee.
31. Ibid., August 24, 1861; August 23-28, 1861, carried other articles on the matter.
32. San Francisco Monitor, December 21, 1872.
33. AASF, H5, pp. 21, 26; Ave Maria, September 2, 1867, p. 698, claimed Father Gallagher became a hero when his ship the Hibernia burned in mid-ocean. However, F. A. Hawkes, Shipping Editor, Lloyds of London, December 31, 1957, stated there was no record of the disaster.
34. AASF, H5, p. 31.
35. Ibid., p. 33.
36. Folsom Telegraph, May 13, 1865 to September 7, 1867, reported the activities of Father Gallagher after he left St. Mary's.

37. St. Mary's College Archives (Henceforth cited ASMC), John Paul Cosgrave to Brother V. Cyril, December 27, 1911.
38. Op. cit.
39. San Francisco Bulletin, October 17, 1863.
40. AASF, H15, p. 43.
41. ASMC, Program of Commencement of 1864, *passim*.
42. ASMC, Cosgrave to Brother Cyril, December 27, 1911.
43. San Francisco Call, September 14, 1863.
44. AASF, H15, p. 64, Archbishop Alemany to the Bishop of Bruges, December 12, 1863, implies that something is radically wrong.
45. AASF, H15, p. 61.
46. AASF, H15, p. 69, January 8, 1864.
47. Archives of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Rome, Dossier: Peter John Grey.
48. San Francisco Bulletin, April 13, 1857.
49. AASF, H5, p. 19.
50. Henry Walsh, Hallowed Were the Gold Dust Trails, p. 79, quotes a letter from Mrs. Mary Harp of Middletown; Minute Book of the Hibernian Benevolent Society, Columbia, pp. 3, 7 (Huntington Library).
51. Sonora Tuolumne Courier, December 4, 1858.
52. AASF, H26, pp. 15, 26, 39.
53. Columbia Times, May 2, 1861.
54. Ibid., May 30, 1861.
55. Letter, Brother Bridolin Finglas, F.S.C., Dublin, October 31, 1960, stated that Father Grey's grandniece, Mrs. Mary Hunston, believed that Father Grey amassed a fortune buying and selling real estate in San Francisco.
56. ASMC, Cosgrave to Brother Cyril, December 27, 1911.
57. AASF, H15, p. 103, September 23, 1864.
58. Interview, Brother V. Jasper, F.S.C., March 6, 1943. As an undergraduate, Brother Jasper attended St. Mary's College on Mission Road.
59. Letter in possession of John Spottiswood, 2010 Eddy, St., San Francisco.

60. ASMC, Brother V. Cyril, History of St. Mary's College (manuscript), p. 15.
61. AASF, D4, p. 28, August 18, 1865.
62. AASF, H15, p. 178, Archbishop Alemany to Father Nicholas Congiato, May 30, 1865.
63. Ibid., p. 248, October 25, 1865.
64. Ibid., p. 263, Archbishop Alemany to Father William Hickie, December 2, 1865.
65. San Francisco Monitor, June 2, 1864.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER THREE

1. Archives of the Christian Brothers Mother House, Rome (Henceforth cited as ACBR), Archbishop Alemany to Brother Philippe, May 4, 1857; New York Freeman's Journal, April 5 and December 6, 1856, carried reports from California that reflected the views of the Archbishop.
2. ACBR, Brother Philippe to Archbishop Alemany, July 2, 1857.
3. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Brother Philippe, January 10, 1858; Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco (Henceforth cited as AASF), H26, p. 61, January 19, 1858.
4. ACBR, Brother Philippe to Archbishop Alemany, March 27, 1858.
5. Archives of All Hallows College, Dublin (Henceforth cited as AAHC), Archbishop Alemany to Father Bartholomew Woodlock, June 15, 1858.
6. Ibid., June 15, 1858.
7. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Father Woodlock, January 4, 1859.
8. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Father Woodlock, May 5, 1859.
9. AASF, H29, p. 20, Archbishop Alemany to Bishop Eugene O'Connell, January 6, 1861.
10. ACBR, Bishop O'Connell to Brother Philippe.
11. Ibid., Brother Philippe to Bishop O'Connell, January 28, 1861.
12. AASF, H15, August 24, 1862.
13. Ibid., passim.
14. Ibid., pp. 314 ff.
15. Ibid., p. 324.
16. ACBR, July 11, 1867; Archives of St. Mary's College (Henceforth cited as ASMC), Monsignor Charles Ramm of the San Francisco Archdiocesan Archives wrote to Brother V. Cyril, February 24, 1912: "We have also in our records identical letters, written under date of July 11, 1867 by Cardinal Barnabo to the Superior of the Salesian Brothers in Bruges, and to the Superior of the Christian Brothers in Dublin, asking if they could supply subjects to the Archbishop in California to take charge of a boarding college."
17. ACBR, Brother Philippe to Brother Facile, Assistant Superior General for North America, n.d.
18. Ibid., May 3, 1868.

19. Ibid., Brother Patrick to Brother Facile, n.d.; AASF, D4, May 26, 1868, stated that \$800 had been sent to Father William Quinn of New York.

20. ACBR, Father Peter Grey to Archbishop Alemany, n.d.

21. Ibid., Brother Patrick to Brother Facile, n.d.

22. Ibid., Brother Facile to Brother Patrick, May 3, 1868.

23. New York Tablet, July 19, 1868.

24. San Francisco Alta California, August 11, 1868; San Francisco Evening Bulletin, August 13, 1868, reported a public testimonial of the Brothers and sixty other passengers to the solicitude and kindness of Captains King and Cavarly of the Ocean Queen and Montana, respectively.

FOOTNOTES

CHAPTER FOUR

1. San Francisco Alta California, August 11, 1868; San Francisco Evening Bulletin, August 11, 1868, reported the arrival of the Brothers at the Brooklyn Hotel including that of Brother Pirmian from Detroit.
2. San Francisco Monitor, August 15, 1868.
3. San Francisco Alta California, August 18, 1868; San Francisco Evening Bulletin, August 21, 1868, listed the courses.
4. San Francisco, Municipal Reports, 1868-1869 (San Francisco, 1869), p. 515 and San Francisco Alta California, August 18, 1868, gave statistics on the epidemic; Henry Langley, San Francisco City Directory 1869 (San Francisco, 1869), p. 25, reported that 800 died of the plague.
5. Archives of the Christian Brothers, New York Province (Henceforth cited as ACBNY), contains a biographical sketch of Brother Justin by his brother, Brother Bettelin; Brother Bettelin, Brother Justin, p. 1.
6. Op. cit., p. 2.
7. Brother Angelus Gabriel, The Christian Brothers in the United States, 1848-1948 (New York, 1948), p. 459; Letter, Brother Telesphore, Secretary, Christian Brothers Provincialate, Quebec, September 17, 1963.
8. Brother Gabriel, Loc. cit.
9. Saint Mary's College Collegian, X (1913) 209.
10. Jackson A. Graves, My Seventy Years in California (Los Angeles, 1927), pp. 50, 53.
11. Ibid., p. 49.
12. Archives of the Christian Brothers, California Province, (Henceforth cited ACBC), File: Brother Cianan.
13. Interview, Brother V. Leo, April 11, 1959. Brother Leo became a student at Sacred Heart College on opening day, January 5, 1874.
14. ACBNY, Brother Jasper, Notes on California, p. 3. This is a seven page typewritten manuscript of reminiscences of the Christian Brothers in California.
15. Ibid., p. 1.
16. ACBC, File: Brother Dimidrian.
17. Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone (eds.) Dictionary of American Biography (New York, 1931), VII, 200f.

18. Archives of the Christian Brothers, Mother House, Rome, District of San Francisco (Henceforth cited ACBR), Brother Justin to Brother Patrick, August 7, 1871.
19. Christian Brothers, Brother Benezet Thomas (Lembecq-Lez-Hal, Belgium, 1930), p. 77.
20. Archives of the Archdiocese of San Francisco (Henceforth cited as AASF), H5, p. 38, August 5, 1869.
21. John A. Diggins, Father William Gleeson (unpublished Master's thesis, University of San Francisco, 1951), p. 20.
22. Graves, Ibid., pp. 50f.
23. San Francisco Monitor, January 31, February 7, (Picture), 1903.
24. Ibid., March 2, 1872.
25. Diggins, Ibid., p. 81.
26. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of California (7 Vols. San Francisco 1884-1890) 1, 43.
27. ACBR, Brother Justin to Brother Patrick, August 6, 1871.
28. Archives, Saint Mary's College (Henceforth cited as ASMC), John Paul Cosgrave to Brother V. Cyril, December 27, 1911.
29. ASMC, Brother V. Cyril, History of Saint Mary's College, p. 23.
30. ASMC, College Charter.
31. Graves, Ibid., p. 47.
32. ACBS, Files: Brother Augustin Joachim and Brother Agapian Joseph.
33. ACBR, Brother Justin to the Superior General, February 1, 1875.
34. ACBNY, Brother Justin to Brother Fabrician, November 14, 1911.
35. Ibid., AASF, Ledger 8A, contains a list of the subscribers to Sacred Heart College.
36. ACBNY, Brother Justin to Brother Fabrician, November 14, 1911.
37. Ibid.; Recorder's Office, San Francisco, Official Map of the City of San Francisco, p. 36 Record #2 G25 reads: "Louis Sacks and Martin Sacks to J. Alemany--50 Vara lot on S. E. corner Eddy and Larkin Streets. Lot #1428 for \$25,000., March 14, 1872."
38. ACBR, Justin to Superior General, February 1, 1875.
39. Zephyrin Englehardt, Mission Santa Ines (Santa Barbara, 1932) pp. 101ff; San Francisco Monitor, October 31, November 28, 1868 described the College.

40. ACBR, Justin to Superior General, February 1, 1875; San Francisco Monitor, August 31, September 28, 1872, San Francisco Alta California, August 15, 1872, describes the purposes of the Industrial School.

41. San Francisco Monitor, March 23, 1872.

42. San Francisco Daily Evening Post, August 8, 1872.

43. San Francisco Thistleton's Illustrated Jolly Giant, February 27, 1875.

44. United States, 81st Congress, 2nd Sess., House Doc. #607, Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949 (Washington, D.C., 1950), p. 958; San Francisco Monitor, June 20, 27, 1883.

45. United States, 42nd Congress, 2nd Sess., Congressional Globe, Part II, p. 1666, Senate Bill #815; San Francisco Bulletin, March 26, 1872, confused St. Mary's Hospital with Saint Mary's College and condemned the entire proceedings.

46. United States, 42nd Congress, 3rd Sess., Congressional Globe, Part 1, p. 181.

47. San Francisco Thistleton's Illustrated Jolly Giant, June 8, 1873.

48. Ibid., October 15, 1873.

49. Ibid., January 17, 1874.

50. Ibid., April 8, 1878, reflected a similar antagonism when it contended that "Father (sic) Justin utilized St. Patrick's Day celebrations to further interests of the Democratic Party."

51. January 31, 1874.

52. Bancroft, History of California, VII, 328f.

53. ACBR, Archbishop Alemany to Superior General, April 24, 1879.

54. Ibid., Brother Patrick to Brother Assistant Superior General, April 15, 1868.

55. Ibid., Brother Justin to Brother Patrick, September 22, 1872.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid.

58. San Francisco Monitor, June 8, 1872, quotes McGee's Real Estate Circular for the transaction between the Archbishop and William Ralston; San Francisco Thistleton's Illustrated Jolly Giant, November 15, 1873, evidently had the sale of St. Patrick's Church property in mind when it called Archbishop Alemany a "sharp real estate dealer;" San Francisco Catholic Guardian, December 14, 1872 and the San Francisco Monitor, January 4, and March 29, 1873, describe the later history of St. Patrick's Church building.

59. ACBR, Brother Justin to Superior General, February 1, 1875.
60. Ibid., Superior General to Brother Justin, February 2, 1878.
61. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Brother Justin, September 6, 1878.
62. Ibid., Brother Patrick to Brother Justin, September 30, 1878.
63. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Brother Justin, March 12, 1879.
64. Ibid., Brother Victor to Superior General, March 31, 1879.
65. Ibid., Brother Patrick to Brother Justin, April 4, 1879.
66. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Superior General, April 24, 1879.
67. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Brother Bettelin, April 4, 1881; further information on Canada de los Pinos is found in AASF, H26, pp. 48, 61.
68. ACBR., Archbishop Alemany to Brother Bettelin, April 4, 1881, further information on Canada de los Pinos is found in AASF, H26, pp. 48, 61; H15, p. 173; United States, 46th Congress, 2nd Session, Congressional Record, Vol X, part 5, p. 4132.
69. ACBR., Superior General to Brother Justin, May 16, 1879.
70. Ibid., Brother Justin to Superior General, June 23, 1879.
71. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Superior General, January 5, 1880.
72. Ibid., Archbishop Alemany to Superior General, April 6, 1880.
73. Joseph W. Riordan, The First Half Century of St. Ignatius Church and College (San Francisco, 1905), pp. 164, 172, stated that the debt in December, 1871 had increased to \$171,524. and that the institution was operating at a loss.

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