

DOCUMENTA

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SUL « QUIETISMO » DI G.C. SALISTRI S.P. (1654-1717)

Coprendole con il suo manto ovattato, la neve che cade attenua le asperità del terreno, ma esalta anche indebitamente la maestà delle cime più alte, falsando così la realtà del paesaggio. Allo stesso modo il tempo che passa depone una spessa coltre di silenzio e di oblio su avvenimenti e persone, risparmiando soltanto quelli che ebbero un particolare rilievo. Lo storico che analizza il passato deve quindi valutare diligentemente uomini e cose, senza trascurare quelli meno appa-

Abbreviazioni usate

AGSP = Archivio Generale delle Scuole Pie (Scolopi), Roma
ASMo = Archivio di Stato, Modena
ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano
ASV-SS = Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Segreteria di Stato
BAV = Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

La presente ricerca costituisce un contributo alla *Miscellanea*, curata dalla Società Tiburtina di Storia ed Arte, in onore del Prof. Massimo Petrocchi, nel trentesimo anniversario di cattedra universitaria.

Fondamentale, per ogni ricerca sul Salistri, è la biografia di G. SÁNTHA, *P. Ioannes Chrisostomus Salistri a S. Paulo, Hospitii Apostolici S. Michaelis ad Ripam confundator ac rector, decimus Ordinis Scholarum Piarum Praepositus Generalis (1654-1717)*, pubblicata in otto puntate su *Ephemerides Calasancianae* negli anni 1964-1965, poi raccolte in volume (Roma 1965) senza numerazione delle pagine propria. Avvertiamo il lettore che, per semplificare la citazione, con la sigla: SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, intendiamo riferirci alla parte della suddetta opera apparsa su *Ephemerides Calasancianae* 33 (1964) 265-277, 300-314, 337-355, 373-393; e con la sigla: SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, II, l'altra parte, pubblicata su *Ephemerides Calasancianae* 34 (1965) 14-35, 54-76, 105-121, 146-167. Pur senza misconoscere gli indiscutibili meriti dell'opera del Sántha — che utilizza una ricca documentazione archivistica e una bibliografia pressoché esauriente — si gradirebbe scorgervi una maggiore indipendenza di giudizio, e un minor timore reverenziale nei confronti del personaggio di cui vengono illustrate le gesta. Si avverte il lettore che nella trascrizione dei testi si sono sciolte le molte abbreviazioni presenti negli originali, e si è adottato l'uso moderno degli accenti, delle maiuscole e della punteggiatura.

L'autore sente il dovere di ringraziare vivamente il Prof. p. Claudio Vilá Palá, archivista generale degli Scolopi, dell'aiuto prestatogli e della cortesia usata nei suoi riguardi.

riscenti, per ricollocarli nel ruolo che effettivamente svolsero nella storia.

Perciò nell'elenco degli amici romani di Miguel Molinos non dovrà mancare, accanto al nome di personaggi illustri — come Innocenzo XI¹; i cardinali Azzolini², Capizucchi³, Lauria⁴ e Ricci⁵; i prelati Casoni⁶ e Favoriti⁷; la regina Cristina di Svezia⁸; le principesse Borghese⁹ e Ludovisi¹⁰ — quello di uomini meno famosi, la cui presenza tuttavia non può essere sottovalutata in una seria ricostruzione del *mondo* del Dottore Aragonese.

Tra questi va ricordato il p. Giovanni Crisostomo Salistri di S. Paolo, che in gioventù fece parte del *milieu* molinosista, ma, a quanto pare, senza abbracciarne le dottrine. Se il sospetto di quietismo non gli impedì di ascendere ai vertici della gerarchia dell'Isti-

¹ Innocenzo XI (1611-1689) fu molto legato al Molinos, e ciò costituì un grave ostacolo per la sua beatificazione. Ostacolo che venne superato in seguito all'intervento diretto di Pio XII. I. COLOSIO, *La voce «Molinos» nel «Dizionario di spiritualità» del P. Ancilli*, in *Nuova rivista di ascetica e mistica*, a. 2 (1977) 83. Sull'*entourage* di questo papa, cfr. B. NEVEU, *Culture religieuse et aspirations réformistes à la cour d'Innocent XI*, in AA.VV., *Accademie e cultura. Aspetti storici tra Sei e Settecento* (Biblioteca dell'Edizione Nazionale del Carteggio di L.A. Muratori, 5), Firenze 1979, 1-38.

² Decio Azzolini (1623-1689) fu promosso alla porpora il 2 III 1654. Sui suoi rapporti col Molinos e con Cristina di Svezia, cfr. G. DE CARO, A. D., in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, IV, Roma 1962, 770. Sull'importante archivio del card. Azzolini, cfr. J. BIGNAMI ODIER, *Christiniana*, in *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire*, t. 80 (1968), 711-712.

³ Raimondo Capizucchi OP (1616-1691) fu fatto cardinale il 1° IX 1681, come Lorenzo Brancati e Michelangelo Ricci. Su di lui cfr. S. NITTI, C.R., in *Dizionario cit.*, XVIII, Roma 1975, 573-575.

⁴ Il card. Lorenzo Brancati (1612-1693) era detto anche card. Lauria, dalla località di nascita. G. PIGNATELLI, B.L., in *Dizionario cit.*, XIII, Roma 1971, 827-831.

⁵ Il card. Michelangelo Ricci († 1682) era penitente del Molinos. Morendo gli lasciò 200 scudi. *Sbozzo della Disposizione del Venerabile Servo di Dio Signor Cardinale Ricci*, in ASV-SS, *Nunziature diverse*, vol. 276 A, ff. 60-60'; NEVEU, *art. cit.*, *passim*. Cfr. note 74, 129.

⁶ Lorenzo Casoni (1645-1720), alla morte di Agostino Favoriti, subentrò nelle cariche che il cugino deteneva. Divenne cardinale nel 1706. G. PALLAVICINI, C.L., in *Dizionario cit.*, XXI, Roma 1978, 407-415; NEVEU, *art. cit.*, *passim*.

⁷ Su Agostino Favoriti († 1682) cfr. P. DUDON, *Le quietiste espagnol Michel Molinos*, Paris 1921, 108, 147-148, 189; NEVEU, *art. cit.*, *passim*.

⁸ Su Cristina di Svezia (1626-1689) cfr. BIGNAMI ODIER, *Christiniana cit.*, 705-747.

⁹ Eleonora Boncompagni, sposa di Giovanni Battista Borghese (1639-1717), viene «ricordata tra le gentildonne dell'aristocrazia romana che, sul finire del sec. XVII, costituirono la clientela più assidua del teologo spagnolo Miguel Molinos». G. DE CARO, B.G.B., in *Dizionario cit.*, XII, Roma 1970, 596-597. Cfr. G. BORGHEZIO, *I Borghese*, Roma 1954, 47.

¹⁰ Cfr. M. MOLINOS, *Guía espiritual*, a cura di J.I. TELLECHEA IDÍGORAS, Madrid 1976, 51. A suor Anna Ludovisi, monaca in Tor de' Specchi, Molinos dedicò la seconda edizione italiana della sua opera. *Ibid.*, 71.

tuto — fu, tra l'altro, generale degli Scolopi — pesò a lungo sul suo destino, costringendolo anche a scagionarsi di fronte al Tribunale del S. Ufficio.

Il fortunato ritrovamento di alcuni documenti riguardanti il procedimento inquisitorio a suo carico — documenti che riteniamo utile pubblicare (Doc. I, A-B) — ci ha indotto ad approfondire la conoscenza di una vicenda che ebbe conseguenze imprevedibili sull'esistenza del Salistri. E' l'unico aspetto, dei tanti della sua ricca personalità¹¹ e multiforme attività, che esamineremo in questa sede. Rimandando, per il resto, all'interessante profilo biografico dedicatogli dal compianto p. György Sántha, archivista generale degli Scolopi¹².

Giovanni Crisostomo di S. Paolo, al secolo Matteo Salistri, era nato a Firenze il 4 marzo 1654 nella casa di un modesto artigiano. Non ancora quindicenne, il 1° novembre 1668 venne ammesso alla vestizione tra gli Scolopi, dei quali era stato fino allora alunno. Il 1° novembre 1670, al termine del prescritto biennio di noviziato, fece la professione religiosa. Compiuti gli studi filosofico-teologici a Firenze, Castiglion Fiorentino e Pieve di Cento, fu ordinato sacerdote a Bertinoro il 9 aprile 1678. Nell'ottobre del 1682 chiese ed ottenne di passare dalla città natale a Roma, dove divenne segretario del generale, il p. Carlo Giovanni Pirroni di Gesù¹³. Qui non tardò a mettere in luce un elemento che lo avrebbe caratterizzato anche in seguito: una concezione così rigida della vita religiosa, da renderlo allergico a qualsiasi forma di compromesso. Un giorno dovrà sperimentare a proprie spese una verità ben nota ai superiori di ogni tempo: che, cioè, l'ottimo è spesso nemico del bene, e che talora il minor male è l'unico traguardo a cui le circostanze permettano realisticamente di aspirare. Non condividendone i metodi di governo dell'Istituto — da lui giudicati troppo tolleranti delle debolezze dei confratelli — il Salistri entrò ben presto in contrasto con il generale. Ad ambedue dovette quindi sembrare provvidenziale la richiesta allora avanzata agli

¹¹ L. PICANYOL (*Brevis conspectus historico-statisticus Ordinis Scholarum Piarum*, Romae 1932, 300), trattando *De viris in Ordine Scholarum Piarum emeritis sanctitate ac virtutum fama*, scrive del Salistri: « De ejusdem Beatificatione et Canonizatione inter primos agendum ».

¹² SÁNTHA, *op. cit.* Su G. SÁNTHA (1917-1975), cfr. *Ephemerides Calasanctianae* 9-10 (1975) 293-301.

¹³ P. Carlo Giovanni Pirroni di Gesù (1640-1685) fu eletto generale nel 1677, e confermato nel 1683. Offrì ospitalità nella casa scolopica di S. Pantaleo in Roma (1677) al celebre matematico Giovanni Alfonso Borelli (1608-1679). Si adoperò anche per la pubblicazione del suo *De motu animalium*, Roma 1680-1681, procurandogli la concessione dell'*imprimatur* che altrimenti non sarebbe stato agevole ottenere. U. BALDINI, *B.G.A.*, in *Dizionario cit.*, XII, 543-551; PICANYOL, *op. cit.*, 9-10; *Id.*, *Alfonso Borelli e il P. Carlo Giovanni Pirroni delle Scuole Pie. Note e memorie inedite*, Roma 1933.

Scolopi da mgr Carlo Tommaso Odescalchi¹⁴, elemosiniere di Sua Santità, di alcuni religiosi che lo coadiuvassero nell'erezione e nella direzione di quello che sarà poi l'Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele, un'istituzione destinata a procurare un tetto e un mestiere all'infanzia abbandonata¹⁵. Il Salistri fu tra i prescelti per tale compito, a cui si dedicò per un quinquennio, dal marzo del 1684 al gennaio del 1689.

Nei primi anni di questo suo soggiorno romano ebbe anche modo di frequentare una celebrità del tempo: Miguel Molinos, allora sulla cresta dell'onda (Doc. II, 1). Salistri lo conosceva già prima di entrare in contatto con mgr Odescalchi, o fu l'ambiente che gravitava intorno ad Innocenzo XI ad avvicinarlo al mistico di Muniesa? A tale domanda non siamo in grado di rispondere. Sappiamo soltanto che dopo la cattura di Molinos (18 luglio 1685), lo Scolopio venne accusato di esserne stato discepolo. Tanto che sentì la necessità di esporre le sue idee sulla vita spirituale in una relazione che — sottoposta all'esame di un confratello esperto in materia — venne giudicata assolutamente ortodossa (Doc. II, 1). Il che avalla la tesi secondo la quale la ragione del suo allontanamento dall'Ospizio di S. Michele non era da ricercarsi in una sua pretesa adesione al quietismo, ma — ancora una volta — in un contrasto con i superiori sul modo di impostare il lavoro¹⁶. Richiamiamo l'attenzione del lettore su questo particolare, rivelatore della personalità del Salistri, perché in esso è la chiave per comprendere il significato di avvenimenti sui quali ci intratterremo fra breve.

Il 5 marzo 1689 il Salistri partiva per Firenze, sua nuova destinazione, dove ebbe il tempo e la tranquillità di tracciare un bilancio della propria vita¹⁷. Intanto il p. Giovanni Stefano Pallavicini di S. Nicolò era stato sostituito nella carica di superiore della Provincia

¹⁴ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 269, 277, 300. Su mgr Carlo Tommaso Odescalchi — che fu anche « cubicularius intimus et vestiarius » di Innocenzo XI, e canonico di S. Pietro — cfr. G.B. PROJA, *Marco Antonio Odescalchi, fondatore dell'Ospizio di Santa Galla in Roma*, Roma 1956, 25, 80, 95, 97.

¹⁵ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, *passim*. Il Salistri iniziò la collaborazione con mgr C.T. Odescalchi quando l'Ospizio aveva ancora sede in piazza Margana. Quindi prima dell'acquisto del « luogo ben vasto presso l'orto de' pp. Francescani a Ripa » (31 X 1686), dove sorgerà l'Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele. C.L. MORICHINI, *Degli istituti di carità per la sussistenza e l'educazione dei poveri e dei prigionieri in Roma*, Roma 1870, 476. Su detto Ospizio cfr. anche A. TOSTI, *Relazione dell'origine e de' progressi dell'Ospizio apostolico di S. Michele, scritta da Antonio Tosti presidente del medesimo*, Roma 1832.

¹⁶ La voce che il p. Salistri venisse allontanato da Roma « per materie contro l'impurità » (sic) venne prontamente smentita dal p. Armini. *Ibid.*, 310-311.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 304.

Toscana¹⁸, e destinato al governo della casa professa di Firenze¹⁹. Ma, per ragioni che ci sfuggono, gli subentrò ben presto in quest'ultima mansione il Salistri²⁰. Delle cinque case che componevano la Provincia Toscana²¹, il collegio di Firenze era la più importante. Non soltanto per l'intensa attività didattica che vi si esplicava²², ma anche perché vi risiedeva più di un terzo del personale dell'intera Provincia²³. E' quindi comprensibile che il nuovo superiore intendesse trasformarla in una comunità modello: non solo perché ciò corrispondeva alla sua concezione della vita religiosa, ma anche perché sperava che l'esempio sarebbe stato gradualmente imitato anche dalle altre comunità scolopiche. I disordini infatti non mancavano nella Provincia Toscana, se il 3 settembre 1689 il generale, p. Alessio Armini della Concezione, scriveva al provinciale queste amare parole: « Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata »²⁴. Ma non bisogna neppure dipingere la situazione a tinte troppo fosche, dal momento che sempre in quei giorni, commentando la richiesta di vari confratelli di passare ad altra provincia — nel settembre del 1689 erano sei sacerdoti e un fratello²⁵ —, il generale confidava allo stesso destinatario: « Forse la troppa osservanza della Provincia muove tanti a procurare di uscirne »²⁶.

Dei religiosi della casa professa di Firenze, due erano per il p. Salistri causa di particolare preoccupazione: il p. Carlo Emanuele Incisa di S. Amedeo²⁷, e soprattutto il p. Giuseppe Ceccarini di S. Eli-

¹⁸ PICANYOL, *Brevis conspectus* cit., 128. Il nuovo provinciale era il p. Angelo Bertini della Concezione, sul quale cfr. nota 116.

¹⁹ A Firenze gli Scolopi possedevano allora due case: la casa professa (collegio) di Madonna dei Ricci in via del Corso; e l'ex-villetta Medici adattata a noviziato, col titolo di Maria SS. del Suffragio al Pellegrino, poi « Scuole Pie » in via Bolognese. PICANYOL, *op. cit.*, 132-133.

²⁰ La patente del p. Pallavicini portava la data dell'11 VI 1689, mentre la prima lettera indirizzata dal generale al p. Salistri come rettore è del 6 VIII 1689. AGSP, Reg. Gen. 134 B, pp. 1222, 1251.

²¹ Oltre alle due case fiorentine, la Provincia Toscana ne aveva altre tre: a Castiglion Fiorentino, Fanano e Pieve di Cento. PICANYOL, *op. cit.*, 136-137.

²² AGSP, Reg. Prov. A 18, n. 30.

²³ Nel gennaio del 1688 la casa professa di Firenze contava 26 religiosi: 14 padri, 4 chierici professi e 8 fratelli. Il resto della provincia aveva 44 religiosi: 22 padri, 4 chierici professi, 4 chierici novizi, 13 fratelli professi e 1 fratello novizio. *Ibid.*, n. 31.

²⁴ AGSP, Reg. Gen., 134 B, p. 1274.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 1266.

²⁷ P. Carlo Emanuele di S. Amedeo, al secolo Marco Antonio Incisa, n. Camarana (dioc. Alba) 17 VI 1655, vest. Genova 26 X 1670, prof. ivi 4 XI 1671, sac. Fosano 29 XII 1679. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 145. Cfr. note 46, 98, 140, 146. Sulla produ-

sabetta²⁸. Ambedue provenivano da altre provincie (Doc. IV), ed appartenevano a quella categoria di individui che non trovano pace in nessun luogo, e il cui comportamento costituisce una sorgente inesauribile di disagio e di inquietudine per gli altri²⁹.

Infatti il p. Ceccarini non tardò a mettersi in urto con il nuovo rettore. Nel settembre del 1689 questi lo aveva destinato a fungere da avvocato nel procedimento disciplinare a carico di un confratello, ma il Ceccarini non si era limitato ad opporre un rifiuto³⁰. Era addirittura ricorso al nunzio di Firenze contro il proprio superiore³¹. Passo assai grave, che con ogni probabilità egli aveva mosso nella speranza di procurarsi un potente protettore, che lo liberasse da quella che ai suoi occhi aveva tutte le caratteristiche di un'autentica persecuzione. Il p. Salistri non evitava infatti di richiamarlo all'ordine ogni volta che lo trovava in fallo, del tutto incurante dei suoi segni di insoddisfazione (Docc. II, 2; IV).

Non sappiamo se nella suddetta denuncia contro il Salistri fosse già contenuta l'accusa di quietismo. In tal caso il Ceccarini dovette restare spiacevolmente sorpreso dall'atteggiamento tutt'altro che allarmato del nunzio. Mgr Archinto³² — che era sul punto di partire

zione scientifica del p. Incisa, cfr. T. Viñas, *Index bio-bibliographicus CC.RR.PP. Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum*, III, Romae 1911, p. 109.

²⁸ P. Giuseppe di S. Elisabetta, al secolo Gaspare Ceccarini, n. Roma 22 XII 1645, vest. ivi 13 XI 1661, prof. sempl. ivi 1° I 1664, sac. Napoli 15 VI 1669, prof. sol. Roma 22 VI 1670. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 86.

²⁹ Il 2 VIII 1687 il generale scriveva al provinciale di Firenze, che allora era ancora il p. Giovanni Stefano Pallavicini di S. Nicolò: «Deve la R.V. considerare che ogni Provinciale ha nelle proprie Provincie ossa da rodere, e non ci è casa senza qualche capo rotto, che dà loro da sospirare, et avendone in abbondanza de proprii, non soffrono d'averne stranieri, mentre non possono ricavarne giovamento di sorte alcuna. Si sbalzano per più case, ma se non giova *quid agendum?*». AGSP, Reg. Gen. 134 B, p. 542.

³⁰ Il 10 IX 1689 il generale aveva ordinato al Salistri di procedere contro Fr. Giuseppe Maria di S. Pietro, reo «confesso di proprietà, scomunicato». *Ibid.*, p. 1281. Il p. Armini, che in seguito scinderà le proprie responsabilità da quelle del rettore di Firenze, in un primo tempo aveva molto contato sull'energia e sull'efficienza del Salistri. Nel luglio del 1689, ad esempio, lo aveva inviato a Castiglion Fiorentino a controllarvi l'operato di quel rettore. *Ibid.*, p. 1262. SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 304. Cfr. note 31, 36, 46, 51, 142.

³¹ Il 24 IX 1689 il generale scriveva al provinciale di Firenze: «Il P. Rettore doveva parlare alli PP. Giuseppe di S. Elisabetta e Benedetto [Fantuzzi di S. Vittore] prima di deputarli per Avvocato e Fiscale respective, e sentire se volentieri l'avessero fatto, perché non si ponno sforzare a tali cose, et io ne ho l'esperienza in altri casi. Il P. Giuseppe però poteva far di meno [di] andare al Nunzio, ma da esso si sarà fatto conoscere per Religioso poco buono e meno osservante, mentre gl'ha detto ancora, circa l'orazione, che si mortifica chi manca, etc.». AGSP, Reg. Rel. B. 134, p. 1291. Cfr. note 30, 36, 46, 51, 142.

³² Giuseppe Archinto (1651-1712), arcivescovo di Tessalonica (1686), poi arcivescovo di Milano (1699-1712) e cardinale (1699), fu nunzio a Firenze (1686-1689), a

per Venezia, sua nuova sede — sapeva benissimo che, nei contrasti che di tanto in tanto si manifestavano all'interno degli ordini religiosi, l'accusa di eresia veniva a volte brandita come un'arma per abbattere l'avversario, a prescindere dalla fondatezza della medesima. Era accaduto appena qualche mese prima, in occasione dell'elezione del provinciale di Toscana dei Minori Osservanti³³. Qualcuno, frustrato nelle sue ambizioni, aveva presentato un memoriale in cui non solo denunciava presunti abusi verificatisi nel capitolo, ma spingeva molto oltre le accuse. Le autorità romane chiesero un parere sull'attendibilità del documento al nunzio di Firenze, che il 26 luglio rispose: « l'autore del foglio si dimostra maligno, tacciando la religione tutta per un conventicolo d'eretici occulti, e chiedendo facoltà per i Frati di tornare alle case proprie per salvarsi »³⁴.

Ad ogni modo, qualunque fosse il suo reale contenuto, la denuncia del p. Ceccarini dovette essere, almeno per il momento, archiviata. Il generale³⁵ aveva consigliato al rettore di Firenze di rimandare ad altra occasione la giusta punizione del fallo del confratello (« bisognerà pigliar altro capo a tempo opportuno per castigarlo »)³⁶. Infatti il Salistri attese sei mesi, fino al marzo del 1690, allorché,

Venezia (1689-1696) e in Spagna (1696-1700). L. BITTNER-L. GROSS, *Repertorium der diplomatischen Vertreter aller Länder*, I, Oldenburg I.O. — Berlin 1936, 387, 389-390. R. RITZLER-P. SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica*, V, Patavii 1952, 21, 263, 377. Cfr. E. GENCARELLI, A.G., in *Dizionario cit.*, III, Roma 1961, 767-768.

³³ In base alle istruzioni ricevute da Roma, volte a prevenire intrusioni del potere politico, già in maggio il nunzio aveva informato il granduca « distintamente del vero stato di questa Provincia de' Minori Osservanti, e de' mezzi propj a mantenere la pace e tranquillità de' religiosi ». Archinto alla Segreteria di Stato, Firenze 24 V 1689. ASV-SS, Nunziatura di Firenze, Reg. 75 A, f. 64. Cfr. anche ff. 64', 67, 69.

³⁴ Il nunzio continuava: « sebene si potrebbe moderare la soverchia autorità di 4 o 5 Padri, che per le cariche esercitate governano le custodie et alcuni conventi ripartiti fra loro, non per questo hanno essi ridotta la Provincia in schiavitù [...], né avanzano al comando quelli che posson comprarlo, ma alla più in pari grado co' gl'altri preferiscono i loro dipendenti ». Archinto alla Segreteria di Stato, Firenze 26 VII 1689. ASV-SS, Nunziatura di Firenze, Reg. 75 A, f. 71. Cfr. anche Reg. 77, f. 172.

³⁵ Il p. Alessio Armini della Concezione (1624-1695) fu generale dal 1686 al 1692, PICANYOL, *op. cit.*, 10-11; VIÑAS, *op. cit.*, I, Roma 1908, 312.

³⁶ Armini a Salistri, 24 IX 1689. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B. 134, p. 1292. Nella stessa lettera il generale faceva notare al destinatario che con un po' più di tatto avrebbe evitato di provocare la suscettibilità del p. Ceccarini. E ciò senza venir meno all'obbligo di promuovere la più esatta osservanza regolare, che restava uno degli obblighi primari del superiore: « V.R. non lasci di mortificar e far dir la colpa a chi manca all'orazione o ci vien tardi, essendo cosa comunemente praticata nella Religione, consentanea all'osservanza regolare, come ne' canoni penitenziali si vede, e non volendo il P. Giuseppe esser mortificato in publico, tanto più ciò deve farseli, non avendo ragione di ricorsi per tali cose, e devesi scacciare, e se ricorre mostra appresso tutti la sua poca virtù e religiosità ». *Ibid.* All'atto pratico però, quando toccò a lui intervenire contro il p. Ceccarini, il p. Armini si rivelò molto più conciliante di quanto non lasciassero supporre le sue perentorie dichiarazioni. Cfr. note 30-31, 46, 51, 142.

avendolo scoperto reo di una mancanza contro il voto di povertà, fece carcerare il Ceccarini. Provvedimento ritenuto sproporzionato alla reale entità della colpa dallo stesso generale, secondo il quale l'acquisto senza il debito permesso di alcuni quadretti del prezzo di un giulio l'uno non costituiva « materia tanto grave che meriti una carcere con presa de' sbirri »³⁷.

Il capo dell'Istituto cominciava a preoccuparsi della mancanza di tatto, rivelata dal rettore di Firenze nei confronti del p. Ceccarini (« Nella risoluzione presa da V.R., di volerlo carcerare per mezzo di sbirri, è corsa troppo »)³⁸. Anche perché questi era nuovamente ricorso alla rappresentanza pontificia, con il pericolo che l'internunzio — Nicolò Baldacchini³⁹, che dirigeva la nunziatura di Firenze dopo la partenza di mgr Archinto, e in attesa dell'arrivo del successore — desse corso alla denuncia. Il 24 maggio il generale scriveva in proposito al p. Salistri: « In quanto al ricorso fatto all'Internunzio da detto Padre [Ceccarini], V.R. si aiuti costì col medesimo con esporle le cause che l'avevano mosso, etc. E, se qui occorrerà cosa alcuna appresso il Signor Cardinale Protettore⁴⁰, io farò le parti dovute e necessarie, perché esso non risolverà cosa alcuna senza prima sentirmi, come è solito »⁴¹. Nello stesso tempo però il generale inviava al p. Ceccarini un durissimo richiamo all'ordine: « Non arguisca dal non avere io scritto per il passato a V.R. cosa alcuna, che non abbia avuti frequenti reclami della sua persona. Quello che brevemente devo dirli è che rifletta spesso alli voti fatti, e particolarmente della povertà, di che ne deve render conto a Dio, e se in tal maniera gabba gl'uomini non gabba Dio. E se rispetto a gl'uomini lei opera secretamente e con accortezza mondana, onde possa sempre stare a galla, sa molto

³⁷ Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 25 III 1690. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B. 134, pp. 1436-1437.

³⁸ Armini a Salistri, 24 III 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1437.

³⁹ In previsione della sua prossima partenza per Venezia, mgr Archinto propose di nominare internunzio a Firenze « il Signor Arcidiacono Baldacchini, famoso giurista, che già cominciò sotto l'Em.mo Signor Cardinale Pallavicino a servire nella medesima carica, pratico delle materie, e prudente nel maneggio degl'affari, oltre l'integrità conosciuta ». Archinto alla Segreteria di Stato, Firenze 15 X 1689. ASV-SS, Nunziatura di Firenze, Reg. 75 A, ff. 79'-80. La proposta venne accolta dalla Segreteria di Stato il 19 XI 1689. *Ibid.*, Reg. 201/B, f. 557. Il Baldacchini fuse da internunzio a Firenze dal 29 XI 1689 al 30 I 1691. BITTNER-GROSS, *op. cit.*, I, 389.

⁴⁰ Era il card. Gaspare Carpegna (1625-1714), che fu vicario di Roma dal 1671 al 1714. G. ROMEO, C.G., in *Dizionario. cit.*, XX, Roma 1977, 589-591. Cfr. nota 149.

⁴¹ Armini a Salistri, 24 III 1690. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B. 134, p. 1437. Nulla si trova in proposito nel Fondo Carpegna conservato in ASV. Almeno da quanto risulta dal pur accurato indice compilato da A. Mercati (cfr. *Indice 1050*, in Sala di consultazione di ASV).

bene che tali modi non sempre sono approvati da chi vede il cuore e giudica, e poi condanna anche i pensieri, non che l'operazioni. Rifletta come ho detto all'obbligo della coscienza, e facendo questo son certo che viverà in quiete d'animo e non averà in che il Superiore possa riprenderlo »⁴².

Ormai, lo si può facilmente comprendere, la posizione del p. Ceccarini si era fatta insostenibile a Firenze. Tanto più che lo si voleva sospendere dal ministero delle confessioni, l'unica forma di apostolato che esercitava⁴³. Si rendeva quindi inevitabile il suo allontanamento. In un primo tempo i superiori maggiori si mostrarono restii a prendere una decisione in tal senso, anche per non venir coinvolti nel conflitto che l'interessato avrebbe suscitato — c'era da dubitarne? — pur di sottrarsi all'ordine di trasferimento⁴⁴. Ma alla fine il generale, dopo essersi consigliato anche con il Cardinal Protettore, decise di inviarlo a Genova⁴⁵. Una mossa che evidentemente il p. Ceccarini aveva non solo prevista, ma anche cercato di sventare: già da tempo — a quanto pare spalleggiato dal p. Incisa⁴⁶ — era andato spargendo in città la voce che il p. Salistri, il suo persecutore, era un seguace del Molinos⁴⁷. Accusa tanto più insidiosa in quanto,

⁴² Armini a Ceccarini, 24 III 1690. *Ibid.*, pp. 1437-1438.

⁴³ Il generale era però di parere contrario. Armini a Salistri, 18 II 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1426.

⁴⁴ Il generale scriveva al provinciale di Firenze il 18 IV 1690: « Il P. Giuseppe di S. Elisabetta è troppo maliziato, e se li mandassi l'obediencia per Genova sospetterebbe subito che fusse ad altro fine, come fu quando stava in Fanano. Si andrà pensando il modo di rimuoverlo, in guisa che non abbia a cagionare novi disturbi costi, e vada volentieri senza sospetto ». *Ibid.*, p. 1441.

⁴⁵ Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 29 IV 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1451.

⁴⁶ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 304, 311. In tutta la presente vicenda sembra comunque che il p. Incisa si fosse compromesso meno del p. Ceccarini. Il generale trovava che i due erano di carattere molto diverso: « In quanto al P. Giuseppe di S. Elisabetta, è di natura molto diversa dall'altro [= il p. Incisa], e questo si rintuzza col non lasciargliene vincere ». Armini a Salistri, 18 II 1690. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B. 134, p. 1426. L'11 XI 1690 il generale scriveva al provinciale di Firenze: « Essendosi rimesso il P. Carlo Emanuele alle disposizioni della R.V. è stato meglio per lui. S'egli moderasse un certo suo naturale si renderebbe più grato a tutti ». *Ibid.*, p. 1367. Il p. Incisa, tutto sommato, appariva più leggero che cattivo, come apprendiamo dalla stessa fonte: « Nell'emergente successo, come V.R. mi raguaglia, lei si è portato benissimo, et è bene che li sventati o capricciosi si scoccino. Il P. Carlo Emanuele da me non ha havuta licenza di portar calzette, nemeno quando era Rettore in Narni; la vuol far troppo da cavaliere, e deve riflettere che lo stato religioso nostro non amette tante cavallerie. Né è solo nobile nella Religione, quando che nella Religione quello è nobile che ha costumi e tratti da buono et osservante religioso. Di tal fatto successo non hanno scritto, e scrivendone alcuno, sostenerò quanto V.R. ha santamente operato, e sostenerò sempre quanto lei opererà per mantenere la disciplina regolare ». Armini a Salistri, 11 II 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1421, Il 1^o I 1691 il p. Incisa risultava iscritto al collegio di Firenze, « Philosophiae ac Theologiae Lector, et Confessarius publicus ». AGSP, Reg. Prov. A 18, n. 33, p. 3. Cfr. note 30-31, 36, 51, 142.

⁴⁷ SÁNTHA, *loc. cit.*

come abbiamo visto, non inverosimile (Docc. II, 3; IV).

A questo punto il generale, che finora lo aveva sempre sostenuto, sentì la necessità di prendere le distanze dal p. Salistri. Decisamente il rettore della casa professa di Firenze aveva iniziato la sua gestione con il piede sbagliato. Il malcontento da lui incautamente suscitato in molti membri della comunità — non esclusi religiosi di vita esemplare (Docc. I, B, 2; II, 2) — rischiava di rivelarsi insanabile. Conveniva quindi intervenire subito, destinando il p. Salistri ad altre mansioni. Nel suo stesso interesse, perché se il contrasto si fosse radicalizzato, era prevedibile che il p. Ceccarini non avrebbe trascurato qualsiasi mezzo atto a colpire il suo superiore e nemico. Non esclusa una denuncia formale per quietismo — ammesso che egli non si fosse già servito di tale arma —, che avrebbe trascinato il p. Salistri davanti all'Inquisizione. E l'intervento di quest'ultima, si poteva esserne certi, sarebbe stato molto meno benevolo di quello della nunziatura. C'era poi da sperare che la partenza del rettore avrebbe appagato l'orgoglio del p. Ceccarini, inducendolo finalmente ad accettare la sua nuova destinazione.

L'occasione propizia per sollevare il p. Salistri dal suo incarico — senza dare né a lui, né ai confratelli la falsa impressione di volerlo punire — venne offerta da certi contrasti verificatisi tra gli Scolopi polacchi, contrasti che richiedevano l'invio di un rappresentante del governo centrale dell'Istituto⁴⁸. Fu così che il rettore della casa professa di Firenze venne nominato visitatore generale di Polonia ed Ungheria⁴⁹, e sostituito nelle attuali mansioni dal p. Francesco Maria Lazzarini di S. Lorenzo⁵⁰. Nello stesso tempo il generale rinnovò al p. Ceccarini l'ordine di partire per Genova⁵¹.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 304-305. Sull'origine e sul significato dei contrasti tra gli Scolopi polacchi, cfr. anche [C. KRZYŻANOWSKI, M.I.C.], *Positio super introductione causae et super virtutibus ex officio concinnata Servi Dei Stanislai a Iesu Maria Papczyński, fundatoris Clericorum Regularium Immaculatae Conceptionis B.M.V. († 1701)*, (Sacra Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum, Officium Historicum, 65), Roma 1977, *passim*. Il p. Papczyński (1631-1701) dal 1654 al 1670 era stato Scolopio.

⁴⁹ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, *ibid.* Il 6 maggio il generale illustrava al p. Salistri in che cosa consistevano i suoi compiti di visitatore, e lo informava che la relativa patente gli sarebbe stata spedita a Varsavia. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B 134, p. 1455.

⁵⁰ P. Francesco Maria Lazzarini di S. Lorenzo, fiorentino, al secolo Rosso Lazzarini, n. 14 V 1655, vest. Firenze 20 IX 1669, prof. sol. ivi 20 IX 1671, m. Castiglion Fiorentino 10 IX 1723. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 178.

⁵¹ Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 29 IV 1690. Prevedendo una resistenza da parte del Ceccarini, il generale aggiungeva: «Se dovrà ricorrere al precetto di obbedienza, io fin da ora gliene do facoltà. Informi subito me, perché il card. Protettore vuol sapere come va a finire la cosa». AGSP, Reg. Gen. B 134, p. 1451. Due settimane dopo, di fronte alle difficoltà che il provvedimento incontrava, il generale cercherà di scaricarne sul provinciale la responsabilità: «Per le istanze della R.V. mandai l'obe-

Il religioso « subito fece fagotto »⁵², uscendo dalla casa religiosa. Non imboccò però la strada della Liguria, ma si recò presso i Ramirez Montalvo⁵³, una nobile famiglia amica degli Scolopi (Doc. IV). Il generale commentò così il comportamento del p. Ceccarini: « in questo ha usato la sua politica, volendo mostrare di esser pronto all'obediienza, ma sottomano mettere impedimento »⁵⁴. Insomma, ancora una volta il religioso aveva confermato l'immagine negativa che nell'Istituto si aveva di lui. Dal canto suo il p. Ceccarini motivava il proprio operato con il timore di essere nuovamente chiuso in carcere: a quanto pare, lasciando Firenze, il p. Salistri si era « vantato di partire con onore, e che lui andrà a Genova, dove l'aspetta una prigionia ». Il generale considerava tali dichiarazioni dei « ritrovati del medesimo P. Giuseppe per suoi fini », cioè dei puri e semplici parti di fantasia del p. Ceccarini. Ed aggiungeva: « Posso asserire con giuramento che io non ho scritto a Genova nemmeno una parola di avviso della sua andata colà; e nemmeno mi è passata per il pensiero che vi sia mortificato in modo alcuno »⁵⁵. Perciò il 13 maggio pregava Antonio Ramirez Montalvo di adoperarsi affinché il religioso ottemperasse agli ordini dei superiori: « Né stimo in ciò punto pregiudicata la sua reputazione, mentre passando tra esso et il P. Rettore dispareri, [è stato] rimosso nel tempo istesso l'uno e l'altro, e già il P. Rettore è partito »⁵⁶. E all'interessato stesso il p. Armini scrisse: « Non è stata mai mia intenzione volere con l'obediienza speditagli per Genova usar seco quei trattamenti che con poco fondamento si va imaginando, ma di puramente giovarli; poiché col rimuoverlo da costì non ho altro riguardo che alla sua pace, che gli desidero, vedendo che costì non l'incontra stante i disturbi che gli corrono con i suoi Superiori »⁵⁷. Il p. Ceccarini, che non era tanto ingenuo da cre-

dienza, ma il pensiero mio era di tardare qualche poco, e penso che la detta obediienza sia causa delli torbidi ». Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 13 V 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1456. Cfr. note 30-31, 36, 46, 142.

⁵² Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 13 III 1690. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B 134, p. 1456.

⁵³ Due Scolopi — p. Bartolomeo Guidi di S. Andrea (1611-1688) e p. Sigismondo Coccapani di S. Silverio (1647-1719) — scrissero biografie della ven. Eleonora Ramirez Montalvo (1602-1656). Cfr. [F. CASOLINI], *Positio ex officio compilata super introductione causae et super virtutibus Venerabilis Servae Dei Eleonorae Ramirez Montalvo viduae Landi, Fundatricis Ancillarum SS. mae Trinitatis et Divinae Incarnationis* († 1659), (Sacra Rituum Congregatio, Sectio Historica, 130), Città del Vaticano 1965, pp. IV-V, 497-509, 514-809; G. ANTIGNANI, *Eleonora Ramirez Montalvo*, Siena 1977.

⁵⁴ Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 13 V 1690. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B 134, p. 1456.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ Armini ad Antonio Ramirez Montalvo a Firenze, 13 V 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1457.

⁵⁷ Armini a Ceccarini, 13 V 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1459.

dere ciecamente a queste un po' enfatiche parole del generale, si rese conto che stava trattando da una posizione di forza. Perciò fece sapere che non si sarebbe mosso prima che il suo caso venisse definitivamente chiarito. Chiedeva insomma che lo si dichiarasse ufficialmente, o innocente, o colpevole. Cosa che il p. Armini non era in grado di fare, mancando tra l'altro degli elementi indispensabili ad istruire un procedimento formale⁵⁸. Ma che soprattutto non voleva fare, per non restare ancor più impigliato in una vicenda che stava mettendosi decisamente male. Infatti ad appena qualche giorno di distanza, il 27 maggio, scrisse al p. Ceccarini che il suo trasferimento era sospeso fino a nuovo ordine, « e ciò per giusti motivi a Noi noti ». Ed aggiungeva: « Viva fra tanto con ogni quiete d'animo, quale desideriamo »⁵⁹. Lo stesso giorno comunicò il provvedimento anche al provinciale di Firenze — di cui si può facilmente immaginare lo stupore — giustificandolo con vari motivi. Da una parte c'era il desiderio di « quietare » il p. Ceccarini, e dall'altra l'opportunità di « donare quello che non si può vendere riguardo la causa corrente, stimando meglio ciò così che ricevere poi un ordine da qualche altra parte che non si mandi »⁶⁰. In altre parole, il generale annullava il trasferimento del p. Ceccarini, per il timore di essere ben presto costretto a farlo ritornare a Firenze. Costretto da chi? Dal tribunale che doveva occuparsi della causa promossa dal religioso. Questi — si poteva esserne certi — non avrebbe mancato di accusare i superiori di averlo allontanato per ostacolare, se non addirittura per impedire, il normale *iter* processuale. Il p. Armini — che evidentemente aveva avuto sentore dei passi mossi presso l'Inquisizione di Firenze dal p. Ceccarini — cercava di uscire col minor danno possibile da una vicenda che aveva visti i superiori dell'Istituto beffati da un confratello forse privo di spirito religioso, ma non certo di astuzia.

Il 7 maggio, cioè due giorni dopo la partenza del suo ex superiore per la Polonia, il p. Ceccarini si era recato a denunciare il p. Salistri (Doc. I, A-B). L'accusa era di aver insegnato « molte propositioni, coerenti alla dottrina del Molinos, anzi molte che sono l'istesse di quelle che sono state dannate ». Desideroso di favorire le indagini del S. Officio, le aveva anche annotate su un foglio che ora consegnava agli inquirenti. Come si appurerà in seguito, le suddette pro-

⁵⁸ Armini a Ceccarini, 20 V 1690, *Ibid.*, p. 1461; Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 20 V 1690, *ibid.*

⁵⁹ Armini a Ceccarini, 27 V 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1465.

⁶⁰ Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 27 V 1690. *Ibid.*, p. 1464.

posizioni erano state tratte da vari discorsi del p. Salistri ai suoi religiosi (Doc. IV). Avulse dal loro contesto, si prestavano alle peggiori interpretazioni, ma proprio per questo non avrebbero dovuto costituire degli attendibili capi di accusa. Alla rituale domanda se fosse in grado di fare il nome di altri testimoni, egli indicò il p. Giuseppe Galanti di Gesù Maria⁶¹, allora dimorante nel collegio di Fanano (Doc. I, A-B). Perché, ai tanti confratelli tuttora presenti a Firenze, il denunziante ne aveva preferito uno che risiedeva in un remoto paese dell'Appennino Modenese? Probabilmente il principale motivo, se non l'unico, era il desiderio di prendere tempo. Il p. Ceccarini sapeva che per l'intera durata del processo non sarebbe stato allontanato da Firenze, ed aveva quindi tutto l'interesse a ritardarne la conclusione. Infatti il p. Galanti poté essere escusso soltanto ad oltre due mesi di distanza, il 12 luglio.

Quel giorno egli si presentò al S. Ufficio di Modena — nel cui ambito giurisdizionale era compreso il territorio dell'abbazia di Nonantola, e quindi anche la parrocchia di Fanano da essa dipendente —, rispondendo senza alcuna difficoltà alle domande che gli vennero rivolte sul p. Salistri e sulle dottrine da lui professate. L'inquisitore di Modena — che lo aveva citato il 2 luglio e che lo interrogava per rogatoria (Doc. I, B, 1) — aveva sotto gli occhi gli atti trasmessigli dall'Inquisizione di Firenze. Compresa una lista di quattro proposizioni « quietistiche », attribuite al Salistri, che lesse al teste. Questi si disse sicuro di aver sentito pronunciare dal suo ex superiore soltanto le prime due, che tutto sommato potevano anche essere interpretate in senso ortodosso⁶². Mentre non era affatto certo di avergli sentito dire le altre due, almeno nella formulazione riferita all'Inquisizione⁶³. Insomma, nulla di compromettente a carico del Salistri uscì dalla bocca del p. Galanti. La parte più importante della cui deposizione consiste anzi nei particolari forniti sul metodo di governo attuato a Firenze dal suo ex superiore. Il p. Salistri vi appare « homo virtuoso » e spirituale, sensibile alle dottrine mistiche, ma nello stesso tempo geloso custode dell'osservanza regolare e instancabile promo-

⁶¹ P. Giuseppe di Gesù Maria, al secolo Francesco Galanti, lucchese, n. 16 IV 1653, vest. Roma 13 V 1673, prof. sol. ivi 15 V 1674, sac. Città della Pieve 12 VI 1677, m. Castiglion Fiorentino 26 XII 1701. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 175; Reg. Rel. 37, p. 3, n. 14. Dai pochi dati in nostro possesso, il p. Galanti appare un religioso serio, laborioso e pio. A Firenze, nel 1688, era « Magister Scholae Umanitatis, Confessarius et Concionator ». AGSP, Reg. Prov. A. 18, n. 31, p. 1. Cfr. Doc. I, A-B.

⁶² Cfr. Doc. I, B, 2, nota 114.

⁶³ Cfr. *ibid.*, nota 115.

tore dell'orazione mentale tra i suoi religiosi. Elementi, questi ultimi, sufficienti a sottrarlo all'accusa di quietismo (Doc. I, B, 2).

A questo punto si potrebbe pensare che il procedimento a carico dello Scolopio venisse archiviato per l'assoluta inconsistenza degli indizi raccolti, ma non fu affatto così. Ormai la macchina inquisitoriale si era messa in moto, e non avrebbe impiegato meno di due anni a fermarsi. In seguito alla denuncia del p. Ceccarini, l'Inquisizione aveva ordinato che il p. Salistri interrompesse il suo improvviso viaggio al di là delle Alpi (Docc. II, 3; IV), che aveva tutta l'aria di una precipitosa fuga: in quel periodo le autorità romane erano già abbastanza allarmate per la presenza nei Paesi protestanti di religiosi italiani apostati, che non di rado attaccavano la Chiesa e le sue istituzioni⁶⁴. Perciò il generale, in base alle istruzioni ricevute, aveva scritto al p. Salistri di far ritorno al più presto in una casa della Provincia Toscana — e precisamente in quella di Pieve di Cento⁶⁵ —, in attesa di ulteriori disposizioni. Raggiunto dal dispaccio quando si trovava già in Ungheria e impossibilitato ad eseguire gli ordini da motivi di forza maggiore⁶⁶, il visitatore generale ottenne — anche per l'intervento del card. Carpegna — che il suo processo venisse aggiornato fino al termine della missione affidatagli⁶⁷. L'abilità dimostrata nel corso di essa e i risultati conseguiti — in parte dovuti all'appoggio prestatogli dal nunzio in Polonia, mgr Santacroce⁶⁸ — indussero i

⁶⁴ Sulla vicenda del Gesuita — poi Agostiniano — p. Giovanni Francesco Cortesi (1643-1716), che riparò per ben due volte in Svizzera (a Zurigo e a Coira), cfr. G. ORLANDI, *La corte estense e la missione di Modena di P. Segneri Jr* (1712), in *Spicilegium Historicum C.S.S.R.* 21 (1973) 407-411. Il 20 XII 1692 la Segreteria di Stato informava il nunzio di Firenze che, dagli ultimi dispacci della nunziatura di Parigi, si apprendeva « che il Padre Cigala Teatino et il Padre Caffarelli Domenicano, i quali vivono Appostati in Londra, havendo composti dui perniciosissimi libri, il primo contro la religione Teatina, e l'altro contra il Pontificato Romano, e stampati siano per inviarsi quanto prima i medesimi libri a Guglielmo Ut, e Stefano Faoott, mercanti inglesi in Livorno. La Sagra Congregazione del S. Offizio, alla quale si è comunicato quest'avviso, incarica al Padre Inquisitore di Pisa, et al Vicario del S. Offizio in Livorno, che esattamente inviglino, acciò i sudetti pestiferi libri non si spargano, e si trasmettano qua, quando in effetto capitino in quel porto ». ASV-SS, Nunziatura di Firenze, Reg. 202, ff. 220-220'. Cfr. f. 221'.

⁶⁵ Il generale scrisse a Venezia nella speranza, poi rivelatasi vana, che Salistri non vi fosse ancora giunto. Armini a Salistri e a p. Benedetto di S. Caterina, a Venezia, 13 V 1690. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B 134, p. 1458; SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 305, 312. Cfr. nota 148.

⁶⁶ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 305, 312.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* Andrea Santacroce (1656-1712), arcivescovo di Seleucia i.p.i. (1689), poi vescovo di Viterbo e Toscanella (1701), fu nunzio in Polonia (1690-1696) e presso l'imperatore (1696-1699). Venne promosso alla porpora nel 1699. BITTNER-GROSS, *op. cit.*, I, 384. Prima di raggiungere la Polonia, sia a Roma che a Firenze — città in cui nell'aprile del 1690 sostò presso la sorella, sposa del marchese Malaspina — ebbe certa-

superiori ad assegnargli nuovi compiti e ad accrescere i suoi poteri con la nomina a commissario generale⁶⁹. Il che comportava un'ulteriore dilazione del suo rientro in Italia.

Durante i lunghi mesi trascorsi a Varsavia nel corso dell'inverno 1690-1691, il p. Salistri impiegò il tempo libero nella composizione di un'opera teologica che dette alle stampe in quella città nel 1691: *Philopistus Orthodoxae Fidei veritate instructus*⁷⁰. In essa intendeva « breviter rationum efficacia et Sacrarum Scripturarum contextu orthodoxam fidei veritatem ostendere ». Ma l'opera ha soprattutto l'aspetto di un'autodifesa, predisposta dall'autore in vista della sua comparsa davanti ai giudici⁷¹. Nell'ottobre del medesimo anno, mentre si trovava a Cracovia, ricevette infatti per mezzo del generale l'ordine dell'Inquisizione di far ritorno in Italia⁷². Intraprese allora un viaggio pieno di disagi e di insidie, che concluse soltanto il 23 aprile 1692 con l'arrivo a Roma (Doc. II, 4).

Prima della fine del mese si era già presentato al tribunale dell'Inquisizione. Dove per due giorni, il 29 e il 30 aprile, venne interrogato sui suoi rapporti con il Molinos, sui suoi scritti e su alcune vicende della sua vita. Ma ne uscì pienamente scagionato, essendosi l'accusa di quietismo mossa contro di lui rivelata per quello che era: una bolla di sapone (Docc. II, 4; IV).

Il contatto con Paesi a mista religione — oltre che la Polonia aveva visitato anche l'Ungheria e la Boemia⁷³ — dovette accendere

mente modo di informarsi sulla fondatezza delle accuse rivolte al Salistri. Cfr. i dispacci dell'internunzio Baldacchini al card. Ottoboni a Roma, Firenze 28 III, 4 e 11 IV 1690. ASV-SS, Nunziatura di Firenze, Reg. 78, ff. 73, 81, 84.

⁶⁹ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, 306, 312.

⁷⁰ Il titolo completo dell'opera è il seguente: *Philopistus Orthodoxae Fidei veritate instructus per P. Joannem Chrysostomum a S. Paulo Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum Sacerdotem, et Illustrissimo ac Reverend. D.no D. Casimiro Joanni De Bnin Opalenski Culmensi et Pomesaniae Episcopo oblatum, Varsaviae, Typis Collegii Scholarum Piarum, 1691, pp. [16]-354, cm. 9 x 15. L'opera ottenne la *Approbatio* del vescovo di Posnań (Varsavia, 1° VII 1691) e la *Facultas imprimendi* del generale degli Scolopi (Roma, 8 V 1691), che a sua volta l'aveva fatta esaminare da due teologi di fiducia. La copia conservata nella Biblioteca Scolopica di S. Pantaleo (A. I. 28) ha sul frontespizio la seguente nota manoscritta: « Cher. Regul. Schol. Piar. apud S. Michaellem de Urbe ». Potrebbe essere l'esemplare posseduto dall'autore, che venne a morte proprio nell'Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele a Ripa. Cfr. nota 100. Cfr. anche nota 150.*

⁷¹ Il lettore potrà convincersene, scorrendo i brani dell'opera dai seguenti titoli: « Propositio VI. Haereses in Christiana fide sunt fugiendae » (pp. 80-83); « Propositio IX. Hominem liberum ad bene et male agendum, negans, fidem veram non tenet » (pp. 89-91); « Propositio X. Qui in libertate conscientiae omnia sibi licere arbitratur, aberrat a vera fide » (pp. 91-93). Durante la sua permanenza al di là delle Alpi, costretto da una sosta forzata a Nikolsburg (Boemia), Salistri occupò il tempo con la stesura di « un breve trattato dell'orazione mentale ». SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 307, 313.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

nel p. Salistri il desiderio di dedicarsi totalmente alla diffusione della fede cattolica. Infatti, venuto a sapere alla fine del 1696 che Propaganda Fide stava reclutando missionari per la Cina, decise di partire anche lui ⁷⁴. Ma al momento di presentare la domanda gli fu risposto che la spedizione destinata alla Cina era già al completo, mentre vi erano ancora posti disponibili nell'altra diretta in India ⁷⁵. Un colloquio tra il generale degli Scolopi e il vicario apostolico del Bijâpur, Pietro Paolo Palma di S. Francesco OCD ⁷⁶, tolse al p. Salistri — e al p. Giovanni Lora ⁷⁷, il confratello che avrebbe voluto accompagnarlo — le residue speranze di partire per le missioni estere: il governo generale non era in grado di affrontare le spese necessarie ⁷⁸. Ma l'aspirazione del p. Salistri di partire per terre lontane era proprio il frutto di un'autentica vocazione? O non era soltanto il mezzo più plausibile per sottrarsi ai contrasti insorti all'interno della sua famiglia religiosa? Propendiamo per questa seconda ipotesi, vista la celerità con cui si mise il cuore in pace, non appena sfumata la possibilità di partire per le missioni d'oltremare. E visto anche che in altre occasioni minacciò di recarsi « fra' Turchi et Infedeli » (Doc. III, A), se non lo si

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 340, 349. Prima di decidere, Salistri si era consigliato col Domenicano p. Giacomo Ricci († 1703), procuratore generale del suo Ordine (1684-1703) e in precedenza segretario della S. Congregazione dell'Indice (1676-1684). *Ibid.*; I. TAURISANO, *Hierarchia Ordinis Praedicatorum*, Romae 1916, 105, 117. L'amicizia con il p. Giacomo — che era fratello del card. Michelangelo Ricci, penitente e benefattore del Molinos (cfr. nota 5) — è da considerarsi un'ulteriore prova del legame tra il Salistri e l'entourage molinosista. Sull'intervento del p. Ricci in favore delle opere di autori quietisti e contro quelle di autori antiquetisti, cfr. la lettera di Giovanni Pastrizio a François Malaval, Roma 19 III 1681. BAV, *Borg. lat.*, vol. 730, f. 144'.

Andrebbe approfondito se esiste un rapporto tra la scelta missionaria dello Scolopio e quella, analoga, che operarono religiosi appartenenti ad altri gruppi devoti della Roma del tempo. Come il p. Giovanni Mancini dei SS. Agostino e Monica (1664-1711), esempio fulgido di eroica virtù — partito proprio nel 1697 con la spedizione diretta in Cina — che apparteneva alla comunità degli Agostiniani Scalzi del convento di Gesù e Maria al Corso. Il p. Mancini — pur senza esserne membro e senza avere il minimo sentore dei disordini che vi si verificavano — era in relazione con il gruppo quietistico capeggiato da un suo confratello. Cfr. G. ORLANDI, *Il centro quietistico romano-tiburtino scoperto nel 1698. In margine alla « querelle » Bossuet-Fénelon*, in *Spicilegium Historicum C.SS.R.* 26 (1978) 371-373; I. BARBAGALLO, *Lineamenti di spiritualità missionaria degli Agostiniani Scalzi*, Roma [1979], 132-136, e *passim*. Cfr. anche note 90, 94.

⁷⁵ J. WICKI, *Unbewältigte Probleme in Indien, Ceylon und Birma*, in *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, a cura di J. METZLER, I/2, Rom-Freiburg-Wien 1972, 566-567.

⁷⁶ Pietro Paolo Palma di S. Francesco OCD († 1701), arcivescovo di Ancira i.p.i. (1696), era vicario apostolico del Bijâpur, con l'unione del regno di Idalkan e del Gran Mogol. Era fratello del principe Palma di S. Elia, e nipote, per parte di madre, di Innocenzo XII. *Ibid.*; RITZLER-SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica cit.*, V, 84.

⁷⁷ SANTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 340, 349; II, 57. Nel 1707 il p. Lora divenne superiore della Provincia Romana. PICANYOL, *op. cit.*, 82.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

liberava dai lacci dei suoi « emuli »: un tipo umano, che a quanto pare abbondava tra i suoi confratelli⁷⁹. Ma che non gli impedì di giungere fino alla carica di generale del suo Istituto, che ricoprì dal 1706 al 1712⁸⁰.

L'antica accusa di quietismo non precluse quindi al p. Salistri la possibilità di percorrere una brillante carriera. Eppure qualche rischio non mancò. Tanto che, per scrollarsi definitivamente di dosso la taccia di seguace del Molinos, nel 1699 si rivolse al tribunale dell'Inquisizione (Doc. III, A), che — con un provvedimento più unico che raro — gli rilasciò un attestato di assoluta innocenza (Doc. III, B).

Secondo il suo biografo, a tale passo il p. Salistri era stato indotto dai suoi nemici, che — temendone il rigore nel governo, lo zelo nell'apostolato e l'austerità della vita — volevano interrompere la sua ascesa, come infatti erano riusciti a farne annullare la nomina ad assistente generale. A nostro avviso questa interpretazione è solo parzialmente vera⁸¹. Nel 1697 era avvenuto qualcosa di nuovo e di molto importante: l'ingresso nella vita del p. Salistri di certa Olimpia Benedetta Mignastri, una pia contadina di Frosinone che divenne sua guida spirituale⁸². Per quanto singolare, tale inversione di ruoli non era affatto estranea agli annali ecclesiastici. Se ne avevano esempi in S. Basilio e in S. Cesario, diretti nello spirito dalle due Macrine; e, in tempi meno remoti — pur non salendo fino al Cinquecento —, in Raimondo da Capua, discepolo di S. Caterina da Siena⁸³. Anzi, era stata proprio questa Santa, in una visione dell'aprile del 1697, ad indurre il p. Salistri ad accettare la guida della Mignastri⁸⁴. Né, a quanto pare, egli era il suo unico figlio spirituale. I pochi elementi a nostra

⁷⁹ Non abbiamo ragioni di credere all'esistenza di una particolare litigiosità tra gli Scolopi del tempo, almeno in quest'area geografica. Perciò vien fatto di pensare che il gran numero di « nemici » che si incontra nelle biografie del Salistri sia una prova di una qualche forma di mania di persecuzione sofferta dal protagonista. A meno che non si tratti di un artificio letterario, una specie di *deus ex machina*, introdotto dai biografi nella narrazione per spiegare, in qualche modo, eventi di cui non si possono o non si vogliono indicare le vere cause.

⁸⁰ Dato che la situazione internazionale rendeva impossibile la convocazione del capitolo generale, il 1° V 1706 Clemente XI provvide direttamente ad eleggere il generale dell'Istituto nella persona del p. Salistri. PICANYOL, *op. cit.*, 13-15; SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 377-393.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 344. Cfr. note 97, 157-159.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 340-341, 350. La Mignastri morì a Roma nel marzo del 1712. A sua richiesta il Salistri, fra l'aprile del 1697 e il marzo del 1701, scrisse quelle che vanno sotto il titolo di *Epistolae autobiographicae*. SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 270, 341, 350; II, 150. Cfr. Doc. II.

⁸³ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 350; II, 150.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 150.

disposizione lasciano infatti pensare che attorno a lei si fosse formato un cenacolo di ecclesiastici e di laici⁸⁵. Simili riunioni, che in altri tempi sarebbero passate con ogni probabilità del tutto inosservate, in questo scorcio di secolo destavano i sospetti delle autorità, allarmate dalla sopravvivenza di conventicole molinosiste. Timori non certo infondati, del resto, dato che nei primi mesi del 1698 venne scoperto a Roma un centro quietista, i cui adepti — una trentina, tra uomini e donne — si abbandonavano a pratiche di una oscenità assai spinta⁸⁶. Uno dei capi di tale centro era il p. Pietro Paolo Graniti di S. Giovanni Evangelista OAD⁸⁷, in seguito condannato all'ergastolo, che venne arrestato il 1° maggio di quell'anno⁸⁸. Era solo un caso che il giorno 15 dello stesso mese il p. Salistri ricevesse dal generale, il p. Giovanni Francesco Foci di S. Pietro, l'ordine di partire da Roma per Firenze? La causa di questo repentino allontanamento era unicamente — come vorrebbe il biografo del Nostro — la vendetta di un superiore, confermato⁸⁹ nella carica da appena una settimana, che bramava di punire chi in occasione del recente capitolo generale si era battuto per disarcionarlo? Motivo che appare poco plausibile, almeno se preso da solo, perché l'autore di un simile provvedimento avrebbe inevitabilmente ed inutilmente inasprito il fronte dei suoi oppositori. Mentre ora, a vittoria ottenuta, aveva tutto l'interesse di placare gli animi, e quindi di mostrarsi magnanimo.

Ci sembra dunque più probabile che il generale ritenesse necessario allontanare al più presto il p. Salistri per sottrarlo ad un pericolo imminente e grave: per esempio, alle indagini dell'Inquisizione, intensificate dopo la scoperta di vari centri quietisti a Roma ed altrove⁹⁰. Come è noto, in quei mesi le autorità romane stavano anche esaminando le *Maximes des saints*, il libro di Fénelon accusato di quietismo da Bossuet. I sostenitori di quest'ultimo conducevano la loro lotta senza esclusione di colpi, non tralasciando occasione per sban-

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 341, 350-353.

⁸⁶ ORLANDI, *Il centro cit.*, 390 e *passim*.

⁸⁷ Il Graniti era nato a Roma il 22 IX 1658, e morì ad Acquaviva Picena (Ascoli Piceno) il 16 II 1737. Era stato confinato in detta località nel 1712, al momento della scarcerazione. *Ibid.*, 363, 398.

⁸⁸ Come eretico formale, il 26 XI 1698 il Graniti venne condannato dall'Inquisizione a duro e arto carcere perpetuo. *Ibid.*, 390.

⁸⁹ Dato che il capitolo non era riuscito ad operare la scelta di un nuovo generale, con il breve *Religionis zelus* del 7 V 1698 Innocenzo XII confermò il p. Foci (1650-1699). SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 342. Cfr. anche VIÑAS, *op. cit.*, II, Roma 1909, p. 258.

⁹⁰ ORLANDI, *Il centro cit.*, 356-362.

dierare i guasti che la dottrina del loro antagonista — la famosa teoria dell'« amor puro » — provocava nelle anime⁹¹. Erano stati quasi certamente loro a denunciare il p. Pietro Paolo Graniti ed i suoi complici e si poteva essere sicuri che non avrebbero ommesso di segnalare alle autorità qualsiasi altro gruppo sospetto, per minimi che fossero gli appigli che offriva. In questo clima, è ben comprensibile che al p. Salistri convenisse — pur non avendo nulla da rimproverarsi⁹² — accettare il trasferimento. Magari motivandolo con il profondo e ben noto contrasto che lo opponeva al generale. Agli stessi superiori conveniva del resto tenerlo lontano da Roma — a prescindere dai sentimenti che nutrivano nei suoi riguardi —, per evitare che l'Istituto venisse trascinato in qualche clamoroso infortunio⁹³. Il p. Foci, che era modenese, non poteva non essere rimasto turbato dalla notizia divulgatasi proprio in quei giorni con enorme scandalo che il consigliere ecclesiastico della legazione estense, mgr di Marsciano⁹⁴, era membro del gruppo quietistico del p. Graniti. Tanto più che le guardie dell'Inquisizione erano penetrate nella sede della legazione — situata presso la chiesa delle Stimmate, a qualche centinaio di metri dalla residenza del generale degli Scolopi — per operarvi alcuni arresti.

Prima della fine di maggio del 1698 il p. Salistri si recò dunque a Firenze. Ivi si fece ben presto raggiungere dalla Mignastri⁹⁵, non

⁹¹ J. ORCIBAL, *Documents pour une histoire doctrinale de la querelle du quietisme. Le procès des « Maximes des Saints » devant le Saint-Office (1697-1699). Avec la relation des Congrégations cardinales et les « Observations » inédites de Bossuet*, in *Archivio italiano per la storia della pietà*, V, Roma 1968; P. ZOVATTO, *La polemica Bossuet-Fénelon. Introduzione critico-bibliografica*, Padova 1968.

⁹² Il SÁNTHA (*op. cit.*, I, 342) ci tiene ad includere, tra le probabili cause dell'allontanamento di Salistri, anche la « insolitam ipsius necessitudinem, spiritualem utique, cum Olympia Benedicta Mignastri ».

⁹³ Tale preoccupazione era presente anche nella lettera del 6 IX 1687, indirizzata dal generale al provinciale di Firenze: « Sentirà per altra parte l'abiuazione fatta dal Molinos, e le 68 proposizioni sue dannate come eretiche, etc., da Sua Santità e dalla Sacra Congregazione dell'Inquisizione, e come l'opere sue così stampate come manuscritte e lettere devono subito consegnarsi o all'Ordinario o all'Inquisitore; non credo che di cotesti nostri religiosi vi sia alcuno di tali quietisti, e quando vi fosse la R.V. ci provveda per salute dell'anime e decoro della Religione ». AGSP, Reg. Gen. B 134, p. 599. Lettere analoghe furono inviate lo stesso giorno anche ai provinciali di Genova e di Napoli, e ai rettori di Ancona, Chieti, Gaeta e Narni (*ibid.*, pp. 598, 601, 603-606). Perché a loro, e non agli altri provinciali e rettori dell'Istituto? Il generale aveva forse qualche particolare motivo di metterli in guardia? Le teorie quietiste erano l'oggetto di uno studio (ms in AGSP, Reg. L-Sc, n° 237) del p. Felice Carrara della Purificazione (1644-1720): uno Scolopio di Barga (Lucca) che visse lungamente a Roma, dove fu anche penitenziere in S. Pietro. Cfr. AGSP, Reg. 3, p. 77; Reg. 37, p. 162.

⁹⁴ Su mgr Ranuccio di Marsciano (ca 1656-1705) cfr. ORLANDI, *Il centro cit.*, 375-382, 398.

⁹⁵ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 342-343, 351.

sappiamo se per il desiderio di continuare a godere dei suoi consigli, o per la necessità di sottrarla ad eventuali indagini delle autorità romane. E non sappiamo neppure perché tornò nella Città Eterna solo al termine di giugno del 1699, dato che il generale — colpito da apoplezia — già alla fine dell'anno precedente aveva manifestato il desiderio di riconciliarsi con lui ⁹⁶. Perché il p. Salistri si lasciò sfuggire questa insperata occasione di interrompere l'involontario esilio nella sua propria patria? Con ogni probabilità egli voleva prima accertarsi delle reali intenzioni nei suoi confronti di chi sarebbe subentrato nella carica di generale al p. Foci, la cui scomparsa non poteva essere che prossima. Ma non è neppure da escludere che il p. Salistri ritenesse opportuno attendere la conclusione della *querelle* Bossuet-Fénelon (12 marzo 1699), e di conseguenza un allentamento della vigilanza da parte dell'Inquisizione e dei suoi interessati informatori. Evidentemente si rendeva conto che l'antica accusa di aver nutrito simpatie molinosiste non era stata dimenticata. Anzi ne ebbe un'ulteriore prova di lì a poco, allorché i suoi oppositori all'interno dell'Istituto la utilizzarono ancora una volta contro di lui. Tanto da costringerlo a chiedere all'Inquisizione quella dichiarazione di innocenza di cui si è precedentemente parlato ⁹⁷.

Il lettore si domanderà forse quale fu la sorte dei confratelli del p. Salistri, che, dieci anni prima, della suddetta accusa erano stati i principali propalatori. Il p. Incisa lasciò l'Istituto per passare ai Premonstratensi ⁹⁸, mentre il p. Ceccarini morì il 14 agosto 1706 nel collegio di Oristano ⁹⁹.

Fedeli alla promessa di occuparci di un solo aspetto della vita del p. Giovanni Crisostomo Salistri di S. Paolo — deceduto a Roma il 10 dicembre 1717 ¹⁰⁰ —, concludiamo qui la nostra ricerca. Con l'auspicio che essa valga a suscitare nuovo interesse per una figura non priva di fascino. E nella speranza che costituisca una piccola tessera per la ricostruzione di quel grande mosaico che è il Seicento: un secolo che non finisce di stupirci con la sua ricchezza.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 343.

⁹⁷ Cfr. note 81, 159.

⁹⁸ In AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 145 è detto semplicemente: « Transivit ad Monachos Premonstratenses Avenionenses ». Ma non viene specificato in che anno ciò avvenne.

⁹⁹ Riguardo al p. Ceccarini la stessa fonte (p. 86) ci informa: « Objit die 14 Augusti 1706 Orestani in Sardinia febris maligna et diarrea, omnibus Sacramentis munitus ». Cfr. anche AGSP, Reg. Rel. 37, p. 22, n. 23.

¹⁰⁰ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, II, 147.

DOCUMENTI

I

Indagini dell'Inquisizione di Firenze e di Modena
a carico del p. Salistri (1690)

Il 7 maggio 1690, allorché il p. Giuseppe Ceccarini di S. Elisabetta si presentò nel S. Ufficio di Firenze a denunciare il p. Giovanni Crisostomo Salistri di S. Paolo, la sua deposizione venne naturalmente verbalizzata (A, 1-2). Il 30 maggio l'Inquisizione fiorentina inviò all'inquisitore di Modena copia della suddetta denuncia, o meglio uno stralcio di essa, dato che dei ventuno capi d'accusa vennero trascritti solo i quattro che riguardavano la presunta adesione del Salistri alle teorie quietiste. Nello stesso tempo lo incaricava di interrogare per rogatoria il p. Giuseppe Galanti di Gesù e Maria, residente nel collegio di Fanano e teste a carico del Salistri (B, 1). Il risultato fu deludente per i nemici dell'ex rettore degli Scolopi di Firenze, perché la deposizione del p. Galanti — resa il 12 luglio — lo scagionava praticamente da ogni addebito, e tracciava anzi un quadro della sua persona e del suo governo tutt'altro che negativo (B, 2). Non ci è stato possibile cercare a Firenze eventuali tracce del processo ivi intentato contro il p. Salistri. Comunque le speranze di un risultato positivo dovevano essere assai scarse, se — come assicura J. TEDESCHI (*La dispersione degli Archivi dell'Inquisizione Romana*, in *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 9 [1973] 302) — quattro volumi rappresentano « tutto quanto resta dell'Archivio dell'Inquisizione in Firenze ».

I documenti che qui pubblichiamo si conservano in ASMo, Inquisizione, fil. 86 (Processi 1686-1691).

A

1

Die 7 Maii 1690

Spontè et personaliter comparuit coram Admodum Reverendo Patre Magistro Ludovico Petronio Vicario Generali S. Officii Florentiae, existente in Aula S. Officii Florentiae, in meique, etc., Reverendus Pater Joseph a Sancta Elisabet Romanus, Religionis Scholarum Piarum Sacerdos, aetatis annorum 45 et prout, etc., petens audiri in S. Officio pro exoneratione suae conscientiae, et data ei facultate cum

juramento de veritate dicenda, quod praestitit tactis Sacrosanctis Evangeliiis, deposuit ut infra.

« Saranno undici mesi fa che il Padre Giovanni Grisostomo di S. Paolo della mia Religione venne in questo nostro convento della Madonna de' Ricci, ove io da tre anni in circa sono stato di stanza, per rettore. Questo in certe conferenze solite farsi da' superiori nostri ogni domenica doppo l'oratione mentale della sera, che in tempo d'estate si fa avanti vespro e l'inverno di sera¹⁰¹, disse molte propositioni coerenti alla dottrina del Molinos, anzi molte che sono l'istesse di quelle che sono state dannate, le quali io ho scritto in questo foglio, e lo consegnò a questo S. Ufficio per sgravio di mia coscienza, avendo in esso notate tutte quelle propositioni che al medesimo Padre Giovanni Grisostomo di S. Paolo ho sentito dire in diversi tempi, ora nelle conferenze suddette, ora nelle ricreazioni nostre comuni che si fanno doppo pranzo e doppo la cena ».

Et exhibuit quartam partem folii scripti in utraque parte, et incipit: « I. Che egli puole e vuole insegnare a fare orazione, etc. », et desinit: « 21. l'ho dichiarato innocente il mostrare imperturbabilità »¹⁰². Quod Pater supradictus Admodum Reverendus acceptavit si et in quantum, et fuit signatum littera A. Et deinde dixit: « Queste sono propositioni che ho sentito di dire al suddetto Padre in diversi tempi, come sopra ».

Interrogatus ubi, quando et quibus praesentibus supradictus Pater Joannes Grisostomus dixerit propositiones in folio exhibito contentas,

Respondit: « Le suddette propositioni l'ha dette nel luogo istesso dove si fa l'oratione mentale, che l'estate [è] in chiesa serrata, e l'inverno nell'oratorio, e quelle che appartengano all'oratione, che sono le quattro prime, l'ha dette mentre sermoneggiava a' Padri in quest'anno ch'è stato rettore, e non mi posso ricordare dei giorni precisi, e vi erano presenti fra gli altri Padri il Padre Giuseppe di Giesù Maria, che ora sta a Fanano ».

Quibus habitis, etc.

Praesens copia extracta fuit a suo originali, relictis, etc. in quo collationata concordat, salvo semper, etc.

Fr. Franciscus Antonius Frati
Cancellarius S. Officii Florentiae

¹⁰¹ Cfr. nota 108.

¹⁰² Se — come tutto lascia credere — abbiamo esattamente decifrato questo brano, i capi d'accusa contro Salistri erano 21, di cui solo quattro relativi al quietismo.

2

Copia folii signati littera A¹⁰³

1. Che egli puole e vuole insegnare a fare oratione in modo che in termine di sei mesi e non più qualsivoglia persona arrivi ad una somma perfezione et unione con Dio.

2. Che all'acquisto di questa perfezione ci si giunge con riporsi in una totale indifferenza della sua volontà.

3. Che giunto che sia uno alla perfezione di questa indifferenza, non ha più bisogno né di regole, né di precetti, né di Legge Divina, perché da sé l'uomo opera tutto ciò ch'è voler di Dio.

4. Che per quello ch'ha acquistato questa perfetta indifferenza è spento affatto il peccato, etc.

B

1

Die 2 Julii 1690

Cum Reverendissimus P. Inquisitor Generalis S. Officii Mutinae accepisset literas sibi transmissas ab Admodum Reverendo P. Vicario Generali S. Officii Florentiae, in quibus instabat ut examinaret P. Joseph a Jesu Maria ordinis Scholarum Piarum commorantem de praesenti in terra Fanani, citatum in testem in quadam depositione actitata in eodem S. Officio Florentiae, et cum eisdem literis hunc transmissa contra P. Joannem Chrysostomum a S. Paulo eiusdem religionis super quibusdam propositionibus a Sacra Suprema Congregatione damnatis. Quae litterae sunt tenoris praesentis, videlicet:

Intus: « Reverendissimo Padre Signor Padron Colendissimo. Mi vedo costretto in assenza di questo mio P. Inquisitore¹⁰⁴ inco-

¹⁰³ Cfr. nota 113.

¹⁰⁴ Ignoriamo chi fosse allora inquisitore a Firenze. Il 27 X 1691 la Segreteria di Stato informava la nunziatura di Firenze che quell'inquisitore era stato promosso alla sede vescovile di Minori nel Regno di Napoli, vacante da agosto per la morte di mgr. Domenico Menna. ASV-SS, Nunziatura di Firenze, Reg. 202, f. 200. Ma non risulta che Gennaro Crispino (1652-1714), succeduto al Menna il 10 III 1692, sia mai stato inquisitore: era rettore del seminario di Napoli, canonico, e per di più accusato di quietismo. RITZLER-SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica* cit., V, 270; R. DE MAIO, *Società e vita religiosa a Napoli nell'età moderna (1656-1799)*, Napoli 1971, 175-176.

modar V.P. Reverendissima. E' stato denontiato, come potrà vedere dall'inclusa, un Padre delle Scuole Pie in materia di quietismo, e perché è stato nominato un tal P. Giuseppe di Gesù Maria che ora sta a Fanano, giurisdizione di V.P. Reverendissima, perciò li mando l'acclusa copia delli atti e della materia sopra la quale è statto nominato il detto P. Giuseppe, acciò habbia la bontà di compiacersi di farlo esaminare.

« Mi compatisca del incomodo, e rassegnandoli la mia riverente osservanza humilmente la riverisco, e bacciandoli le sagre mani resto di V.P. Reverendissima.

Firenze 30 Maggio 1690

Humilissimo, divotissimo, obbedientissimo
servo vero
Fr. Ludovico Petronio
Vicario Generale del S. Ufficio di Firenze

A tergo: « Al Reverendissimo P. Signor Padron Colendissimo, il P. Inquisitore Generale di Modona, al S. Ufficio ».

Depositio vero cum dictis literis transmissa, fuit per me infrascriptum in actis apposita et incipit: « Die 7 Maii 1690. Sponte personaliter comparuit coram Admodum [Reverendo] Patre Magistro Ludovico Vicario S. Officii, etc., Reverendus P. Joseph a S. Elisabet, Religionis Scholarum Piarum Sacerdos », et desinit: « Fr. Franciscus Antonius Frati Cancellarius S. Officii Florentiae ».

In quorum executione scripsit Reverendissimus P. Inquisitor Vicario Foraneo S. Officii Fanani, et ipsi mandavit ut faceret praeceptum P. Joseph a S. Maria [sic] ordinis Scholarum Piarum quatenus quamprimo comparere debeat in hoc S. Ufficio ad effectum ipsum examinandi super praedictis.

Ita est
F. Hyeronimus Maria Medolagus¹⁰⁵ de Bergamo
Notarius S. Officii

¹⁰⁵ Gerolamo Maria Medolago OP, di Bergamo, fu inquisitore di Modena dal 1739 al 1744. Proveniva dall'Inquisizione di Fermo, e passò a quella di Brescia. ASMo, Inquisizione, fil. 142, Reg. 71. Cfr. anche fil. 145/b.

Die 12 Julii 1690

Coram Reverendissimo P. Inquisitore¹⁰⁶ Mutinae existente in camera suae residentiae in meique, etc., vocatus comparuit Admodum Reverendus P. Joseph a Jesu Maria, ordinis Scholarum Piarum Sacerdos, aetatis suae annorum 38, ut ipse dixit, qui sibi delato iuramento veritatis dicendae prout iuravit tactis sacris literis, interrogatus respondit ut infra.

Interrogatus quomodo huc accesserit,

Respondit: « Son venuto per far l'obbedienza del Reverendissimo P. Inquisitore in virtù d'un bilietto del P. Reverendissimo, presentatomi dal mio P. Rettore, d'ordine del Arciprete di Fanano Vicario del S. Ufficio, col quale m'ordinava che dovessi presentarmi a questo S. Ufficio, come ho fatto ».

Interrogatus an sciat, vel saltem praesumat, causam suae vocationis et praesertim examinis,

Respondit: « Io non so per imaginatione la causa per la quale mi vogliono esaminare ».

Interrogatus ubi de praesenti moram faciat, et a quanto tempore infra,

Respondit: « Io di presente son di stanza nel mio convento di S. Giuseppe di Fanano¹⁰⁷, e vi andai il passato mese d'ottobre; e prima io dimoravo nel nostro convento della Madonna de' Ricci di Firenze, dove son stato duoi anni quest'ultima volta, et un'altra volta vi dimorai un anno ».

Interrogatus quis tunc temporis fuerit rector illius conventus Sanctae Mariae de Riccis Florentiae,

Respondit: « Quest'ultima volta che io son statto in Fiorenza, era rettore di questo convento il P. Giovanni Crisostomo di S. Paolo ».

Interrogatus an fuerit solitus dictus P. Rector sermones habere fratribus, et quatenus, etc., quando, et qua occasione,

Respondit: « Noi habiamo per constitutione che i nostri Padri

¹⁰⁶ Si trattava del p. Ippolito Maria Martinelli OP († 1692), che fu inquisitore di Modena dal 1672 al 1692. Proveniva dall'Inquisizione di Bergamo. ASMo, Inquisizione, fil. 142; ASMo, Regolari, fil. 73.

¹⁰⁷ Il collegio di Fanano era stato fondato nel 1621 e venne soppresso nel 1805. Cfr. N. PEDROCCHI, *Storia di Fanano*, a cura di A. SORBELLI, Fanano 1927; L. PICANYOL, *Le Scuole Pie di Fanano*, Roma 1941; Id., *Brevis conspectus* cit., 136.

Rettori faciano un discorso a' suoi Religiosi del osservanza regolare, e questo regolarmente si fa doppo l'oration mentale della sera, che di estate sarà circa le 18 hore e l'inverno verso le 3 di notte¹⁰⁸. Alle volte però invece di questi discorsi si legge qualche libro spirituale, doppo del quale il Superiore dimanda a chi li piace il frutto che ne ha cavato, ma il P. Giovanni Crisostomo quando fu Rettore fece sempre i suoi discorsi, come homo virtuoso ».

Interrogatus an ipse examinatus semper interfuerit sermonibus habitis a dicto P. Joanne Crisostomo et, quatenus sic, an recordetur alicuius propositionis notabilis ab ipso dictae,

Respondit: « Io mi son quasi sempre trovato presente alli discorsi del P. Giovanni Crisostomo di S. Paolo, eccettuatone il tempo delle vacanze che incomincia a S. Marco, quanto a quelli dell'umanità che era mia professione¹⁰⁹, e termina alli Santi, nel qual tempo io mi trattenevo in villa, ma tutta l'altra parte del anno io intervenivo con li altri religiosi all'oration mentale et al discorso. Quanto al ricordarmi poi quello che si dicesse il P. Giovanni Crisostomo, ho memoria che cominciò i suoi discorsi dalla bolla confirmatoria della nostra religione¹¹⁰, e fondava ordinariamente i suoi discorsi sopra un capittolo delle nostre costituzioni¹¹¹, promovendo con gran rigor l'osservanza che la voleva esattissima. Inculcava anche con ogni calore l'oratione, sopra la quale per ordinario discoreva ».

Interrogatus an recordetur alicuius notabilis propositionis dictae ab eodem Patre in suis sermonibus circa orationem,

Respondit: « Mi ricordo d'alcune propositioni dette dal P. Giovanni Crisostomo nei suoi sermoni circa l'oratione, e tra le altre che voleva e gli bastava l'animo d'insegnare a qualsivoglia persona in poco tempo di arrivare ad una somma perfezione et unione con Dio, e che al acquisto di questa perfetione vi si giunge con ripporsi uno in una total indifferenza della sua volontà, e con questo inculcava et esortava i religiosi alla frequenza del oration mentale. Pol essere che io habbia sentito qualch'altra propositione simile, ma non ne ho precisa memoria. Mi sovien bene che s'andava mormorando da' religiosi, non solo del troppo rigore del Padre, ma molto più che questa dottrina s'accostasse un puoco all'oratione della quiete del Molinos ».

¹⁰⁸ Cfr. note 101, 145.

¹⁰⁹ Cfr. nota 112.

¹¹⁰ Probabilmente il p. Galanti si riferiva alla bolla *In supremo Apostolatus solio* del 18 XI 1621. Cfr. *Bullarium Religionis Scholarum Piarum*, Matriti 1899, 22-23.

¹¹¹ Nel *Textus originalis Constitutionum a S.P.N. exaratarum* (a. 1622) si legge, a proposito del *De Capitulo Culparum, et mortificationibus habendis*: « Similiter sin-

Interrogatus an recordetur praecise de tempore quo dictas propositiones audivit,

Respondit: « Io, dette propositioni so di certo d'haverle udite nell'estate dell'anno passato, ma non mi ricordo precisamente del giorno né del mese, ma sarà facilmente statto il mese di luglio ».

Interrogatus quoties audiverit dictas propositiones,

Respondit: « So di certo che le ho sentite una volta e puol esser ancora che le habbia sentite altre volte, ma non lo posso affermare con giuramento ».

Interrogatus an, praeter dictas, audiverit alias propositiones a P. Joanne Crisostomo de S. Paulo, cohaerentes aliquomodo doctrinae Molinos,

Respondit: « Per esser molto tempo non mi ricordo veramente se io habbia sentite altre propositioni coerenti al insegnamento di Molinos da detto P. Giovanni Crisostomo. Mi ricordo bene che dolendomi una volta privattamente con lui di non haver tempo di dormire per il rigor ch'usava nel far levare a bon hora i religiosi al oratione mentale, e perché mi conveniva impiegare tutto il giorno nel mio esercizio dell'umanità ch'insegnavo in Fiorenza¹¹², perché havevo bisogno di più riposo, egli mi rispose che voleva insegnarmi il modo di dormire continuamente in tutt'i modi che volevo, e dove volevo, con sonno più gustoso che quel del letto, ma non mi discese poi al particolare, perché io inclinavo puoco a questo modo d'oratione, e questo me lo disse da solo a solo in camera sua verso il fin d'agosto, o principio di settembre [del 1689] ».

Interrogatus an, si sibi legerentur aliquae propositiones in ordine ad orationem, posset recordari illas aliquando audivisse,

Respondit: « Per la gratia di Dio la memoria l'ho buona, e se l'havrò intese, facilmente me ne ricorderò ».

Tunc per me infrascriptum fuerunt sibi lectae propositiones in transmissa depositione appositae [cfr. Doc. I, A, 2], et asseruntur dictae a P. Joanne Crisostomo de S. Paulo in suis sermonibus, habitis ad religiosos sui ordinis dum officio rectoris fungeretur in praefato

gulis Dominicis diebus Capitulum ad mortificationem exercendam fiet, in quo habita a superiore, vel alio de eius ordine, brevi de necessitate mortificationis passionum sermone, aliquas illa hebdomada mortificationes exequentur, ut infra dicitur, ut, ita passione eradicata, altius in mente virtus imprimatur ». *Constitutiones Ordinis Clericorum Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum una cum annexis ad mentem Capituli Generalis Specialis*, Romae 1971, 29.

¹¹² Nel 1686 la classe di umanità del collegio di Firenze contava 55 alunni. Nell'estate del 1689 il p. Galanti aveva inutilmente chiesto di essere trasferito in Sicilia. AGSP, Reg. Prov. A 18, n. 30, p. 14; Reg. Gen. B 134, p. 1262. Cfr. nota 109.

conventu S. Mariae de Riccis Florentiae, quae sunt sequentes ¹¹³:

« Prima: Ch'elli puole e vol insegnare a far oratione in modo che in termine di sei mesi e non più qual si voglia persona arrivi ad una somma perfectione et unione con Dio.

« Seconda: Ch'all'acquisto di questa perfezione vi si giunge con rippersi uno in una total indifferenza della sua volontà.

« Terza: Che gionto che sia uno alla perfezione di questa indifferenza non ha più bisogno né di regole, né di precetti, né di Legge Divina, perché da sé l'homo oppera tutto ciò ch'è voller di Dio.

« Quarta: Che per quello che ha acquistato questa perfetta indifferenza, è spento afato il peccato ».

Quibus ab ipso attente auditis et consideratis, dixit: « Quanto alle prime due mi ricordo benissimo d'haverle udite una volta, come ho detto sopra, in un discorso o sia conferenza come chiamiamo noi del detto P. Giovanni Crisostomo ¹¹⁴. Quanto alla terza, non mi pare d'haverla sentita nel modo che V.P. me l'ha letta, ma bensì toltone quella particola « di Legge Divina », onde in sostanza quella che ho sentito io è questa che, gionto che sia uno alla perfezione di questa indifferenza, non ha più bisogno né di regola, né di precetti, perché da sé l'homo opera tutto ciò ch'è voler di Dio. Quanto alla quarta, io so d'haverla intesa, ma non mi ricordo se da lui medemo nella conferenza, o pure dalli altri Padri doppo, quando se ne mormorava tra noi, parendo che fossero propositioni spropositate; si come anche della terza propositione non mi ricordo precisamente se l'abbia intesa immediatamente da lui, come però mi pare, o pure dalli altri religiosi nel istesso modo » ¹¹⁵.

Interrogatus quinam religiosi essent tum temporis in conventu S. Mariae de Riccis Florentiae,

Respondit: « In quell'estate vi erano il P. Angelo provinciale ¹¹⁶, quale però non veniva alla conferenza, il p. Giovanni Domenico ¹¹⁷,

¹¹³ Cfr. nota 103.

¹¹⁴ Cfr. nota 62.

¹¹⁵ Cfr. nota 63.

¹¹⁶ P. Angelo della Concezione, al secolo Francesco Bertini, lucchese, n. 4 III 1634, vest. Pisa 8 XII 1649, prof. sempl. Pieve di Cento 8 III 1657, sac. Comacchio (?) 23 IV 1658, prof. sol. Firenze 21 XI 1669, m. Castiglion Fiorentino 4 II 1700. Fu provinciale di Toscana dal 1683 al 1686, e dal 1689 al 1692. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p.32; PICANYOL, *Brevis conspectus* cit., 128. Cfr. note 18, 31.

¹¹⁷ P. Giovanni Domenico di S. Vincenzo, al secolo Giovanni Rossini, lucchese, n. 18 X 1637, vest. Pisa 12 IV 1654, prof. sempl. Fanano 18 XII 1657, sac. Pistoia 25 III 1662, prof. sol. Firenze 21 XI 1669, m. ivi 18 XII 1717. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 34.

il P. Giuseppe di S. Elisabetta, il P. Michele di S. Alessio¹¹⁸, il P. Paolo di S. Giuseppe¹¹⁹, il P. Benedetto di S. Vittore¹²⁰, il P. Stefano¹²¹, il P. Pietro Paolo¹²², il P. Giovanni Alberto¹²³, il P. Giuseppe Maria di Santa Teresa¹²⁴, il P. Zenobio¹²⁵, il Fratello Filippo Andrea¹²⁶, il Fratello Almerico¹²⁷, et altri de' quali non mi ricordo il nome »¹²⁸.

Interrogatus in quo loco habeatur in dicto conventu praedicta oratio mentalis,

Respondit: « Nel oratorio, eccettuato nel estate che si fa in chiesa serrata ».

Quibus habitis dimissus fuit, imposito sibi silentio sub eodem iuramento, et pro confirmatione praedictorum se subscripsit.

Ego P. Joseph ab Jesu Maria affirmo ut supra
Ita est. Hyeronimus Medolago de Bergamo
Nottarius S. Officii Mutinae

¹¹⁸ P. Michele di S. Alessio, al secolo Giovanni Bondi, n. Fanano XII 1645, vest. Roma 13 XI 1667, prof. sempl. 15 XI 1668, sac. Pistoia 2 XII 1670, m. Firenze 30 III 1692. *Ibid.*, p. 125.

¹¹⁹ P. Paolo di S. Giuseppe, al secolo Giovanni Giovannoli, n. Castiglione (dioc. Lucca) 23 III 1655, vest. Firenze 7 IV 1670, prof. sol. ivi 4 X 1671, m. Roma 2 VIII 1719. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 37, p. 150; Viñas, *op. cit.*, I, 312.

¹²⁰ Benedetto di S. Vittore, al secolo Benedetto Fantucci, fiorentino, n. 18 IV 1656, vest. Firenze V 1669, prof. sol. ivi 19 IV 1672, sac. Ancona 15 VI 1680, m. Firenze 16 II 1725. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 152.

¹²¹ P. Stefano di S. Antonio P., al secolo Stefano Castelli, senese, n. 29 IX 1654, vest. Roma 1 V 1670, prof. sol. ivi 1 V 1672, sac. Firenze 1678, m. 21 XII 1725. *Ibid.*; AGSP, Reg. Rel. 37, p. 217, n. 57.

¹²² P. Pietro Paolo del Nome di Maria, al secolo Pietro Bernardi, n. Verghereto (dioc. Sarzana) 12 IV 1657, vest. Firenze 7 V 1673, prof. sol. ivi 21 V 1674, m. Roma 7 I 1712. *Ibid.*, p. 60; AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 175; Viñas, *op. cit.*, II, p. 350.

¹²³ Probabilmente si trattava del p. Giovanni Gualberto di S. Sigismondo, al secolo Antonio Francesco Conti, fiorentino, n. 1° III 1657, vest. Firenze 12 VII 1671, prof. sol. ivi 5 III 1673, m. ivi 14 VIII 1739. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 161; Reg. Rel. 38, p. 154, n. 504.

¹²⁴ P. Giuseppe Maria di S. Teresa, al secolo Giuseppe Maria Angelini, n. Pieve di Cento (archid. Bologna) 4 X 1659 (?), vest. Firenze 5 III 1673, prof. sol. ivi 15 X 1674, m. Castiglione Fiorentino 25 VIII 1744. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 179.

¹²⁵ P. Zenobio di S. Sigismondo, al secolo Domenico Orlandi, fiorentino, n. 8 VII 1662, vest. Firenze 4 XII 1678, prof. sol. ivi 5 XII 1680, m. Castiglione Fiorentino 24 I 1742. *Ibid.*, p. 232; Reg. Rel. 38, p. 172, n. 595.

¹²⁶ Di fr. Filippo Andrea di S. Francesco sappiamo soltanto che era « loci Cingii Dioc. Albensis », e che aveva fatto la professione a Genova il 30 XI 1660. AGSP, Reg. Rel. 71 A, n. 152.

¹²⁷ Di questo religioso non abbiamo trovato alcuna notizia.

¹²⁸ *Catalogus Familiarum cuiusque Domus Scholarum Piarum Provinciae Etruriae, Calendis Januarij 1688*, in AGSP, Reg. Prov. A. 18, n. 31.

Note autobiografiche del p. G.C. Salistri

Quelle che vanno sotto il nome di *Lettere autobiografiche* (o *Epistolarum autobiographicarum*) furono scritte dal p. Salistri, fra l'aprile del 1697 e il marzo del 1701, su richiesta di Olimpia Benedetta Mignastri, sua guida spirituale (cfr. nota 82). Esse costituiscono un importante documento per conoscere l'evoluzione interiore dello Scolopio, dalla prima giovinezza all'inizio del Settecento. Sono raccolte in un volume di cm. 13, 5 x 21, di ff. 604, conservato in AGSP, Reg. Serv. Dei 64. Cfr. anche SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 270, 341, 350; II, 150.

1. - 1697 V 14, Roma. Dalla lettera n° 24. *Lettere cit.*, pp. 103-104.

Fu preso in quei tempi il Mulinos dal Santo Ufficio, per il che in Roma per più di due anni si fece un gran dire; e perché io havevo per alquante volte parlato con lui, fui tacciato di mulinista da certi amici. Mi sopportai l'ingiuria, con rispondere che non sapevo haver consortio di male per averci parlato, mentre altri personaggi che io non ero havevano havuto la di lui familiarità¹²⁹. Nientedimeno Nostro Signore mi diede uno stimolo di spiegare in carta tutti li miei sentimenti, e lo feci in due giornate (mi pare) così a lungo, con metodo dottrinale, come // 104 // non haverei fatto con studiarci un mese. Non spiegai ivi caso alcuno sperimentato da me, come faccio con la Carità Vostra¹³⁰, ma scrissi come magistralmente, perché fosse riconosciuta, se la mia dottrina haveva vitio. E poi questo scritto lo sottoposi alla censura del P. Giovanni Francesco di S. Romolo¹³¹, lettore di teologia, acciò mi dicesse sinceramente il suo sentimento. Egli lo lesse, e mi approvò essere dottrina conforme alli insegnamenti de' Santi. E con questo seguitai a fare il fatto mio *coram Deo*.

2. - 1697 V 19, Roma. Dalla lettera n° 26. *Lettere cit.* p. 118.

In questo mentre mi mandarono da Roma la patente di Rettore di quella casa [professa di Firenze], et io presi quel primo go-

¹²⁹ Chiara allusione ai personaggi altolocati — tra cui lo stesso Innocenzo XI — che, data la loro posizione, avrebbero dovuto essere ben più cauti nei confronti di Molinos. Cfr. note 1-10; 74.

¹³⁰ Si ricordi che la destinataria del documento era Olimpia Benedetta Mignastri.

¹³¹ Di sacerdoti con questo nome i cataloghi degli Scolopi ne segnalano due, entrambi appartenenti alla Provincia di Genova, che al secolo si chiamavano rispettivamente Giovanni Francesco Martini (1675-1747), e Giovanni Francesco Musso (1658-1690). AGSP, Reg. Rel. 3, I, p. 174; II, p. 108, n. 3.

verno con tanta confusione, che non so, quando mi baciavano le mani, se l'anima mia stava in quel luogo. Questo governo lo sa Iddio che lo facevo secondo le regole della religione, ma riuscì non so se di maggior mortificazione a me o agli altri. Certo è che la mortificazione degli altri a me fu di maggior dispiacere che la mia propria; e tanto più, quando la consideravo che io n'ero la causa. Ma che dovevo fare? La coscienza mi dettava all'ora l'esser zelante, rigoroso, severo, e non so come, perché avvertito a non esser tanto rigoroso. In fatti non sapevo che fare, mentre il rigore l'esercitavo in me stesso, e nelle conferenze o sermoni, in cui mostravo quello [che] si doveva fare per la perfezione e per l'Istituto; e poi negli altri non mi pareva se non essere continuo a permettere, concedere, e compatire e condonare; ma nelli mali manifesti non sapevo tacere, per l'obbligo dell'ufficio.

3. - 1697 V 19, Roma. Dalla lettera n° 26. *Lettere cit.*, p. 120.

L'humiliatione¹³² fu che quasi tutti i miei religiosi, chi per un motivo e chi per un altro, hebbero che riprendere e rimproverare in me; et io restai solo, sino ad essere per la città tenuto come eretico e molinista; il che mi scottò più di tutte le altre cose; e però mi lasciai consigliare in tal caso da un amico d'andare al Santo Tribunale, per avvisarlo in caso di denuntia, protestandomi che sapevo di non errare in materia di fede; e questo feci anche con lettera a Roma appresso li miei superiori.

L'esaltatione fu che in questi frangenti io fui eletto visitatore della Polonia et Ungheria, mentre si trattava da alcuni di farmi dare lo sfratto da Fiorenza; et io affidato alla sola obediienza diedi il consenso, et a puntino mi messi ad esequire quanto il P. Generale mi impose per lettere; il che mi liberò da maggiori affanni, et in sieme questa esaltatione mi produsse maggiori humiliationi¹³³. Sia lode a Dio.

4. - 1697 VI 3, Roma. Dalla lettera n° 32. *Lettere cit.*, pp. 163-165.

In Roma arrivammo ben bagnati dalla pioggia, et ivi dopo tanto viaggio e strapazzi senza haver patito in due anni freddura alcu-

¹³² Salistri aveva concluso il periodo precedente dicendo di aver chiesto a Dio di esser umiliato, e in seguito di essere esaltato: ambedue le domande erano state esaudite.

¹³³ L'accenno è qui alle traversie incontrate da Salistri durante la sua missione oltralpe. Cfr. SÁNTA, *op. cit.*, I, 305-308.

na, allora fui da una buona flussione di petto occupato. In tanto io mi // 163 // presentai al Santo Tribunale dell'Inquisitione per terminare la mia causa. Et all' hora mi veddi da per tutto lasciato solo come mostrato a dito, e ricevetti certi amari saluti che a me non sta bene riferirli, ma ben sì mi penetrarono al vivo. Si aspettavano che io restassi prigione, e tanto basti; e con questo, fondati sopra le ciarle che in simili accidenti si sogliono fare, sospesero ogni disegno sopra di me, lasciandomi come morto a tutti. La comparsa giuridica fu il giorno di S. Pietro Martire e di S. Catarina da Siena mia Maestra, mattina e giorno, et il P. Alberto Cevolini¹³⁴, Compagno del P. Commissario, con li notari mi esaminò a lungo sopra del grosso processo contro di me fabricato. Io tengo per certa evidenza che la mia celeste Maestra mi stiede a canto, instruendomi e suggerendomi la verità del fatto nel rispondere; e mi fece con somma pace ricordare minutamente tutti li successi per evacuare quella machina, e distintamente mi suggerì tutte le cose passate già [da] più di due anni, doppo tante altre cose che mi erano passate per la testa. Si come parimente dalla parte // 164 // et al fianco di quel buon Padre che mi esaminò assisteva S. Pietro Martire, stando ambidue questi Santi a dirimpetto guardandosi, e come in favore mio, acciò la verità della fede e della mia innocenza havessero il suo diritto. Et io restai a questi Santi perpetuamente obligato, perché naturalmente io non haverei potuto cavare i piedi da così grosso imbarazzo. Doppo alcuni giorni il detto P. Compagno mi fece intendere et intimò alli notari che chiudessero il mio processo con la resolutione della Sacra Congregatione, la quale mi rilassava il mandato et imponeva che non fussi sotto alcuna molestia¹³⁵. E pur io non restai pago di questo, ma perché sapevo che in Fiorenza mi erano stati levati tutti li scritti, nelli quali non avevano trovato errore alcuno, io supplicai la medesima Sacra Congregatione che, stante la mia innocenza, mi aggratiasse che mi fossero restituiti li scritti, et essa benignamente mi aggratiò, scrivendo che quel Sacro Tribunale di Fiorenza restituisse il tutto a chi io havessi ordinato, il che seguì nelle mani // 165 // del P. Sigismondo di S. Silverio allora provinciale¹³⁶, e così Iddio in questa parte mi fece gratia.

¹³⁴ Commissario del S. Ufficio era allora il bolognese p. Tommaso Maria Bosi OP (+ 1705), che ricoprì tale carica dal 1688 al 1705. Il TAURISANO (*op. cit.*, p. 75) gli attribuì per compagni il p. Prospero da Parma e il p. Cappasanta, ma non il p. Cevolini.

¹³⁵ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 305, 312.

¹³⁶ Il p. Sigismondo Coccapani di S. Silverio (cfr. nota 53) fu provinciale di Toscana tre volte: 1676-1683, 1692-1695, 1698-1700. PICANYOL, *Brevis conspectus cit.*, 128.

III

Il p. Salistri è dichiarato innocente dall'Inquisizione

Il primo dei documenti che pubblichiamo è la richiesta indirizzata, nel luglio del 1699, dal p. Salistri ai cardinali dell'Inquisizione per ottenere una dichiarazione comprovante l'assoluta infondatezza delle accuse elevate contro di lui (A).

Il secondo è l'attestato rilasciato allo Scolopio il 22 luglio, in deroga a qualsiasi prassi in merito, dal suddetto tribunale (B).

Data la rarità di tale specie di documenti, abbiamo ritenuto opportuno proporli all'attenzione del lettore, anche se non sono inediti: li ha già pubblicati il SÁNTHA (*op. cit.*, I, 347-348), ma con alcune varianti. Cfr. anche nota 79.

Gli originali dei due documenti si conservano in AGSP, Reg. Serv. Dei 61, nn. 9-10.

A

Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi Signori

Giovanni Crisostomo di S. Paolo delle Scuole Pie, genuflesso in mezzo dell'EE. VV. humilmente le rappresenta come nove anni sono, essendo Rettore della casa professa di Fiorenza, mentre fu inviato dalli suoi Superiori per visitatore e commissario generale in Polonia et Ungheria, alcuni suoi sudditi, religiosi contumaci, con modi indebiti et artifici li fecero fabricar processo nel S. Ufficio di Fiorenza, al quale, doppo due anni, l'oratore, tornato dal Settentrione, rispose in Roma facendo nota la sua innocenza. Per il che la Sacra Congregazione non solo benignamente decretò che l'oratore non fosse molestato, ma anche li fece restituire tutti li scritti inquisiti. Con tutto questo, doppo essere senza controversia alcuna stato Rettore più anni in San Pantaleo di Roma, visitatore e commissario in questa medesima Provincia Romana, nel caso che era al presente stato dalli suoi Superiori eletto assistente generale, si è trovata qualche mala lingua che ha passato cattivi officii appresso il Signor Cardinal Carpegna et il Signor Cardinal de' Medici¹³⁷, come che l'oratore sia reo e malamente notato in cose di fede. Et in fatti dalla Sacra Congregazione de' Vescovi e Regolari è stata rievocata detta elettione, doppo la

Sulla sua abbondante produzione letteraria, cfr. Id., *La biblioteca cit.*, I, 62-63; VÍNAS, *op. cit.*, 363.

¹³⁷ Il card. Francesco Maria dei Medici (1660-1711) nel 1709 rinunciò alla porpora che aveva avuto nel 1686. RITZLER-SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica cit.*, V, 14.

publicatione e possesso di essa¹³⁸. Il tutto l'oratore riceve in bene, restando consolato che nella religione l'obedire in bassi ministerii li sia più profittevole. Ma nientedimeno supplica con ogni submissione l'EE.VV. a darli qualche attestato della sua innocenza, per non soccombere in tutti li casi a queste taccie, pregiudiciali ad insegnare, predicare et udir confessioni, conforme l'oratore si esercita. E prega *in visceribus Christi* l'EE.VV. a riflettere che una persecutione notoria, tessuta con tanti emergenti e raggiri, quanti stanno riportati nel detto processo et il tempo n'ha fatti venire a notitia degli altri, non par che deva rendere più oltre aggravato l'oratore della sincerità del suo credere. Altrimente, se non vi è modo di giustificarsi in punto così rilevante *coram hominibus* per la maggior gloria di Dio, siano supplicate l'EE.VV. a mandar l'oratore in missione fra' Turchi et Infedeli, dove per la divina gratia habbia occasione di protestare questa Santa Fede Romana con la vita et con il sangue. Che il tutto, etc. Quas Deus, etc.

B

Feria quarta, die 22 Julii 1699

In Congregatione generali Sanctae Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis habita in conventu Sanctae Mariae supra Minervam coram Eminentissimis et Reverendissimis DD. Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae Cardinalibus in tota Republica Christiana contra haereticam pravitatem Generalibus Inquisitoribus a Sancta Sede Apostolica specialiter deputatis.

Lecto memoriali fratris Joannis Chrisostomi a Sancto Paulo Ordinis Scholarum Piarum de annis 1691 et 1692 inquisiti in Sancto Offitio Florentiae, et in S. Offitio Urbis ex causis, etc., Eminentissimi et Reverendissimi DD. Cardinales Generales Inquisitores praedicti dixerunt nihil extare in S. Offitio contra oratorem quod ipsum afficiat.

Joseph Bartolus

Sanctae Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis Notarius

Reg. fol. 358

¹³⁸ SANTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 342-344.

IV

Testimonianza del p. Eugenio Orlandi di S. Silverio

Alla morte del p. Salistri, il p. Eugenio Orlandi di S. Silverio (1663-1741) ne tracciò un commosso ritratto biografico — da cui abbiamo tratto il brano che pubblichiamo — dal seguente titolo: *Notizie sopra la vita e virtù del P. Giovanni Crisostomo di S. Paolo de' Chierici Regolari Poveri della Madre di Dio delle Scuole Pie, date, per ordine del Nostro Padre Andrea di S. Sebastiano Generale, dal P. Eugenio di S. Silverio Rettore del Noviziato di Firenze*, ms in AGSP, Reg. Gen. 61, n. 1. Particolarmente in qualità di suo segretario, il p. Orlandi aveva collaborato con il p. Salistri durante il suo generalato (1706-1712), accompagnandolo anche nei viaggi intrapresi per visitare le case dell'Istituto. Aveva dunque avuto modo di conoscere intimamente un uomo — del quale era anche confessore — che lo aveva ben presto affascinato. La posizione del p. Orlandi per un verso poteva considerarsi privilegiata perché gli consentiva di penetrare anche nei più reconditi particolari degli avvenimenti che costituivano l'oggetto della sua narrazione; ma nello stesso tempo non era immune da rischi, data la difficoltà di mantenere il necessario distacco. Del resto egli non nascondeva la sua grande ammirazione per il p. Salistri: « dico che il concetto in me delle sue virtù in tutto il tempo che in vari luoghi e ministeri lo ho praticato è stato altissimo, avendo sempre riconosciuto in lui una semplicità di colomba, un'innocenza illibata, una carità verso Dio e verso il prossimo perfettissima, uno zelo apostolico del divino onore, una suave e dolce mansuetudine, una pazienza imperturbabile nelle avversità e nelle persecuzioni mosseli per molti anni, un'umiltà inimitabile, ed insomma quanto si può desiderare in un uomo tutto di Dio. Lo ho conosciuto assiduo nelli esercizi della religione, esatto in ogni minima osservanza regolare, di una somma povertà, di un'angelica purità, di una cieca obbedienza; staccato da ogni vanità della terra, e solo desideroso di conversar con Dio, o nell'orazione, o nel servizio de' poverelli, o nella lettura della Sacra Scrittura, o nella composizione di libri per utile de' prossimi » (*Notizie cit.*, pp. 4-5). Il p. Orlandi, che scrive sull'onda dei ricordi, a volte sbaglia nel descrivere i dettagli della vita del p. Salistri. Ma la sua resta ugualmente una testimonianza interessante e sostanzialmente veritiera.

Avendo dunque egli fermata e stabilita un'ottima norma nella direzione dell'Ospizio Apostolico, sì nello spirituale, come nel temporale, ed essendo in esso prefisso un numero proporzionato di religiosi, a ciascuno de' quali erano assegnate le proprie incumbenze per poter conservare ed aumentare il divino servizio e la buona educazione di que' poverelli, fu stimato bene da' superiori assegnare un altro rettore all'Ospizio, e per sollevare il P. Giovanni Crisostomo da tanta fatica mandarlo per rettore alla casa professa di Firenze¹³⁹. Con tutto che

¹³⁹ La versione dei fatti qui fornita non concorda con quella presentata da altre fonti. Cfr. nota 16.

egli portasse un santo affetto a quel pio luogo, nulla di meno abbassò la testa all'obbedienza senza replicare una minima parola: // 17 // . E si portò al governo assegnatoli. Dove procurava con tutto zelo e fervore che i suoi religiosi camminassero a tenore della professata osservanza, con la maggior perfezione [che] fosse possibile, precedendoli sempre con l'esemplarità della vita, e stimolandoli con esortazioni piene di spirito e di sana dottrina. Ma perché nelle comunità regolari non tutti vivano con quella perfezione che richiede lo stato religioso, né tutti restano soddisfatti di una esatta disciplina, quale per obbligo dell'offizio dee procurare il prelato, da qui ne nacque una delle più fiere persecuzioni che patisse il buon servo di Dio Padre Giovanni Crisostomo.

Eranvi nella casa professa di Firenze due religiosi a' quali dispiaceva di essere corretti dal loro rettore de' manifesti errori e libertinaggini che commettevano. Uno chiamavasi P. Carlo Emanuel del dominio di Torino, e l'altro Giuseppe di Santa Elisabetta romano. Il primo, quanto nobile di natali, altrettanto degenerante dall'essenza di religioso, più atto a' maneggi delle cose del mondo, che alla semplicità claustrale. Quanto dotto nelle speculative, altrettanto vano ed altiero¹⁴⁰. Il secondo nella deformità della faccia faceva conoscere qual fosse nell'interno. Arrogante, temerario, incapace di disciplina, sussurrone, maligno, e quel che è peggio aveva un' // 18 // eloquenza naturale così penetrante e convincente, che avrebbe persuaso e tirato alla sua sequela qualunque più esperto. Si aggiunge che con la penna operava ciò che voleva con singolar perfezione, e la sua mano e il suo carattere molto bello gli servivano per introdursi con la prima nobiltà di Firenze, con la quale si procacciava protezione per esser sostenuto nelle sue impertinenze¹⁴¹. Egli, come rifiuto di tutte le nostre case della Provincia Romana dove aveva preso l'abito e professato, era stato dal P. Carlo Giovanni [Pirroni di Gesù] generale confinato in esilio in Fanano, dove avendo messo sottosopra con le sue solite arti tutti que' religiosi¹⁴², fu chiamato in Firenze sotto gl'occhi de' su-

¹⁴⁰ Cfr. nota 27.

¹⁴¹ Cfr. note 53, 56.

¹⁴² Una conferma del disagio provocato dalla presenza del p. Ceccarini a Fanano si trova nel carteggio del p. Armini col provinciale di Firenze. Nel 1685, durante la visita canonica al collegio di Fanano, il provinciale aveva rilevato la « molta trascuraggine di quel P. Alessio rettore nel suo governo, mentre le cose andavano senz'ordine e regola ». Il p. Armini deprecava in particolare alcuni disordini: « Il non fare conferenza, né colpa, né lezione de' casi di coscienza; sono mancamenti punibili in un rettore, e molto più per il poco esercizio dell'orazione mentale della mattina.

periori maggiori per tenerlo più a freno¹⁴³. Ma ivi più che mai imperversò. Questi due religiosi adunque mordevano malvolentieri il freno della disciplina religiosa, e recalcitravano alle sante ammonizioni del buon P. Giovanni Crisostomo, e però andavano macchinandoli precipizi.

Più volte mi disse il P. Giovanni Crisostomo in Roma che a lui pareva cosa fuori dell'ordine naturale che, non investigando egli appositamente le operazioni di questi due, scopriva all'improvviso i loro maneggi dissonanti dalla regola religiosa. E succedeva questo, o per un certo impulso interiore // 19 // che lo chiamava fuori della sua camera per abbattersi in quello che non cercava, o pure sentendosi tirato come per violenza ad andare in qualche luogo dove vedeva i loro difetti, o pure chi doveva portare ad uno di loro le cose concertate le portava in mano del detto P. Giovanni Crisostomo. Fra le altre è considerabile il caso presente. Trovandosi in camera del P. Giovanni Crisostomo il P. Carlo Emanuel sopraccitato, quando fu chiamato alla porteria il P. Rettore, a cui fu consegnata una scatola. Fecela egli portare dal medesimo messo nella sua camera, dove l'attendeva il P. Carlo Emanuel. Aperta la scatola vi trovò una bella cresta da dama¹⁴⁴; della qual cosa ammiratosi il P. Rettore, stava per renderla al latore come cosa che non apparteneva a sé né ad alcuno de' suoi religiosi. Allora il P. Carlo Emanuel disse essere cosa sua, e

Di che poteva chiamarsi più tostò casa de' secolari, che di religiosi». Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 4 VIII 1685. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B. 134, p. 28. Il mese seguente si venne però a sapere che il rettore era fuggito da Fanano, né intendeva farvi ritorno, « a causa del P. Giuseppe di S. Elisabetta, che machina [...] di farle dare lo sfratto ». Armini commentava così il fatto: « Qui non si crede che ciò sia per succedere, mentre le azzioni di detto Padre rettore sono buone e sante, quantunque la malignità altrui possa tentare questo e altro! Per rimuovere detto P. Giuseppe non habbiamo modo, come a lei stessa è noto. La timidezza del P. rettore crediamo che gli dia maggiore ardire, ma dove non potiamo arrivar noi speriamo che ci arriverà Iddio, con maggior confusione de' maligni et honore del P. Alessio rettore. La R.V. gli facci animo a ritornare acciò ruinino le machine degl'avversari con la sua presenza ». Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 29 IX 1685. *Ibid.*, p. 47. Il p. Alessio di S. Michele dovette essere irremovibile nel suo rifiuto di tornare a Fanano, dato che in ottobre venne trasferito come rettore a Città della Pieve, casa appartenente alla Provincia Romana. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 60. Cfr. note 30-31, 36, 46, 51.

¹⁴³ Qualche anno prima, nell'inverno del 1687, il p. Ceccarini aveva chiesto invano di essere trasferito a Napoli: « Non è ora tempo di esporre a lunghi viaggi il P. Giuseppe di S. Elisabetta, et il suo desiderio di andare a Napoli non può essere da me approvato, sapendo io come si portò quando ci era. Se costì vive irreprensibile né ci ha in che condannarlo, non si può per lui stanza più migliore ritrovare. A miglior tempo si potrà pensare ». Armini al provinciale di Firenze, 13 XII 1687. AGSP, Reg. Gen. B. 134, p. 746.

¹⁴⁴ Si trattava di una cuffia o berretta da donna, con grande guarnizione intorno.

che la doveva mandare ad una dama. Se il buon superiore allora avampasse di zelo, lascio considerarlo a chi che sia che abbia niente niente di spirito. Buttato in un canto lo scandaloso abbigliamento, fece una dolce ma efficace correzione al religioso, mostrandoli quanti mali nascevano a' religiosi da simili imbarazzi, che guidano alla perdizione per essere allettamenti a mille peccati, etc. // 20 // Licenziatolo poi da sé, non mi sovviene se gli facesse buttare il tutto sul fuoco, o pure la rimandasse a chi l'aveva consegnata.

Questa e molte altre gravi mancanze riprese e corrette dal P. Giovanni Crisostomo furono causa che, invelenitisi contro di esso i due poco buoni religiosi, gli tramassero un'accusa nel Sagro Tribunale dell'Inquisizione in questa forma. Era solito il P. Giovanni Crisostomo, a tenore di quello che comandava la nostra regola, ogni domenica sera fare a' suoi religiosi la conferenza sopra la perfezion religiosa, e spiegava sempre qualche punto delle nostre regole¹⁴⁵. Siccome egli aveva una nobil facondia, un vivo zelo che i religiosi vivessero illibati, ed una scienza profondissima acquistata più con l'orazione che con la scorta di umano maestro, faceva gran frutto la sua parola ne' religiosi ben disposti, ed all'opposto a' due di perduta speranza serviva per darli motivo di imperversare e ordirlì l'accusa che premeditavano. Ribolliva in que' tempi il pestifero veleno di Michel Molinos già scoperto e condannato in Roma, seminatore di nuove e sozze eresie. Che fecero i due seminatori di zizzania? Interpretarono // 21 // sinistramente alcune proposizioni dette da lui in varie conferenze, e combinandole assieme, a modo loro, ne tirarono un'illazione a tenore della dottrina del Molinos, silogizzando il P. Carlo Emanuel con la sua guasta fantasia a suo favore¹⁴⁶. Con queste proposizioni e conclusioni formate dalla passione, si portarono al Sacro Tribunale di Firenze, dal quale ne fu dato avviso a Roma in tempo appunto che il P. Giovanni Crisostomo aveva riceuto la patente di commissario generale per la visita ne' nostri collegi in Ungheria, Germania e Polonia. Venne intanto ordine dal Sacro Tribunale di Roma che si facesse perquisizione di tutti gli scritti¹⁴⁷ che aveva lasciato il P. Giovanni Crisostomo, e si esaminassero altri religiosi, come fu fatto; ed al P. Generale fu intimato che il detto Padre fosse arrestato per strada in qualunque luogo fosse, e gli fosse impedito il proseguimento della sua commissione, come successe, essendo stato dal-

¹⁴⁵ Cfr. note 108-109.

¹⁴⁶ Cfr. nota 152.

¹⁴⁷ Cfr. nota 135.

le lettere del generale fermato in Venezia¹⁴⁸. Oprò intanto il P. Generale con il Santo Tribunale di Roma che potesse proseguire la sua commissione, con sicurezza che, terminata, si sarebbe subito rappresentato in Roma al Sacro Tribunale¹⁴⁹.

// 22 // Tirò dunque avanti il suo viaggio, e fatta la visita (le notizie della quale si conservavano a mio tempo in segreteria, sopra la scanzia di Germania e Polonia) di tutti i collegi di Ungheria, Germania e Polonia, con quel frutto de' prossimi ed edificazione di se medesimo come si dirà a suo luogo, stampò in Varsavia quel degno libro intitolato *Phylopiustus*¹⁵⁰, in cui ammaestrandolo sopra i dogmi della santa fede dà nel medesimo tempo a conoscere quali sieno i sentimenti della sua credenza, con dottrina così fondata, chiara e piena di spirito di Dio, come può da ciascheduno riconoscersi nella lettura del medesimo.

Tornato pertanto dalla sua commissione e rassegnatosi all'obbedienza, fu dato parte al Sacro Tribunale della sua permanenza in Roma, e di lì ad alcuni giorni gli fu intimato formalmente il rappresentarsi. Sparsasi questa nuova in S. Pantaleo, tripudiavano i suoi emoli, de' quali non ve ne mancavano, fomentati dal P. Giuseppe romano da Firenze, dove egli ad onta dell'ubbidienza volle rimanere. Solo il P. Giovanni Crisostomo imperturbabile, soffrendo in faccia di sentirsi dire ingiurie e minacciar galera e // 23 // prigionia, si mostrava gioioso e contento, consapevole della sua innocenza. Si presentò subito al Tribunale, e dopo alcune ore di rigorosissimo esame con tutte le formalità fu rimandato libero ed assoluto *ex capite innocentiae*, ammirati tutti que' sacri ministri e prelati (come essi medesimi riferirono al P. Generale) della sua ilarità, franchezza e dottrina, non avendo trovato ne' suoi scritti (che gli furono restituiti) e nelle sue risposte cosa alcuna discrepante da' dogmi della santa fede¹⁵¹.

Nel tempo che io lo servivo in segreteria, lo pregai di volermi far grazia di raccontarmi come l'atterrì la chiamata al Sacro Tribunale, e come andò il suo esame e le sue risposte. Mi volle consolare, dicendomi: « quando ebbi la nuova mi sentii tutto consolare ed animare internamente, perché dovevo fare esperienza della mia fede in un Tribunale inappellabile, e mi sentivo replicare quelle parole che si

¹⁴⁸ In realtà il Salistri ricevette l'ordine di rientrare in Provincia quando si trovava già in Ungheria. Cfr. nota 65.

¹⁴⁹ Cfr. nota 40.

¹⁵⁰ Cfr. nota 70.

¹⁵¹ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 337.

leggono degl'Apostoli: *Ibant Apostoli gaudentes a conspectu concilii, quoniam digni habiti sunt pro nomine Jesu contumeliam pati*. Contento ricevei l'avviso, più contento proseguì il viaggio, e contentissimo entrai nel Sagro Consesso. Fui interrogato sopra la mia dottrina e sopra ciascuna delle proposizioni messe in forma tutta artificiosa, con // 24 // illazione tutta differente dal mio catolico sentimento. Avevano i miei benefattori (così nominò i caluniatori) presa una proposizione da una conferenza, una da un'altra, etc., le quali proposizioni potevano servire di rete a' meno cauti¹⁵². Per lo che mi convenne far conoscere l'inganno degli accusatori, e provare ciascuna delle proposizioni *seijuncte* vera e catolica. E ciò mi venne fatto in tal modo che senza accorgermene mi venivano in bocca i testi della Scrittura ed i detti de' Santi Padri, ed io credo di certo che Iddio mi metteva le parole in bocca. Anzi mi vedevo come avanti gl'occhi tutte le mie conferenze, che mi pareva di leggerle, e le occasioni e gl'accidenti per i quali le avevo fatte, e posso dirvi che credo le ripetessi tutte, parola per parola. Per lo che, soddisfatto il Sacro Tribunale della mia catolica dottrina, mi rimandò senz'altro come innocente. E fece intendere a' superiori che per me nel Sacro Tribunale non vi era cosa che potesse impedirli da promuovermi a qualunque grado dell'ordine, come fecero eleggendomi prima vice rettore del Collegio Nazzareno, e poi rettore di S. Pantaleo ».

Terminato il suo governo, nel quale non mancarono incontri e calunnie mosseli da' meno osservanti, a causa del suo zelo e vigilanza su gl'an- // 25 // damenti de' sudditi alla sua cura commessi, fu rimandato in Firenze per maestro di lettere nel noviziato a' nostri novizi. In detto luogo era lo specchio di tutti i padri e novizi, per la sua gran modestia, ritiratezza, assiduità negli esercizi della regola, e per la luce di altre belle virtù che risplendevano in esso¹⁵³. Pochi mesi però stiede nella sua sospirata ed amata quiete di questo santo ritiro, perché per la morte di uno de' nostri padri assistenti fu richiamato in Roma, essendo dalla nostra Congregazion Generale dichiarato assistente in luogo del defonto¹⁵⁴. Recevuta l'obbedienza si partì, senza chiedere un minimo sussidio per il viaggio, di che accortosi il superiore gli mandò subito alla casa professa, dove si ritrovava, ciò che era a lui necessario. Ma, arrivato in Roma, trovò che i suoi emoli si erano così bene segretamente adoptrati per toglierli la detta

¹⁵² Cfr. nota 146.

¹⁵³ Cfr. nota 11.

¹⁵⁴ SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 343-344.

carica, che avevano spiccato un decreto dalla Sacra Congregazione per il quale veniva proibito a' PP. assistenti di rinnovare cosa alcuna¹⁵⁵. Sopportò il buon padre con la solita sua ilarità l'affronto, obbedì senza fare alcuna istanza, e come suddito rassegnato si rimesse nelle mani de' suoi superiori, da' quali fu rimandato alla cura de' suoi amati poverelli dell'Ospizio Apostolico, in qualità di prefetto e vicerettore¹⁵⁶. Con il solito suo fervore si diede alla custodia di quei figlioli, non mancando mai di darli // 26 // il pascolo della Divina Parola, allevandoli nel timor di Dio, e tirandoli placidamente ad innamorarsi delle virtù cristiane. E tanto era il frutto che Dio faceva mediante i suoi ammaestramenti, che moltissimi di quei giovanetti furono accettati religiosi in vari Ordini, anche de' più cospicui. La Santità del regnante Pontefice Clemente XI, vedendo quanto fosse utile per quel luogo pio il detto Padre, lo fece *motu proprio* eleggere assistente generale e rettore dell'Ospizio Apostolico, non senza rammarico de' suoi emoli¹⁵⁷. Ma essendo per terminarsi il governo del generale, e perciò esibito dal corpo della religione memoriale alla Santità Sua, acciò con apostolica autorità provvedesse la detta carica nell'Ordine, non potendosi ragunare la Congregazione Generale a causa delle guerre in Italia e della pestilenza nell'Ungheria e confini di Dalmazia, per l'alto concetto che aveva il Santo Padre della integrità, prudenza e vigilanza del P. Giovanni Crisostomo pose l'occhio in esso per eleggerlo a tal dignità¹⁵⁸.

Non stiedero in ozio i suoi emoli, saputo che da essi si fu l'intenzione del Santo Padre. Dopo aver rappresentato e fatto rappresentare al medesimo molte e varie obbiezioni sopra la sua persona, di rigore nel governo, di zelo indiscreto, di austero, e perciò poco grato alla religione, e vedendo che // 27 // simili rapporti non facevano impressione nell'animo del Sommo Pontefice, che da cardinale lo aveva ben conosciuto per quel sant'uomo che era, e nel tempo del suo pontificato adoprato ed esperimentato tutto differente da quello che gli veniva rappresentato, ricorsero a rinovar la piaga dell'accusa che aveva autà al Sacro Tribunale dell'Inquisizione, per la quale

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 344-345.

¹⁵⁷ In realtà l'elezione del p. Salistri ad assistente generale, annullata dalla Santa Sede il 10 VII 1699, risaliva ad un periodo in cui era ancora in vita Innocenzo XII. Cfr. *ibid.*, 343-344.

¹⁵⁸ Sul capitolo generale, che si aprì il 2 V 1700 e procedette lo stesso giorno all'elezione del p. Pietro Francesco Zanoni della Concezione (1660-1720) a capo dell'Istituto, non poteva certo influire il papa Clemente XI, eletto soltanto il 23 dicembre di quell'anno. Cfr. PICANYOL, *Brevis conspectus* cit., 12-13.

veniva inabilitato non solo al generalato, ma a qualunque minimo grado della religione ¹⁵⁹.

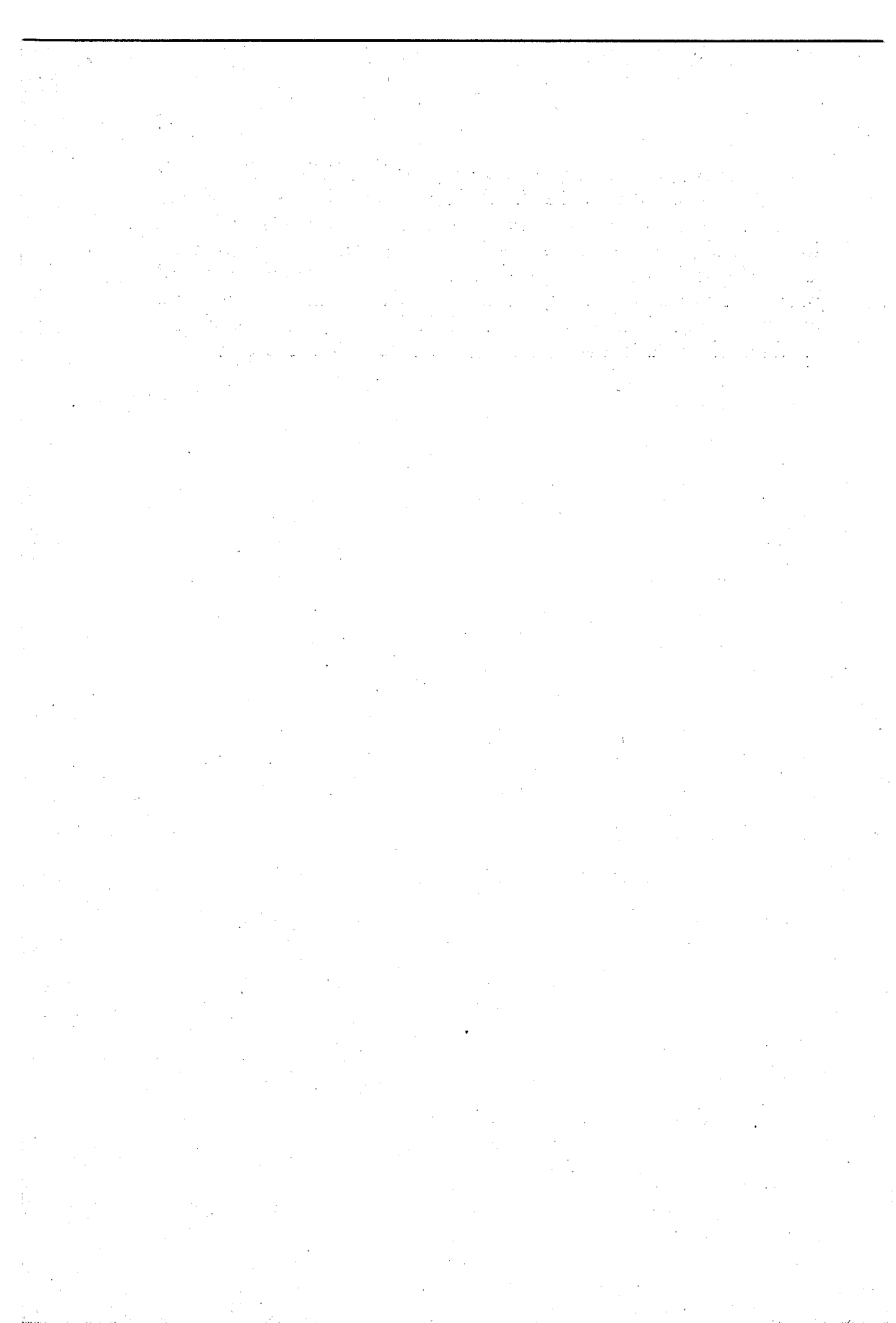
Fece specie al Santo Padre questa obbiezione, per lo che disse ad un religioso dopo l'udienza che chiese, che non poteva spedir breve a favore del P. Giovanni Crisostomo per essere querela di lui al Santo Tribunale, ma il detto religioso, ben consapevole dell'innocenza per la quale era stato dal detto Santo Tribunale rimandato senza alcuna pena, anzi commendato a' superiori che lo potevano impiegare in ogni grado e onorevolezza della religione, rispose al Sommo Pontefice che era vero che fu il P. Giovanni Crisostomo accusato al S. Ufficio, ma essere altresì vero che fu licenziato *ex capite innocentiae*. A cui soggiunse il Santo Padre che avvertisse bene esser vero ciò che diceva ad un Vicario di Cristo. E questo replicò che depositava a' suoi santi piedi la testa, quando altro fosse da ciò che asseriva, e promesse in autentica forma far costar ciò a Sua Santità. Partitosi questo // 28 // dall'udienza del Papa, riferì minutamente il tutto al P. Giovanni Crisostomo, il quale, sentito il sinistro concetto che era stato impresso nella mente del Sommo Pontefice in materia così gelosa, poco peraltro curandosi del generalato, ma bensì del suo buon nome, che secondo il consiglio dello Spirito Santo ciascuno è obbligato a difendere, si portò con il detto religioso in giorno di congregazione al Sacro Tribunale ed umilmente supplicò della giustificazione autentica della sua innocenza, dal detto Sacro Tribunale molto ben conosciuta [Doc. III, A]. Fuvvi fra que' sacri porporati qualche difficoltà in concederla, dicendo non esservi usanza in detto Sacro Tribunale [di] far simili attestati. Ma replicando i motivi per i quali li supplicava della detta grazia, l'Eminentissimo Gabbrielli ¹⁶⁰ perorò efficacemente in favore del P. Giovanni Crisostomo, fin che gli fu concessa *in scriptis* amplamente e con formole onorevoli la detta giustificazione, ed io stesso l'ho più volte veduta e letta [Doc. III, B].

Ricevuta tale attestazione, si portò subito il P. Giovanni Crisostomo a' piedi di Sua Santità, tenendo in mano la detta attestazione ed il suo Filopisto dove è una sincera professione della sua fede. Baciati i piedi a Sua Santità, subito presentò il tutto al Sommo Pontefice, pregandolo ad essere sincerato della sua innocenza, ma però non

¹⁵⁹ Per l'esatta collocazione nel tempo di tale episodio, cfr. SÁNTHA, *op. cit.*, I, 344. Cfr. anche note 91, 97.

¹⁶⁰ L'episodio qui narrato risaliva al luglio del 1699, mentre Giovanni Maria Gabrielli S.O. Cist. (1654-1711) divenne cardinale solo in novembre. Fino allora era stato qualificatore dell'Inquisizione. RITZLER-SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica cit.*, V, 14.

voleva che ciò gli facesse merito per l'esecuzione delle sue intenzioni verso la sua persona. // 29 // Il Santo Padre, letta e considerata l'attestazione della sua innocenza, autenticata con tutte le giuridiche forme, la piegò, con essa si segnò la fronte, e con volto giulivo disse al P. Giovanni Crisostomo: « Abbiamo caro che siate innocente. A' buoni non mancano travagli, per loro maggior premio. Tenete conto di questa attestazione, perché se la chiedessimo noi, non so se il Santo Tribunale ce la facesse », e datagli la benedizione lo licenziò.



THE LETTERS OF SAINT JOHN N. NEUMANN TO ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS P. KENRICK, 1852-1859

Edited by ALFRED C. RUSH

INTRODUCTION

On March 30, 1852, two days after his episcopal ordination on Passion Sunday in St. Alphonsus' Church, the Most Reverend John Nepomucene Neumann¹, C.S.S.R., took the early morning train from Baltimore for Philadelphia². At three o'clock that afternoon he was installed in St. John's, the Pro-cathedral, as Philadelphia's fourth bishop, an office that he fulfilled until his sudden and unexpected death at the age of 48 on January 5, 1860. Philadelphia was then one of the suffragan sees in the Metropolitan Province of Baltimore, the archbishop being the Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Neumann's predecessor in Philadelphia³. The other suffragan sees were Pittsburgh and Erie in Pennsylvania, Richmond in Virginia, Wheeling in West Virginia, Charleston in South Carolina, Savannah in Georgia. It also came to include the Vicariate Apostolic of Florida that was established in 1857. The letters edited here are those that Neumann wrote to

¹ JOHN BERGER, CSSR, *Life of Right Rev. John N. Neumann, CSSR*, tr. by Eugene Grimm, CSSR, New York 1884; Michael J. Curley, CSSR, *Venerable John Neumann, CSSR*, Washington, D.C. 1952. These works will be referred to as Berger-Grimm, *Neumann*; Curley, *Neumann*.

² JAMES F. CONNELLY, ed., *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1976. After giving the author and the title of a chapter, this work will be referred to as *History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*.

³ HUGH J. NOLAN, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830-1851*, Philadelphia 1948; John Peter Marshall, CSV, *Francis Patrick Kenrick, 1851-1863: the Baltimore Years*. This is a typed Ph.D. Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 1965. These works will be referred to as Nolan, *Kenrick*; Marshall, *Kenrick*.

Kenrick as they are preserved in the archdiocesan archives of Baltimore.

For the most part, Neumann's handwriting, when he uses the cursive script for English and Latin, is clear and legible. However, being human, he did on occasion dash or scribble off a hurried note. There were times when it was difficult to figure out certain words. With the aid of a magnifying glass and the help of others the editor believes that he has succeeded in arriving at the right readings.

Neumann can compose a very precise and proper English letter. At the same time it will not take the reader long to realize that English is not his native language. His native language, the language spoken at home and school, was German. He did not begin to study English until 1833 when he was 22 years old. That was the time when he began his last two years of theology at the University of Prague. One of his reasons for going there was his desire to study English to get ready for his work in America. Because there were no classes in English there at the time, he had to study it on his own. Some English factory workers in Prague helped him along.

There are certain obvious signs indicating that English was not Neumann's native language. Here one thinks of idiomatic collocation, of the use of prepositions, of the definite and indefinite articles, of the adverb 'yet'. There is at times a certain clumsiness in his choice of words. He speaks of returns instead of conversions to the Church. He uses the plural form of a noun that is only used in the singular, e.g., advices. Under the influence of his native German he uses the infinitive construction where English usually uses the gerundive. Instead of speaking of the honor of welcoming Kenrick he speaks of the honor to welcome him. It was these and similar features of Neumann's style that made the transcribing of the letters difficult. There was a tendency to write out phrases in the way they would be written by one whose native language is English.

The letters show that Neumann had a good command of English spelling. The mistakes are few, especially when one looks not to the number but to the categories of the mistakes. He had difficulty with words having double consonants, e.g., marriage, Cincinnati. Under the influence of his training in German he regularly omits the English genitive apostrophe. He speaks of harms way, St. Johns. Curiously, one time when he used the apostrophe was a time when he should not have used it, because he added the preposition «of», Sisters of St. Joseph's. Instead of constantly inserting the sign [*sic*], certain recurring nineteenth-century spellings (diocess, recommand) are transcribed in the current usage.

Neumann has a tendency to overcapitalize. Besides using capital letters to refer to God, he also uses them when speaking of persons, places and things associated with the spiritual order, e.g., Priest, Convent, Vow. In the temporal order he uses capitals for words associated with the municipal or judicial sphere, e. g., City (Philadelphia), Judge. Although these observations are true, one will also notice that he is not always consistent in this matter. Influenced by his German background he uses the capital letter for the word, Protestant, in its noun form; the adjective form is

spelled with a small letter. Occasionally a new sentence starts off with a small letter.

The reader is not long into the reading of these letters before he becomes acquainted with, and accustomed to, Neumann's system of punctuation that involves the use of the period, the dash, the comma and the hyphen. There are times when he ends a sentence with both a period and a dash. At times a dash is used in place of a period; often many sentences are strung together with dashes. Similarly a comma is used where one would expect a period; commas are often used, like the dash, to string independent sentences together. This can cause difficulty in understanding and the consequent need to reread the material. Neumann uses the hyphen in words like hand-book, day-school. He uses it regularly for the Pennsylvania towns of Mauch Chunk and Summit Hill.

In the sphere of punctuation, two general tendencies are noted. The first is over-punctuation. One can describe this as punctuation by phrases; it seems that every phrase is enclosed in commas. At other times there is a lack of punctuation, e.g., a comma, where one would be expecting one. Here, again, the reader may have to pause and reread a phrase or sentence.

The Neumann letters, as noted, are housed in the archives of the archdiocese of Baltimore where they are catalogued as 30-U-1-28. The work of editing demanded that the numbering of the letters here be different from that in the archives. There are two reasons for this. The first is that five of the letters (30-U-1-5) are undated. The editor has succeeded in assigning a date to four of these (1, 3, 4, 5) and a probable date to one of them (2). It was found that they were assigned to 1853, 1855(?), 1858 and 1859. The second reason involves a misnumbering of three letters in the archives. The first three letters of 1857 are numbered 20, 21, 22. Chronologically, the order should be 22, 20, 21, the letters written in January, March and April. The original cataloguer misread the abbreviation for January as June and put that letter after the March and April letters. The comparison between the two numberings will be seen at a glance by giving first the present numbering and then that of the Baltimore archives:

1 = 6	8 = 12	15 = 2	22 = 25
2 = 7	9 = 13	16 = 19	23 = 1
3 = 8	10 = 14	17 = 22	24 = 5
4 = 9	11 = 15	18 = 20	25 = 26
5 = 3	12 = 16	19 = 21	26 = 27
6 = 10	13 = 17	20 = 23	27 = 4
7 = 11	14 = 18	21 = 24	28 = 28

All these letters, except one, are personal letters. The one exception is letter 20. This is a printed form letter, the *exeat* empowering Father Waldron to leave the diocese of Philadelphia for the arch-

diocese of Baltimore. Because it is part of the Neumann-Kenrick history, it was decided to include it in this first edition of the correspondence.

The Neumann letters abound in abbreviations. This is true especially when, discussing liturgy and ceremonies, he uses technical Latin phrases. These abbreviations are kept, as they are, completed within brackets and translated and explained in the notes. There are other abbreviations that are written out in full. The reasons for this decision are the convenience of the English reader and the strangeness and awkwardness of the abbreviations. This applies to titles, e.g., Reverend, humble and obedient Servant in Christ. It also applies to cities, e.g., Philadelphia, Baltimore. The abbreviations *inst.* and *ult.* are rendered as this month and last month. The dates of the letters are written out in full. In editing the letters, technical Latin phrases are italicized, e.g., *otium cum dignitate*.

The letters throw light on various phases of Neumann's career. Here one thinks first of Neumann and the diocese of Philadelphia. The correspondence reveals his zeal in making the visitations of that far-flung diocese (4, 6, 8, 13, 15, 22), a zeal that won the admiration of all, and that is constantly mentioned in the documents dealing with his canonization. Added burden though it was in his work of establishing new parishes and building churches and schools, he worked diligently at the ongoing construction of the cathedral and saw the exterior completed before his death (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 16). His unsuccessful attempts to help the Visitation Sisters and keep them in Philadelphia show his appreciation of the Order and its apostolate of conducting academies for girls (2, 3, 4, 6). He risked a certain amount of unpopularity in guaranteeing the canonical and civil incorporation of church property and in specifying in detail what constituted parish property and what constituted personal property (13, 14, 15, 16, 18). It is interesting to note that his concern for the charitable institutions of the diocese, for which he was known all during his years as bishop, makes its appearance in his very first letter. In his autobiography Neumann tells us that he was an omnivorous reader, so much so that his mother called him her little bookworm; this is the same Neumann who as bishop opened a circulating library for his people (4). Other interesting traits are his interest in his Minor Seminarians (19) and his concern for a repentant priest (3) and for his sick priests (27). The moves to divide the diocese in 1855 (10, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19) and in 1858 (22, 23) play a large role in the history of these years. The correspondence shows that the plan goes back not only to 1854 (9), but to 1852, Neumann's very first year in the diocese (4). It

also shows that the basic reason was spiritual, the desire to live up to his ideals of doing full justice to his commitments and duties as bishop. Here one also finds something on the painful problem of his last years, a problem that was settled only with his death, namely, the Bishop Wood affair (19, 22, 25).

On a larger scale, these letters show us something of Neumann's interest in the Metropolitan Province of Baltimore. There is the concern about an orphanage for boys in Washington, D.C. (11, 12). Besides seeing his willingness to accept invitations to perform episcopal functions in Pittsburgh, we also notice his general concern for the diocese and its bishop, Michael O'Connor (7, 10, 22, 23, 25). He was mindful of his fellow-bishops and celebrated pontifical requiems for them on receiving the news of their death (9). Most of all, these letters show how thorough and conscientious he was in suggesting topics and agenda for the Provincial Councils (8, 9, 21). His interest was not confined to his own Province, but extended to others. Here one notes a general desire to keep up with the doings in other Provinces (21). One also notes his outlook on the new diocese of Newark that formed part of the New York Province (1, 4).

At the request of Rome, Neumann's episcopal ordination was arranged in such a way that he was able to take part in the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in May 1852. These letters are also a source of information about various items and projects that transcend diocesan affairs and that are part of the larger canvass of the general history of the Catholic Church in the United States of America. Here one thinks of his work at the Council and his German catechism that had such a long and successful history (1, 6). The letters show us how prompt Neumann was in appointing Diocesan Consultors in keeping with the recommendation of the First Plenary Council, a recommendation that became law at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884, precisely because not all bishops were that prompt (3). Mention is made of two items of American Church history of those days, namely, the visit of Archbishop Bedini (7) and the plan to come to the help of American Protestant ministers who were becoming Catholics (6). Worthy of special mention is Neumann's proposal to have a house of rehabilitation where fallen-away priests could be helped and possibly be restored to active ministry (8, 9). The correspondence shows us something of Neumann's part in three important drives for funds. The first looked to the good of this country, namely, the American College in Rome (14, 25). The other two were collections for the proposed Catholic University of Ireland (8) and for the « Newman

Fund » to help Cardinal Newman pay the exorbitant fine imposed by the judge in the Achilli-Newman trial (4, 5).

The ecclesiastical horizon of these letters opens even wider to show us Neumann's concern with the liturgy and ceremony of the Church's sacramental discipline. With regard to the sacrament of marriage, one notes his sensible outlook on mixed marriages and his sensitivity for the Protestant conscience (13). This sacramental concern is seen most of all when he takes up problems connected with the reception of converts. To him the whole rite was too long and an inconvenience to the converts and to the priests who had to administer it on a Sunday morning when they were travelling from one outmission to the other. To him the extra ceremonies contained in the reception of converts cut in on the baptismal rite itself. It was his desire to be allowed to drop these extra ceremonies and to highlight and concentrate on the liturgical rite of the baptism itself, as already containing in a better form the contents of the extra ceremonies, e.g., profession of faith. In lieu of that, he hoped for shorter formulas (13, 26, 28).

These letters are more than letters from a suffragan bishop to the archbishop. They are letters between two bishops, between whom there existed a mutual bond of respect, friendship and reverence. Kenrick admired Neumann's holiness, learning, administrative ability and priestly zeal. He chose him as his confessor. Personally, Neumann was Kenrick's first choice for Philadelphia. Neumann became his appointee, his protégé. To Neumann, Kenrick was the archbishop whom he revered, the friend in whom he could confide and to whom he could go for help and advice. It is only a relationship like this that explains many facets of these letters.

Here one thinks of Neumann's reports on his early days in Philadelphia, the homesickness he felt, the gradual process of feeling somewhat at ease, of getting accustomed to his laborious and troublesome station, all of which was facilitated by the uniform kindness of the clergy and laity (1, 2). One also thinks of the regrets that Neumann sent to Kenrick about not being on hand to welcome him in Philadelphia because of his absence on visitations (8, 9). With regards to a parish court case, the roots of which go back to Kenrick's days in Philadelphia, Neumann tells him not to worry because the diocese would pay in the event of an adverse judgment (14). The beginning of the Philadelphia Cathedral goes back to Kenrick, and one can hear the joy of Neumann as he sends him progress reports on the ongoing

construction. Kenrick is reminded that the beauty of the completed facade would repay a trip from Baltimore (16). Certainly, in Neumann's plans, any ceremony connected with the blessing, dedication or consecration of the cathedral would be done by Kenrick (5).

The mention of confidential reports regarding persons or projects also shows the relationship between the two (3, 10, 11, 12). In the long painful months while he awaited an answer from Rome regarding his move to go to a poorer and smaller See, Neumann asks Kenrick to plead his cause in Rome where his recommendation would certainly be almighty (10) and he asks him to recommend his future to the mercy of God (16). Certainly, only an intimate confidant would be the recipient of that precious letter where he apologized to Kenrick for his awkwardness in his meeting with the Roman visitor, Archbishop Gaetano Bedini. In a disarmingly frank and refreshingly humorous self-evaluation he likened himself to Sancho Panza, the squire in Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (7). Visits to Baltimore gave these two friends opportunities for personal meetings (1, 11, 17, 19). There Neumann could talk over problems, unburden his soul, seek direction and get advice. What transpired *cor ad cor* did not have to appear in black and white. This is a case where personal enrichment in the nineteenth century more than makes up for some disappointment in historians in the twentieth.

There now remains the pleasant task of saying a heartfelt Thank You to the many who have been a source of help. For archival material I am indebted to the following archivists: Rev. John J. Tierney of the archdiocese of Baltimore, Rev. John B. De Mayo of the archdiocese of Philadelphia, Rev. Francis B. Seymour of the archdiocese of Newark, Rev. Msgr. Robert J. Maher, of the diocese of Harrisburg, Rev. Vincent M. Eaton, S. S., of the Sulpician archives, Baltimore, and to Ms. M. J. Giltinan, of the American Catholic Historical Society. A special debt of gratitude is due to my Redemptorist confrere, Brother Barnabas Hipkins, the archivist of our Baltimore Province. For help in manuscript problems I am indebted to Mr. William E. Lind and Ms. Brenda Beasley of the National Archives, Washington, D. C., and especially to Mr. Paul G. Sifton, Specialist, Early American History, Manuscript Division of the Library of Congress. Brochures and information regarding Pennsylvania parishes and institutions were supplied by Rev. Msgr. Joseph P. Dooley of Jim Thorpe, Rev. William Jones of Summit Hill, Mr. R. Gerald Schoelkopf, Rare Books and Archives of West Chester State College, Sr. Benigna Consolata, C.S.J., Secretary General of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia, and by Ms. Katherine L. Coyle, Research Department of Delaware County Historical Society. The work was greatly helped by the cooperation of the librarians of the Theology-Philosophy-Canon Law Library of the Catholic University of America: Ms. Carolyn Lee, Mr. David Gilson and Mrs. Shirley Pototsky.

Along with Brother Barnabas, already mentioned, many others of

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- AAB = Archives of the Archdiocese of Baltimore
 AANY = Archives of the Archdiocese of New York
 ABPR = Archives of the Baltimore Province of the Redemptorists, Brooklyn, New York
 ACUA = Archives of the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C.
 APF = Archivio della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, Rome
 — Acta = Acta Sacrae Congregationis
 — LDB = Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di Monsignor Segretario
 — SOCG = Scritture originali referite nelle Congregazioni Generali
 — SRC AC = Scritture referite nei Congressi. America Centrale, dal Canada all'Istmo di Panama
 — Udienze = Udienze di Nostro Signore
 AUND = Archives of the University of Notre Dame, South Bend, Indiana
 NCE = New Catholic Encyclopedia

DOCUMENTS

Letter 1

Philadelphia, April 29, 1852

Most Reverend Sir ¹

The notice of the National Council ², & the list of questions to be discussed at it have been handed to me yesterday, but the faculties from Rome have not yet arrived ³. I shall write today yet to ask for them if they should not have been sent off.

I was yesterday at Manayunk ⁴ to see Reverend Mulholland ⁵.

¹ «Most Reverend Sir» was then an acceptable salutation in writing to a diocesan bishop or archbishop.

² The First Plenary Council of Baltimore was held from May 9 to May 20, 1852. See Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore*, New York 1932, 81-99. This will be referred to as Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*. Interesting contemporary accounts are found in *The Catholic Mirror*, May 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, 1852. The Roman and American documents of the time often used the term, «National». The Acts can be found in *Concilium Plenarium totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae Baltimore habitum anno 1852*, Baltimore 1853. This will be referred to as *Concilium Plen. Balt.* I. See also Mansi-Martin-Petit, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XLIV, 657-658. This will be referred to as Mansi, *Concilia*. For Neumann and the Council, see Curley, *Neumann*, 177, 200-206.

³ Neumann's episcopal faculties were granted in the audience of February 22, 1852. See APF, Udienze, Vol. 115 (1852), fol. 349r. They were sent on March 4, 1852. See APF, LDB, Vol. 341 (1852 I), fols. 288v-289r. These documents can be found in André Sampers, *Bischof Johann Nep. Neumanns Briefwechsel aufbewahrt in römischen kirchlichen Archiven 1852-1859*, in *Spic. Hist.* 24 (1976) 241-315. This will be referred to as, Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*. The story of Neumann's episcopal faculties is long and involved. Further material is found in letters 2 and 4.

⁴ The church of St. John the Baptist in Manayunk, Philadelphia County, was dedicated by Bishop Kenrick on April 4, 1831. See Eugene Murphy, *The First One Hundred Years of the Parish of St. John the Baptist, Manayunk, Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1931. See D. Mahony, *Historical Sketches of the Catholic Churches and Institutions of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1895, 50-51. This will be referred to as Mahony, *Historical Sketches*. For the episcopal visitations to Manayunk, see *Note Book of the Venerable Bishop John Nepomucene Neumann*, in *American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia, Records* 41 (1930) 165. Curley (*Neumann*, 447, n. 118) notes that this is better called the *Visitation Record*. It will be designated *Neumann, Visitation Record*. *The American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia Records* will be simply *Records*.

⁵ Father David Mulholland, born in Ireland, was ordained by Bishop Kenrick at St. Mary's on August 15, 1832. He died September 17, 1879. See Giuseppe Orlandi,

He said that he will get a surveyor from the City to measure the lot, the other two deeds are being prepared, & I will bring them with me to Baltimore. Most of the priests from N.[ew] Jersey, as far at least as it belongs to this Diocese⁶ expressed the wish, not to have a new bishop for themselves⁷, their reasons however appear to me rather weak. Most Reverend Hughes⁸ has made no mention of this affairs [*sic*] in the letter he sent to me the other day.

I commence now to feel somewhat more easy, at the beginning however I had some kind of homesickness⁹. The uniform kindness, which I experience every day from the Clergy as well as the laity gives me courage & confidence, so that I have no doubt, that we shall succeed ultimately in the building of the Cathedral¹⁰ as well, as in supporting the charitable institutions¹¹. I will leave here probably

La diocesi di Filadelfia nella relazione di Giovanni Nep. Neumann del 16 dic. 1854, in Spic. hist. 24 (1976), 54, n. 98. This will be referred to as Orlandi, Neumann Relazione; G. O'Donnell, St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Philadelphia 1964, 387. This will be referred to as O'Donnell, St. Charles.

⁶ When Neumann became bishop, the southern half of New Jersey from Trenton to Cape May — then called West Jersey — belonged to the diocese of Philadelphia. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1853*, 180.

⁷ Here we have an early rumor about the setting up of the diocese of Newark. The First Plenary Council of Baltimore recommended to Rome the erection of the Diocese of Newark that would include all of New Jersey. The Philadelphia priests in Jersey wanted to remain priests of the diocese of Philadelphia. See Curley, *Neumann*, 205, 237; Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 171. For later developments, see Letter 4.

⁸ John Hughes (June 24, 1797-January 3, 1864), a Philadelphia priest, was made titular bishop of Basileopolis and coadjutor to the bishop of New York with the right of succession on January 7, 1838, bishop of New York on December 20, 1842 and archbishop on July 19, 1850. See F.D. Cohalon, *Hughes, John*, in NCE 7 (1967) 196-198. The latest biography is by Richard Shaw, *Dagger John, The Unquiet Life and Times of Archbishop John Hughes of New York*, New York 1977.

⁹ Neumann felt homesick for community life and for his Redemptorist confreres. He sought and received the assurance of Pope Pius IX that he did not cease to be a Redemptorist and a « member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer » when he was made bishop. See Neumann to Pius IX, September 9, 1852, Philadelphia; Pius IX to Neumann, October 30, 1852, Rome. For the letters, see Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 261-263, 267-268. For Neumann's constant contact with his confreres at St. Peter's, Philadelphia, see the eight page pamphlet, published by the Neumann Center in Philadelphia, entitled *Blessed John Neumann Often Came to St. Peter's*.

¹⁰ Bishop Kenrick laid the cornerstone of the Philadelphia Cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul on September 6, 1846. For the pastoral letter of June 29 that inaugurated the cathedral, see Nolan, *Kenrick*, 460-462. The cathedral was not dedicated until November 20, 1864. See Joseph Jackson, *Building Philadelphia's Cathedral*, in *Records* 56 (1945) 163-176; Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 21-28. For Neumann and the cathedral, see Letters 2, 3, 4, 5, 16.

¹¹ These included in Philadelphia the House of Good Shepherd, St. Ann's Widow Asylum, St. Joseph's Female Orphan Asylum, and St. John's Male Orphan Asylum. St. Peter's Orphan Asylum was in Wilmington, Delaware. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1853*, 184-185.

on Tuesday next, & spend a day or two in Lancaster & York; on Friday I probably will arrive in Baltimore¹².

I have the honour to remain with unfeigned esteem & devotion
Most Reverend Archbishop

Your most humble and obedient Servant

† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia¹³

¹² In 1852, April 29 was a Thursday. The following Tuesday was May 4 and Friday was May 7. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1852*, 21-23. This would get Neumann into Baltimore in time for the preparatory meeting of the Council held in the archbishop's house on Saturday, May 8. It was Rome's desire that Neumann's episcopal ordination be arranged in such a way that he would be able to participate in the Council as a bishop. See Frasoni to Kenrick, February 21, 1852, Rome; AAB, C-I-13. For Neumann and the Council, see Curley, *Neumann*, 200-206. The visits to Lancaster and York mentioned here were only visits in passing; they were not formal episcopal visitations. For these, see *Visitation Record*, 162-163, 190-191.

¹³ It is interesting to note the various ways in which Neumann signs his name.

Letter 2

J.M.J.¹

Philadelphia, August 25, 1852

Most Reverend Sir

I wrote to Rome about the time of the National Council² that I had not received yet the necessary faculties, & I asked to let me have them at the earliest convenience³, — but I have no answer yet, nor any faculties⁴. I directed the letter to Cardinal Franzoni [*sic*],

¹ Abbreviations for Jesus, Mary, Joseph. Many Redemptorists, following St. Alphonsus, often put this abbreviation at the top of their letters. Some also add A = Alphonsus.

² See Letter 1, note 2.

³ The letter was written on June 7, 1852. See Neumann to Cardinal Frasoni, APF, SRC AC vol. 16 (1852-1854), fols. 114r-115r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 255-258.

⁴ Propaganda sent another copy of the faculties in a letter of July 27, 1852. This was entrusted to Sylvester Horton Rosecrans, a graduate of the Propaganda College, who was returning to the United States. See Frasoni to Neumann, APF, LDB, vol. 342 (1852 II), fol. 748r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 258. Neumann

Prefect of the Propaganda⁵ — which may perhaps account for my want of success, as he is no more Prefect, but another Cardinal, whose name is if I am not mistaken, Brunelli. Being a good deal embarrassed by the frequent applications for dispensations etc. I take the liberty to ask Your Grace, to let me know the address to [*sic*] the actual Prefect. The above account I have from an Italian Priest, who passed through here a few days ago⁶.

As to the good Sisters of the Visitation⁷ I cannot express my grief at their leaving Philadelphia — It is however beyond my power to prevent them⁸. They have suffered much & with exemplary resignation — & will feel much relieved, to whatever of their houses they may have to return⁹. They might have succeeded by keeping a day-school or high-school in a part of the City more thickly settled by Catholics, but they objected to it on account of health etc. We shall afford them every facility, when they will leave. As to Germantown¹⁰, I did not like to advise them to go there though some (e.g. Mr. Lo-

never received this copy. Letters of September 3 and 9 show that he had not yet received the faculties. See Neumann to Frasoni, September 3, 1852, Philadelphia; Neumann to P. Brixius Queloz, C.S.S.R., September 9, 1852, Philadelphia. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 259-260, 264-266. Sylvester Rosecrans went on to become auxiliary bishop of Cincinnati in 1861 and first bishop of Columbus, Ohio, in 1868. See R.A. Bonnell, *Columbus, Diocese of*, in NCE 3 (1967) 1040-1041; Joseph B. Code, *Dictionary of the American Hierarchy, 1789-1964*, New York 1964, 254. This will be referred to as Code, *American Hierarchy*. For the arrival of the faculties, see Letter 4.

⁵ Neumann regularly spells the name with a z instead of an s = Frasoni. Cardinal Giacomo Filippo Frasoni (1775-1856) was named Prefect of Propaganda on November 21, 1834. In those days, and until 1908, the Church in the United States, as a missionary church, was subject to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith that was established on January 6, 1622. See R. Song, *The Sacred Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith*, Washington, D.C., 1961.

⁶ Obviously, this is nothing but a rumor. Cardinal Brunelli (1795-1861) became Prefect of the Congregation of Studies in 1854. See *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani* 14 (1972) 556.

⁷ The Philadelphia Visitation Convent was founded from the Georgetown Convent under Bishop Kenrick on February 15, 1848. They originally settled at Eleventh and Spruce Streets. The convent and Young Ladies Academy of the Visitation later moved to Broad and Poplar Streets. See Nolan, *Kenrick*, 388.

⁸ The Visitation Sisters returned to Georgetown in the fall of 1852. They were plagued with debts. The trouble was the location of the Academy. It was too close to the city for boarders and too far out and inconvenient for the day students. Furthermore, as Neumann says later, they were not in a neighborhood thickly settled by Catholics. See Curley, *Neumann*, 212; *Catholic Herald*, September 2, 1852; *Catholic Instructor*, September 4, 1852. See also Letters 3 and 4.

⁹ There were five houses in the archdiocese of Baltimore, one in Baltimore, Catonsville, Frederick, and two in Washington (Georgetown and Tenth and G Streets). See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1853*, 66-67.

¹⁰ The cornerstone for the first church in Germantown, St. Vincent de Paul, conducted by the Vincentians, was blessed by Bishop Kenrick on September 2, 1849. See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 20; Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 90-91.

pez¹¹) thought much of it. The general feeling of the people in Pennsylvania is not yet so favorable to religious institutions as in Maryland¹², and the Ladies of the Sacred Heart¹³ even will have to overcome some difficulties, before they will prosper.

I get now more and more accustomed to my station — it is laborious & troublesome indeed — Passion Sunday was an ominous beginning¹⁴.

With the Cathedral we go on slowly, though steadily, according to Your own plan, — I am convinced now that to get through with it, it is necessary not to increase the debt, untill [*sic*] the building is nearly finished¹⁵.

Wishing Your Grace good health and every Blessing from heaven « *ad multos annos* »¹⁶ I have the honour to call myself

Most Reverend Sir

Your devoted Servant and Son
John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

¹¹ In the words of Archbishop Kenrick, Mr. Lopez, a prominent Catholic of Philadelphia, was « Spanish-born, laudable for his piety, but somewhat obstinate ». See Kenrick to Barnabò, October 4, 1858, Baltimore, in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860), fols. 339-340. See G. Orlandi, *G.N. Neumann e i vescovi degli U.S.A. nelle lettere dell'Archivio di Propaganda Fide 1852-1860*, in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 403-406. This will be referred to as Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*. See Letters 4 and 23-24.

¹² At that time the diocese of Philadelphia had four colleges for men and one academy for girls. On the other hand, Baltimore had five colleges for men and six academies for girls. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1853*, 63-69, 181-182.

¹³ The Ladies of the Sacred Heart = The Madams of the Sacred Heart = The Society of the Sacred Heart. They came to the diocese in 1842 and opened an academy for girls at McSherrystown, near the Maryland border. In 1846 they went to Philadelphia for a year and then on to Torresdale where they opened « Eden Hall ». See *The Centenary of Eden Hall: 1847-1947*, in *Records* 57 (1946) 145-159; Louise Callan, *The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America*, New York 1937, 360-379. For Neumann and Eden Hall, see Curley, *Neumann*, 213, 339, 383; Callan, *op. cit.* 379-380.

¹⁴ Passion Sunday, March 28, 1852, was the day of Neumann's episcopal ordination. He chose as his motto the words *Passio Christi conforta me* - Passion of Christ strengthen me, words from the celebrated prayer, *Anima Christi*. See Curley, *Neumann*, 177-179.

¹⁵ With the vast increase in immigrants, the founding of new parishes, the building of schools and churches, the on-going construction of the cathedral was a great strain on Neumann and the diocese. When he arrived, the cathedral treasury was bare. Neumann highlighted the importance of the cathedral in his first Pastoral Letter issued the week after his arrival. The Circular to the clergy, issued a month later on May 4, urged the priests to make this cause their own. He called a meeting of the committee and reappointed Father Edmund Waldron as the supervisor of the work of construction. From the beginning he laid down the fast rule that the work would go on only as the money came in. See Curley, *Neumann*, 199, 228; Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 26-27; *The Catholic Herald*, June 17, July 15, 1852; Berger-Grimm, *Neumann*, 381-385.

¹⁶ The Latin for the English toast: « For many years ».

Letter 3

Philadelphia, September 13, 1852

Most Reverend Sir

Though Your notification of the past conduct of the Reverend Mr. D.¹ has surprised me very painfully, I feel very grateful for this sign of Confidence, as many serious & evil consequences must inevitably have followed. I noticed in him [a] want of ecclesiastical modesty, but I ascribed [it] to natural frankness and a certain joviality, which would not stain a character otherwise steady & well regulated. His knowledge of the clergy and Missions through the whole Dio-

¹ Because Neumann regularly chose his consultors from the pastors of the city of Philadelphia, this could be Father Daniel Francis Devitt, the only one then whose name began with a D. His life was divided into two periods, from his birth 1812/1816 until 1858, and from 1858 until his death in 1874. After studying at the Propaganda in Rome from 1832 to 1834, he entered St. Charles Seminary as its first native vocation. After his ordination on September 21, 1839, he was assigned to found St. Patrick's parish. In 1855 and 1856 there was tension between Devitt and Neumann. There were rumors about his morals and the bishop did his best to admonish him. Furthermore, Devitt opposed Neumann's regulations regarding parochial and personal finances. He stirred up trouble among the clergy and laity, going as far as to publish anonymous letters in the newspapers. In the summer of 1856 he left St. Patrick's and lived for a year with a widow in the neighboring diocese of Newark. Neumann was overjoyed when Devitt returned repentant in 1857. With letters of recommendation, Devitt went to Rome, made a retreat with the Jesuits and wrote Neumann that his confessor advised him to offer himself to some bishop for work. Although Neumann thought that Devitt should not work in the United States, he was ready to grant dismissorial letters as soon as he heard from the bishop ready to accept him. For this phase of his life, see Kenrick to Bedini, July 23, 1856, Baltimore; Kenrick to Barnabò, August 25, 1856, Baltimore, in APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856) fols. 674-675, 679; Neumann to Barnabò, April 11, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fol. 966, a-d. The letters can be found in Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 366-369; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 283-290. See also *A Century of Faith. Church of St. Patrick, Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1939, 15-20; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 14, 310, 375, 387; Curley, *Neumann*, 286-288, 350.

In 1858 Devitt returned to America and contacted Bishop Thaddeus Amat of Monterey-Los Angeles whom he knew when he was rector of the Philadelphia Seminary. He began working at Santa Barbara, California, in 1859. In 1861 he became pastor at Visalia that took in the entire San Joaquin Valley. His many zealous years there won for him the title, «Apostle of the Valley». He carried on his apostolate there under the name of Daniel Francis Dade. For reasons of health he had to give up this apostolate in 1872 and associated himself with a group of Precious Blood Fathers who were attempting to establish their Congregation in California. After first working at their parish in Eureka, he joined the staff of their St. Joseph's College at Rohnerville and became its president. It was here that he died, still a diocesan priest, on April 2, 1874. In a letter to Barnabò, probably written in 1872, Archbishop Wood of Philadelphia gives a summary of the case and says that Father Devitt — the name he used — desires to join the Precious Blood Fathers. The obstacle to his desire was the title of his ordination, namely, of serving on the missions perpetually. Wood goes on to second Devitt's request. For the California phase

cese, & his willingness to do me any service that I asked of him², made me take him into the Episcopal Council, which I attempted to form according to what was recommended at [the] National Council³. I noticed however soon enough, that he was not at all free from party spirit, & that by following blindly his advices [*sic*] I might be used as a tool to carry out purposes, diametrically opposite to my own. The Very R.[everend] Mr. S.[ourin]⁴ otherwise very good & zealous tries to keep out of harms [*sic*] way, & so the « Episcopal Council » proves this time a failure⁵, & I will have to help myself the best I can. I will try to remove Mr. D. from his present situation as soon as I shall get an opportunity⁶.

of his life, see Sister M. Thomas Hampton, O.P., *Visalia: The Mother Parish of the San Joaquin Valley and Its First Pastor: The Reverend Francis Dade*. This is a typed Master's dissertation, The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. 1946; Wood to Barnabò, in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 24 (1872-1873) fol. 574; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 367, n. 4; William E. Campbell, *One Hundred Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of St. Patrick's*, Philadelphia 1965, 21-24. The publication of the documents by Orlandi and Sampers fills in the lacuna between the Philadelphia and California phases of Devitt's priesthood that was such a puzzle to Hampton.

² In 1852 Devitt was an enthusiastic backer of Neumann. When Neumann's plans for parochial schools were announced, Devitt brought in prominent lecturers to give talks in the parish hall. He also built a three story parochial school that accommodated 800 pupils. See Curley, *Neumann*, 209-210; *The Catholic Herald*, September 16, 1852; *A Century of Faith. St. Patrick's, Philadelphia*, 103-104.

³ The sixth decree of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852 exhorted bishops to choose a council of learned and prudent men as consultors who would assist them in the administration of the diocese. The Council also recommended a monthly meeting of the bishop and consultors. See *Concilium Plen. Balt.* I, 45; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLIV, 674-675; Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 178.

⁴ Father Edward Sourin, S.J., (1808-1888), a native-born Philadelphian, was ordained as a diocesan priest by Bishop Kenrick at St. Mary's on August 5, 1832. He later became secretary to Kenrick and the administrator of the diocese when the latter departed for Baltimore. He preached at Neumann's episcopal ordination, arranged for his reception into Philadelphia, became his Vicar General. He entered the Society of Jesus on November 11, 1855, was professed August 15, 1866, and died at Baltimore May 20, 1888. See Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 51, n. 2; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 387; Curley, *Neumann*, 180-183, 197, 289, 315; R. Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum in Renata Societate Jesu ab a. 1814 ad a. 1870*, Rome 1972, 6/818, p. 122. This will be referred to as Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum*. For his funeral sermon on Neumann, see *Obsequies of the Rt. Rev. John Nep. Neumann*, Philadelphia 1860, 8-10.

⁵ Neumann deserves credit for carrying out the recommendations of the Council. Actually, « only few dioceses followed the injunction. The Second Plenary Council (1866) also advised it, but the Third (1884) found it necessary to command that the system be put immediately into practice ». See Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 179.

⁶ Neumann did not act on that. Actually, Devitt was still named as a consultor in the Fifth Synod of Philadelphia held in October 3-5, 1853. This was the Synod with the regulations on finances that irritated some of the clergy, including Devitt. Speaking of the current clerical unrest in Philadelphia, Kenrick mentions clerical avarice. See *Constitutiones Dioecesanæ in Synodis Philadelphiensibus annis 1832, 1842, 1847, 1853, 1855, et 1857 latae et promulgatae*, Philadelphia 1881, 26. This will be referred to as *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* See Kenrick to Barnabò, August 25, 1856, Baltimore, APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856), fol. 679; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 368-369.

I made different proposals to the Sisters of the Visitation to keep them here, particularly I desired [that] they might establish themselves in a more central part of the City and to open a high school — they certainly would have succeeded much better as [*sic*] at their first trial [attempt] — but it was all in vain — the Reverend F.[ather] Curley⁷ has made them homesick, & I could not but consent.

Next week the collections will commence through the whole Diocese for the new Cathedral. I have engaged six of our Clergymen, to collect from house to house⁸. If they are successful as I hope we shall be able to carry the front up to the square before the winter⁹.

I have spoken several times to Mr. Frenaye¹⁰ to have the deeds made out to be signed by You, but this good old Gentleman is so forgetful, I hope in a few days he will be ready.

I beg You to accept the sentiments of sincere veneration and affection of

Most Reverend Sir

Your most devoted Servant and Son
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

⁷ James Curley, S.J. (1796-1889), a native of Ireland, entered the Society of Jesus on September 29, 1827 and was admitted to final vows as a spiritual cooperator on February 2, 1841. His long life is associated with Georgetown College where he was « one of the most interesting figures in the history of the college ». He had the observatory built in 1843, inaugurated astronomy courses, delighted in teaching undergraduates and in acting as chaplain to the Visitation Sisters and Academy, a post he held for fifty years. He died July 24, 1889. See Joseph Durkin, *Georgetown University, The Middle Years, 1840-1900*, Washington, D.C. 1963, 1, 17-20, 138-139; Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum*, 7/62, p. 127.

⁸ This was the method that Neumann devised for gathering funds in 1852. For later methods, see Curley, *Neumann*, 228-229, 257-259, 279, 317. See also the annual reports in the *Catholic Herald*.

⁹ Neumann found the rear and side walls erected up to the roof. He had to begin working on the front. He speaks of carrying it up to the square. This does not include the entablatures, pillars, clerestory, dome, etc. See Curley, *Neumann*, 228 and the picture at p. 233. In 1850 Kenrick told his brother, Peter Richard, the Archbishop of St. Louis, that « the cost of the front will be very great ». See Francis Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, Philadelphia, 1920, 309. This will be cited as *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*.

¹⁰ Marc Antony Frenaye, 1783-1873, a native of Santo Domingo who was educated in France, became a successful Philadelphia merchant. He was a great benefactor to the diocese. It was his generous loan of \$ 30,000 that enabled Kenrick to start St. John's and have a church under the bishop and not in the control of lay trustees. His marriage ended in separation. From the early 1830s he lived at St. John's and acted as the diocesan procurator under Kenrick and Neumann. See *Marc Antony Frenaye. A Sketch*, in *Records* 38 (1927) 132-143; Tourscher, *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, VIII. See the autobiographical data in *Records* 13 (1902) 454-456.

Letter 4

Philadelphia, November 16, 1852

Most Reverend Sir

I have been absent from the City for several weeks on a Visitation of the northern and eastern Missions of this Diocese¹ & did not receive Your favour but Saturday last on my return.

I will write today to Reverend Manahan² at Mauch-Chunk³ & I am confident that Your suggestions will be carried out with despatch. We have made several attempts to sell the lot in West-Philadelphia⁴ but we were not offered a sum which in our estimation should be paid for it. I had asked repeatedly of Mr. Frenaye to have the

¹ In the fall of 1852 Neumann was visiting sections of the diocese that now comprise the dioceses of Allentown (1861) and Scranton (1868). In Allentown he visited Beaver Meadows (Oct. 4), Easton (Oct. 3), Mauch Chunk (Oct. 15), Minersville (Oct. 10), Nesquehoning (Oct. 6), Rockport (Oct. 15), Summit Hill (Oct. 7), Tamaqua (Oct. 8). See Neumann, *Visitation Record* 5, 17, 166, 169, 171, 179, 184. In the diocese of Scranton he visited Archbald (Oct. 24), Dushore (Nov. 6), Honesdale (Oct. 24), Milford (Nov. 9), Mount Pleasant (Oct. 27), Silver Lake (Nov. 1), Susquehanna (Oct. 29), Towanda (Nov. 4), Wilkes-Barre (Oct. 17). See *Ibid.* 3, 17, 25, 169, 170, 181, 182, 184, 190. The October 17, 1963 issue of *The Catholic Light* published the data on the diocese of Scranton from the *Visitation Record*. See also John P. Gallagher, *A Century of History. The Diocese of Scranton. 1868-1968*, Scranton 1968, 63-79. This will be referred to as Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*. The Historical Edition of *The Catholic Light* for 1916 contains a great deal of material.

² Father Ambrose Manahan, a native of Utica, New York, was ordained at Rome on August 29, 1841. A study of the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanacs* (1842-1845) shows him working in the diocese of New York. Those of 1846-1852 list him as working in Boston. In 1852 he joined the diocese of Philadelphia and he was pastor at Mauch Chunk. On February 7, 1853 he returned to New York where he took over Ward's Island. While in Rome he obtained his doctorate in theology and was always a studious student and researcher. He published *The Catholic Church and Naturalism*, New York 1853. This was a lecture published as a thirty-two page brochure. His *magnum opus* is entitled, *Triumph of the Catholic Church in the Early Age*, a book of 572 pages that was published at New York in 1859, at Boston in 1860 and again at New York in 1866. He died, probably at the age of fifty-three, in 1867. Besides the *Almanacs*, see *The National Union Catalog. Pre 1956 Imprints*, vol. 358, 1974, 230-231. See also the data in the parish history of Mauch Chunk and Summit Hill as noted in letters 14, 15, 18. For the court cases mentioned in this letter, see the same letters.

³ The borough of Mauch Chunk was founded in 1815. In 1954 Mauch Chunk merged with East Mauch Chunk, across the Lehigh River, and was named Jim Thorpe in honor of the celebrated Indian athlete and Olympic champion who was buried there. See *Jim Thorpe* in *Collier's Encyclopedia* 13 (1977) 588-589. For the parish of the Immaculate Conception there, see letter 14.

⁴ The cornerstone of St. James' parish, the first to be set up in West Philadelphia, was laid by Kenrick on June 14, 1851. The church was blessed by Neumann the following year. See Curley, *Neumann*, 449; Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 94-95.

deed made out & sent to You, but he is getting more and more forgetful⁵.

A circular will appear in the next *Herald*⁶ to the same intent as Yours in [the] last *Mirror*⁷ — to help my unhappy namesake out of the scraps⁸. I will write to Cardinal Wiseman⁹ this week yet.

We are again at work at [*sic*] the Cathedral. I hope the collection for it will bring [in] about \$ 5,000, & will enable me, to keep a few men engaged at it during the winter. The people commence to show a little more interest for it than when I arrived & the Clergy through the Diocese promised to make a more general and generous effort in their respective Congregations. During the next summer I intend to carry up the front before we put the roof on — which might probably be done next year¹⁰.

⁵ This is the second reference to Frenaye in the short space of two months in Neumann's first year in Philadelphia. He is already speaking of the forgetfulness and age of the diocesan procurator. This only added to Neumann's financial worries. Frenaye, who lived on to be 90, was then 69 years old.

⁶ *The Catholic Herald*, the official diocesan paper of Philadelphia, was founded under Bishop Kenrick in 1833. Its beginning is linked with the celebrated Hughes-Breckenridge debate. John Breckenridge, the secretary and general agent of the Board of Education of the Presbyterian Church, published his articles in *The Presbyterian* of Philadelphia. Father John Hughes, later bishop and archbishop of New York, published his rebuttals in *The Catholic Herald*. In 1857 it became *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*. See *Notes on the Catholic Herald*, in *Records* 22 (1911) 108-109, 157-159; E. Willing-H. Hatzfeld, *Catholic Serials of the Nineteenth Century in the United States. A Descriptive Bibliography and Union List*. 2 ser., pt. 5, The Catholic University of America, 1964, 23-27. The circular (see n. 8) appeared in the issue of November 25, 1852. See also the issue of November 11.

⁷ *The Catholic Mirror*, 1850-1908, was the paper of the archdiocese of Baltimore and nearby dioceses. See Wilging-Hatzfeld, *op. cit.* 2 ser., pt. 11, 1965, 14-19. For the circular, see the next note.

⁸ Neumann is referring to Cardinal John Henry Newman of England. Incidentally, the reference to Newman as his namesake may indicate that Neumann pronounced his own name Newman. Neumann is here talking about the «Newman Fund». When the decision in the Achilli vs. Newman trial for libel went against Newman, Catholics in Europe and America took up collections to help pay the exorbitant fine. See Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, 2 vols. London 1912, I, 275-304. In the United States, there was a meeting of prelates at Louisville, Kentucky, on October 1, 1852. They invited the clergy and laity to contribute to the cause. Kenrick's appeal, dated October, 13, appeared in *The Catholic Mirror* of October 16 and in every issue until January 1, 1853. The money collected was channeled through him. The phrase, «out of the scraps», is Neumann's. One senses the meaning from the context. There is no such English phrase. Perhaps he is thinking of the word «scrape». The phrase. «to pinch and scrape», indicates one who can scarcely manage.

⁹ When the hierarchy was restored in England in 1850, Nicholas Patrick Wiseman (1802-1865) was made Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Two years later, he held the First Provincial Council where Newman gave his famous sermon, «The Second Spring». See B. Fothergill, *Wiseman, Nicholas Patrick*, in NCE 14 (1967) 976-977. There is no trace of such a letter.

¹⁰ Here Neumann shows himself extremely sanguine. Actually, the raising of the cross on the finished roof did not take place until September 1859. See Curley, *Neumann*, 393.

I have received my faculties from Rome two or three weeks ago and intend to write to Cardinal Franzoni [*sic*] this week¹¹. All the Clergymen in the southern part of N.[ew] J.[ersy] are desirous to remain united with this Diocese and have expressed the wish that things might remain as they are¹². For my part it is my sincere wish [that] the Diocese might be made as small as possible & it was no little consolation to me, to think of having the Pennsylvania part divided into two or three, at any time when You and the other Bishops of the Province would think it feasible¹³. I will write one of these days to Rome & recommend as far as I am allowed Your views on the New Jersey affair, which are mine too¹⁴.

I would beg You, Most Reverend Archbishop, to let me have the 5th Volume of the Life of St. Alphonsus¹⁵ for our Circulating Library¹⁶, where it is wanted.

I have received several appeals of the more influential Catholics of Philadelphia, particularly from the female scholars [students] of the Visitation Sisters, to invite them back, to open a High-School in a central part of the City. I had proposed it several times to the Superior before they left, & had offered every necessary aid to carry

¹¹ There is no record of a letter to Cardinal Franzoni at this time. The faculties first sent in February only reached Neumann in late October or early November. See above, Letters 1 and 2.

¹² According to Curley, *Neumann*, 231, when the new diocese of Newark was set up in 1853, the priests in Southern Jersey remained members of the diocese of Philadelphia, « though four of them were temporarily loaned » to Newark. A study of the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* (1853-1860) shows that more than four were working there when Newark was established, that some did return, and that some continued to stay in the new diocese.

¹³ This is a very important statement as background for the problems of dividing Philadelphia in 1855 and 1858, problems to be treated later. It shows how early the plan was in Neumann's mind. Neumann found the vastness of the diocese a difficulty in living up to his pastoral ideals.

¹⁴ Because of the proximity of Newark to New York and because Trenton was more centrally located in the State of New Jersey, Kenrick would have preferred to see Trenton chosen as the site of the new diocese. Neumann agreed with this view regarding territory that once, partially, belonged to his diocese. See *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, 339.

¹⁵ Neumann is referring here to the fifth volume of the English translation of Tannoja, St. Alphonsus' first biographer. See Antonio Maria Tannoja, CSSR, *The Life of S. Alphonsus Maria de Ligorio, Bishop of St. Agata of the Goths, and Founder of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, 5 vols., London, Richardson and Son, 1848-1849. See *The National Union Catalogue, Pre-1956 Imprints* 582 (1978) 635. A one volume digest of this was published by an anonymous Redemptorist at Baltimore (John Murphy & Co.) in 1855. Some nineteenth-century data can be found in M. De Meulemeester, CSSR, *Bibliographie générale des écrivains rédemptoristes*, 3 vols., Louvain 1933-1939.

¹⁶ On his way to the United States and from his earliest days here Neumann often wrote about the need for reading material and especially devotional literature in

it out, but she found it altogether impracticable¹⁷. I have spoken to Mr. Lopez, & he will interest himself for [*sic*] it¹⁸.

I am confident that You will frequently remember my weakness and pray for

Your most humble and obedient Servant
 † John Nep. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

the letters to his folks and friends. It was most vital for the Catholics who did not have their own church and priest. Neumann would have them gather on their own for a service, part of which was reading this literature. See e.g., in ABPR, N, Neumann to his parents, February 28, 1836, Strassburg; Neumann to Dean Endres, June 27, 1836, New York. See especially, Neumann to Andreas Räss, May 30, 1837, Cayuga Creek. The German is printed in *Der Katholik* 66 (1837) 275-280. The English translation is found in *Social Justice Review* 27 (1934-1935) 130-131, 177-178. As bishop, he encouraged circulating libraries. See Curley, *Neumann*, 215.

¹⁷ See Letters 2, 3, 6.

¹⁸ See Letters 2, 23, 24.

Letter 5

[Early January 1853]¹

Most Reverend Sir

In the list of faculties which I have copied from Your circular I miss several, which had been granted to me on February 22 of the [*sic*] last year², & which I was allowed to communicate to the Clergymen on mission³. I hope that they remain valid, unless they are

¹ For the dating, see n. 2.

² As previously seen, Neumann's faculties were granted in the audience of February 22, 1852. This shows that the present letter was written in 1853. For further data, see n. 12.

³ In a letter to Pope Pius IX, Neumann speaks of the societies he established «in every mission of the diocese of Philadelphia». See Neumann to Pius IX, April 5, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fols. 999r-1000v. Until 1908 the Church in the United States was still a missionary church subject to the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. In that setup, one spoke of missions, not parishes. These missions automatically became parishes when the country was placed under the common law of the Church. See S. Woywood-C. Smith,

modified by the new faculties or expressly abrogated as the cases of the *bull* « *Sacramentum Poenitentia* » [sic]⁴. Should this my opinion be wrong or not safe enough, I beg You most humbly to let me know it [sic].

I take the liberty to transmit to You, Most Reverend Sir, our contributions for the « *Newmanns* [sic] Fund »⁵. Mr. Michael Magrath⁶ gave \$ 50.00. Father Sourin⁷ \$ 10.00. Reverend Mr. O'Connor⁸ \$ 5.00. The rest is partly from me, partly from different persons who offered some trifle. It is a difficult thing to make people contribute liberally to this fund — they regard it usually as money to be thrown away.

The work at the Cathedral is going slowly but steadily — The collection raised last fall brought in about \$ 7,000, & will enable me yet to build up the front & the corresponding side-walls to about 40 feet high [sic]⁹. The stone [sic] are nearly all cut to bring it that high & will be set as soon as the weather will allow it. The Catholics here seem to show again more interest & courage with regard to it, and the Clergy as well as the Layity [sic] promise to make a better collection next Summer. It will however take us four or five years, before we shall have the joy to see it finished & being consecrated by You, Most Reverend Archbishop¹⁰. We pray to God daily

A Practical Commentary on the Code of Canon Law, 2 vols. in one, New York 1952, I, 97. This will be referred to as Woywood-Smith, *Commentary on the Code*. Furthermore, « clergymen on mission » designated those who were engaged in pastoral work in contradistinction to those engaged in teaching, See Letter 10, n. 2.

⁴ The bull *Sacramentum Poenitentiae* was issued by Pope Benedict XIV on June 1, 1741. It designated certain reserved sins and their accompanying penalties dealing with clerical chastity. See Benedict XIV, *Bullarium* I, Prati 1845, 65-68.

⁵ This is the Cardinal Newman Fund mentioned in the previous letter. The contributions are listed in every issue of the *Catholic Mirror* from October 30 to the end of 1852. They are also listed in the issues of January 1, 15, February 5 and March 19, 1853. Philadelphia's contribution is not printed there.

⁶ The charter of St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia, issued on April 13, 1838, called for nine trustees, five of whom were laymen. Mr. Michael Magrath was a lay member of the Board from 1838 to 1849. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 282; *Philadelphia Catholic Historical Briefs*, in *Records* 22 (1911) 44.

⁷ For Father Sourin, see Letter 3, n. 4.

⁸ Father Richard O'Connor, born in Ireland in 1814, was educated at St. Charles Seminary. He was ordained June 6, 1846 and died January 31, 1883. Neumann thought highly of him. He proposed his name for bishop of Pottsville and made him one of the Executors of his will. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 388; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 50, n. 9; *Neumann e i vescovi*, 357; André Sampers, *The Document of the Execution of St. John Neumann's Will*, in *Spic. hist.* 25 (1977) 70.

⁹ As is evident, the collection was \$2000 above Neumann's first calculation. See Letter 4.

¹⁰ With the passage of time and more experience, Neumann's expectations for the completion of the cathedral became more realistic. The remark about Arch-

that He may prosper this important undertaking, and that He may preserve You in good health until it is finished, & many happy years after it.

Mr. Johnson, the Quaker, leaves me no out. He wants to marry, & [to] insist on doing it at once. But having been declared « *non compos mentis* »¹¹ his matrimony might be declared legally null, — though he has at present sense enough — and a Priest might perhaps be made to suffer. A few days ago his mother promised him to get him restored to his full rights in a few months, & he has given up his project for that time.

I beg God, to grant to You a happy new year¹², & the fulness of His graces for so many marks of benevolence towards me.

Please to accept the assurance or the unfeigned submission with which I remain

Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble Servant
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

bishop Kenrick shows Neumann's mind. In all probability he would have preferred to have Kenrick at the ceremony of the raising of the cross on the cathedral in 1859. However, Bishop Wood, the coadjutor, had been entrusted with the construction of the cathedral and he invited Bishop Martin John Spalding to preach. For the ceremony, see Curley, *Neumann*, 393.

¹¹ A technical Latin phrase that means « not of sound mind ».

¹² Note 2 showed that the letter was written in 1853. This remark shows it was written early in January, early enough to still speak of happiness in the new year.

Letter 6

Cascade¹, Lycoming County, Sept. 28, 1853

Most Reverend Sir

I expect to be back in Philadelphia about the middle of next month², when I will at once propose Your suggestions to our Clergy

¹ At present the church of the Assumption at Cascade is a mission of St. Aloysius parish, Ralston, in the diocese of Scranton. See *Official Catholic Directory A.D. 1978*, 862; Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*, 552.

² During September and into the middle of October, Neumann visited Belle-

& [the] more influential Catholics. I wish from my heart [that] some provision could be made for those poor converts — it will prove a most serious obstacle to the conversion of some, who would not enter on [*sic*] the Priesthood³.

The German Catechism, approved of by the National Council, had [*sic*] been published about a month ago by Mr. Murphy in Baltimore⁴. I wonder why he did not send a copy to every Pastor of a German congregation.

Mr. Bolmar wishes to dispose of his College & adjoining grounds (7 acres) at West-Chester⁵. He asked me whether the Visitation-Nuns

fonte (Sept. 8), Blossburg (Oct. 20), Cascade (Sept. 28), Chambersburg (Sept. 14), Carlisle (Sept. 8), Lewistown (Sept. 16), Lock Haven (Sept. 21), Nipponese Valley (Sept. 25), Ridgebury (Oct. 5), Troy (Oct. 9), White Haven (Oct. 16). See *Visitation Record*, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 164, 165, 173, 186, 187.

³ Neumann is here referring to the Protestant ministers who were becoming Catholics and to others who might be held back because they could not function as priests unless they renounced marriage. The most famous of the converts was Bishop Levi Silliman Ives who went to Rome and made a formal submission to Pius IX on Christmas Day 1852. Rome directed that provision be made for them. Kenrick showed himself extremely interested in the cause. Neumann is here responding to the suggestion of Kenrick for help. Kenrick had two plans: a converts' fund and help in providing them with occupations. See E. F. Leonard, *Ives Levi Silliman*, in *NCE* 7 (1967) 776-777. For samples of Kenrick's interest, see *The Catholic Mirror*, April 16, 1852; January 8, Feb. 5, 12, 1853. See also the many references in the letters to his brother, Peter Richard Kenrick, Archbishop of St. Louis, in the *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, 323, 351, 357, 386, 394, 403, 447, 464, 469.

⁴ At the First Plenary Council in 1852 Neumann was commissioned to choose or write a German catechism and to submit it to the German-speaking bishops and to Archbishop Kenrick. The bishops approved the larger and smaller catechisms that he had previously published anonymously. These, along with the decrees of the Council, were brought to Rome at the end of June by the Bishop of Chicago, James O. Van der Veldt, S.J. On July 7 the Secretary of Propaganda sent them to Father Jan Roothaan, the General Superior of the Jesuits, with the request that one of the priests review them. On September 26 Propaganda informed Kenrick that the catechisms were approved. They were then published in 1853 under Neumann's name by John Murphy and Company at Baltimore with the statement that they were issued «with the approval of the National Council of Baltimore». See Neumann to Franconi, June 7, 1852, Philadelphia, in *APF, SRC, AC*, vol. 16 (1852-1854), fols. 114r-115r. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 257, nn. 26-27; Curley, *Neumann*, 161, 204; De Meulemeester, *Bibliographie*, II, 294-295, III, 358; Mary Charles Bryce, *An Accomplished Catechist: John Nepomucene Neumann*, in *The Living Light* 14 (1977), 327-337.

⁵ Anthony Bolmar (1797-1861). A native of France, Jean Claude Antoine Brunin de Bolmar was born in Bourbon Lancy, Lower Burgundy, in 1797. In 1828, after traveling in Europe since 1826, he settled in Philadelphia. Because of the outbreak of Asiatic Cholera in 1832 he moved to the Borough of West Chester, where he was in charge of the West Chester Academy from 1834 to 1840. In 1840 he bought Mrs. Phelps Young Ladies' Boarding School and converted it into a school for young men and boys. While he was in France in 1859 on business matters, the school was closed. His health prevented him from reopening it on his return. He died February 21, 1861. Besides teaching, he also published works dealing with the French language and culture. See J. Smith Futhey-Gilbert Cope, *A History of Chester County, Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia 1881, 305, 484; *The National Union Catalog. Pre 1956 Imprints*, 64 (1969) 698; 65 (1970) 1-2.

would not purchase it. He wants \$ 10,000 cash & \$ 20,000 at a time most convenient to themselves <...> sk⁶, them whether they would like to hear <...> can do hardly anything — & they are probably not yet rich enough, to think of another experiment [attempt]. I would otherwise be very glad if they would make an establishment. I have been looking for a house for them in the City but have not succeeded yet to find one⁷.

The Catholic settlement here commences to prosper⁸. There are at present 46 Catholic families settled, & there is every prospect for a greater number. Mr. Kelly & his good wife ask me to send You their most profound respects. At Blossburgh⁹ however all Catholics have left, with the exception of some 5 or 6 families. In these mining districts it would be the most expedient to erect great temporary tents, & to break them off [*sic*] when the coal fails or when the Companies give out¹⁰. Shamokin¹¹ & Wiconisco¹² have at pre-

⁶ The reason for the lacuna is this: This is a one page letter. Someone cut out Neumann's signature on the verso side and this destroyed these lines on the recto side.

⁷ Neumann continued to interest himself in the return of the Visitation Sisters. In 1853 he told them how much they were needed because of the number of girls who desire an academy education. He also mentions that he is looking for a suitable building, one that is big enough and not burdened with debts. His aim was to prevent another Philadelphia disappointment. The following year he told them that they were not forgotten, that many desire their return and ask him about this. See ABPR, N, Visitation Sisters, Neumann to Much Respected Sisters, December 7, 1853; Neumann to Dear Sisters, February 21, 1854, Philadelphia.

⁸ The original church of St. Mary of the Assumption, 30 x 40 feet, was built in 1850. Kenrick refers to it as St. Mary in Cascade Township in Lycoming County. Neumann made visitations there in 1853, 1856 and 1858. In the *Catholic Almanacs* of those days it was referred to as a Catholic Settlement. That is precisely what it was during the Neumann period when it was cared for by priests from Blossburg and Williamsport. See *Diary and Visitation Record of the Rt. Rev. Francis Patrick Kenrick, Administrator and Bishop of Philadelphia 1830-1851*, Philadelphia 1916, 266. This will be referred to as Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*. See also, Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 9.

⁹ In September 1851, Kenrick administered Confirmation at Blossburg. The church was started in 1853 and blessed by Neumann in 1854. It got its first priest in 1853. However, by 1857 it was being visited by a priest once a month. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 266; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 6; J. Gallagher, *The Diocese of Scranton*, 69. St. Andrew's parish is still in existence. Furthermore, Blossburg also has St. Mary's, a Polish parish that goes back to 1874. See *The Official Catholic Directory*, A. D. 1978, 860.

¹⁰ More than once in these letters Neumann betrays a shrewd business sense. True, he found financial problems a burden and dreaded the possibility of going under in debts. However, that he was a poor financier is a « Neumann myth ». With all his building and the 1857 financial crisis, the diocese did not go bankrupt. He had sound investments to fall back on if overtaken by crisis. For more detail, see André Sampers, *The Document of the Execution of St. Neumann's Will*, in *Spic. Hist.* 25 (1977) 66-72.

¹¹ The original wooden church of St. Edward's parish in Shamokin was blessed by Kenrick on October 11, 1840 and was then visited once a month by Father

sent every good prospect.

I am with sentiments of sincere devotedness and veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ¹³

Most Reverend F.[rancis] P.[atrick] Kenrick
Archbishop of Baltimore

Daniel Magorien from Milton. Neumann made visitations there in 1852, 1854, 1857, 1859. It remained a mission station until the parish was formally established in 1866. There are now (1978) six parishes there. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 194; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 180; *The Official Catholic Directory*, A. D. 1978, 378; *The Diocese of Harrisburg 1868-1968*, Harrisburg 1968, 124.

¹² Wiconisco, a half mile from Lykens, is part of the parish of our Lady Help of Christians in Lykens in the diocese of Harrisburg. The archives of the diocese contain a short historiette of the parish. See also *Diocese of Harrisburg*, 66. For Neumann and the diocese, whose first bishop was William O'Hara whom he chose to be the rector of the Philadelphia seminary, see *ibid.* 21-22.

¹³ The absence of the signature is explained above, note 6.

Letter 7

J.M.J.

Philadelphia, January 20, 1854

Most Reverend Sir

I had been invited to bless the new Catholic Church in Loretto¹ on the feast of Epiphany², and to preach in Pittsburg on [the] Sunday following. On my return from this short excursion on the 12th I found two letters from the Nuntio, in which he kindly inti-

¹ Loretto, the cradle of Catholicism in Cambria County, is now in the diocese of Altoona-Johnstown. The first Mass was said there on Christmas Day 1799 by the celebrated priest and missionary, Prince Gallitzin. See T. Hartzel, *Gallitzin, Demetrius Augustine*, in NCE 6 (1967) 268-269. Speaking of St. Michael's there in 1830, Kenrick (*Diary and Visitation Record*, 41) says that it would require the strenuous labors of three priests. St. Michael's is still the only parish there. See *The Official Catholic Directory* A. D. 1978, 46.

² January 6.

mated that he would very willingly stay some days at Philadelphia³ provided I did not think it inadvisable, in consequence of the occurrence at Cincinnati⁴ [*sic*]. In my answer⁵, mailed on the 13, I stated to him, that, after consulting some of our Clergy about the feeling in the City after those events, I saw no danger to be apprehended of a riot or some other disturbance — and that we would be exceedingly gratified if he would consent to stay here, the longer the better — Since that [*sic*] nothing has occurred which could make me change my opinion.

Not knowing his residence in Washington, and not wanting to put his name on the address⁶ — I send [*sic*] my letter to him to the Very Reverend W.[illiam] Mathews⁷ [*sic*], thinking that he would know the [*sic*] best where he resided. It seems however that my letter has not come to [*sic*] his hands, the cause of which is quite beyond my comprehension.

As I hear from Mr. Slevin⁸, Monseigneur Bedini intends to

³ Neumann is referring here to Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, the Roman visitor who made a visitation here in 1853-1854. For his visit to Philadelphia, see below, n. 10. Here Neumann is speaking about the possibility of a second visit. Bedini had two projects: 1) another visit to Baltimore, Philadelphia and New York; 2) the filling out of a questionnaire dealing with the status of the church in the United States. We learn more about this from Neumann's report in a letter to Archbishop Purcell. He received Bedini's circular on February 13, 1854, a circular that was dated January 1, and mailed at Cincinnati February 5. Neumann wrote for more copies of the questionnaire that the sender forgot to enclose. See Neumann to the Most Reverend Archbishop of Cincinnati, February 14, 1854 Philadelphia, in AUND, Cincinnati Papers. Other bishops (Spalding and Blanc) also mention that they did not receive the copies of the questionnaire that were to be answered and then sent to Louis B. Binsse, the Consul General of the Papal States in New York. Apparently, nothing ever came of Bedini's project. See James T. Connelly, *The Visit of Archbishop Bedini to the United States*, Rome 1960, 110-111. This will be cited as Connelly, *Bedini*.

⁴ Native anti-Catholicism and the anti-clericalism of some immigrants occasioned anti-Bedini demonstrations. The worst was the « Cincinnati Riots » that occurred Christmas night 1853. Bedini left Cincinnati on January 3, 1854. See Connelly, *Bedini*, 95-109.

⁵ The letters could not be located.

⁶ Obviously, a sign of Neumann's caution. He must have felt that the letter might be destroyed if it carried Bedini's name.

⁷ William Matthews (1770-1854), a member of one of Maryland's earliest colonial families, was the first native American ordained in the United States (March 1800). After four years in Southern Maryland, he worked until his death as pastor of St. Patrick's, Washington, D. C. He was very active in church and charitable work, civic and educational projects; he was at home with the elite and government officials. See J. T. Durkin, *William Matthews: Priest and Citizen*, New York 1963.

⁸ Apparently, Bedini's mail must have been sent by various people. Neumann received his from Mr. Slevin. Spalding says he received his from Mr. Keany. See Connelly, *Bedini*, 110-111.

⁹ January 20 was a Friday. The following Tuesday was January 24. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1854*, 14.

be here on next Tuesday⁹, and Your Grace will excuse me in intrusting the accompanying lines to Your care.

On the first arrival of Monseigneur Bedini¹⁰ things did not go on [*sic*] as they should, partly on account of my having to leave for the visitation, partly for the shortness of time — but above all for the fact of my being the poorest hand in creation for arranging [*sic*] celebrations or ceremonies, they may be sacred or profane. With the best will to do things like others, & to make myself amiable, I make every time more blunders, and say more nonsense than Sancho Panza¹¹. I have had this unwieldy disposition from my mother, and all the pains she, & my professors, friends, and brothers¹² have ever taken with me, were fruitless & thrown away. I will then have to keep it, with all its consequences, until God Almighty will make an end. Would to God that the last act of mine may not be an everlasting misstep!

Miss Martha Ryan¹³ is getting always more composed and quiet. The family of Professor Allen¹⁴ continues to edify me by their sin-

¹⁰ On his way back to New York from Washington and Baltimore, Bedini stopped off at Philadelphia. While in Philadelphia, Bedini was the guest of Father George Stroebel at St. Mary's. Prudence dictated that he take a neutral residence because Rome delegated him to try and settle the Trustee problem at Holy Trinity that was under interdict since Kenrick's time. Bedini did not succeed in this. Bedini was at St. Mary's on Friday, July 22, 1853, receiving and welcoming guests. The next day he visited the Catholic institutions of the city and met with the Holy Trinity Trustees. He left for New York on Sunday, July 24. He met with Neumann during the visit. However, he too had a busy schedule, being due to be at York that Sunday to bless St. Mary's church. See Connelly, *Bedini*, 22-25; *Catholic Herald*, July 28, 1853; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 191; Curley (*Neumann*, 477, n. 3) has a slightly different chronology. Later, in his report to Rome, Bedini praised Neumann for his learning, holiness and zeal. However, he did not think he had the qualities for being the bishop of such an important See. To him, Neumann was more like a simple missionary than a polished bishop. See Connelly, *Bedini*, 224; Curley, *Neumann*, 284; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 319-320. Actually, we do not have sufficient information about the Philadelphia meeting of Neumann with Bedini. This much we know: In a report sent to Rome in August, a little over a week after the meeting, Bedini singles out Neumann — along with Kenrick — as bishops who received him with the greatest marks of distinction, love and respect and who gave sincere signs of their consolation of having a Representative of the Holy See in their midst, and who desired to have such a Representative not in passing but permanently. See Bedini to Franson, August 2, 1853, Milwaukee; APF, SRC AC, vol. 16 (1852-1854), fol. 637.

¹¹ In the words of Webster's Dictionary, Sancho Panza is « the squire in Cervantes' *Don Quixote*. He is a short pot-bellied peasant, ignorant and credulous, but shrewd and with a proverbial wisdom, thus being a foil to the master ». Spanish was a language Neumann mastered. When he studied a language, he used it to read the literary and spiritual classics, e.g., Cervantes and Teresa of Avila. For Neumann's humanistic achievements, see the writer's articles in *The Priest* 34 (May 1978) 23-27.

¹² The « brothers » mentioned here are the Redemptorist confreres.

¹³ The editor was not able to identify her.

¹⁴ George Allen, a professor of Greek and Latin at the University of Pennsylv-

cere and increasing piety. They and many others, of Your spiritual children, who come to see me now and then do not cease to think of Your Grace, and to enquire about Your health etc.

I remain with sentiments of the [*sic*] humble veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ
† John N. Bishop of Philadelphia

vania, his wife, Mary, and the entire family became Catholics under Bishop Kenrick. See *Some Philadelphia Converts*, in *Records*, 32 (1922) 239-244. For the Allens and Neumann, see Curley, *Neumann*, 176, 197-198, 348-349, 368, 398.

Letter 8

J.M.J.

Dushore¹, Sullivan County, July 27, 1854

Most Reverend Beloved Archbishop

I bid you heartily welcome in the field of Your troubles, labours & anxieties. The Reverend Keenan² will probably succeed in keeping

¹ Dushore, formerly called Loyalsock Creek and Cherry Township, was in Lycoming County until the creation of Sullivan County in 1847. In September 1836 Kenrick spent four days there and celebrated Mass in the home of Darby Deegan. About thirty received Holy Communion at the Mass each day. The people, German and Irish immigrants, agreed to build a wooden church and hoped to have a priest come four times a year. Kenrick dedicated the church, St. Basil's, on July 4, 1838. Neumann made visitations there in 1852, 1854, 1856 and 1858. In December 1858 he gave permission for the building of a new church. St. Basil's is still (1978) the only parish there. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 132, 160; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 16-17; T. Tourscher, *St. Basil's, Dushore, Pennsylvania during One Hundred Years, 1838-1938*, in *Records* 49 (1938) 27-49; *The Official Catholic Directory, A.D. 1978*, 861; Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*, 55-58, 69.

² When Father Bernard Keenan died at St. Mary's, Lancaster, on February 2, 1877, he was 98 years old, the oldest in the diocese. He came here from Ireland with his uncle, Bishop Henry Conwell of Philadelphia, in December 1820. At the age of 41, he was ordained on January 1, 1821. Two years later, in 1823, he went to St. Mary's where he was pastor for 53 years. Respected by Catholics and Protestants alike, he was a member of the Lancaster School Board, the Board of Trustees of

You with him a little longer — I am only sorry that my absence from the City on Visitation³ deprives me of the pleasure of meeting Y.[our] G.[race] at Lancaster and Philadelphia too.

I have of course no objection whatever to be considered as a friend to [*sic*] the University of Ireland. As it is the Holy See, from whom [*sic*] the idea originated no good Catholic will be against it⁴.

At the next Provincial Council⁵ a proposition might be made to have the feast of the Immaculate Conception raised to *Prima Classis cum Octava*⁶, & to be kept as a Holiday [*sic*] of obligation⁷, with a recommendation to prepare the faithful for its due celebration by a Novena etc.

A decree, stating plainly, what a Bishop has to do with a candidate for Holy Orders, who was born in Europe, and has since his arrival in America changed repeatedly his *Domicilium*⁸; & whether

Franklin and Marshall College, a personal friend of President James Buchanan. See *Diocese of Harrisburg*, 17; Richard M. Reilly, *Bernard Keenan*, in *Paper read before the Lancaster Historical Society* 28, 6 (1924) 85-91; S. Sener, *The Catholic Church at Lancaster*, ed. T. Middleton, in *Records* 5 (1894) 307-356.

³ From the end of June through August, Neumann was engaged in a vast visitation of the remote places of the diocese that are now part of Scranton. He visited Archbald (June 29), Athens (July 12), Blossburg (July 18), Dushore (July 27), Frenchtown (Aug. 6), Mehoophany (Aug. 2), New Milford (Aug. ?), Scranton (July 2), Slocum Hollow (Aug. 15), Silver Lake (Aug. 8), Susquehanna (Aug. 13), Towanda (July 23), White Haven (Aug. 24), Wilkes Barre (Aug. 22). See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 3, 4, 6, 9, 17, 20, 167, 179, 180-182, 184, 187, 190.

⁴ Neumann is here referring to the proposed Catholic University of Ireland of which John Henry — later Cardinal — Newman was appointed Rector in 1852. The project had the enthusiastic backing of Pope Pius IX, a fact noted by Neumann. He gave hospitality to the priests who came to take up the collection in Philadelphia, where the cause was very popular because so many of the English-speaking priests were Irish-born and where over \$ 7,000 was gathered. See W. Ward, *The Life of Newman* I, 305-309; Curley, *Neumann*, 230; *Catholic Instructor*, July 2, September 17, 1853; *Catholic Herald*, July 14, December 29, 1853, February 23, 1854. The remark in the letter suggests that Neumann was named a « Friend of the University » because of Philadelphia's generous contribution. See the letter of thanks from Archbishop Cullen to Neumann, May 8, 1853, as found in the *Catholic Instructor*, July 2, 1853.

⁵ The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore was held May 5-12, 1855. See *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII habitum anno 1855*, Baltimore 1857; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 139-148.

⁶ Neumann writes *pma Cl cum 8va*. *Prima Classis cum octava* is a first class feast with an octave. This was then one of the highest classes of feasts, outranked only by a first class feast with an octave of the first or second rank.

⁷ This recommendation was made even before the solemn definition of the Immaculate Conception on December 8, 1854. Neumann's suggestion was not followed at the Council in 1855. See *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII*, 10; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 142. The Immaculate Conception did not become a holyday in the United States until the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884. See Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 265.

⁸ « Domicile ». At that time, one acquired a domicile « by actual residence in a place with the intention of remaining there permanently ». See John Costello, *Domi-*

the oath, « *serviendi Missionibus Americae sub obedientia Episcopi* » has to be taken by every Priest who comes to America⁹ — to prescribe some formula, to be signed by him — & perhaps to put on record etc.

It would be perhaps good to see whether some provision could not be made for Priests who were deprived of faculties, and show themselves willing to submit to some discipline, either to reenter the sacred ministry after a sufficiently long trial, & to remain in such an institution or to remain in it until death¹⁰. A great many sins and scandals would certainly be prevented. A friend of mine, who is at present Confessor to the Ex-Emperor of Austria¹¹, was for many years Director of such an Asylum at Prague (Bohemia), & would no doubt put me in possession of the Rule etc. with his own remarks, & experience¹².

cile and Quasi-Domicile, Washington, D.C., 1930, 115. Neumann is concerned about the number of testimonial letters, required for entrance into the clerical state, that will be required of one who has moved often place to place. See Woywod-Smith. *Commentary on the Code I*, 619-620.

⁹ Following the lead of Kenrick at the Baltimore Synod of 1853, Neumann legislated in May 1855, at the Philadelphia Synod, that priests coming to work in Philadelphia from elsewhere must promise to serve the missions under obedience to the bishop. In October of the same year, the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore said that priests lose the title of the mission when they receive dimissorial letters, and that they regain it only when they are received into another diocese and take the oath by which they are bound to the missions of that diocese. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 30-31; *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII*, 18, 22; Mansi, *Consilia*, XLVII, 147. The legislation of the title of the mission is synthesized in the Second Plenary Council of 1866. When this Council asked that the Holy See dispense with the oath of serving perpetually on the missions, the request was not granted. See *Concilii Plenarii Baltimoreensis II, Acta et Decreta*, ed. 2, Baltimore 1894, LXXI, 170; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVIII, 888.

¹⁰ Neumann showed warm concern for such priests and was anxious to see them resume priestly work in some way. See his query to Rome and Rome's answer, Neumann to Barnabò, June 4, 1855, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 122 (1855 II) fols. 1834r-1835v; Barnabò to Neumann, July 11, 1855, Rome, Secretary's copy in APF, LDB, vol. 346 (1855) fol. 468rv. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 273-276, 277-278; Curley, *Neumann*, 354; Berger-Grimm, *Neumann*, 359-360. For Neumann's concern about Father Daniel Devitt, see Letter 3.

¹¹ Ferdinand I (1793-1875), Austrian Emperor from 1835-1848, resigned in favor of his nephew, Franz Joseph, in 1848. See *Ferdinand I*, in *Encyclopedia Britannica, Micropedia* 4 (1974) 96. On his visit to Europe in 1854-1855, Neumann was the dinner guest of Ferdinand who gave him a generous donation and made him a member of the Nepomucene Heredität. See Curley, *Neumann*, 242.

¹² Neumann is referring here to his friend, Father Hermann Dichtl, the one who encouraged him in his missionary plans for America. Dichtl was the chaplain of such an institution for priests that was housed in the former monastery of St. George. See Joseph Dichtl-Kurt Huber, *Hermann Dichtl (1802-1877)*, in *Archiv für Kirchengeschichte von Böhmen-Mähren-Schlesien*, 4 (1976) 16.

I have the honour to remain with sentiments of the most sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble and obedient Servant
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend A.[rch]-B.[ishop] Kenrick
 Baltimore

Letter 9

Philadelphia, September 25, 1854

Most Reverend Sir

I am very sorry to hear from the Reverend Keenan, that the letter which I had addressed to his care for You did not reach him¹, & that therefore I was deprived of the honour to welcome You to this Your own Diocese, even in writing.

I stated several subjects which it would be perhaps good to discuss in the next Provincial Council — namely to celebrate the feast of the Immaculate Conception on the 8th of December as a Holy-Day of obligation; — whether some plan could not be devised of an institution or Asylum for stray Priests, who are willing to submit to some discipline, being unfit for the ministry on account of censures or irregularities etc. etc. I would like it very well too if this Diocese could be divided into two or three — but the difficulty of finding a city or cities to be their [the bishops'] residence, & of subjects having the proper qualifications — make me rather backward to broach the subject².

¹ With regard to the points to be treated in the forthcoming Council of Baltimore (1855), this letter is an abbreviated repetition of the previous letter. Neumann's letter to Kenrick was sent to Keenan at Lancaster. He in turn must have written that he did not receive a letter. In those days the mail route from Dushore would be circuitous. Obviously, the letter ultimately turned up because we have it as one of Kenrick's letters.

² The theme of dividing the diocese again comes to the surface. Neumann

The deaths of the Right Reverend Bishops Barron³ and Gartland⁴ has [*sic*] produced a very painful sensation in the Clergy here & the different Congregations through the City. We will have a Pontifical Requiem for the late Dr. Barron at St. Marys⁵ [*sic*], & another for Bishop Gartland at St. Johns⁶ [*sic*].

I have the honour to remain with sentiments of most sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble and obedient Servant
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

brought it up at the Council the next year. The main difficulty was finding a place in Pennsylvania that was then suitable for a new diocese. See letter 10, nn. 7-8.

³ Edward Barron (1801-1854), born in Ireland, became a priest of the diocese of Philadelphia, being ordained in Rome on October 15, 1826. In Philadelphia he was rector of the seminary, pastor of St. Mary's and Vicar General. In 1840 he volunteered for Nigeria and was then named Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas. Because of sickness, he resigned in 1844, returned to the United States and worked in Missouri and Florida. For reasons of health, he returned to Philadelphia in July 1854. On hearing of the epidemic of yellow fever in Savannah, Georgia, he hurried south to help Bishop Gartland. He died a victim of the plague on September 12, 1854. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 8-9; H. Nolan, *Barron, Edward*, in NCE, 2 (1967) 124-125; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 386.

⁴ Francis Xavier Gartland (1808-1854), born in Ireland, was ordained a priest of Philadelphia by Bishop Kenrick at St. Mary's on August 5, 1832. He worked in Philadelphia from 1832 to 1850 where he was pastor of St. John's and Vicar General. He was named the first bishop of Savannah, Georgia, July 30, 1850 and died a victim of the yellow fever on September 20, 1854. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 106; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 387.

⁵ St. Mary's, Philadelphia's second oldest Catholic church, goes back to 1763 to Old St. Joseph's and the colonial Jesuits, long before the erection of the diocese in 1808. See Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 38-42; M. Ryan, *Old St. Mary's - A National Shrine*, in *Records* 38 (1927) 158-168; Dennis C. Kurjack, *St. Joseph's and St. Mary's Churches*, in *Historic Philadelphia from the Founding until the Early Nineteenth Century*, in *Transactions of the American Philosophic Society* 43/1 (1953) 199-210.

⁶ The cornerstone of St. John's was laid on May 6, 1831. The dedication took place on April 8, 1832. The building of the church was an instance of a victory over the system of Trusteeship. See Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 52-55; M. Griffin, *History of the Church of St. John the Evangelist, Philadelphia*, in *Records* 20 (1909) 350-405; 21 (1910) 129-138. For Neumann and St. John's, see Curley Neumann, 183, 189, 285-286, 318-320.

Letter 10

Philadelphia, June 7, 1855

Most Reverend Sir

A certain Reverend Patrick Corry¹ spent with us a month or two before he went to Europe last year — & since his return to better health he has remained again — in this City — As he had been recommended to me I made no difficulty in [his] staying at St. Patrick's [*sic*] & exercising the faculties². Since my return from the Council³ I spoke to him about his relation to this Diocese when I was informed that he was ordained in Baltimore, and would have to obtain Your permission before being adopted in this Diocese. I would not be unwilling to receive him provided his past conduct entitles him to confidence etc. Should You be willing to dismiss him I would beg [you] to inform me confidentially as to his past behaviour⁴.

I wrote to the Cardinal Prefect⁵, & to Monsignore A. [Alessandro] Barnabò⁶, that I find myself very much behind our age in financiering [*sic*] capacities so necessary in a City like Philadelphia; so

¹ Shortly after this letter was written, Father Patrick Corry died on July 4, 1855. He was born in Ireland, came to America as a youth and became a priest of the Archdiocese of Baltimore where he was ordained July 23, 1837. He taught at Mount St. Mary's Emmitsburg, where he was professor of Greek and Latin. For health reasons he gave up teaching in 1854 and later did some parochial work in Philadelphia. At the time of his death at St. Patrick's, he was ca. 40 years old. See his obituary in the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1856*, 299.

² Of Father Corry's move from teaching to do parish work at St. Patrick's his obituary says that «recently he entered on the mission». Apparently, this phrase was restricted to priests in parish work and did not include teachers or professors. For English-speaking priests Neumann was fortunate in vocations among the Irish-born. His efforts to build up native vocations in Philadelphia were very successful. See the writer's *People's Response to St. John Neumann in Pastoral Life* 27 (May 1978) 38-42 and also the data in *The Catholic Standard and Times*, January, 5, 1978, pp. 7, 35.

³ The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore, held in May 1855.

⁴ This letter was not found.

⁵ The Cardinal Prefect was Giacomo Filippo Fransoni (1775-1856) who was Prefect since 1834. See Neumann to Fransoni, May 28, 1855, Philadelphia, in APF, SOCG, vol. 981 (1856), fols. 1028r-1029v; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 270-272. The contents of the letter are found below in note 7.

⁶ Alessandro Barnabò (1801-1874), who had been Secretary since 1848, became Prefect and Cardinal on the occasion of Fransoni's death in 1856. See Neumann to Barnabò, June 4, 1855, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 122 (1855 II), fols. 1834r-1835v; Sampers, 273-276. See the following note for the contents of the letter. For Fransoni and Barnabò, see J. Metzler, *Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Fide memoria rerum*, III/1, Rome 1975, 38-48.

much so that I am in constant fears to embroil myself and the Diocese in inextricable difficulties. I exposed to them moreover that I despair in ever making any progress in the accomplishments of this world — urbanity — graceful deportment, & all that sort of necessities [*sic*] of life, that I would feel more at home at Wilmington (N.[orth] C.[arolina]) or Pottsville⁷. I really think before God that Wilmington would be the very place for me. As there may be some difficulty, if not an impossibility to find a priest willing to go to Wilmington, my prospect is brighter of finding there the desired *otium cum dignitate*⁸. I fear however that they will regard my protestations and statement, as nothing but a fine display of very praiseworthy or crooked humility⁹, & leave me splashing in the midst of my floating & non-floating debts — As the three Reverend Gentlemen proposed for Philadelphia & those for Pottsville¹⁰ would certainly find less difficulty in the administration of the temporalities especially — I am quite serious in my proposal for Wilmington. They may be somewhat embarrassed & hesitate in acceding to it since the affair in Pittsburgh & Erie — but there will be no more occasion for retrac-

⁷ The letters to Frànsoni and Barnabò were occasioned by Neumann's move at the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in May. He wanted to have the diocese of Philadelphia divided into two. He also volunteered to leave Philadelphia and go to the new, smaller and poorer diocese to be erected at Pottsville. For the conciliar action, see *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII*, 11, 15; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 143. The Council also recommended the creation of a See in Wilmington, North Carolina. After the Council, Neumann spoke of going there, the poorest of the projected Sees. For the long, involved story that saw Neumann kept in Philadelphia and given Wood as his coadjutor in January 1857, see Curley, *Neumann*, 271-305; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 270-278; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 320-335, 351-388.

⁸ This is the Latin term for «leisure with dignity». His desire to go to the remote and poor territory of Wilmington was not motivated by leisure. He had in mind a smaller diocese where he could do justice to his pastoral ideals. He also hoped to get away from the crushing financial burdens of Philadelphia. To him, Wilmington meant «poverty and work and less authority» as he told Barnabò. See above, n. 6. At the present time, Wilmington is in the diocese of Raleigh and has two parishes. See *The Official Catholic Directory A. D. 1978*, 728.

⁹ Neumann is fearful that Rome will regard his willingness to leave the prestigious See of Philadelphia as «nothing but a fine display of very praiseworthy or crooked humility». Crooked humility is a show of humility in contrast to genuine humility. Occasionally, one hears such humility described colloquially as «hump-backed» humility. In his letter to Barnabò (n. 6) Neumann pleads with him not to regard his request to go to Wilmington as that kind of humility. Rather, it was the «Truth before God», a step that was «well thought out» and «taken with the advice of his confessor». Neumann's confessor was his confrere, Father Francis Xavier Tschenhens, who was stationed in St. Peter's, Philadelphia, during the Neumann years. See Curley, *Neumann*, 337, 372.

¹⁰ The candidates proposed for Philadelphia were James Wood of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati, John McCaffrey of the Archdiocese of Baltimore and Patrick Lynch of the Diocese of Savannah. Those proposed for Pottsville were Richard O'Connor and William O'Hara of the Diocese of Philadelphia and Tobias Mullen of

ing [my] steps¹¹. Your recommendation would certainly be almighty in Rome. I would beg of You, Most Reverend Sir, to mention my desire favourably, & to support it, if necessary with reasons, which are certainly not wanting.

Several Gentlemen¹² in Philadelphia are already aware of some proposed change. I am however as yet not aware of any bad effect. I think even our stock will rise when their suspicion will become a fact¹³.

I remain with sentiments of profound veneration
Most Reverend Archbishop

Your devoted Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

the Diocese of Pittsburgh. See the archbishop and bishops participating in the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore to Frasoni, APF, SOCG, vol. 981 (1856) fols. 1022-1027; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 351-359. In Neumann's day, there were only two parishes in Pottsville, but the Confirmations on each visitation were growing greater and greater. See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 176-177. For this and other reasons proposed by Neumann, see the minutes of the acts of the council in AAB, 32B-G-6. At present, Pottsville is in the Diocese of Allentown and has four parishes. See *The Official Catholic Directory A.D. 1978*, 38.

¹¹ Neumann is referring to the Irish-born Philadelphia priest, Michael O'Connor, who was elected the first bishop of Pittsburgh on August 11, 1843. On July 29, 1853 he was transferred to Erie as its first bishop and then transferred back to Pittsburgh on February 20, 1854. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 223; Henry Szarnicki, *The Episcopate of Michael O'Connor, First Bishop of Pittsburgh, 1843-1860*, a typed Ph.D. dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1971, 310-311. This will be referred to as Szarnicki, *O'Connor*. Those who do not have access to this can consult W. Purcell, ed. *Catholic Pittsburgh. One Hundred Years*, Chicago 1943; J. Hennessey, *O'Connor, Michael*, in NCE 10 (1967) 638-639. For O'Connor and Neumann in his move to leave Philadelphia, see Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 236-241.

¹² Gentlemen was an accepted way of referring to priests and clergymen.

¹³ Neumann could write that way in June. The situation was different in the fall of that year. The synod held in October 1855 laid down a series of sensible regulations regarding personal and parochial finances. Some resisted the bishop; the possibility of his being changed made them bolder. See Curley, *Neumann*, 286-287, 350. In a later report to Rome, speaking of clerical unrest at Philadelphia, Kenrick singles out clerical avarice or the striving for filthy lucre, a manifestation of the unrest occasioned by Neumann's financial regulations. See Kenrick to Barnabò, July 25, 1856, Baltimore, in APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856), fol. 679; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 368-369.

Letter 11

Philadelphia, July 6, 1855

Most Reverend Sir.

I have been asked whether the Sisters of St. Joseph's¹ [*sic*] would or could accept the charge of a boys orphan Asylum which they say is being established at Washington (City. D.[istrict of] C.[olumbia])². As the applicants forgot to mention to Mother St. John³, whether You had been consulted & given Your sanction I thought it my duty to sollicit before all your own views & wishes

¹ Kenrick was anxious to get Sisters to care for St. John's Male Orphanage that was attached to St. John's church. While visiting his brother, Peter Richard, the bishop of St. Louis, he learned of the work being done for orphans by the Sisters of St. Joseph of France, whose motherhouse was at Corondolet, Missouri. He succeeded in obtaining four who came with him to Philadelphia in 1847, Mother St. John being the Superioress. Thus began their Philadelphia apostolate of conducting orphanages, hospitals and schools. The Order witnessed a phenomenal growth when, under Neumann, the motherhouse moved from McSherrystown to Chestnut Hill. When the generalate of the St. Joseph Sisters at St. Louis was set up in 1860 the Sisters in Philadelphia remained independent of it. Thus, there came into being the Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia. See Mother Dolorita Marie Dougherty and Others, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Corondolet*, St. Louis 1966; Sr. Maria Kostka Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia, A Century of Growth 1847-1947*, Westminster, Maryland 1950, 15-16. This will be referred to as Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph*.

² Father William Matthews, the pastor of St. Patrick's, established St. Vincent's Female Orphan Asylum in 1825. He opened one for boys in 1843 but it had to be discontinued in 1846. In 1853 he got the Trustees to issue an «Appeal to the Public» to arouse interest in the orphans. Father Matthews died in April 1854 before the plan was realized. However, he made some provision for the home in his will. St. Joseph's Male Orphan Asylum was incorporated on February 6, 1855 and opened as a combined orphanage and day school September 14, 1856, with the Sisters of the Holy Cross from Notre Dame, Indiana, in charge. See Joseph Durkin, *William Matthews*, 117-119; Joseph C. Eckert, *History of St. Joseph's Home and School*, in *Souvenir Book of the One Hundredth Anniversary of St. Joseph's Home and School*, Washington, D.C. 1955, 4-7. This will be referred to as Eckert, *St. Joseph's Home*. A look at the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac* of the time shows that it was customary to say Washington City, D.C.

³ The celebrated and beloved Mother St. John Fournier was born in France November 12, 1814. She was professed in the Order of the Immaculate Conception in 1832. In her desire for mission work in the United States, she joined the Sisters of St. Joseph in 1836. After completing courses in work for the deaf, she came to America in 1837. As previously seen, she was the leader of the mission to Philadelphia in 1847. After a prodigious career of starting a hospital, orphanages and schools, she died at Philadelphia on October 15, 1875. See Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph*, 159-170 and passim; C.M. Aherne, *Fournier, Mother St. John*, in NCE 5 (1967) 1044. For her testimony regarding Neumann's holiness and his ways of dealing with children and religious, see Curley, *Neumann*, 356-357, 369-371; Mother St. John to John Berger, November 23, 1872, Chestnut Hill, in ABPR, N, Berger Papers.

on this subject⁴. As they ask but for 3 or 4 Sisters to begin with, I think the Sisters could undertake it.

I intend to make a short retreat at St. Alphonsus' Baltimore⁵ in the first week of the [*sic*] next month. — when I hope from God to find you in good health⁶.

I remain with sincere veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most devoted & obedient Servant
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

⁴ St. Joseph's Home opened under the new pastor, Father Timothy O'Toole. By the summer of 1856 he had succeeded in getting the Sisters of the Holy Cross, from Notre Dame, Indiana, to conduct it; there is a possibility that Kenrick suggested them. Certainly, on August 27, 1856, Kenrick wrote O'Toole giving his permission for the orphanage to be entrusted to the Sisters. See Eckert, *St. Joseph's Home*, 6, 67; *History of St. Patrick's Church, Washington, D.C., 1789-1939*, 34-38; *Our Provinces. Centenary Chronicles of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, The Eastern Province*, Notre Dame 1941, 217-220; AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, August 27, 1856, p. 108.

⁵ The cornerstone of St. Alphonsus', Baltimore, was laid on May 1, 1842. The dedication took place on March 14, 1845. See John Byrne, *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, Philadelphia 1932, 95-96. So much of Neumann's life, including his ordination as bishop, is centered around this church.

⁶ Undoubtedly, Neumann must have used these visits to unburden his soul and seek advice. So much could be said that did not end up on paper.

Letter 12

Philadelphia, July 18, 1855

Most Reverend Sir

I had a conversation with the Reverend G.[eorge] Strobel¹ on the 10th or 11th of this month about his stay at St. Mary's, and I had no hesitation in granting him his request, on the very terms,

¹ Father George Strobel, the pastor of St. Mary's where Archbishop Bedini stayed during his visit to Philadelphia, was born in London on June 14, 1800. Little is known of his early years or of his emigrating to the United States. From 1824 to 1828 he studied Law and served with the American Consulate at Bordeaux, France. He returned to America in 1828 and was admitted to the Philadelphia Bar. From

which You kindly suggested — I felt much gratified that I had anticipated your wishes².

The application for the Sisters of St. Josephs [*sic*] for the male-Asylum³ was made through Mr. John Scravendyke⁴ of this City, who gave no name to Mother St. John⁵ — the Very Reverend F.[ather] Sourin⁶ however showed me a letter from Washington, written for the same object, by a certain Mr. Clarke⁷ of Washington-City. Mother St. John has probably answered them already — negatively⁸.

I beg You to be assured of my gratitude for writing candidly to me on similar occasions⁹ — My want of experience etc. bring

1831 to 1841 he was the American Consul at Bordeaux. He returned to the United States in 1841 and became a Catholic in 1843. After completing his studies at Rome he was ordained as a priest of the diocese of Philadelphia on March 8, 1846. His life was completely centered at St. Mary's as curate in 1846 and as pastor in 1848 until his death on October 26, 1874. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 388; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 52, n. 23; Ella Flick, *The Reverend George Strobel, 1800-1874*, in *Records* 34 (1923) 17-31.

² This is a very cryptic and enigmatic episode that involves Strobel, Neumann and Kenrick. Before July 10th or 11th, the day when Neumann spoke to Strobel, Strobel had been in touch with Kenrick. On July 11th Kenrick wrote letters to both Strobel and Neumann. Seven days later Neumann wrote this letter to Kenrick. A passing remark by Kenrick on August 8 sheds some light on the episode. Speaking of the Strobel case, he says that Neuman «seems to agree with my suggestions about a delay in the renouncing of his (Strobel's) office». He then goes on to say that Neumann made no definite promise. All this seems to imply that Strobel was thinking of retiring from his pastorate and of staying on at St. Mary's. Such a move, more than a hundred years ahead of its time, sounds more like the post-Vatican II age. See AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, July 11, August 8, 1855, pp. 84, 86.

³ See Letter 11, nn. 1-2.

⁴ At the age of 60 John Scravendyke died on February 2, 1868 and was buried in the vaults at St. Mary's. See John Martland, *St. Mary's Graveyard, Fourth and Spruce Streets, Records and Extractions from Inscriptions on the Tombstones*, in *Records* 3 (1888-1891) 261.

⁵ See Letter 11, n. 3.

⁶ See Letter 3, n. 4.

⁷ Richard H. Clarke was a Washington attorney. On August 29, 1856, as Secretary *pro tempore* of the Board of Trustees of St. Joseph's Orphanage, he witnessed the agreement regarding the orphanage signed by Sister M. Angela Gillespie, Superior of the Sisters of the Holy Cross, and Father Timothy O'Toole, Pastor of St. Patrick's and President of the Board of Trustees. He was a member of the Board from 1855 to before 1873. See Eckert, *St. Joseph's Home*, 6, 25. In the latter part of his long life, Clarke (1827-1911) published many works dealing with the history of the Church in the U.S.A. See *National Union Catalog. Pre 1956 Imprints*, 65 (1970) 351-352.

⁸ After this paragraph a few lines have been cut out from this first page, as is evident from the remains of the top loops of some letters and the dots of the i's.

⁹ One can only regret the loss of Kenrick's letters to Neumann. There is no trace of them in the archdiocesan archives of Philadelphia. References in AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, are helpful.

[sic] me often to make blunders, — however I never like them.
 I remain with sincere veneration
 Most Reverend Sir

Your most devoted Servant in Christ
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

Letter 13

Easton¹, August 23, 1855

I have been absent from Philadelphia on Visitation since I had the honour of paying You my respects at Baltimore in the beginning of this month², & received the Circular from Rome³ only on my arrival in this town, where I am to give Confirmation on Sunday next⁴.

In answer to the various questions proposed by the Propaganda I submit with due deference my own opinions:

1. I would suggest that the faculties which were granted A[nn]o D[omi]ni 1853 be continued, with the exception that Bishops be freed from the obligation of reporting the number of cases etc⁵. I would be very glad if the Holy See would authorize us to

¹ When Kenrick visited Easton in 1833, there was no church there. He celebrated Mass in Mr. Kavanaugh's house. After that, the Catholics hired an upper room in a private house for sixty silver dollars a year. The parish church, St. Bernard's, was blessed by Kenrick in 1836. Neumann made visitations in Easton in 1852, 1855, 1857 and 1859. As of 1978, Easton has five parishes. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 86, 103, 128; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 17; *Official Catholic Directory A.D. 1978*, 38.

² Neumann made visitations at Allentown (Aug. 22), Conewago (Aug. 15), Easton (Aug. 23-26), Gettysburg (Aug. 12), Haycock (Aug. 19), Littlestown (Aug. 12), Millerstown (Aug. 10). See *Visitation Record*, 3, 6, 13, 17, 21, 24, 164, 169.

³ The contents of the circular from Propaganda can be seen from Neumann's answers.

⁴ August 23, 1855 fell on a Thursday. The following Sunday was August 26 when Neumann confirmed ninety. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1855*, 29; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 17.

⁵ Similarly, Neumann asked not to be obliged to send to Rome the names of those enrolled in the scapular, confraternities, etc. See, e.g., Neumann to Barnabò, June 4, 1855, Philadelphia; APF, Udienze, vol. 122 (1855 II), fols. 1834r-1835v. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 273-276.

communicate to our Missionaries the faculty of Blessing the Scapular of the Immaculate Conception⁶.

2. I am of the opinion that more evil than good would come in this Diocese from an absolute prohibition of all mixed mariages [*sic*]. The conditions & limitations laid down in our Faculties, if carefully attended to, will prevent apostacy more effectually than an entire prohibition⁷. However I may be mistaken.

3. I would suggest that the Proclamation of the Bans [*sic*] of Matrimony be allowed in these States in Mixed Mariages [*sic*]. For such is the practice here, introduced by the Provincial Councils, though unintentionally on the side of the Propaganda⁸; as they are regarded as a very unpleasant regulation their prohibition would act as an inducement to contract mixed mariages [*sic*] —; they will prevent many hasty, inconsiderate, & often invalid Mariages [*sic*] considering the great number of husbands & wives [who]⁹ left one another in consequence of divorces or infidelity. In some of our States the Promulgation of the Bans [*sic*] is prescribed by law and could not

⁶ The origin of the Blue Scapular of the Immaculate Conception is attributed to the vision of Venerable Ursula Benicassa, the foundress of the Theatine Sisters, on February 2, 1617. The Patroness of the Theatine Fathers is Our Lady of Purity. In her honor they propagate the Blue Scapular in their apostolate. See A. Sagraera, *Benicassa, Venerable Ursula*, in NCE 2 (1967) 311; *Theatines*, in NCE 14 (1967) 6.

⁷ Here Neumann shows himself a prudent realist. For the sensible regulations regarding mixed marriages that go back to the first National Synod of 1791, when the country had only the one diocese of Baltimore, see *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849*, Baltimore 1851, 18-19; this will be referred to as *Concilia Prov. Balt.* See also Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 67. The decree *Tametsi*, of the Council of Trent, nullified any marriage not contracted before the parish priest or the Ordinary and two witnesses. It was not promulgated in many parts of the United States. Before April 9, 1908, when the decree of Pius X went into effect, even such clandestine marriages were valid, even if forbidden or illicit. See W. van Ommeren, *Tametsi*, in NCE 13 (1967) 929.

⁸ To bring its legislation into conformity with the Councils of the Lateran and Trent, the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1846 legislated the publication of the bans of marriage. After reviewing the Acts, Rome remarked that there was no sufficiently strong reason prohibiting the bans in mixed marriages also. The interpretation given this in the United States was that the bans were to be proclaimed in mixed marriages. In the Diocesan Synod of Baltimore in 1853, Kenrick had a different interpretation of Rome's answer and he empowered the pastors to dispense with the bans in such marriages. This was the beginning of a diversity in the interpretation of the law and its application. The 1918 Code of Canon Law prohibited the bans in mixed marriages. Until that time, in the United States «there was no general law and no uniformity of practice». See James Roberts, *The Bans of Marriage*, Washington, D.C. 50-56.

⁹ The word «who» has been inserted here. The original letter has the sign for the word «and». The sentence as such does not make sense.

be omitted without serious consequences¹⁰. We have in this Diocese no prescribed Form of contracting Mixed Mariages [*sic*]¹¹. I would be in favour of adopting the form laid down in the Circular as Num.[ber] 7.

4. I think it would be better not to insist on an Oath being required of the protestant [*sic*]¹² party. It seems to me that our Protestants are generally more inclined from principles of honour to fulfill a promise made to man — than a most solemn promise before a priest¹³, as their want of faith or [their] heresy will hardly ever allow them to regard it as inviolable etc.

5. I am at [a] loss what suggestion to offer in regard to the difficulties arising from the uncertainty of Baptism administered to Protestants — in its relation to Matrimony. I followed however the course intimated in the *Instructio S.[ancti] Offi[cii]* Num[ber] 2¹⁴.

6. From what I remember of the discussion in the Propaganda in Rome¹⁵, I should think that a residence of one month might be

¹⁰ The English civil law of 1753 that required banns was not extended to the American Colonies. However, various colonial legislators adopted the banns in some form. Gradually, the practice of getting a marriage license replaced the publication of the banns. See J. Roberts, *The Banns*, 122-123.

¹¹ For mixed marriages, the First National Synod (1791) forbade the imparting of the nuptial blessing found in the Nuptial Mass. The Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore (1840) said they were not to take place in the church and that the priest was not to wear sacred vestments. See *Concilia Prov. Balt.*, 19, 170; Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 67, 124, 262.

¹² Neumann uses a small letter for the adjective form of the word and a capital letter for the noun. Here he shows the influence of German, his native language.

¹³ The First National Synod (1791) and the Fourth Provincial Council of Baltimore (1840) speak of promises before God and several witnesses. See *Concilia Prov. Balt.*, 17, 170. Technically speaking, these promises are not oaths. Neumann here manifests a sensitivity for the Protestant conscience that is much to the fore in the more recent documents on mixed marriages, e.g., the *Motu Proprio* issued by Paul VI on March 31, 1970. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 62 (1970) 257-263.

¹⁴ The Latin phrase means « the instruction of the Holy Office ». In all probability, Neumann is referring to the instruction issued on November 17, 1830, that gave an answer to the question « whether a doubtful baptism constitutes a diriment impediment of disparity of cult that would render the marriage null and void ». See *Acta Sanctae Sedis* 25 (1892-1893) 258; *Collectanea S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fidei*, Rome 1907, I, 482, n. 821; *Codicis Iuris Canonici Fontes*, Rome 1926, IV, 152-153, nr. 869.

¹⁵ Neumann is here referring to the Pontifical Urbanianum University that was established by Pope Urban VIII in 1627 to educate young men for the priesthood

very conveniently established to entitle parties to the privilege of a « *quasi-domicilium* »¹⁶. Any decision on this point will hardly affect us as we have no canonical parishes¹⁷, and are at a considerable distance from countries, where they exist. Mariages [*sic*] contracted elsewhere, might be called into question and their validity may have to be determined by us.

7. I would suggest, that whenever the solemn Form of Baptism¹⁸ (even *sub conditione*)¹⁹ is adhibited²⁰ in receiving Converts into our Church, that no *Professio Fidei*²¹ and solemn *Absolutio ab Haeresi*²² (as in the Ritual) be required; that in cases where Baptism is so conferred — *sub conditione* — the Confessor may be allowed to absolve the penitent Convert privately *in actu Confessionis sacramentalis*²³.

That the *Modus excipiendi Professionem* etc.²⁴ as in our Ri-

from mission countries. The pope placed it under the immediate direction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith that had been founded five years earlier. See M. J. Costelloe, *Pontifical Universities, Roman*, in NCE 11 (1967) 558-559.

¹⁶ A « quasi domicile », an invention of the medieval canonists, has a bearing on a person's canonical obligations, rights and privileges. Before the Code of Canon Law (1918), one acquired a domicile « by actual residence in a place, with the intention of remaining there for the greater part of a year ». See John Costello, *Domicile and Quasi-Domicile*, Washington, D.C., 1930, 135. For the problem whether one acquired a quasi-domicile by a month's residence or whether such a residence was regarded as a presumption of the person's will to remain there for the greater part of the year, see *Ibid.* 85-97.

¹⁷ As previously seen, in territories subject to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, one did not speak of canonical parishes but of missions or quasi-parishes. That was the canonical setup in Neumann's time. After the Code of Canon Law went into effect in 1918, there were some remaining doubts regarding canonical parishes in the United States. A letter from the Apostolic Delegate at Washington, dated November 10, 1922, informed the bishops that parishes established before the Code, *ipso facto* became canonical parishes when the Code went into effect. See Woywod-Smith, *Commentary on the Code*, I, 97-98, 656-657.

¹⁸ The solemn form of baptism is that found in the Ritual with all the accompanying ceremonies.

¹⁹ This means conferring baptism « conditionally », e.g., if there is a doubt about a previous baptism.

²⁰ « Adhibited » here, or the passive form of adhibit, is from the Latin *adhibetur*. It would be difficult to think of it being used at the present time. However, it is an English word found in the dictionary, with no indication that it is obsolete.

²¹ « Profession of Faith ».

²² « Absolution from Heresy ».

²³ « In the act of the sacramental confession ».

²⁴ « The Manner of Receiving the Profession ». The full reading is: « The Manner of Receiving the Profession of the Catholic Faith from Converts ». For the ceremony, see *Compendium Ritualis Romani ad usum Dioecesium Provinciae Baltimorensis jussu Concilii Provincialis III, approbante SS. D.N. Gregorio P.P. XVI*

tuals be followed in all cases, where there is no reasonable doubt of the validity of the protestant [*sic*] Baptism (*in casu*)²⁵, and whenever conditional Baptism is administered privately (*omissis oibis* [= *omnibus*] *caeremoniis*)²⁶.

My reason for these suggestions are, that the ceremonies of solemn Baptism contain already the necessary abjurations (especially the *Forma Bapt.[ismi] Adult.[orum]*²⁷ to be adhibited in [the] future)²⁸, and a much better Profession as [*sic*] that mentioned in the Circular Num[ber] III. As the H.[oly] Sacrament of Baptism is the most effectual way of Justification & Incorporation with [*sic*] the Church of Christ, it seems almost derogatory to the efficacy of this H.[oly] Sacrament, to change the white stole for a purple one — and to absolve from Excommunication him, who a few moments before was invested with the white garment etc.²⁹ To use the *Forma Bapt.[ismi] Adult.[orum]*³⁰ and after it to go through the *Modus*

editum, Baltimore 1843, 191-197. This will be referred to as *Compendium Ritualis Romani* (Balt.).

²⁵ « For the case » [at hand].

²⁶ Private baptism, that is, baptism administered « with all the ceremonies omitted ». This could happen in danger of death, or, a times, when baptism is repeated conditionally.

²⁷ « The Form of Baptism for Adults ». This is nothing else but a more prolix rite for infant baptism that originated in the declining Middle Ages. Vatican II made obligatory the 1962 grant of carrying out the rite in stages and it decreed a full revision of the rites of infant and adult baptisms. See J. R. Jungman, *Baptism, Liturgy* of, in NCE 2 (1967) 61. For the new rites, see *The Rites of the Catholic Church as Revised by the Second Vatican Council*, New York 1976, 13-283. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 61 (1969) 548; 64 (1972) 252.

²⁸ Neumann speaks as though the rite for adult baptism will soon be obligatory. In 1852 the First Plenary Council of Baltimore asked Rome to grant forever, or to extend for twenty more years, the privilege of using the shorter rite of infant baptism for the baptism of adults. By way of answer, Pius IX granted the privilege for five years and the bishops were told that they should start to accustom themselves to the ceremonies for adult baptism. See *Concilium Plen. Balt. I*, 27, 49, 57-58; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLIV, 666, 676, 680. The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in May 1855 reminded the priests that the privilege would run out in two years, that they should have at hand copies of the adult rite and that they should on occasion use it as a means of getting used to it. See *Concilium Balt. Prov. VIII*, 21-22; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 147-148. Later, Rome granted a further indulgence at the request of Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore.

²⁹ Neumann is speaking here in the light of having the profession of faith after the baptism. See Neumann to Barnabò, April 11, 1858, Philadelphia; APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fols. 966a-d. Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 283-290. In the rite of baptism, after the renunciation of Satan and the anointing with the oil of catechumens, the priest takes off the violet stole and replaces it with a white one. After the baptism, each one receives a white garment, a symbol of joy, sinlessness and immortality. For the profession of faith, the priest then has to go back to the violet stole. To Neumann, this was incongruous theology and symbolism.

³⁰ See n. 27.

excipiendi Professionem etc.³¹ is a thing rather hard to enjoin, or better to say to perform, particularly on Sundays, or when returns [= conversions] to our H.[oly] Church, are a frequent occurrence [*sic*]. On the other hand it is very desirable that the Return of a Prodigal Son be better solemnized, than merely [*sic*] by making him repeat some three or four lines³².

8. I believe that no *general* method can possibly be devised to secure church property³³. The laws of our States are too various, & changing every year³⁴. To prevent serious losses I see no surer way, but to have always as little as possible — & to keep quiet³⁵. When new deeds are to be made after [= since] the last Law³⁶ I order to word them: « To the Right Reverend John N. Neumann Bishop of Philadelphia and his heirs and assigns on behalf of the Rom.[an] Cath.[olic] Congregation of N... as a grave-Yard etc. »³⁷. I believe that Provincial Councils afford the best opportunity to frame regulations for the dioceses of their province on this point as well as about the means to be secured for the decent support of each individual

³¹ See n. 24.

³² Neumann wanted to highlight the ceremonies of the sacramental rite in preference to extra-sacramental formulas. He was also concerned that the converts and the priests be not overburdened with unnecessarily drawn out ceremonies. The difficulties of doing this on Sundays, with miles of travel to the mission stations, is obvious. Neumann returns to the reception of converts in letters 26 and 28.

³³ Neumann's experience is borne out by the conclusions of Dignan's research. He says: « In the development of the Catholic Church in the United States, no problem has presented more difficulty than that of the tenure of church property ». See Patrick Dignan, *A History of the Legal Incorporation of Catholic Church Property in the United States: 1784-1932*, New York 1935, v.

³⁴ For the great diversity of laws, even at the present time, see *ibid.* 245-268.

³⁵ The general meaning is clear. He means not to buy too much property and not to publicize it too prominently. In referring to church property in the United States, we Catholics often say that we should « keep a low profile ».

³⁶ The Pennsylvania church property law of April 1855, reputed to be the machination of disgruntled trustees and Know-Nothingism, was a sharp reversal of the law of 1844 and was decidedly more lay-oriented. See Dignan, *Church Property*, 178, 198-200.

³⁷ In his letters, his visitations and the Synod of 1855, he had to work constantly to safeguard church property and to see that the requirements of civil and canon law were met. He had to see that property was not held by priests in their own name, that it was kept in the name of the bishop for the congregation, that personal income and debts were carefully separated from parish income and debts, that the priest have a lay committee, approved by him, for business help. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 34-35; ABPR, N, Data 1855, « Rules for the Administration of Churches in the Diocese of Philadelphia, October 1855 ». See also Curley, *Neumann*, 252-255, 282-283, 286-287, 300-301, 384.

Bishop³⁸. No plan or system, howsoever wise & good, will work well. The world with all its paternal Governments will never rest as long as the Church has only one foot of ground to stand on: she is too spiritual, too divine for this unhappy world & they will not be satisfied until she is crucified. These are however dreams occasioned by the last news from Europe, which I read just now³⁹.

As I have to be absent yet from the City for some weeks⁴⁰ I have requested the Very Reverend F.[ather] Sourin⁴¹, to call for that unhappy woman, & to send her Deposition (*cum juramento*)⁴² to You — I hope he has succeeded in finding her⁴³. Though I have acted in this affair with all circumspection & good will as much as I am conscious of I feel very much uneasiness about it. I beg You most humbly to recommend this affair to God that everything may be directed according to his own most holy and merciful Will.

I received a short letter from Cardinal Franzoni [*sic*], in which he notifies me, that he will propose my request for an appointment to one or the other of the last projected Sees. — he says however that I must not expect much — as such like requests hardly ever are gratified [*sic*] — His letter is dated July 5⁴⁴ and no action has been

³⁸ For a survey of the legislation of the Baltimore councils regarding church property, see Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 267-270. For the methods of providing support for bishops in the United States, see Michael Kremer, *Church Support in the United States*, Washington, D.C., 1930, 117-124.

³⁹ The period after the revolutions of 1848 was characterized by democracy and liberty, anti-Catholic liberalism and the laicism of state bureaucracy. Taking advantage of the democratic spirit, Catholics could unite to establish a press, make themselves heard politically (Center Party) and take part in the social movement. This was the age of the leadership of Bishop Ketteler, Bishop of Mainz from 1850 to 1877. The Church spoke out against government bureaucracy and fought for its rights in clerical education and appointments, ecclesiastical discipline, religious instruction and the administration of property. The Church wanted to see itself less and less a department of the State. See K. Bihlmeyer-H. Tüchle, *Church History*, tr. V. Mills-F. Muller, Westminster, Maryland, 1966, III, 398-399; L. Lenhart, *Ketteler, Wilhelm Emmanuel von*, in NCE 8 (1967) 170-172.

⁴⁰ At that time Neumann was making visitations at Berlinsville (Aug. 23), Drumore (Sept. 23), Easton (Aug. 23-26), Parksburg (Sept. 16) and Stroudsburg (Aug. 28). See *Visitation Record*, 6, 16, 17, 174, 182.

⁴¹ See letter 3, n. 4.

⁴² A deposition « under oath ».

⁴³ For the possibility that this is Bridget Smith and that Neumann did not find her until 1859, see letter 27.

⁴⁴ The letter from Propaganda was dated not the fifth but the fourth of July 1855. See the Secretary's copy in APF, LDB, vol. 346 (1855) fol. 461r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 276-277. As previously seen, Neumann is referring to Pottsville, Pennsylvania, or Wilmington, North Carolina.

taken yet in reference to the last Prov.[incial] Council⁴⁵. I remain
with sentiments of the most profound Veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble and obedient Servant
† John N. Bishop of Philadelphia

⁴⁵ For the observations of Propaganda regarding the acts and decrees of the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1855, see the letter of February 17, 1857 in APF, LDB, vol. 348 (1857), fol. 91; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 385.

Letter 14

Philadelphia, October 23, 1855

Most Reverend Sir

I am very sorry that the Reverend Shorb¹ has brought up Your name in the suit² of the Summit-Hill Congregation³, & I have written

¹ Basil A. Shorb (1810-1871). A native Pennsylvanian, born near Littlestown in 1810, Basil Shorb was ordained a priest of the diocese of Cincinnati on May 20, 1837. In 1843 he joined the diocese of Philadelphia and carried on a zealous apostolate in many parishes until his death at Bonneauville on April 4, 1871. As first resident pastor of St. Joseph's at Summit Hill from October 1854 to August 1858 he kept Kenrick and Neumann informed about the court cases mentioned here and in letters 15 and 18. Kenrick described Shorb as « a priest of blameless life and commendable zeal ». He also had the reputation of being somewhat quaint in his ways, of looking more like a farmer than a priest. Also at times he would preach in « Pennsylvania Dutch » — a dialect based on German and English — much to the delight of those who knew and understood both languages. See *One Hundred and Twenty Five Years, St. Joseph's Church, Summit Hill, Pennsylvania, 1850-1975*, 5. The pages are not numbered. This will be referred to as *St. Joseph's, Summit Hill*. See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 227, 240, 242, 254; F. X. Reuss, *St. Peter's Church, Columbia, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, in *Records* 4 (1893) 97; *Catholic Chronicles of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, in *Records* 9 (1898) 213-214; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 56, n. 107. Letters 14, 15 and 18 dealing with Shorb and Henegan, with Summit Hill and Mauch Chunk, are a unit. The composite picture can be obtained only by reading the texts and notes together.

² This note will deal only with the « Summit Hill suit ». The following note will deal with the parish. While Father Henegan was building up Summit Hill and other centers, he took out a loan. He did this without any authorization from Kenrick. Furthermore, he did it in the fall of 1851 after Kenrick left to become archbishop of Baltimore. In taking out the loan he put up the church property at Summit Hill

to him according to Your desire⁴. I do not see on what grounds the Creditors could claim an indemnification from You: but even in the case, that a decision would be made to that end, this Diocese will settle the matter⁵. I do not think though, that it will come so far⁶.

The bond & mortgage signed in November 1852⁷ is on the church in Mauch-Chunk⁸, & have nothing to do with the above law suit.

as collateral. Actually, the loan was made in the interests of his own personal property in Nesquehoning. It was a drawn out case (until 1857) with many postponements due to delayed affidavits in reaching the hearings and due to the procrastination of Father Sourin, the Philadelphia Vicar General, in forwarding documents. The church was in the hands of the sheriff and almost confiscated. See the letters of Shorb, the pastor of Summit Hill, to Kenrick in AAB, 31-I-8-9-10, [October 1855], March 5, 1856, May 7, 1856. In the second letter of March 5, 1856, Shorb speaks of the data he gave Kenrick the previous October. Hence the dating of the first letter as of October 1855. A later hand, not Shorb's, wrote October 16, 1852, on the letter. This is an impossible date for various reasons: 1) the statement made in the second letter; 2) Shorb did not get there until October 1854; 3) the letter says that the Summit Hill case had been going on for two or three years; 4) Shorb tells Kenrick in this letter that he reported the facts to Neumann when he first arrived there and that was a year ago (October 1854). These reasons point to an October 1855 dating. For further data, see letters 15 and 18. For Sourin's procrastination, see also AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum* October 19, 1855, February 19, 1856, pp. 92, 99.

³ There was a church at Summit Hill in 1844. Kenrick visited there in 1847 and 1849. The traditional date for the parish there, St. Joseph's, is 1850 when Father Patrick Henegan (see n. 9), who was starting parishes there and at Mauch Chunk, began keeping separate records. The first rectory was built under Father Shorb, pastor from 1854 to 1858. Neumann made visitations there in 1852, 1854, 1857 and 1858. See *St. Joseph's, Summit Hill*, 1-5; Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 245, 256; Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 182.

⁴ There is no trace of this letter. The chronology of the events can be reconstructed. As already seen, sometime in October Shorb wrote to Kenrick about the Summit Hill suit. On October 19 Kenrick wrote to Neumann about the case and urged him to get a lawyer, lest he be held responsible for the mortgage. Neumann at once wrote to Shorb imparting Kenrick's instructions. Neumann then wrote this letter on October 23. See above, n. 2; AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, October 19, 1855, p. 92.

⁵ Kenrick was apprehensive lest he be held responsible for the Summit Hill mortgage. On his part, Neumann was resolved that Kenrick would not be involved financially. In the event of an adverse judgment, the diocese of Philadelphia would handle the matter.

⁶ The case went all the way through the courts. For the verdict, see letter 18.

⁷ Curley (*Neumann*, 279) ascribes this to 1851 and he speaks of a Mauch Chunk mortgage taken out then by Father Henegan. Neumann's date of 1852 is to be retained. This is confirmed by Kenrick who speaks of a mortgage taken out by John Tree in November 1852 in the name of the Mauch Chunk parish. See AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, October 19, 1855, p. 92. For Henegan's involvement in the Mauch Chunk suit, see below, n. 10.

⁸ As previously seen (Letter 4, n. 3), Mauch Chunk is now known as Jim Thorpe. The Immaculate Conception parish there was organized by Father Patrick Henegan (see next note). The traditional date for the parish is June 1850 when Henegan began to keep separate records for Mauch Chunk. He purchased property for a church in 1849 and began to build the church in 1850. It was completed in 1852, when Henegan had gone to Lambertsville, and was dedicated in 1853. Neumann made visitations there

I have never heard that Reverend P.[atrick] Hanegan⁹ [*sic*] has made any use of Your name, nor that he has exhibited any document bearing Your signature¹⁰.

This unhappy affair & other similar ones that have occurred¹¹ strengthen me very much in my determination to have Committees appointed in every Congregation to assist Pastors in the management of the temporalities of our Churches¹².

Though I think that I have nothing in view but the good of this Diocese, I am getting from one trouble into the other [*sic*] on account of my indecision & want of experience, so much so that I wish always yet to be released, if such be the Will of God¹³.

in 1852, 1854 and 1856. See Lemuel B. Norton, *History of the Immaculate Conception Parish, in Dedication of the New Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mauch Chunk 1908*, 10-11. This will be referred to as Norton, *Immaculate Conception, Mauch Chunk*. See also Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 166.

⁹ In manuscript documents and printed books there is constant confusion regarding the correct spelling of the name. Documents bearing his signature in the archives of the archdiocese of Newark show clearly that the proper spelling is Henegan. Patrick J. Henegan was ordained a priest of the diocese of Philadelphia by Bishop Kenrick on July 19, 1847. First from Tamaqua, and later from Nesquehoning (August 1850), he started building up parishes in Mauch Chunk and Summit Hill. In February 1852 he left for Lambertsville, New Jersey, which was then in the diocese of Philadelphia. He stayed on there when the diocese of Newark was created in 1853. Documents in the archives show him slow in paying debts and defaulting on paying promissory notes. In a telegram, dated Philadelphia, October 3, 1854, Henegan asked Bishop Bayley for his « exeat » from the diocese and he requested that it be sent to him at Mauch Chunk. At that time he returned to Pennsylvania to pursue, together with a group of followers, his « Mauch Chunk suit » and « Summit Hill suit » against the diocese. Beginning with the 1855 edition he is no longer listed among the priests in the *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac*. In a letter of 1856 Shorb refers to him as the « ex-Reverend Henegan ». He also refers to a rumor about Henegan's plans to leave Pennsylvania for California. See Norton, *Immaculate Conception, Mauch Chunk*, 10-11; *St. Joseph's, Summit Hill*, 1-3; AAB, 31-1-9-10, Shorb-Kenrick Letters; Archives of the Archdiocese of Newark, Henegan folder.

¹⁰ Lacking court records, one can only rely on these words of Neumann for Henegan's part in the Mauch Chunk suit. Apparently, in his days there he had a document, to which he affixed Kenrick's signature, that made Kenrick responsible for debts he contracted. The case must have gone on for some years. Speaking of financial difficulties, the parish history relates that an execution for debt was issued on December 4, 1856 and that a levy was made upon the church property on January 7, 1857. We are then told that the pastor, Father Charles McEnroe, raised a sufficient amount of money to pay off all claims on January 26, 1857 and that the danger was overcome. See Norton, *Immaculate Conception, Mauch Chunk*, 13. Requests to the courts of Carbon County, Pennsylvania, have turned up nothing on this case.

¹¹ For more information regarding financial and property problems in the parishes, see Curley, *Neumann*, 279, 286-289.

¹² Although Neumann was against Trusteeism and insisted on the proper canonical and civil incorporation of church property, he was in favor of appointed lay committees for a more efficient management of parish finances. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 35; ABPR, N, *Data* 1855, « Rules for the Administration of Churches in the Diocese of Philadelphia, October 1855 ».

¹³ The problems of finances and the temporalities of the diocese caused Neu-

I will send You this week yet the \$ 50.00 toward the expenses of our Roman Agent¹⁴.

I have the honour to remain, Most Reverend Sir, with sincere veneration

Your most humble Servant in Christ
John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

mann to hope all the more that Rome would relieve him of the burdens of Philadelphia as he proposed in 1855 (Letter 10). Notice however his complete dependence on the Will of God. Rome's answer, which for Neumann was God's Will, did not arrive until 1857. Neumann's proposal regarding Philadelphia is mentioned in letters 16, 17, 18, 19.

¹⁴ The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1855 recommended that a priest be chosen to go to Rome and work for the proposed American College in the name of the bishops of the United States. It was also suggested that each bishop make a contribution of \$25 or \$50 to pay the agent's expenses. In other provinces, there was not the same enthusiasm for the College or for the Baltimore Plan. Kenrick complained about the fewness of those who responded. Neumann is speaking here about his contribution for the « Roman agent ». See *Concilium Balt. Prov. VIII*, 17. More detail is found in the manuscript account of the minutes of the meetings as found in AAB, 32B-G-6, ff. 13-15. For Neumann as a contributor, see Archives of the Diocese of Charleston, 9-K-6, Kenrick to Lynch, December 9, 1855, Baltimore; Marschall, *Kenrick*, 275; AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, November, 2, 1855, p. 94. Here Kenrick speaks of receiving \$100 from M. Frenaye in the name of Bishops Neumann and O'Connor. The writer hopes to publish soon an article on Neumann and the American College.

Letter 15

[Fall 1855 ?]¹

Most Reverend Sir

I understand so little about legal affairs that I can hardly know what that deposition of Yours would want². The unhappy Reverend

¹ As previously seen, Shorb wrote Kenrick in October 1855 about the Summit Hill suit. After hearing from Shorb, Kenrick wrote Neumann on October 19. In keeping with Kenrick's request, Neumann wrote Shorb and then informed Kenrick about this on October 23. The suggestion is now made that the legal document mentioned here was received a bit later on in the fall of the same year. See Letter 14, nn. 1, 4. See also the next two notes of the present letter.

² The English is clumsy but the meaning is clear. Shorb had asked Kenrick

Hanegan³ [*sic*] had no right to take deposits & to charge them to the Church at the Summit⁴. — there is a statute of the first or second Diocesan Synod prohibiting this course⁵. As I have no copy of the Synods with me here, I cannot at present give the words. I will send a copy of them to the Reverend Shorb⁶ tomorrow morning⁷. I remain with the most humble submission

Yours, most truly
† John N. Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop Kenrick
Baltimore

to send an affidavit stating that he never authorized Henegan «to appear in court and confess Judgment against the church property at Summit Hill». Kenrick must have had a formal legal document drawn up and sent a copy on to Neumann as the bishop of the involved parish. The ponderous and technical language of legal documents can be difficult and Neumann was confused as to what the document required of him. See AAB, 31-I-9, Shorb to Kenrick, [October 1855].

³ For Henegan, see Letter 14, nn. 2-3, 7-9. Neumann's language bolsters the argument for the dating of the letter. He speaks of the «unhappy» Henegan. This argues for a date after his departure in late 1854 from the diocese of Newark and then from the priesthood. This was also the way he described him in Letter 18 of 1857 when he is reporting the settlement of the case. It is an adjective used to describe a priest who went astray. In a similar manner (Letter 24) Neumann uses the same adjective when referring to Sister M. Dolores Lopez who left the Visitations and then received a dispensation from her vows.

⁴ See Letter 14, nn. 1-4.

⁵ Prior to Neumann's time the first three Synods of Philadelphia were held under Kenrick in 1832, 1842 and 1847. Neumann's local memory fails him slightly here. Actually the reference should be to the second constitution of the third synod of 1847 that contains a strong prohibition of loans of this type. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 19-20.

⁶ See Letter 14, nn. 1-4; 7; Letter 18, n. 1.

⁷ There is no indication where the letter was written. However, it was close enough to Philadelphia for Neumann to get back there and send a copy of the synod to Shorb the next morning. For the visitation of the parishes closer to Philadelphia, Curley describes him as darting in and out of the city. See Curley, *Neumann*, 218, 342.

Letter 16

Philadelphia, November 14, 1856

Most Reverend Sir

Bishop O'Connor has had the kindness to get drawn up the form of an Instrument by which I can assign all I hold in trust to a Priest, who will have to make it over again to my successor or successors, in case the Holy See would remove me from here, & appoint perhaps another one — than me — to Pottsville¹. Mr. Staunton, a lawyer in Equity, at Pittsburgh², finds it advisable, to have as many instruments of transfer as there are Counties, where I hold property³. The forms will be printed before I return from a trip to Bellefonte & [the] neighborhood⁴, & on the 21st of this month all these affairs will be in order.

¹ At one time (September 1856) in the protracted proceedings of the « Neumann Case » Kenrick and O'Connor were told that Pope Pius IX — while reserving the final decision to another meeting of Propaganda — declared himself ready to accept Neumann's request for a transfer and that they could make known in Philadelphia that it was almost certain that the request would be granted. O'Connor, who was well versed in the intricacies of civil law and church property, had a legal document drawn up for Neumann that would guarantee the smooth transfer of church property and satisfy the law of 1855. Curley, *Neumann*, 253,300-303; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 333-334, 380-381; Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 239-240.

² The mention of the Pittsburgh lawyer is significant. Writing to Kenrick about Neumann and the church property problem, O'Connor says that Neumann intends « spending a week or ten days in Pittsburgh and there arranging that affair ». He then adds that Neumann « did not like to do anything about it in Philadelphia, lest it should give rise to other reports about his translation and consequently to disturbance ». See O'Connor to Kenrick, November 7, 1856, Pittsburgh, in AAB 30-W-65; Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 241.

³ According to Neumann's reports in the annual *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory*, the diocese of Philadelphia comprised thirty-six counties.

⁴ The parish of St. John the Evangelist at Bellefonte goes back to 1830 and the zeal of Father John O'Reilly, later pastor of St. Paul's, Pittsburgh, who came over from Huntingdon and started building a church. Of the 1837 poverty of this mission, Kenrick says that the few people « can hardly contribute enough to support a pastor ». In 1838 the pastor lived in the sacristy « because the Catholics are too few and too poor to provide a residence ». See Kenrick, *Diary and Visitation Record*, 41-42, 152, 162. Neumann made visitations at Bellefonte in 1853, 1856 and 1858. In the latter year the Benedictines were in charge of the mission that took in seven counties. Later, Father Otto Kopf, one of the Benedictines stationed there, left an account of Neumann's zeal on visitation tours and of his concern for the poverty of a country priest. When Neumann took one look at Kopf, he insisted on going to a store and buying him a complete outfit of clothes. See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 5; Curley, *Neumann*, 340, 343; Otto Kopf to Joseph Wissel, February 27, 1902, Monte Casino, Kentucky, in ABPR, N, Wissel Papers.

I have myself received as yet no communication from the Propaganda, & wait with all patience & resignation for the decision from Rome. In things of this sort I have to rely only in [*sic*] divine Providence⁵.

The Reverend Dr. Keogh⁶ passed through on his return from Rome to Pittsburgh. He brought me a Silver Medal which the Holy Father sends [*sic*] to the Bishops who have been in Rome on the occasion of the Dogmatical Definition of the Immaculate Conception⁷.

If the weather continues favorable two or three weeks more, the middle façade of the front of the Cathedral will be finished⁸. I need not assure you, Most Reverend Sir, that the whole front looks already exceedingly well, & might repay a trip even from Baltimore⁹.

⁵ Neumann is referring to an answer from Rome regarding his offer to resign Philadelphia and go to a smaller and poorer See. Here we notice his patience and resignation and his relying on divine Providence. At the end of the letter he asks Kenrick to recommend his future to the mercy of God. See the data in Letters 10, 13, 17, 18 and the answer in Letter 19.

⁶ James Keogh (1834-1870). The family of Irish-born James Keogh settled in Pittsburgh in 1841. He was ordained at Rome on August 5, 1856 where he obtained his doctorate in philosophy in 1851 and in theology in 1855. After working in Latrobe, he was appointed professor of dogmatic theology at St. Michael's Seminary by Bishop O'Connor. Under Bishop Domenec, C.M., he became president of the seminary, secretary to the bishop and editor of *The Pittsburgh Catholic*. In 1865, because of differences with the bishop over the conducting of the seminary and the newspaper, he resigned and went to Philadelphia where he taught at St. Charles Seminary and became (1866) the first editor of *The Catholic Standard*. He was a Secretary at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore. Because of ill health he returned to Pittsburgh in 1868 and died there on July 10, 1870. See J. Hennessey, *Keogh, James*, in *NCE* 8 (1967) 162.

⁷ Neumann was one of six bishops from the United States who went to Rome in 1854. He took advantage of the visit to make his *ad limina* report to Pope Pius IX. He also went on to Bohemia to see his father and sisters whom he had not seen since leaving home in 1836. See Curley, *Neumann*, 233-246. For an interesting account of his stay with his Redemptorist confreres and for the pilgrimage aspect of his Roman visit, see Oreste Gregorio, *Ricordo del ven. G. Neumann tra i Redentoristi napoletani*, in *Spic. hist.* 11 (1963) 233-242.

⁸ The architect's report of 1857 on the middle or main facade speaks of the completion of the center pediment in front of the nave. The apex or crowning stone was laid the day before Christmas 1856. The facade rose 100 feet in the air. Some of the stones weighed ten to twelve tons. The report then mentions the contract for the facades of the side aisles and expresses the hope of having the entire front finished by the summer of 1857. See *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 21, 1857.

⁹ The bishop's joy expressed in this December letter is heard again in his report at the annual meeting of the cathedral committee in March, 1857. Neumann says that, despite the tight economy, contributions kept coming in. In 1856, \$13,206.49 was spent on the cathedral. A big factor was the increase in population. The diocese was reported to comprise 250,000 people — possibly 300,000 — half of whom were in the city. The sight of the facade made Neumann think of a speedy completion of the roof and dome. See *ibid.* The estimation of a population of 300,000 is the highest Neumann ever made. A more realistic figure, both from Bishops Neumann and Wood, — from as late as September, 1858 — is 250,000. See the writer's *The Sainly John Neumann*, in *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 220.

I most humbly beg Your charity to recommend my future to the Mercy of God, & remain with sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble and obedient Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

Letter 17

Philadelphia, January 26, 1857¹

Most Reverend Sir

I was several times prepared to start for Baltimore but could not yet get off. I hope though that next week nothing will happen to prevent me.

No letter has yet reached me from Rome in regard to my affairs², & all seem to think that no change will be made³. I am myself indifferent as to the decision⁴.

¹ In the archives of the archdiocese of Baltimore the first three letters of 1857 are catalogued as 30-U-20-21-22. The present letter is listed as letter 22. Actually, this letter should be listed as the first of the three and the Baltimore chronological sequence would be 30-U-22-20-21. The reason for the misnumbering is that the cataloguer read June instead of January in the — to him — confused abbreviation Jan. June is an impossible date, as will be seen in the next note. The letter is listed here as letter 17 as is explained in the Introduction.

² This remark makes it certain that the proper reading of the date of the letter is January and not June. Neumann's « affairs » center about his proposal to divide the large diocese of Philadelphia, resign his See and go to a smaller diocese. Neumann did not know Rome's answer in January, but he knew it in June, the answer having arrived in March. See the data in Letters 10, 13, 16, 18, and Rome's answer in Letter 19.

³ It is interesting to note that Rome's first reaction — which turned out to be the final decision — was that Neumann's request to leave Philadelphia would not be readily granted because it knew well the care with which he ruled the diocese. See Propaganda to Neumann, July 4, 1855, Rome, in APF, LDB, vol. 346 (1855), fol. 416r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 276-277. See Letter 13, n. 44. The longer the decision was in coming, so much greater grew the conviction that he would not be changed.

⁴ Notice his detachment and indifference in this long wait, a wait that lasted

Expecting to present my respects to You in person, I remain with sincere veneration

Your most humble Servant in Christ
 † J. N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

twenty-two months. For the impatience of some of the friends of Wood, whose name was the first on the list in the event of Neumann's transfer, see Curley, *Neumann*, 203. For Rome's answer, see Letter 19.

Letter 18

J.M.J.

Philadelphia, March 10, 1857

Most Reverend Sir

The Reverend B.[asil] Shorb¹ of Summit-Hill² has just informed me, that the lawsuit of the Creditors of the unfortunate Reverend Hanegan³ [*sic*] against us has at last come to the [*sic*] end. The decision of the Judge was, that neither the Church at the Old Mines⁴, nor You, are responsible for the debts contracted — the plaintiff [*sic*] moreover is to pay the costs etc. I thank God that this very troublesome affair is settled⁵.

¹ See Letter 14, nn. 1-4; Letter 15, nn. 1-2.

² See Letter 14, nn. 1-4. See below, n. 4.

³ See Letter 14, nn. 2-3, 7-9; Letter 15, n. 3.

⁴ Summit Hill was formerly known as Old Mines. See *St. Joseph's, Summit Hill*, 1; *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1852*, 80. in his *ad limina* report to Rome in 1854 Neumann refers to the place as Old Mines. See Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 61, n. 23.

⁵ This is the only data on the close of the Summit Hill suit. Requests were sent to the courts of Carbon County; no documents were obtained. Furthermore, the archives of the diocese of Allentown and the parishes involved have no records bearing on the Summit Hill suit or on the Mauch Chunk suit.

It has been mentioned to me that Dr. Kane⁶ had become a Catholic before he died. Jos.[eph] R.[ipley] Chandler⁷, who is chairman of the Committee appointed to make arrangements for the reception of the remains — thinks however that this statement is unfounded — as Judge Kane, the Father of the deceased, would not conceal it if it were true. Our great men will therefore have their way without any danger of interference or collision.

I see in this mornings [*sic*] *Ledger*⁸ that Bishop Cretin⁹ was buried at St. Pauls [*sic*] on the 24th of last month. R.[equiescat] I.[n] P.[ace]¹⁰. Map be that the increasing number of vacant Sees will at last attract attention in Rome & urge them to action¹¹.

I remain with sincere veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

⁶ Elisha Bent Kane (1820-1857) obtained his Doctor of Medicine degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1842. He then became a Naval surgeon and pioneered in Arctic exploration. Kane Basin, northwest of Greenland, is named after him. He died at Havana, where he went for health reasons, on February 16, 1857. See *Kane, Elisha Bent*, in *Encyclopedia Britannica, Micropedia* 5 (1974) 685.

⁷ The life of Joseph Ripley Chandler (1792-1880), born in Kingston, Massachusetts, is centered in Philadelphia. While not a Catholic, he married Mary H. Jones, a Catholic, at St. John's in 1833. He was in the City Council from 1832 to 1848, a member of Congress from 1849 to 1855. In 1858 he became United States Minister to the Court of Naples, a post he held until 1861. The precise date of his becoming a Catholic is not known. It is known that in March, 1857, he spoke at the annual meeting of the cathedral committee and happily boasted: « I am a Catholic. I am a Roman Catholic ». He died at Philadelphia on July 10, 1880. See *Some Philadelphia Converts*, in *Records* 33 (1922) 249; *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 21, 1857.

⁸ *The Public Ledger* was also known as *The Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, *The Public Ledger and Philadelphia Press*, *The Public Ledger and North American*. It began publication on March 25, 1836 and continued for almost a century when it merged with *The Philadelphia Inquirer* on April 14, 1934. See *American Newspapers 1821-1936. A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, ed. N. Gregory, New York 1937, 616.

⁹ Bishop Joseph Cretin (1799-1857). Born in France, Cretin was ordained a priest on December 20, 1823 and continued to work in France as curate and pastor until 1838. In that year, French-born Bishop Loras of Dubuque, Iowa, was recruiting priests in France. Cretin volunteered, arrived in Dubuque the following year and was immediately named Vicar General. He was named first bishop of St. Paul, Minnesota on July 23, 1850. He died there on February 22, 1857. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 55; J. Shannon, *Cretin, Joseph*, in *NCE* 4 (1967) 446-447.

¹⁰ A prayer for the departed: « May he rest in peace ».

¹¹ On March 10, 1857, Neumann did not yet know that Rome had already acted and had decided to keep him in Philadelphia. Nor did he have any idea that the answer was on its way, an answer that goes back to his proposal of May 1855. See Letters 10, 13, 16, 17, 18 and the answer in the following letter.

Letter 19

Philadelphia, April 10, 1857

Most Reverend Sir

The Right Reverend Dr. Wood has accepted his nomination to be my Coadjutor¹. His letter (dated April 4)², & the many good qualities, which are attributed to him by all who know him here, have produced the most happy effect on our Catholics, & we all give thanks to God for the provision he has made for the welfare of this diocese.

I perceived Dr. Wood, to have his consecration performed in Philadelphia, & I intended in case of his consent, to beg of You, Most Reverend Sir, to officiate — but he prefers to be consecrated in Cincinnati [*sic*], as he has there his Mother, Sisters, and so many friends, whom he wishes to grafitify. I am myself invited to assist at the Consecration, & will of course do it with great pleasure. I have not been notified, what day the Consecration is to take place — but it will be probably on the second or third Sunday after Easter³.

It is still very doubtful whether we will realize anything from the Will of H.[enry] Farrell⁴ — as there is some doubt whether

¹ Rome's solution for the Philadelphia problem was — in line with the proposal of Kenrick — to keep Neumann on as bishop of Philadelphia and to assign him a coadjutor who would be a help to him especially in financial matters. The choice fell upon James Frederick Wood, a priest of the diocese of Cincinnati, who was chosen December 9, 1856. The official notice was not sent until February 17, 1857; Kenrick received the news March 30, 1857. For the story and the documents, see Curley, *Neumann*, 301-305; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 334-337, 369-386; Alfred C. Rush, *The Saintly John Neumann*, in *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 240-241.

² This letter is not extant. However, we know from Kenrick's letter that he and Neumann received the news with great joy. See Kenrick to Barnabò, April 24, 1857, Baltimore, in APF, SOCG, Vol. 982 (1857), fols. 624rv. See also Neumann to Purcell, April 10, 1857, Philadelphia, in AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n.

³ Wood was ordained bishop on the second Sunday after Easter, April 26, 1857. The ordaining prelate was Archbishop Purcell, assisted by Bishops Neumann and Richard Whelan of Richmond. See Curley, *Neumann*, 310-311. James Frederick Wood (1813-1883), a native of Philadelphia who later moved to Cincinnati, became a Catholic in 1836 and was ordained in Rome in 1844. He was then engaged in pastoral work until 1857 and his appointment to Philadelphia. Both before and after coming to Philadelphia his name was proposed for various Sees. As coadjutor with the right of succession he automatically became bishop of Philadelphia when Neumann died on January 5, 1860. In 1875 Philadelphia was made an archdiocese, with Wood its first archbishop. He died and was buried there in 1883. See Curley, *Neumann*, 307-309; Code, *American Hierarchy*, 299. See also the section on Wood, written by Thomas A. Danaghy, in Connelly, *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 252-266.

⁴ The will of Henry A. Farrell, made in 1855 and executed in 1857, contained

he had his property in fee simple. We have been here tantalized pretty near enough, & would feel quite pleased, to get something tangible.

We have not heard here anything about Dr. McCaffrey⁵. The general belief especially of the clergy, is that he will not accept of [*sic*] his nomination — but he is said to have declared on some former occasion that he would accept of [*sic*] no bishopricks [*sic*].

The Philadelphia Students at St. Charles' College⁶ have invited me to see them the [*sic*] next week — If nothing particular will happen to prevent me — I intend to gratify them — on which occasion I hope to have the pleasure of paying of [*sic*] [a] short visit.

I wish You, most Reverend Sir, very happy Easter Holidays⁷ & remain with sincere veneration

Your most obedient & humble Servant
 † J. N. Neumann
 Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop Kenrick

bequests of real estate and its interest to St. Charles Seminary. See Register of Wills in and for the County of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Will No. 45, Year 1857.

⁵ The life of John Henry McCaffrey (1806-1881) is centered around Emmitsburg, Maryland. He was born there and made his studies for the priesthood at Mount St. Mary's College and Seminary. After serving as vice-president and president of Mount St. Mary's, he became president *emeritus* in 1872 and died in 1881. His name had been proposed for Charleston, Natchez, Savannah, Philadelphia and for coadjutorship of Philadelphia. See Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 352, 377, 383, 385, 386; G. Mulcahy, *McCaffrey, John Henry*, in NCE 9 (1967) 5-6.

⁶ St. Charles College, a minor seminary conducted by the Sulpicians, was inaugurated at Ellicott City, Maryland, in 1831. See C. J. Noonan, *Sulpicians*, in NCE 13 (1967) 786. In his desire of fostering native vocations, and vocations among the poor, Neumann decided to recruit at an earlier age. In 1856 he had twenty youths whom he sent to Ellicott City to be educated at the expense of the diocese. His ideal was his own diocesan preparatory seminary. A few months before his death he saw his plan realized in the Glen Riddle preparatory seminary that opened in September 1859 with an enrollment of twenty-six. In this, Neumann was a man of vision; furthermore, his plan worked. In the Neumann years, 1852-1860, the average number ordained annually was nine. In the span of five years from 1860, Philadelphia was seeing ordination classes of fifteen, seventeen and nineteen. This increase of vocations also settled the problem of priests for German-speaking parishes. More and more the ordination lists contain German names, the American sons of the German immigrants who could speak German. See Curley, *Neumann*, 379-380; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 37-44, 389-392; Alfred C. Rush, *People's Response to St. John Neumann*, in *Pastoral Life* 27 (May 1978) 38-42.

⁷ This letter was written on Good Friday. Easter Sunday was April 12. See *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laitty's Directory for 1857*, 20.

Letter 20

WE JOHN NEPOMUCENE ¹
by the grace of God and the Apostolic See ²
BISHOP OF PHILADELPHIA ³

To all who will examine this document we declare and testify that the Reverend Mister ⁴ Edm.[und] Q.[uincy] S.[heafe] Waldron ⁵ obtained from me full liberty to leave the diocese of Philadelphia, & to submit himself to the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore ⁶.

We testify that the same Reverend Mister was always outstanding, in purity of conduct and zeal for souls, & that, as far as we

¹ At Neumann's baptism his godfather, John Marek, named him John Nepomucene in honor of St. John of Nepomuc, the patron of Bohemia who died in 1393 and was canonized in 1729. See Rush, *Neumann Autobiography*, 21, 80; B.B. Szczesnik, *John of Nepomuc*, in NCE 7 (1967) 1062.

² In earlier times the archbishop investigated and confirmed the election of his suffragan bishops. In the fourteenth century, with the growing centralization of papal power, the confirmation of an election was frequently given by the Pope, often at the request of the one elected. In the fifteenth century, at the Concordat of Constance in 1418, this right was recognized as belonging to the Pope. One then spoke of a bishop as bishop not only by the grace of God but also by the favor of the Apostolic See. See Bihlmeyer-H. Tüchle, *Church History*, II, 197.

³ Philadelphia, Boston, New York and Bardstown, Kentucky, were set up as the first suffragan Sees of Baltimore in 1808 which then became the first archdiocese. For Philadelphia, see Arthur J. Ennis, O.S.A., *The New Diocese of Philadelphia*, in James Connelly, *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 63-67.

⁴ As previously seen, « Reverend Mister » was the acceptable way of referring to a diocesan priest.

⁵ Edmund Waldron (ca. 1811-1888). New Hampshire-born Edmund Quincy Sheafe Waldron graduated from Dartmouth College and then studied Law. It was probably in 1841 that he became a Catholic at Philadelphia. He then decided to become a priest. He was ordained by Kenrick on December 18, 1847. Along with other duties, Waldron was put in charge of the construction of the cathedral. Under Neumann he continued this work. He grew impatient with Neumann's policy of building only as the money came in. This led to a desire to leave Philadelphia and go to Baltimore. As early as 1853 Kenrick was urging him to stay in Philadelphia. In 1857, after Bishop Wood took over the supervision of the cathedral construction, he decided to make the move. Two weeks before this letter Kenrick wrote Waldron and told him to come quickly if he was so minded. He also insisted that the move was not his, but Waldron's personal choice. Waldron first worked at St. Matthew's, Washington. Later he became pastor at Pikesville, Maryland, a post he held until his death in Baltimore on April 16, 1888. See AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, December 15, 1853, p. 57; July 6, 1857, p. 126; Curley, *Neumann*, 182, 187, 229, 297-298, 317; *The Catholic Herald and Visitor*, August 8, 1857; *Some Philadelphia Converts*, in *Records*, 33 (1922) 265-266.

⁶ Catholicism in Maryland goes back to its colonization in 1634. It was only after the American Revolution and Independence that John Carroll became Prefect Apostolic in 1784 and the first bishop of Baltimore in 1789. As previously seen, Baltimore became the first archdiocese in 1808. See J. Gallagher, *Baltimore, Archdiocese of*, in NCE 2 (1967) 34-38.

know, he is free from all censures.

In testimony whereof we issued this document at Philadelphia, on the twenty third of July in the year 1857.

† John N. Neumann, C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

Letter 21

Most Reverend Sir

I have looked through the Constitutions of various Synods & Councils, but found few things only which might be treated at our next Provincial Council¹. To keep up the uniformity of discipline² it would be no doubt desirable to adopt such Constitutions of other Provinces which are in accordance with the General Discipline of the Church — I have only the Acts of the Provincial Council of Cincinnati³ [*sic*], but could not find those lately held at N.[ew] Y.[ork]⁴, St. Louis⁵ & N.[ew] O.[rleans]⁶.

I remain with sentiments of sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Philadelphia, February 25, 1858⁷

Your most obedient Servant in Christ

† J. N. Neumann
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

¹ The Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore was held May 2-9, 1858. See *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale IX habitum anno 1858*, Baltimore 1858; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 571-596.

² In a young church, a church that saw immigrants by the thousands arriving with their divergent customs and practices, uniformity of discipline was a vital need. See Guilday, *Baltimore Councils*, 85.

³ The First Provincial Council of Cincinnati was held May 13-20, 1855. See *Concilium Cincinnatiense Provinciale I habitum anno 1855*; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 167-190.

⁴ The First Provincial Council of New York was held September 30-October 8, 1855. See *Concilium Neo-Eboracense Primum, habitum Anno MDCCCLV*, New York 1855; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 81-106.

⁵ The First Provincial Council of St. Louis was held October 7-14, 1855. See *Acta et decreta concilii provincialis primi Sancti Ludovici, habiti anno 1855*, St. Louis 1858; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 307-318.

⁶ The First Provincial Council of New Orleans was held January 20-27, 1856. See *Concilium Neo-Aurelianense Provinciale Primum, habitum anno 1856*, New Orleans 1857; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 319-336.

⁷ In these letters there are only two instances where Neumann puts the date at the end.

Most Reverend Sir

I hardly know what to say in reference to the proposal of Bishop O'Connor¹.

The Very Reverend McMahan it appears has administered the affairs of the Diocese of Pittsburgh to every one's satisfaction², I at least have never heard any complaint, & I would therefore think it far better to make no change, unless the V.[ery] R.[everend] McMahan is unwilling to continue in his charge any longer or has become impracticable.

The position of a Coadjutor & his Bishop in our circumstances is so apt to become anomalous & to [*sic*] painful to be of long duration, unless both entertain the same views about the matters which may come up for their decision³.

I have seen the Very Reverend Edw.[ard] Purcell only once in my life, & have no personal knowledge whatever of his qualifica-

¹ Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, in these years, was trying to obtain a coadjutor. Father John B. Byrne of Washington was appointed his coadjutor on May 9, 1857. The day of his consecration was set for August 2. He then decided not to go through with the plans and sent the Papal Bulls back to Rome. O'Connor then looked around for someone else, as will be seen (n. 4 below). See Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 319-324.

² Born in Ireland in 1800, Edward McMahan was ordained at Bardstown, Kentucky, on July 3, 1825. In 1852 he became Vicar General of the diocese of Pittsburgh. During the absences of O'Connor he acted as administrator. When O'Connor departed from Pittsburgh in 1859 to submit his resignation to Rome, he appointed his brother, James, as administrator. Under the new bishop, Michael Domenec, C.M., McMahan again acted as Vicar General. When Domenec appointed Father Tobias Mullen — later bishop of Erie — as his Vicar General in 1863, McMahan then left Pittsburgh and was accepted into Philadelphia in January 1864. See Andrew Lambing, *Brief Historical Sketches of the Deceased Bishops and Priests in the Diocese of Pittsburgh*, Pittsburgh 1914, 107-112.

³ Neumann's remarks about a coadjutor must be seen in the light of his own experience. The coming of Bishop Wood as coadjutor was not a happy solution. He mistakenly took for granted that Neumann was meant to resign and hand over the diocese to him. In this atmosphere of psychological friction, at the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1858, Neumann proposed that Philadelphia be divided, that a new See be erected at Easton, that he resign Philadelphia and go to Easton, and leave Wood in Philadelphia. See Curley, *Neumann*, 321-335; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 336-340, 391-406; Alfred C. Rush, *The Saintly John Neumann*, in Connelly, *History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 241-249. Neumann's remarks here about having a coadjutor are the only indication we have of his suffering during this painful episode. In a letter to Cardinal Barnabò, Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati cautions against the appointment of coadjutors and he then goes on to cite historical precedents to bolster his view. For this letter of 1859, see Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 413-418.

tions. I give him however my vote if Bishop O'Connor insists on having him for his Coadjutor⁴.

I remain with sincere veneration
Most Reverend Sir

St. Joseph's, Susquehanna County⁵, July 5, 1858⁶

Your most humble and obedient Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

⁴ When Father Byrne refused the appointment as coadjutor, Bishop O'Connor tried to get Father Edward Purcell. The brother of Archbishop John Baptist Purcell of Cincinnati, Edward (1808-1881) was born in Ireland and came to America as a child. He was educated at Mt. St. Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Md., and then went on to study Law. After practising for three years he studied theology and lived out his life as a priest of the Archdiocese of Cincinnati. In 1858, after agreeing to be coadjutor to O'Connor, he changed his mind and sent the document of his appointment back to Rome. See Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 325-330; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 394, 416, n. 15.

⁵ St. Joseph, in the diocese of Scranton, brings to mind Father John Vincent O'Reilly, « the Xavier of the North ». During his priestly years, 1838-1873, he covered on horseback Susquehanna, Bradford, Tioga, Sullivan and Lycoming Counties, laying the foundation for future parishes. At St. Joseph he built St. Joseph's College, with its chapel to be used by the people in 1852, an academy for girls in 1856, and a parish church in 1859. Neumann made visitations there in 1852, 1857, 1858 and 1859. See Neumann, *Visitation Record*, 180-181; Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*, 59-61, 77-79, 81-84, 87-93. See also the supplementary material in *The Sisters of the I.H.M., The Story of the Founding of the Congregation of the Sisters Servants of the Immaculate Heart of Mary and their work in the Diocese of Scranton*, New York 1921, 52-55, 103-105, 160-167. It was under Neumann and O'Reilly that these Sisters came to St. Joseph in 1858. See Curley, *Neumann*, 385-386.

⁶ Because he was engaged in visitations in the remote section of the diocese, Neumann was unable to attend the meeting in Baltimore that considered the problem of Pittsburgh. He sent in his approval by mail. The meeting took place on July 2, 1858. The letter to Rome was signed by Archbishop Kenrick and Bishops O'Connor, McGill, Wood and Lynch. For the letter, see APF, SOCG, vol. 983 (1858), fol. 725; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 393-395. See Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 325-326; AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, June 26, 1858, p. 150.

Letter 23

[Philadelphia, September 1858]¹

Most Reverend Sir

I have tried my best to bring Sister Dolores & her parents to the sense of their duty; Bishop O'Connor has done the same, — but all in vain. She has no desire to return to the Convent, & Mr. Lopez thinks that his 'Poor Child' would die there at once as her bodily health is not getting better², & when informed that I would not send her [a] Priest to hear her Confession³ she appeared nearly overpowered by temptation & said that she would never go to Confession & there however her parents checked her.

As I really do think that her vocation is gone, & that she has neither [the] bodily health nor strength of mind necessary to [*sic*] a life of seclusion & obedience, I thought it the best, to write to Monsignore Bedini⁴ to obtain for her the dispensation from the Vows of Poverty and Obedience⁵.

¹ For the dating, see below, nn. 4, 6.

² Sister Mary Dolores (Josephine Lopez), a native of Philadelphia, was professed as a Visitation Sister at the Philadelphia convent in 1849. She was then stationed at the Georgetown convent that conducted the Georgetown Visitation Academy for girls where she gave music lessons. This occasioned absences from the community spiritual exercises, a source of tension between her and the Superioress. Later her health suffered and she complained of being treated harshly. She resolved to quit the convent and never return. Before she requested or received a dispensation from her vows, her father came and took her home. For the story, see Neumann to Bedini, [September 1858], Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 130 (1858 III), fols. 2026r-2027v; Kenrick to Barnabò, October 4, 1858, Baltimore, in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860), fols. 339-340. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 296-297; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 403-406.

³ It was not merely a question of hearing her confession. The priest would need special faculties to absolve her from the excommunication that she incurred by her unauthorized flight. Neumann's letter to Bedini mentions this point.

⁴ The mention of Neumann's letter to Bedini regarding the Lopez case (see above, n. 2) indicates that this letter to Kenrick is to be dated in September 1858. Neumann's letter to Bedini is not dated. However, the dispensation requested in the letter was granted in the audience of October 17, 1858. This leads one to presume that his letter was sent the previous month. See Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 296-297, nn. 166, 169. This present letter to Kenrick was sent after he wrote to Bedini.

⁵ Neumann speaks here of a dispensation only of the vows of poverty and obedience. He does not mention the vow of chastity. This is because of the doubt whether she took solemn vows, in which case no dispensation was given. In the course of the dispensation process for the Visitation nun, Sister Mary Loughborough, Kenrick was told by Rome to determine whether her vows were solemn or simple. If the vows were solemn he was to dispense from the vows of poverty and obedience only. See AAB, *Acta Episcopalia 1851-1863*, 14; Propaganda to Kenrick, July 27, 1856, Rome, in APF, Udienze, vol. 124 (1856), fol. 2127rv. For the documents involved in this long and complicated case that involved dispensations from the vows and two subsequent marriages, see Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 375, n. 2. For more detail on the nature of the vows, see letter 24, n. 15.

When she heard that the Jubilee ⁶ is to be held in the Cathedral Parish ⁷ during October, she expressed a hope that, Priests then being invested with extraordinary faculties, I would let her make her Confession even if it were only once. I gave an evasive answer, not knowing yet what faculties had been granted by the Holy Father to Confessors in the Jubilee before this ⁸.

I see no change in the health of Bishop O'Connor ⁹. He spent two or three days in Philadelphia, & returned to Pittsburg [*sic*] this Evening.

I have as yet no news from Rome ¹⁰.

I remain with sincere esteem & veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ

† J. N. Neumann C.S.S.R.

Bishop of Philadelphia

⁶ A Jubilee or Holy Year is a year during which a solemn plenary indulgence is granted to the faithful under certain conditions and special faculties are granted to confessors. Holy Years are «ordinary» when they occur at regular intervals (every twenty-five years in modern times) and «extraordinary» when proclaimed for some special occasion. See J. Gavigan, *Holy Year*, in NCE 7 (1967) 108. The Holy Year of 1858 was proclaimed in the Consistory of September 25, 1857. See *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta*, Rome 1858, I/2, 614-615. It was up to each bishop to set the precise time. Neumann chose the month of October. The reference to holding the Jubilee in the coming October is further proof that the present letter was written in September. For the contemporary account, see *Introduction on the Jubilee*, Baltimore, Murphy, 1858.

⁷ While the Philadelphia cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul was being built, St. John's was the pro-cathedral. People who lived in the neighborhood of the «cathedral parish» first attended Mass in the public chapel of the bishop's house. Later, with the permission of Bishop Neumann, Bishop Wood in 1857 built a temporary cathedral chapel. See Curley, *Neumann*, 217. See Wood to Purcell, June 29, 1857, Philadelphia, in AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II-4-n.

⁸ The previous Jubilee of 1852 was proclaimed by Pius IX on November 1, 1851. See the encyclical, dated November 21, 1851, in *Pii IX Pontificis Maximi Acta*, Rome 1854, I/1, 348-352. See *The Catholic Mirror*, January 3, 1852. Neumann explained the Jubilee in his first pastoral letter written shortly after his arrival in Philadelphia. See *The Catholic Mirror*, May 1, 1852; Berger-Grimm, *Neumann*, 327-333. A copy of this can be found in ABPR, N, Data 1852.

⁹ The health of Bishop O'Connor is a constantly-recurring theme in the letters of the bishops during these years. In 1852 his health prevented him from being present at Neumann's episcopal ordination. Especially in 1855 his health problem grew more critical. See Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 208, 317-319, 354.

¹⁰ He is referring to his offer to go to Easton and let Bishop Wood have Philadelphia. See letter 22, n. 3. In November Wood was told that the matter would be referred to the next Plenary Council. Meanwhile, he was to stay in Philadelphia, helping Neumann especially in financial matters. Barnabò tells Wood that «it was precisely with this in view that the Holy See, relying on the known excellent qualities of Your Lordship, chose you to be the coadjutor of the bishop of Philadelphia». See Barnabò to Wood, November 15, 1858, Rome, in APF, LDB, vol. 349 (1858), fols. 936r-937v; Curley, *Neumann*, 330. Actually the «Wood Affair» was only settled by the sudden and unexpected death of Neumann on January 5, 1860.

[Philadelphia, December, Pre-Christmas 1858]¹

Most Reverend Sir

I have the honour to send You through Rev. F.[ather] Jacobs² some copies of the 'Actus testimonialis' which appears to be required to gain the indulgences of the *Via Crucis*³ (V.[ide] *Corresp.[on-dance] de Rome* Vol. III, pag. 519)⁴. F.[ather] B.[urchard] Villiger S.J.⁵ mentioned to me that you had expressed a desire to see a copy. I have still some two hundred on hand for distribution. I take the liberty to add some copies of the power to say two Masses⁶

¹ For the date. see nn. 8, 19.

² Father Joseph Jacobs was born at Düren, Rhenish Prussia, on May 16, 1832. After being professed as a Redemptorist on February 2, 1854, he was sent to the United States in 1855, and ordained on December 23, 1856. One of his early appointments was at Cumberland, Maryland, under the saintly Father Seelos. In 1867 he was stationed in New Orleans where Seelos lay dying. After requesting to have Jacobs come in to him, Seelos warned him that he would lose his vocation unless he curbed his excessive social life. Later Jacobs was sent to England and there he was released from his vows. See Joseph Wuest, C.S.S.R., *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Provinciae Americanae*, III/2, Ilchester 1899, 439, n. 75; Michael J. Curley, *Cheerful Ascetic. The Life of Francis Xavier Seelos*, New Orleans 1969, 302.

³ The *Actus Testimonialis* is a document signed by the person empowered to erect the Stations of the Cross. Hung in a conspicuous place, it states that the person erected the Stations, with the attached indulgences, in keeping with the norms laid down by the then Sacred Congregation of Indulgences on May 10, 1742. See *Decreta Authentica Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis Praepositae ab anno 1668 ad annum 1882*, Rome 1883, 117-118, n. 133. For the modifications in the practice of indulgences introduced by Popes Pius XI (1931) and Paul VI (1967), see *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 23 (1931) 522; 59 (1967) 5-24.

⁴ Neumann is referring to *Correspondance de Rome. Recueil des allocutions, bulles, encycliques, brevs et autres actes du Saint-Siège Apostolique, décrets des Sacrés Congrégations Romaines*, III (1851-1852), Liège 1856, 519. This cites a decree of the Congregation of Indulgences issued on September 25, 1841 (*Decreta*, 260, n. 294). According to this decree, the validity of the erection and of the indulgences depended on written proof for everything connected with the Stations or the Way of the Cross, namely the petition, the grant and the erection.

⁵ Father Burchard Villiger was born in Switzerland on May 14, 1819. He joined the Jesuits on October 4, 1838 and took solemn vows on December 5, 1857. Among the many offices he held was that of Provincial of the Maryland-New York Province. He died at Philadelphia on November 5, 1902. See Mendizábal, *Catalogus defunctorum*, 10/319, p. 186.

⁶ Neumann was concerned with the pastoral reasons for bination (saying two Masses on a Sunday or Holy Day), the necessary permission, the difficulties in saying two Masses in different places, and the rubrics for purifying the chalice. He mentions these points in a long letter to Rome dealing with diocesan problems. He also added a printed form, «Permission to Binatate», that he probably composed and that outlined the procedures to be observed by the priest. This was approved

& of the Questions for the Conferences of 1859⁷.

Last week I received from Rome the faculty to absolve & to dispense the unfortunate daughter of Mr. Lopez⁸. All my efforts to induce her to return to her Order were in vain. I ordered her to make a retreat & if she persists not to return, I will dispense her.

From what Mr. Lopez tells me, there are some of the Reverend Fathers at Georgetown⁹ who are of the opinion that a runaway Nun can receive the Sacraments even before she is canonically dispensed¹⁰. This may perhaps be true in case where the flight was necessary to save the life in an evident danger of being killed — but to extend the natural right so as to include those who through wounded pride & self love work themselves into the conviction that they must flee to save their life, is certainly carrying things too far. During the Jubilee¹¹ I requested Dr. O'Hara¹² & Dr. Balfe¹³ to study

by Rome and he then sent some copies to Kenrick. See Neumann to Barnabò, April 11, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fols. 966a-d. The bination form is 966f; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 283-290, 293-294. The general decree on bination, issued by Pius IX on March 11, 1858, found its way into the 1865 Ceremonial. See *Ceremonial for the Use of the Catholic Churches in the United States published by Order of the First Council of Baltimore*, Baltimore 1865, 58-60.

⁷ The Clerical Conferences or Moral Cases were a form of keeping up in theology. The Synod of 1855 legislated that they were to be held in the chapel of the bishop's residence on the first Tuesday of January, April, July and October. Because of the size of the diocese, regional meetings were held, e.g., at Reading, Scranton and other cities. See *Constitutiones dioecesanæ Phil.*, 33; Curley, *Neumann*, 355.

⁸ The letter to Neumann was sent on November 13, 1858. See APF, LDB, vol. 349 (1858), fol. 992r. In those days, as seen in a study of the contemporary correspondence, it took four to five weeks for a letter to get to the United States from Rome. This is the first indication for dating the present letter in December. For further precision, see n. 19.

⁹ For this period of the history of Georgetown, the oldest Catholic College (1789) in the United States, see T. Durkin, *Georgetown University. The Middle Years: 1840-1900*.

¹⁰ Neumann goes on to disagree with this principle. Normally, one needed special delegation to lift the excommunication before proceeding to the absolution of the sin.

¹¹ See Letter 23, n. 6.

¹² William O'Hara (1816-1899) was brought to America shortly after his birth in Ireland. He studied in Rome where he was ordained December 21, 1842. From 1843 to 1868 he worked in Philadelphia as curate and pastor of St. Patrick's, rector and faculty member of the seminary and Vicar General. He was named first bishop of Scranton on March 3, 1868 and died there February 3, 1899. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 39-40; 88; *Church of St. Patrick Philadelphia*, 27-33; Code, *American Hierarchy*, 229-230; Gallagher, *Diocese of Scranton*, 117-134.

¹³ Father Joseph Ignatius Balfe (1816-1881) studied for the priesthood in Rome and was ordained there June 9, 1839. After working in the diocese he joined the Jesuits in 1843 but left in 1849 for health reasons. From his Roman days he suffered from tuberculosis and hemorrhages. Besides working in various parishes of the

her case, & to give me their opinion as to whether I could authorize a Clergyman to administer to her the H.[oly] Sacraments required as Conditions to gain the Indulgence¹⁴. Their opinions did not coincide, but were rather in her favour. As she moreover had made her vows under the general supposition that they were simple¹⁵, & as I found in Ferrari¹⁶ [*sic*] that during a Jubilee the Pope had granted particular faculties to Confessors in favour of penitents whose cases were still pending, to grant them Absolution 'ad hoc & semel'¹⁷ that they might not be deprived of the Jubilee — I authorized a Priest to hear her Confession during the Jubilee provided he found her ready to abide with the decision of the Holy See which we expected¹⁸. I have since ascertained from herself that she has not received the Sacraments, not finding herself willing to return into a house of her Order. She herself as well as Mr. Lopez, appear to

diocese of Philadelphia, he was also a professor at the seminary 1853 to 1860, 1864 to 1881. See Francis X. Reuss, *A Sketch of the Life of Rev. Joseph Ignatius Balfe*, in *Records* 9 (1898) 35-63.

¹⁴ The two sacraments were Penance and the Eucharist.

¹⁵ Because her vows were simple, the granting of the dispensation was less complicated. At that time there was a great deal of uncertainty whether the vows taken by the Visitation and Carmelite Sisters were simple or solemn. The problem was the strict cloister demanded by solemn vows that forbade entering or leaving the cloister. Kenrick spoke of the problem at length in letters to Rome. It was discussed at the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1858. Some of the difficulties noted were the fact that the cloister was not recognized in civil law, that it played into the hands of the anti-Catholicism of the Nativists who produced anti-Catholic literature, claiming the Sisters were detained unwillingly and that they were deprived of their liberty. Furthermore, the setup of Nuns engaged in teaching or giving music lessons militated against it. The Council asked Rome for an instruction that would take into consideration the local circumstances. At the Council Neumann was in favor of solemn vows if all the requirements of the Council of Trent could be carried out. Otherwise, he thought the vows should be simple. See Kenrick to Barnabò, September 19, 1856, Baltimore, in APF, vol. 220 (1856) fols. 683-684; October 14, 1858, Baltimore, in APF, SRC, AC vol. 18 (1858-1860), fols. 339-340; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 375-377, 403-406; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 576-577. See O.D. Edwards, *Nativism, American*, in NCE 10 (1967) 247.

¹⁶ Lucio Ferraris, who died in 1763, was a Franciscan and the author of the very popular and encyclopedic reference work, *Prompta bibliotheca canonica, juridica, moralis, theologica, necnon ascetica, polemica, rubristica, historica*. It was first published in Bologna in 1746 in three folio volumes and was frequently reedited. In Neumann's time the Benedictines of Monte Cassino brought out an edition in 1844 that contained the published decrees of the Roman Congregations. The latest edition was published at Rome in nine volumes from 1882 to 1899. See F. Dougherty, *Ferraris, Lucio*, in NCE 5 (1967) 894.

¹⁷ The meaning is that the faculties dealt with the specific case and were to be used only once. Literally the words mean: « for this and once ».

¹⁸ The phrase, « which we were expecting », would make the meaning clearer. The meaning is not that they expected her to abide by the decision of the Holy See — something they took for granted — but that they were expecting Rome's decision.

have always expected that there would be no difficulty to receive the Sacraments. I think they would not have acted so inconsiderately if they had anticipated the difficulties, which they have experienced since.

I beg You Most Reverend Sir to accept my wishes for [a] very happy Christmass¹⁹ [*sic*], and to believe

Your most humble and obedient Servant
 † John N. Neumann
 Bishop of Philadelphia

¹⁹ This remark, coupled with n. 8, shows not only that the letter was written in December, but also shortly before Christmas, close enough to Christmas to contain best wishes.

Letter 25

Philadelphia, July 15, 1859

Most Reverend Sir

We have no Priest in this Diocese whom I could freely recommend to [*sic*] the Rectorship of the American College in Rome¹. I am moreover but very little acquainted with the Clergy of other Dioceses, & find myself incompetent to judge about their qualifications for the above important charge.

¹ The « inspiration » for the American College in Rome came from Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, the Roman Visitor to the Church in the United States in 1853-1854. During the summer and fall of 1859 the bishops were considering candidates for the rectorship. See the story in McNamara, *The American College in Rome*. It is possible that there is much more to Neumann's statement here than meets the eye. He does not say that he does not have a priest, but that he does not feel free to recommend one. Actually, he had Father William O'Hara, the Roman-trained Doctor of Theology and Rector of the Seminary, whom he was trying desperately to save for Philadelphia. When Neumann came to the diocese in 1852, the Vincentians were forced by lack of manpower to give up conducting the Philadelphia seminary. Despite his own lack of priests, Neumann kept it open, entrusted its care to the diocesan priests and appointed William O'Hara as rector. Neumann grew apprehensive when O'Hara's name was proposed for a diocese. See Curley, *Neumann*, 215; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 39-40. As a matter of fact, O'Hara was proposed for the rectorship. His name was the first on the list of Bishop Lynch of Charleston, South Carolina. See Lynch to Barnabò, August 10, 1859, Charleston, in APF, SOCG, vol. 904 (1859), fols. 803-804; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 428-430.

The most easy & expeditious way to settle this affair would in my opinion be, to intrust the direction of that College to the Lazaristes [*sic*] — but there appears to be considerable reluctance against them in several of the Bishops, so as to make them probably unavailable².

I will be perfectly satisfied with any nomination or appointment, made by others who are more acquainted with American Clergy & with the circumstances of Rome.

Bishop O'Connor left Philadelphia this evening for N.[ew] Y.[ork] & for Europe³. I was astonished to hear from him, that Bishop Wood has been put on the list for Mobile⁴. I hardly think that he would like to be removed from Philadelphia, where he is generally very well liked.

I have the honour to remain with sincere veneration
Most Reverend Sir

Your most humble Servant in Christ
† John N. Neumann
Bishop of Philadelphia

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

² Neumann is speaking here of the Lazarists, the Vincentians, the Congregation of the Mission, founded by St. Vincent de Paul. Among other things, they were well-known for their work in conducting seminaries. See N. Eberhardt, *Vincentians*, in NCE 14 (1967) 685-688. The main mover to entrust the American College to them was the Vincentian Bishop John Timon of Buffalo. Kenrick expressed a willingness to see this done, but he foresaw difficulties. See Francis Patrick Kenrick to Peter Richard Kenrick, January 19, March 4, 1859, Baltimore, in *Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, 417, 419.

³ When Edward Purcell refused to be the coadjutor to O'Connor of Pittsburgh, and sent back to Rome the document of his appointment, O'Connor thought of resigning because of his health. After leaving Pittsburgh he stopped off at Philadelphia, went to Ireland and then on to Rome to plead his cause of resignation. For the long involved story, see Szarnicki, *O'Connor*, 330-337; Code, *American Hierarchy*, 223. After his resignation was accepted on May 21, 1860, O'Connor joined the Jesuits on December 22, was professed in 1862 and died October 18, 1872. See J. Hennessey, *O'Connor, Michael* in NCE 10 (1967) 639.

⁴ For Wood and Mobile, see Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 139, n. 81; 411, 417, 419-420. See also the section on Wood, written by T. Donaghy, in Connelly, *History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, 268, n. 30.

Letter 26

Philadelphia, September 11, 1859

Most Reverend Sir

Bishop Miles¹ & Bishop Spaulding² [*sic*] arrived last Friday to assist at the Consecration of the Assumption³. The Bishops of Richmond⁴ & of Charleston⁵ had been invited, but have not come. I have therefore to return the Petition to Cardinal Barnabò with my own signature only⁶.

¹ Richard Pius Miles, O.P. (1791-1860). Born in Maryland in 1791, Richard Miles was professed as a Dominican on May 3, 1810 and ordained on September 21, 1816 at Springfield, Kentucky. Until 1837 he was engaged as a member of the faculty of St. Thomas College, Springfield, a missionary in Ohio and Kentucky, Prior of St. Rose Priory, Somerset, Ohio, and Provincial of the American Dominicans (April 22, 1837). He was named first bishop of Nashville, Tennessee, on July 28, 1837 and died there February 21, 1860. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 203.

² Martin John Spalding (1810-1872). Born in Kentucky in 1810, Martin John Spalding was ordained at Rome on August 13, 1834 where he was the first American to obtain the doctorate in theology. Until 1848 he worked in the diocese of Bardstown-Louisville as pastor, professor and president of St. Joseph's College, Vicar General of the diocese of Louisville. In 1848 he was appointed coadjutor to Bishop Flaget of Louisville. He succeeded to the See on February 11, 1850. He was promoted to the metropolitan See of Baltimore on April 3, 1864 and died there February 7, 1872. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 275-276; P. Hogan, *Spalding, Martin John*, in NCE 13 (1967) 517-519.

³ The cornerstone of the church of the Assumption, one of the finest examples of Gothic architecture in Philadelphia, was blessed on May 21, 1848. It was dedicated by Bishop Gartland on November 11, 1849. With the church completely free of debt, it was consecrated on September 11, 1859. Bishop Neumann officiated at the consecration. Bishop Wood was the celebrant of the Pontifical Mass. This letter was written on the day of the consecration. The financial success of the parish is due in large measure to the \$75,000.00 that the pastor, Father Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter, inherited from his family in Kentucky. See Mahony, *Historical Sketches*, 85-86; F. X. Reuss, *Some Notes of the Rev. Charles Ignatius Hamilton Carter in Records* 9 (1898) 416-417; Ella Flick; *The Rev. Charles Hamilton Carter 1803-1879*, in *Records* 33 (1922), 193-215.

⁴ John McGill (1809-1872). John McGill, born in Philadelphia in 1809, was ordained at Bardstown, Kentucky, on June 13, 1835. Until 1850 he worked in the diocese of Bardstown-Louisville. On July 23, 1850 he was named bishop of Richmond. He died there January 14, 1872. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 191.

⁵ Patrick Neison Lynch (1817-1882). Born in Ireland in 1817, Patrick Lynch was ordained at Rome on April 4/5, 1840 as a priest of the diocese of Charleston, South Carolina. He worked there until 1857 as editor of the *United States Catholic Miscellany*, professor at St. John the Baptist Seminary, Vicar General and Administrator. He was named third bishop of Charleston on December 17, 1857. He died there on February 26, 1882. See Code, *American Hierarchy*, 172; R. Madden, *Lynch, Patrick Neison*, in NCE 8 (1967) 1111-1112.

⁶ The petition deals with the three names proposed by the Metropolitan Province of Baltimore for the See of Savannah, Georgia. Neumann sent his signed agreement to Kenrick, who then sent a letter to Rome in the name of those suffragans who signed the document. Some had written over previously in their own name. See Kenrick and some Suffragan Bishops to Barnabò, Sep-

Last week I received from Rome two instructions, solicited by me after the last Diocesan Synod⁷. Both have reference to the reception of Converts. The Congr.[egation] of the Holy Office transmits a Profession of Faith & Form of Absolution much shorter than the one given in our Ritual. They will be very acceptable to our Missionaries & Converts⁸.

I have the honour to remain with sentiments of sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir⁹

Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore

tember 1859, Baltimore, in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1859), fols. 970-971; Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi*, 432-434. In a P.S. Kenrick writes some scathing words about Wood in his dealings with Neumann and he recommends that « the coadjutor be transferred to another See ».

⁷ The Sixth Synod of Philadelphia, held October 28-29, 1857. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.*, 37-42.

⁸ All this is treated in great detail in Letter 28. See also Letter 13.

⁹ The signature has been removed.

Letter 27

J.M.J.

[Fall 1859]¹

Most Reverend Sir

I have at last succeeded in finding out [*sic*] Bridget Smith. She is 72 years old, lame and very poor². I will send the authenticated statement of it to Ireland this evening yet, with other circumstances which will help to identify her.

The Reverend Fr.[ancis] Marshall³ is dangerously sick of

¹ For the probable dating, see nn. 2, 8.

² In Letter 17 of 1855 Neumann asks Sourin to search for a certain woman, take her deposition and send it to Kenrick. This is the only request of such a nature in all these letters. Here, Neumann tells Kenrick that he has at last succeeded in finding Bridget Smith and he speaks about taking an « authenticated statement ». His words indicate that it was a long search, a search that could have gone on until 1859, and that the woman involved in the long search since 1855 was Bridget Smith. For further precision regarding the date, see n. 8.

³ Father Francis Marshall, a native Pennsylvanian, was born in 1778, ordained in 1823, and died January 5, 1869. He was doubly useful because of his com-

hersaipelas [*sic*]⁴ at St. Josephs [*sic*] — hospital⁵. I beg leave to recommend him to your prayers. The Reverend Reardon⁶ is not better yet, but the Reverend Haviland⁷ is recovering⁸.

With profound veneration

Your most devoted Servant in Christ
 † John N. Neumann C.S.S.R.
 Bishop of Philadelphia

mand of German. For some years before 1857 he was stationed at the bishop's residence. The *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Directory for 1857* (147) lists him as residing at Elizabethtown, where Father John McCosker was pastor, and refers to him as Valetudinarian. The *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac for 1859* (70) lists him as the chaplain at St. Joseph's Hospital. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 386; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 51, n. 5.

⁴ This is probably Neumann's phonetic way of spelling erysipelas, an acute skin disease caused by a hemolytic streptococcus.

⁵ The moving spirits behind St. Joseph's Hospital were Doctor William Horner, a convert and dean of the Medical School at the University of Pennsylvania and Father Felix Barbelin, S.J., the pastor at Old St. Joseph's. Located at Sixteenth Street and Girard Avenue, the hospital opened June 25, 1849 with a capacity of twenty beds. It was entrusted to the Sisters of St. Joseph, Mother St. John Fournier being the Superior. Unexpectedly, in 1859, Bishop Wood entrusted it to the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul of Emmitsburg, Maryland. At present it is conducted by the Felician Sisters. See Logue, *Sisters of St. Joseph of Philadelphia*, 22, 49-56; Joseph Spellissy, *St. Joseph's Hospital*, in *Founder Week Memorial Volume*, ed. Frederick A. Henry, Philadelphia 1909, 613-631. The archives of the Sisters of St. Joseph at Chestnut Hill contain an anonymous pamphlet, *The Passing of a Century, 1849-1949*. For Neumann and the sick at St. Joseph's, see Curley, *Neumann*, 370. See also Mother St. John Fournier to John Berger, November 23, 1872, Chestnut Hill, in ABPR, N, Berger Papers.

⁶ Father Thomas Reardon was born in Killarney, Ireland, in 1813. After obtaining his B.A. at Trinity College, Dublin, he studied Law at the Temple Bar, London, along with his first cousin, Daniel O'Connell, the Irish Liberator. Because of ill health he came to America where he was admitted to the New York Bar after completing his Law studies. He then studied for the priesthood at St. Charles' and was ordained July 19, 1847. Right after ordination he went to Easton. During his thirty-five years at St. Bernard's, the mother church there, he visited numerous Catholic settlements in the area that later became parishes. Because of ill health, he resigned in 1882 and went back to Ireland where he died October 4, 1895. See John McCann, *History of Catholicity in Northampton County, Pennsylvania, from the Earliest Time to the Present, A.D. 1737-1920*, in *Records* 32 (1921) 74-77; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 54, n. 64; O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 388.

⁷ Father Arthur Haviland, of Irish birth, was ordained in Philadelphia on June 29, 1850. He was a serious and industrious student. When he was in Rome in 1860 he underwent an examination that won the Doctor of Sacred Theology degree for him. After his death on May 22, 1886, his library of 1,200 volumes and 1,200 pamphlets was bought by the office of the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*. See O'Donnell, *St. Charles*, 389; Orlandi, *Neumann Relazione*, 54, n. 91; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 314-315; *Records* 2 (1886-1890) 10. See the next note.

⁸ The remark about Father Haviland's health indicates that this letter could have been written in the fall of 1859. In that year he took a trip to Europe for health reasons and brought with him a letter of recommendation written by Neumann on November 18, 1859. A copy of this letter is found in APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860), fol. 1039r. See Sampers, *loc. cit.*

Letter 28

Philadelphia, December 11, 1859

Most Reverend Sir

When I sent to Rome the Constitutions of the 6th Synod¹, I stated to Cardinal Barnabò that our Missionaries complain very often of the length of time required in receiving Converts whose former Baptism is doubtful². I requested that we would be either allowed to omit the Profession of Faith & the Absolution *ab Haeresi*³, or that a shorter Formula of Profession be granted, more adapted to the usual condition of our Converts. I stated to him too, that a good number of our Priests, relying on the practice said to prevail in Rome, to administer private Baptism (*omissis omnibus caeremoniis*)⁴ when converts are to be admitted into the Church, have followed in America too this same practice⁵. Though the Declaration of the *S.[acra] C.[ongregatio] R.[ituum]*⁶ (4631: ad 4) [*sic*] making

¹ The Sixth Synod of Philadelphia was held October 28-29, 1857. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 37-42. The constitutions of the synod were brought to Rome by the Conventual Franciscan, Father Leopold Moczygemba, who was passing through Philadelphia on his way to Europe. He also brought a letter of Neumann to Pope Pius IX. For this letter, see Neumann to Pius IX, April 5, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fols. 999r-1000v; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 278-282. This information is contained in the letter mentioned in the next note. For more on the synod, see nn. 2, 11, 19.

² The constitutions of the 1857 synod contain material dealing with baptism and the reception of converts whose previous baptism was doubtful. A week after sending over the constitutions of the synod, Neumann wrote a very detailed letter to Barnabò, explaining all the difficulties and problems. See Neumann to Barnabò, April 11, 1858, Philadelphia, in APF, Udienze, vol. 129 (1858 II), fol. 966a-d; Sampers, *ibid.* 283-290.

³ Absolution « from heresy ».

⁴ Baptism administered privately « with all the ceremonies omitted ».

⁵ Neumann speaks of this as « the Roman practice ». He remarks that those who studied in Rome claimed that the practice there, in the reception of converts whose former baptism was doubtful, was to administer conditional baptism privately, with all the accompanying ceremonies omitted. Neumann later remarks that this was also the practice in England. See below, n. 12.

⁶ « The Sacred Congregation of Rites ». The Congregation of Rites and Ceremonies, as established by Pope Sixtus V on January 22, 1588, dealt with worship in general and with the process of beatification and canonization. See F. McManus, *Rites, Congregation of*, in NCE 12 (1967) 518-519. On May 8, 1969, Pope Paul VI established the Congregation for the Causes of Saints as a separate Congregation. See *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 61 (1969) 297-305.

use of the words "*quatenus splendae sint* ⁷...' insinuates most probably that there is no positive command to supply the ceremonies *in casu* ⁸, we hesitated, to omit the ceremonies without being duly & plainly authorized to omit them. I remarked to His Eminence that a declaration to that effect would remove most of the above mentioned difficulties etc.

Moreover whilst the Declarations or Instructions of the two S.[acred] Congregations, to whom [*sic*] the matter had been referred by Cardinal Barnabò ⁹, have removed some of my difficulties & doubts, I have received as yet, not one word of reply to the question proposed, whether we can freely omit supplying the Ceremonies of Baptism when a Convert is received by a conditional Baptism.

The Const.[itution] II. of the 6. Synod is an exact copy — *ad verbum* ¹⁰ — as amended by the C.[ongregatio] Rit.[uum] & transmitted to me for publication ¹¹.

In my letter to the Prefect of the Propaganda I notified H.[is] Em.[inence] that there existed here a great variety of opinions and practices in regard to the *order* in which the Abjuration, the Baptism and the sacramental Confession should follow each other ¹². This

⁷ « To the extent that they [the ceremonies] are to be supplied ». The decrees of the Congregation are found in *Decreta authentica Congregationis Sacrorum Rituum*, 7 vols. Rome 1892-1927. The decision regarding the supplying of ceremonies is found not in 4631 *ad* 4, but in 2743 (4780) *ad* 4. See *Decreta*, II, 263-264.

⁸ « In [each] case ».

⁹ The two Congregations were the Congregation of Rites and the Congregation of the Holy Office. Propaganda did not submit Neumann's questions to Rites until half a year later, on January 19, 1859. See APF, LDB, vol. 350 (1859), fol. 60r. Regarding the answers, see nn. 11, 19. For the part of the Holy Office in this matter, see nn. 13, 16, 20.

¹⁰ « A word for word » copy.

¹¹ The emended version of the constitutions of the 1857 Synod were sent to Neumann, together with a letter from the Congregation of Rites, dated March 26, 1859. See the Secretary's copy in AR, Post-lit. die 24 Martii 1859, and in AR, Reg. lit. 1859, fols. 69v-70r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 302-303. This is the text found in the many editions of the synod. For a comparison of the original and emended constitutions, see Sampers, 304-307.

¹² For the letter, see above n. 2. Neumann speaks of three methods. The first consisted of private, conditional baptism, followed by the profession of faith and absolution from heresy. This is designated the Roman and English practice. The second method consisted of solemn baptism, followed by the profession and the absolution. The third consisted of solemn baptism with no profession and absolution. The conditional absolution would be taken care of in confession. Obviously, the second is very long. Neumann was ready to abide by it if so ordered by Rome. However, he was seeking a shorter rite.

point as well as the Profession of Faith & the *Absolutio a Censuris*^{12a} were referred to the *Congregatio S.[ancti] Offi.[cii]*¹³, & the *Instructio* (in App.[endix] N. [umber] I.)¹⁴ & the accompanying *Forma Absolutionis*¹⁵ have been granted by the *S.[acra] Congr.[egatio] S.[ancti] Offi.[cii]*¹⁶. This instruction makes no mention of any ceremonies of Baptism, probably as not being within the [sic] [its] sphere.

Kelly, Hedian & O'Brians¹⁷ [sic] new *Modus excipiendi Professionem Fidei*¹⁸ is wrong in stating on the title Page & in the heading of Page 1, *juxta formam a S.[acra] Rit.[uum] Congr.[egatio] die 26 Mart.[ii] 1859*¹⁹. it should read *a S.[acra] Congr.[egatio] S.[ancti] Offi.[cii] die 20 Jul.[ii] 1859*²⁰. The Very Reverend

^{12a} « The Absolution from Censures ».

¹³ « The Congregation of the Holy Office ». On July 2, 1859 Rites told Propaganda that the question regarding the profession of faith and the absolution from censures pertained to the Holy Office. See APF, SRC, AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860 II), fol. 891rv. On July 16, Propaganda informed Neumann that it had submitted the question to the Holy Office and that he would hear in time. See APF, LDR, vol. 350 (1859), fol. 453r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 307.

¹⁴ « The Instruction » from the Holy Office.

¹⁵ « The Formula of Absolution ».

¹⁶ « The Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office ». Propaganda wrote Neumann on August 2, 1859, that the Holy Office gave its answer on July 20. See APF, LDB, vol. 350 (1859), fol. 496r; Sampers, *Neumanns Briefwechsel*, 308. On July 20 the Holy Office sent Neumann an instruction on the reception of converts and a rite for the manner of receiving the profession of the Catholic faith from converts, together with a profession of faith and a formula for the absolution from heresy. The Instruction is found in the printed editions of the Philadelphia synods. For the instruction, profession and absolution, see *Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis II, Acta et Decreta*, ed. 2, Baltimore 1894, 277-278; *Collectanea S. Congr. de Propaganda*, Rome 1907, I, 642-643, n. 1178; *CIC Fontes*, Rome 1926, IV, 226, n. 953.

¹⁷ Kelly, Hedian and O'Brien was a Baltimore publishing firm. Later, Piet joined the firm. Between 1831 and 1900 they published at least 230 items. This made them the eighth largest out of fifteen. See E. Willging, *Catholic Press: 27. United States, d. 18th Through 20th Century Books and Pamphlets*, in NCE 3 (1967) 321.

¹⁸ The full reading is: « The Manner of Receiving the Profession of Catholic Faith from Converts ». Neumann's words imply that this was only recently published and that Father Lhomme edited it. No copy of this 1859 imprint has been found. It is not listed in Sr. Catherine Dodd, S.C.N., *A Survey of Catholic Americana and Catholic Book Publishing in the United States, 1856-1860*. This is a typed Master's Dissertation, The Catholic University of America, 1952. There is a series of such dissertations covering the years 1831 to 1900. For more information, see n. 20.

¹⁹ « According to the formula from the Sacred Congregation of Rites [given] on March 26, 1859 ». This was the date of the letter of Rites to Neumann about the 1857 Synod. See above, n. 11.

²⁰ « From the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office [given] on July 20, 1859 ». This was the answer of the Holy Office about the reception of converts and the profession of faith. See above, nn. 13, 16. In 1860, Kelly, Hedian and Piet published *Excerpta ex Rituali* (Excerpts from the Ritual). This is a United States Ritual, « arranged for the convenience of the priests and containing the most fre-

F[rancis] L'Homme²¹ [sic] added to the *Formola d'assoluzione* of the S.[acra] Congr.[egatio] S.[ancti] Offi.[cii]²² the *Veni S.[ancte] Spiritus*²³ etc. with V V [Versicles] & Oration²⁴, several V V after the Profession of Faith, the *Misereatur* & *Indulgentiam*²⁵, he added the form of Absolution from the Old Ritual²⁶, (omitting the new one which is shorter), & at the end he added the *Te Deum*²⁷ with two prayers.

He omits, [fails to mention] that the *De Profundis* may be recited in place of the *Miserere*, that a penance is to be imposed on the penitent, & that the Word 'forsan' is to be inserted in the form

quently used rites». The advertisement expressly states that it contains the rite for the reception of converts according to the new instruction from Rome and it gives the corrected date, July 20, 1859. There is no trace of this book; it is not listed in Dodd (n. 18) or in the National Union Catalog. It is known from the 1861 *Metropolitan Catholic Almanac and Laity's Guide* that carries the advertisement of Kelly, Hedian and Piet who list all their publications.

²¹ The spelling is Lhomme. Francis Lhomme (1794-1860). Born in France November 13, 1794, Lhomme joined the Sulpicians in 1827. After that he was sent to America and his life was centered around St. Mary's College and St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. He was the fourth Sulpician Superior and Rector of St. Mary's Seminary from 1849 to 1860. He died there September 27, 1860. See Charles Herbermann, *The Sulpicians in the United States*, New York 1916, 239, 293-294, 302. See the official obituary write-up in the Sulpician Archives, 711 Maiden Choice Lane, Baltimore, Maryland 21228. There one can also find the diary that Father Lhomme kept from 1849 to 1860. See also below, n. 28.

²² «The formula of absolution of the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office».

²³ «Come, Holy Spirit». The first words of an invocation to the Holy Spirit that is often used at the beginning of prayer, meetings, classes, etc. See *The Raccolta*, New York 1952, 203, n. 287. The editor suggests that Neumann meant to write *Veni, Creator Spiritus* (Come, Creator Spirit). These are the opening words of the hymn, written by an unknown author of the late ninth-century Frankish Empire, that made its way into the liturgy of Pentecost. Outside Pentecost it was widely used for liturgical and extra-liturgical occasions, e.g., reception of converts. See M. Rousseau, *Veni, Creator Spiritus*, in NCE 14 (1967) 600. In Neumann's time it was used in nineteenth-century rituals in the U.S.A. See *Compendium Ritualis Romani* (Balt.), 191-192.

²⁴ In Neumann's time the oration for the *Veni, Creator Spiritus* and the *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* was the Collect for the feast of Pentecost. In the Roman Missal issued by a decree of the Second Vatican Council, it is found in the Votive Mass (A) of the Holy Spirit.

²⁵ Imprecatory prayers before imparting absolution. *Misereatur*: May Almighty God have mercy on you, forgive your sins and bring you to everlasting life. *Indulgentiam*: May the Almighty and Merciful God grant you pardon, absolution and remission of your sins.

²⁶ For the older rite, see *Compendium Ritualis Romani* (Balt.), 191-197.

²⁷ Because it was thought that St. Ambrose (397) wrote it, the *Te Deum* was often called the Ambrosian hymn. This Latin hymn of praise, of unknown authorship, dates from the fifth century and made its way into the Liturgy. In the Liturgy of the Hours it is now said on the Sunday outside of Lent and on solemnities and feasts after the second reading of the Office of the Readings. It is also often used

of absolution, whenever there is some doubt, whether Excommunication has been incurred ^{27a}.

I never suspected F.[rancis] L'Homme [*sic*] of being a Latitudinarian, but he is certainly not free from Longitudinarianism ²⁸.

I think that the practice to give conditional Baptism privately, without ceremonies, to Converts, is at least tolerated. Being administered so in Rome & in England, without ever having been disapproved is at least an indirect approbation. If there was anything wrong in the practice, the Cardinal Prefect, I think, would either have disavowed [it] or denied it [*sic*] that such is the practice of Rome to some extent. The same silence however makes me think, that under ordinary circumstances the Ceremonies are to be performed, but that we have the right to dispense with them 'rationabili de causa' ²⁹ as the *Rituale Rom.[anum]* ³⁰ says, in the *Rubric[icae] de Baptismo Adultorum, versus finem, paullo praecedente Ordo Bapt.[ismi] Adult.[orum]* ³¹.

My Biblical knowledge, Monseigneur, is *Longa rubigine torpet, & est multo, quam fuit ante minus* ³². In obedience however to

as a conclusion of extra-liturgical celebrations. See H. Huglo, *Te Deum*, in NCE 13 (1967) 954-955; *Liturgia Horarum*, Vatican City 1973, I, 45.

^{27a} It is standard procedure to add the word *forsan* = perhaps, when imparting conditional absolution. The substitution of the shorter *De Profundis* (Psalm 129/130) for the longer *Miserere* (Psalm 50/51) and the imposing of a penance are mentioned in the Instruction of the Holy Office of July 20, 1859. For the editions of the text, see above, n. 16.

²⁸ Writing to Kenrick, Neumann has recourse to this play on words and facetious pleasantry about Father Lhomme, whom they both regarded highly. Besides his Sulpician apostolate, Lhomme was Kenrick's Vicar General. He was also second assistant to Kenrick at Neumann's episcopal ordination. Lhomme told Kenrick that Neumann's appointment as bishop would be «the greatest honor that could be conferred on the diocese of Philadelphia». See *Kenrick Frenaye Correspondence*, 474; Curley, *Neumann*, 174, 177; *Catholic Mirror*, April 3, 1852.

²⁹ «For a reasonable cause». As is clear here, Neumann understands the difference between consent given by silence, by tolerating a practice, and consent given expressly. In his conscientiousness, Neumann looked to Rome for a written, black on white permission, something he was not likely to receive.

³⁰ «The Roman Ritual».

³¹ «Rubrics for the Baptism of Adults towards the end, shortly before the Rite of Baptism for Adults».

³² Except for one word, this is a quote from Ovid, *Tristitia. Lament*, 5.12.21. He says. «My biblical knowledge is grown dull, injured by long continued rust, and it is much less than it once was». Neumann speaks of his knowledge. Ovid was speaking of his talent. For the context, see the next note. Neumann was a great classic scholar. The study of the humanities was one of the happiest periods of his education, when he composed many anthologies of the Latin classics. See Curley, *Neumann*, 12; Alfred C. Rush, *The Autobiography of St. John Neumann*, C.S.S.R. Introduction, Translation, Commentary and Epilogue, Boston 1977, 25, 84.

your flattering commands I will offer my views on the subject in a few days³³.

I am at present experimenting on Olive Oil. The oil of poppies is as sweet, agreeable [*sic*] & applicable to all culinary purposes, as Olive Oil, & it can be manufactured for one half the price of olive Oil³⁴. I found it stated in a Commercial Hand Book [*sic*] that most of the O.[live] Oil, imported from the South of France is mixed with a large quantity of O.[il] of poppies or nuts. I fear it is as difficult to get pure Oil of Olives for Maundy Thursday³⁵, as it is to get natural wine for Mass³⁶.

I remain with sincere veneration

Most Reverend Sir

Your most obedient Servant in Christ

† John N. Neumann

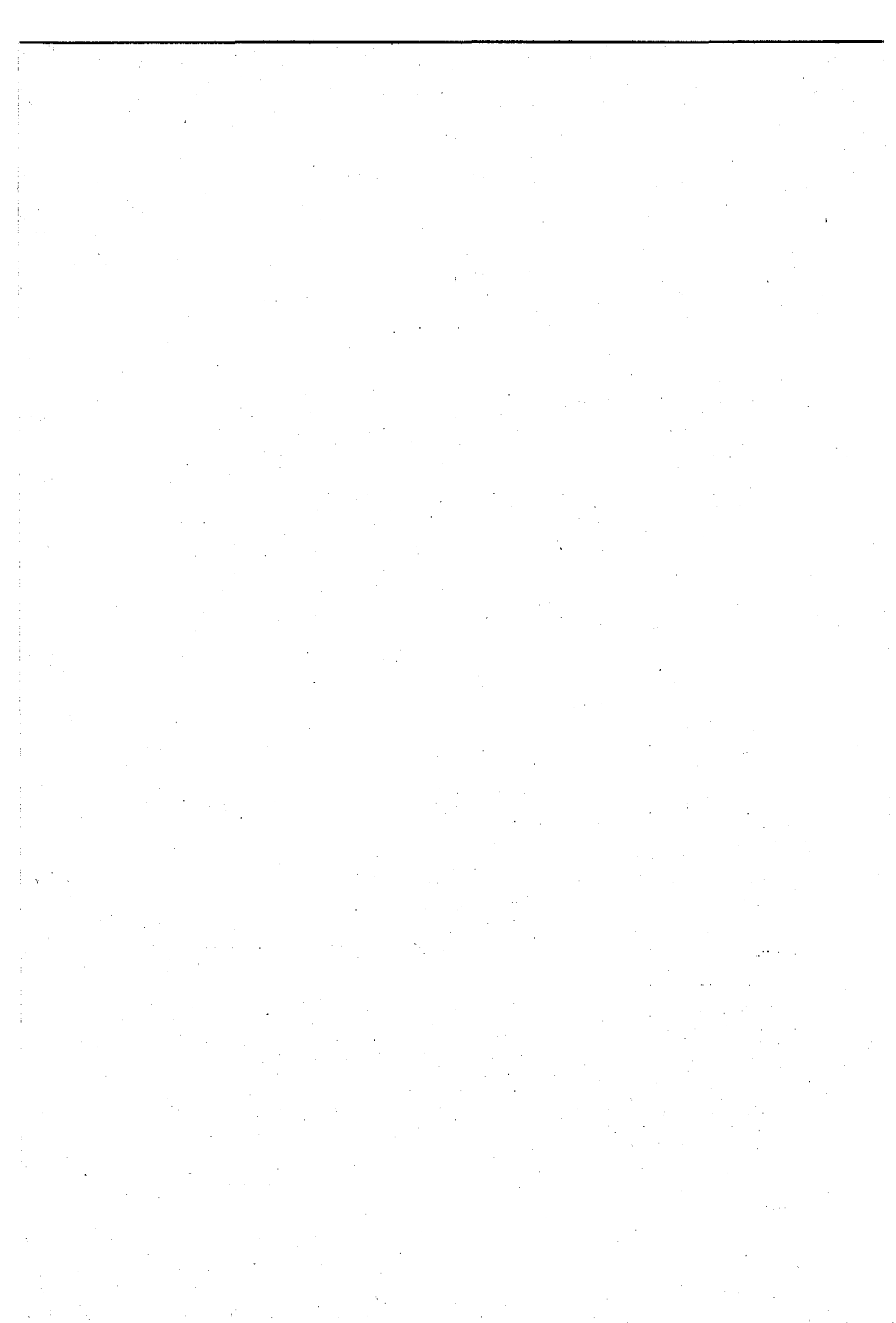
Bishop of Philadelphia

³³ Kenrick had consulted Neumann on some point of Scripture. For Kenrick's Scriptural work and publications, see Nolan, *Kenrick*, 392-396; Marshall, *Kenrick*, 294-328. By the spring of 1859, Kenrick had completed in manuscript form his work on the entire Old Testament. That year he published *The Books of Job and the Prophets*. See Marshall, *Kenrick*, 314, 316. Neumann had the reputation of being an avid student of Scripture. In his seminary days it was his favorite subject. The study of the missionary journeys of St. Paul awakened his own missionary plans. See Curley, *Neumann*, 20-23; Rush, *Neumann Autobiography*, 27, 86.

³⁴ Poppy oil comes from the seeds of the plant that « contain forty to fifty percent fixed oil ». See *Poppy Seed*, in *Encyclopedia Britannica, Micropedia* 8 (1974) 121. Normally, the rubrics call for the use of olive oil in the liturgy. By reason of circumstances, oil from some other plant is allowed.

³⁵ Maundy Thursday is Holy Thursday, the Thursday of Holy Week. The word, Maundy, comes from the Latin word, *mandatum*, which means commandment. It refers to the washing of the feet in the Holy Thursday liturgy in keeping with the command of the Lord that we wash one another's feet as He washed the feet of the apostles. Furthermore, during the ceremony, one of the antiphons that is sung is: « A new commandment I give you. Love one another ». See John 13: 4-15, 34. Nowadays, one seldom hears the phrase Maundy Thursday; the growing generation would be hard pressed to say what it means. The oil for Maundy Thursday refers to the Chrism Mass when the Holy Oils were blessed.

³⁶ The wine for Mass cannot be artificial; it must be the natural wine from the vine. This was one of the topics of the Synod of 1857. See *Constitutiones Dioec. Phil.* 39-40.



STUDIA

ANDRÉ SAMPERS

MISSIONI DEI REDENTORISTI IN CALABRIA DIRETTE DAL P. CARMINE FIOCCHI, 1763-1765

SUMMARY

Recently an article was published in this review (27 [1979] 299-318) on the earliest contacts of St. Alphonsus with Calabria (1732 ff.) and the first missions preached by the Redemptorists in that part of Southern Italy, in the diocese of Cassano allo Ionio and in the archdioceses of Santa Severina and Cosenza (1756-1758).

The present article gives a survey of the missions preached by the Redemptorists in Calabria, under the direction of Fr. Carmine Antonio Fiocchi, in the years 1763-1765. The article has a provisional character inasmuch as only a limited number of sources could be consulted (the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome and the archives of the Naples Province of the Institute at Pagani). The reason for publishing it in this rather incomplete state is to stimulate a thorough investigation *in loco* (diocesan and parish archives) which eventually may lead to an exhaustive study.

After a brief sketch of the personality and life of Fr. Fiocchi (1721-1776, ordained 1743, professed 1744) — a figure prominent in the early Congregation, and once held in the highest esteem by confreres and outsiders but nowadays almost forgotten — the three subsequent apostolic expeditions conducted by him in Calabria are succinctly described.

On April 7, 1763 Fr. Fiocchi and several companions went by sea to the diocese of Cassano where they successively preached missions at Acquaformosa, Lungro and Altomonte. Supposedly they returned to Pagani by the beginning of June.

In the autumn of that same year the archbishop of Rossano, Mgr. Gulielmo Camaldari, applied for missions to be held in the entire territory of his jurisdiction. Around January 10-15, 1764 Fr. Fiocchi went there with nine other fathers. Though we found in our sources the names of only two places where missions were preached, Corigliano Calabro and Rossano, we may rightly assume that the appeal to conversion and penance had been announced in all the places of some importance of the archdiocese before the fathers went home in the second half of June. To maintain the fruits of the mission it was proposed to establish a house of the Congregation at Rossano, but the plan was not put into effect.

On November 21, 1764 Fr. Fiocchi went for the third time with some companions to Calabria, this time to the diocese of Bisignano where they

preached missions in Acri and in the cathedral city. On February 18, 1765 they went to the archdiocese of Santa Severina, where missions were given in Cutro and Crotoni. Maybe thereupon they also did some apostolic work in the neighbouring dioceses of Cosenza and Strongoli before they returned in May-June to Pagani.

In uno studio pubblicato recentemente su questa rivista abbiamo illustrato le prime missioni predicate dai Redentoristi in Calabria negli anni 1756-1758¹. Non abbiamo trovato notizie su eventuali lavori apostolici svolti dalla Congregazione in Calabria nei quattro anni seguenti, se si eccettuano quelli di alcuni padri che nel 1761 — mentre si recavano a fondare una casa ad Agrigento (Sicilia) — predicarono varie volte durante la loro forzata sosta a Sant'Eufemia d'Aspromonte². E' certo invece che negli anni 1763-1765 i figli di s. Alfonso tennero un gran numero di missioni nelle diocesi di Casano e di Bisignano, come pure nelle arcidiocesi di Rossano e di Santa Severina, nel corso di tre campagne apostoliche successive, tutte dirette dal p. Carmine Fiocchi.

La documentazione sul lavoro apostolico svolto dalla Congregazione in Calabria nel periodo 1763-1765 è ancora più scarsa che quella sulle missioni ivi predicate negli anni 1756-1758. Nondimeno sembra che valga la pena di darne un cenno, anche perché ci auguriamo che serva da stimolo ad ulteriori ricerche. A tali indagini infatti intendiamo dare un aiuto, in quanto sarà facilitata l'individuazione degli archivi — diocesani e parrocchiali — da consultare. Per il nostro studio — di carattere quindi piuttosto preliminare — attingiamo soprattutto alla documentazione riguardante il p. Fiocchi, conservata nell'archivio generale dei Redentoristi a Roma (d'ora in poi: AGR).

Detto religioso che per una trentina di anni visse una vita operosa e santa nella Congregazione, era considerato a buon diritto dai confratelli come una colonna dell'Istituto. E questo proprio a causa della sua completa dedizione al lavoro, dell'impegno apostolico, della prudenza nel governo e della continua disponibilità a farsi servo di tutti. L'alto concetto in cui era tenuto in vita, fece sorgere ben presto dopo il decesso (1776) l'idea di stendere la sua biografia. Ragion per cui se ne raccolsero le sue lettere, e fu domandato a diverse persone — confratelli ed altri, che avevano avuto rapporti più stretti con lui — di mettere in iscritto le loro memorie. Per quanto ne sappiamo, una biografia dettagliata del Fiocchi non è stata mai composta³. Ma,

¹ *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 299-318.

² Cf. S. GIAMMUSSO, *I Redentoristi in Sicilia*, Palermo 1960, 25-28.

³ Esiste soltanto uno schizzo biografico — a dire il vero, abbastanza super-

fortunatamente, il materiale raccolto è stato conservato⁴.

Benché non sia qui il luogo di soffermarci a lungo sulla personalità e sulla vita del Fiocchi, ci sembra opportuno dare almeno qualche informazione su questo personaggio, una volta tenuto in tanta considerazione, adesso invece quasi del tutto dimenticato⁵.

Carmine Antonio Fiocchi, primogenito di Domenico e Teresa Negri, nacque il 13 giugno 1721 a Gaiano (Caiano), casale di (Mercato) San Severino (Salerno). Dopo i primi studi nel paese natio, il padre, che era dottore in legge ed aveva ricoperto diverse cariche nella magistratura (giudice e governatore), mandò Carmine all'Università di Napoli per studiarvi il diritto. Prima però di finire questo studio il giovane, seguendo la vocazione allo stato ecclesiastico, entrò nel seminario arcivescovile di Salerno, ove ricevette successivamente gli ordini minori, il suddiaconato e il diaconato. Quest'ultimo gli venne conferito il 30 marzo 1743⁶ dall'arcivescovo Casimiro Rossi⁷.

Verso questo tempo Carmine si sentì chiamato allo stato religioso, e attratto dalla gran fama di Alfonso e dei suoi seguaci del collegio di Ciorani, chiese di entrare nella Congregazione del SS.mo Salvatore. Durante il ritiro che ivi fece prima di essere ordinato diacono, scrisse una lunga lettera al padre, il 24 marzo 1743, nella quale esponeva i motivi che lo inducevano a ritirarsi dal mondo, e gli domandava il suo consenso⁸.

Questi all'inizio era piuttosto restio e tentò di far desistere il figlio dal suo proposito. Sembra che si rivolgesse perfino all'autorità civile con la conseguenza che Carmine venne rinchiuso in un convento di Salerno per ivi esaminare accuratamente la sua vocazione⁹. Ma il giovane rimase

ficiale, fatto secondo il modello tradizionale delle biografie agiografiche — in Giuseppe LANDI, *Istoria della Congregazione del SS.mo Redentore* (ms. in AGR), vol. I (copia corretta ed ampliata dallo stesso Landi, che è da considerarsi una 2ª redazione dello scritto), Gubbio 24 maggio 1782, 426-444. La *Vita del P. D. Carmine Fiocchi*, in Alessandro DE RISIO, *Croniche della Congregazione del SS.mo Redentore*, Palermo 1858, vol. I (il vol. II non è mai stato pubblicato), 211-226, non è altro che il testo di Landi leggermente rimaneggiato. — Una breve notizia biografica sul Fiocchi in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 249, n. 57 e in Fr. MINERVINO, *Catalogo dei Redentoristi d'Italia, 1732-1841, e dei Redentoristi delle Province meridionali d'Italia, 1841-1869* (Bibliotheca Historica CSSR VIII), Roma 1978, 74.

⁴ In AGR XXXVII F (olim XXXVII C II).

⁵ Non ha trovato posto in Salvatore SCHIAVONE, *Biografie dei Redentoristi Napoletani più ragguardevoli per santità, dottrina e dignità*, Pagani 1938. Si trova invece nell'opera manoscritta molto più voluminosa dello stesso autore (vol. I, p. 212), conservata nell'archivio della Provincia Napoletana CSSR a Pagani. Ringrazio l'archivista, il p. Francesco Minervino, per la copia inviata.

⁶ Il diploma originale si conserva in AGR XXXVII F 4. Sul dorso una notizia di Alfonso m.p.

⁷ Mons. Casimiro Rossi (1685-1758), arcivescovo di Salerno dal 5 maggio 1738, era un grande amico di Alfonso e dell'Istituto da lui fondato.

⁸ Due copie coeve della lettera si conservano in AGR XXXVII F 6ª.

⁹ Le difficoltà incontrate da Carmine per seguire la vocazione, a motivo dell'opposizione dei genitori, sembrano alquanto drammatizzate in LANDI, *Istoria* I 429-

fermo e coll'assenso dei genitori fu ammesso al noviziato il 9 maggio 1743, giorno in cui probabilmente si emisero per la prima volta i voti religiosi nella Congregazione¹⁰. Dopo aver trascorso con grande fervore l'anno di noviziato nella casa di Ciorani, sotto la direzione del p. Paolo Cafaro¹¹, fece ivi la professione, l'8 maggio 1744, nelle mani di Alfonso¹².

Dato che aveva quasi finito gli studi teologici quando venne ammesso in Congregazione, il fr. Fiocchi fu promosso al sacerdozio già durante il noviziato. Insieme al connovizio Bernardo Tortora¹³ fu ordinato il 21 settembre 1743¹⁴ a Pago (del Vallo) di Lauro da mons. Erasmo Bortoni, vescovo titolare di Eumenia¹⁵.

Sui primi cinque anni trascorsi dal Fiocchi nella Congregazione non abbiamo notizie particolari. Un segno evidente che il fervore iniziale non era diminuito, lo troviamo in un documento del 1749. Nell'ottobre di quell'anno — durante il capitolo generale radunato a Ciorani per l'accettazione delle Costituzioni e Regole, di recente approvate da Benedetto XIV — egli inoltrò ad Alfonso, insieme col p. Celestino de Robertis, la supplica di essere destinato alle missioni tra gli infedeli¹⁶. A questo capitolo prese parte in rappresentanza della casa di Ciorani¹⁷.

Dall'anno 1749 in poi le notizie riguardanti il Fiocchi sono piuttosto abbondanti.

430. Un accenno (non molto chiaro) a questa vicenda si trova in una lettera di Alfonso a mons. Nicola Borgia del 7 giugno 1752; ALFONSO M. de LIGUORI, *Lettere*, vol. I, Roma [1887], 198. — Non sappiamo esattamente come andarono in realtà le cose. Certo è però che tutto si risolse in breve tempo: la lettera di Carmine al padre è del 24 marzo, e un mese e mezzo più tardi (9 maggio) egli cominciò il noviziato.

¹⁰ In quei giorni si tenne la prima congregazione (capitolo) generale dell'Istituto. Il 9 maggio Alfonso venne eletto Rettore Maggiore e lo stesso giorno, o forse il seguente, tutti i presenti emisero i voti religiosi.

¹¹ Fr. KUNTZ, *Commentaria de vita D. Alphonsi et de rebus Congr. SS. Red.* (ms. in AGR) II 199 dice che «alcuni» (non vengono forniti nomi) pensano che Carmine cominciò il noviziato a Pagani, sotto la direzione del p. Giovanni Mazzini. La ragione che viene data, cioè che Ciorani era vicina a Gaiano dove abitavano i genitori di Carmine, non ci sembra convincente.

¹² MINERVINO, *op. cit.*, 74 dice che Fiocchi emise i voti a Pagani; in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 249, n. 57 sta notato invece che fece la professione a Ciorani. Atteniamoci a quest'ultima indicazione, perché dal 1736 fino alla fine del 1744 Alfonso risiedette a Ciorani, e soltanto alla fine del 1751 si stabilì nel collegio di Pagani. Cf. *Spic. hist.* 21 (1973) 302, n. 6.

¹³ Notizia biografica in MINERVINO, *op. cit.* 174.

¹⁴ Il diploma originale si conserva in AGR XXXVII F 4. Sul dorso una notizia di Alfonso m.p.

¹⁵ Notizia biografica su mons. Bortoni in R. RITZLER - P. SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, vol. V (1667-1730), Padova 1952, 197.

¹⁶ Il documento è stato edito da O. GREGORIO in *Spic. hist.* 15 (1967) 96.

¹⁷ Dato che il rettore della casa, il p. Andrea Villani, era membro di diritto del capitolo in qualità di consultore generale, il Fiocchi fu eletto come rappresentante della casa. Cf. *Acta integra capitulorum generalium CSSR, 1749-1894*, Romae 1899, 7-8.

Nella elezione dei superiori fatta poco dopo il capitolo, egli — che aveva allora appena 28 anni — venne nominato rettore della casa di Paganì. Nel triennio 1752-1755 fu rettore a Deliceto, ove ebbe come suddito s. Gerardo Maiella¹⁸. E, con un intervallo di alcuni anni, fu poi varie volte superiore a Ciorani fino al 1773. Nel 1750, dopo la morte del p. Cesare Sportelli, venne eletto consultore generale. In questa carica fu riconfermato il 5 settembre 1764 e la ricoprì fino alla morte.

Il modo di agire del Fiocchi come superiore viene molto lodato nelle fonti: sapeva invogliare i sudditi all'osservanza regolare e al lavoro apostolico, non solo con la parola ma soprattutto con l'esempio, tenendo sempre un comportamento umile e riservando a sé i lavori più duri. Non approfittò mai della sua posizione se non per condurre una vita più mortificata e per accollarsi i lavori più faticosi. Incurante dei propri bisogni e comodità, era sempre pronto ad aiutare gli altri, non solo i sudditi e i confratelli di altre case, ma anche gli estranei. Amministrava i beni della sua comunità senza sperpero, ma anche senza eccessiva parsimonia; era generoso con tutti, soccorrendoli nei loro reali bisogni.

Non meno eloquenti sono le fonti sulla instancabile attività del Fiocchi. Era continuamente impegnato nel pulpito e nel confessionale delle chiese annesse alle case ove era ascritto. Ma ancor più lavorava fuori casa, predicando innumerevoli missioni, esercizi spirituali, novene e discorsi di circostanza¹⁹. Ci sono state tramandate numerose notizie che provano chiaramente che il Fiocchi era un predicatore di grido. Il fatto che per decine di anni ininterrottamente fosse ricercato nei luoghi più diversi è già di per sé un segno evidente del nerbo e dell'efficacia della sua parola²⁰.

Notevole era anche l'attività del Fiocchi come direttore spirituale, attività che egli esercitava con grande dedizione e spirito illuminato. Da qui ebbe origine una vastissima corrispondenza che gli prendeva molto tempo²¹, soprattutto quella con le monache Redentoriste di Scala e di

¹⁸ Era il Fiocchi a porre fr. Gerardo « sul candelabro »; N. FERRANTE, *Storia meravigliosa di s. Gerardo Maiella*³, Roma 1965, 129. Vedi anche D. de FELIPE, *San Gerardo Mayela*, Madrid 1954, 176-178: El P. Carmelo Fiocchi.

¹⁹ « Se volessi minutamente narrare le missioni del P. Fiocchi, che ha fatte, li luoghi, dov'egli ha fatigato, e le conversioni dell'anime, che per mezzo suo il Signore si è servito, ci vorrebbe un grosso volume, solo per questo ». LANDI, *Istoria* I 439.

²⁰ « Egli predicava con tanta forza e spirito che moveva i cuori più duri ed ostinati de' peccatori, e nelle sue prediche si vedevano e sentivano de' gran gridi, schiamazzi e commozioni nella chiesa, e quello ch'è più, le grandi conversioni dell'anime piene di sceleragini e quasi disperate ». *Ibid.* 431.

²¹ Delle lettere dirette al Fiocchi soltanto una ci è conosciuta, ed. in ALFONSO de LIGUORI, *Lettere* I 214-216. Probabilmente fu lui stesso a distruggere la sua corrispondenza, o lo fece qualcuno subito dopo la sua morte.

Che egli abbia ricevuto moltissime lettere si desume tra l'altro da ciò che egli scrisse il 27 settembre 1766 a suor Mariangela del Cielo, superiora del monastero delle Redentoristine a Scala: « Figlia mia, ho più di 50 lettere, che non ho aperte ancora ». E il 20 febbraio 1767 scriveva alla stessa figlia spirituale: « Io non ho tempo di rispondere a tutte » [le (vostre?) lettere]. Queste lettere si conservano in AGR XXXVII F 6c.

Sant'Agata²², e l'altra con alcune suore del Carmelo di Ripacandida²³.

A questo lavoro, veramente troppo intenso, soccombé il Fiocchi, quando aveva appena superato i cinquant'anni²⁴. Ritornando a Ciorani da Solofra, ove aveva predicato gli esercizi a quelle monache, venne colto per strada da apoplezia. Data la sua forte costituzione si pensò sul momento che, dopo un periodo di riposo, si sarebbe ripreso completamente. Purtroppo non fu così. Un nuovo attacco del male lo colpì non molto dopo, lasciandolo parzialmente paralizzato. A ciò si aggiunse poi « una fame canica », cioè la bulimia²⁵.

In questo stato miserevole, protrattosi per 4-5 anni, si manifestò palesemente la grandezza spirituale del padre. Oltre alle sofferenze fisiche, e più di queste, gli pesava la forzata oziosità. Inoltre sembra che i confratelli non avessero una idea esatta della sua malattia, e che quindi non lo trattassero sempre con la dovuta amorosa comprensione. Ma tutte queste amarezze egli sopportava con grande pazienza ed umiltà, per amore di Gesù Cristo, che cercò di imitare adesso nella sofferenza, come lo aveva seguito prima quale modello di vita apostolica.

Il 22 aprile 1776 il Fiocchi morì per infarto a Fisciano (a 8 km da Ciorani), dove si era recato per visitare la sorella nel Carmelo. Sia nel luogo del decesso, che sulla via di Ciorani, e soprattutto al momento della sepoltura apparve chiaramente la grande fama che il Fiocchi godeva presso il clero, le monache e il popolo di Ciorani e dei dintorni.

La spedizione missionaria in Calabria del 1763 sembra sia stata organizzata in seguito alla richiesta rivolta dal card. Giuseppe Spi-

²² In AGR XXXVII F 6c si conserva una ottantina di lettere originali del Fiocchi alle suore Redentoristine, scritte negli anni 1758-1769. Quasi tutte sono indirizzate a suor Mariangela del Cielo, superiora del monastero di Scala. Ne risulta però che il Fiocchi era in corrispondenza anche con diverse altre suore. — Uno schizzo biografico di suor Mariangela, al secolo Teresa de Vito (c. 1702-1783), si trova in F. DUMORTIER, *Les premières Rédemptoristines*, Lille-Bruges [1884], 135-179. Sul nome di battesimo — Maria o Teresa — cf. *Spic. hist.* 23 (1975) 16, n. 10.

²³ In AGR XXXVII F 6d si conservano 14 copie di lettere del Fiocchi alle monache di Ripacandida. A p. 15 del quadernetto la copista ha aggiunto la seguente nota: « Soggiungo che per ventitre anni [1753-1776] ha scritto il nostro Padre continuamente a noi, sino a pochi giorni prima del suo passaggio in paradiso; ed io solamente mi trovo avere da intorno a trecento e più lettere. [...] Basta il dire che sono tutte simili a queste copiate. Mi direbbe forse alcuno: mandatele originalmente. Ma questo è impossibile. Mi farei tritare come cervellata e non farmene scappare una dalle mani, tenendole come tante s. reliquie, sì io come tutte l'altre mie sorelle ».

²⁴ « Si può dire con verità che il P. Fiocchi è stato un gran missionario [...] perché sempre pronto in ogni chiamata ed in ogni luogo, e non per poco tempo o mesi, ma per anni ed anni, sino all'ultima sua infermità. Anzi, per le eccessive sue fatiche prese quel male d'accidente, che li venne e lo portò alla sepoltura ». LANDI, *Istoria* I 431.

²⁵ « Per detto male [la paralisi] il peggio si fu che li venne una fame canica, che s'avrebbe mangiata anche le toniche [= l'intonaco] delle mura, e pareva che niuna cosa lo saziasse ». *Ibid.* 440; cf. 434.

nelli²⁶ a s. Alfonso di voler dare una missione ad Acquaformosa²⁷. Né la domanda del cardinale (o di chi per lui), né la relativa risposta di Alfonso sono state conservate. Ma il 28 marzo 1763 questi scrisse al suo vicario generale, p. Andrea Villani²⁸: « Ho ricevuta la vostra degli 19 di Marzo²⁹. Il Card. Spinelli tanto mi ringrazia della missione appuntata per Acquaformosa e la sta aspettando con grande ansia³⁰. Scriverò al Presidente che già va[anno] il P. [Giovanni] Mazzini e [il P. Carlo] Gajano³¹ per li 15 giorni ».

Giovedì della settimana di Pasqua, il 7 aprile 1763, il Fiocchi con alcuni compagni — dei quali non conosciamo i nomi³² — partì via mare per la Calabria³³. Il viaggio durò tre giorni, durante i quali il padre soffrì assai di mal di mare, cosicché per tutto quel tempo restò « senza toccare niuna sorte di cibo »³⁴. Prima di raggiungere Acquaformosa ebbe un altro infortunio: cadde cioè da cavallo, « e per miracolo di Maria SS.ma restò sopra la cima di un profondissimo vallone, senza farsi niun male »³⁵.

Non abbiamo trovato particolari sulla missione, che probabilmente si protrasse per due settimane, come Alfonso aveva stabilito nel mese di marzo.

²⁶ Il card. Spinelli, che dal 1756 era prefetto della S. Congregazione di Propaganda Fide, morì poco dopo a Roma, il 12 aprile 1763. Fin dal tempo in cui era arcivescovo di Napoli (1734-1754) stimava molto l'opera missionaria di Alfonso e dell'Istituto da lui fondato. Si dovette anzi in gran parte al suo voto favorevole se la Congregazione venne approvata nel 1749 da Benedetto XIV.

²⁷ Ad Acquaformosa, località sita nella diocesi di Cassano, esisteva la badia cisterciense di Santa Maria; cf. L. COTTINEAU, *Répertoire topo-bibliographique des abbayes et prieurés*, vol. I, Mâcon 1939, 14. Questa badia era una commenda cardinalizia; cf. G. ALFANO, *Istorica descrizione del Regno di Napoli*, Napoli 1795, 78. Riteniamo che il commendatario fosse allora il card. Spinelli, che per questo motivo era particolarmente interessato al bene spirituale del paese; cf. F. RUSSO, *Storia della diocesi di Cassano al Jonio*, vol. II, Napoli [1967], 287-288. R. TELLERIA, *San Alfonso M. de Ligorio*, vol. II, Madrid 1951, 252 afferma senz'altro che la badia di Acquaformosa era una commenda del card. Spinelli.

²⁸ ALFONSO DE LIGUORI, *Lettere* I 500.

²⁹ La lettera del Villani ci è sconosciuta. Forse in questa si trattava della domanda del card. Spinelli.

³⁰ La lettera del cardinale non è stata conservata.

³¹ In MINERVINO, *op. cit.* 84 il cognome è scritto: Gayano; altri scrivono: Gaiano.

³² Forse andarono col Fiocchi i pp. Mazzini e Gaiano, che Alfonso intendeva mandare quando il 28 marzo scrisse al Villani.

³³ *Memoria di alcuni fatti ricavati dal R.do Padre D. Carmine Fiocchi*, p. 4. Non conosciamo l'autore di questo manoscritto di 17 pp. (19.5 x 13.7 cm), cons. in AGR XXXVII F 3a. In seguito indicheremo il documento così: Memoria anonima.

³⁴ Memoria anonima, p. 4.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

Da Acquafornosa i padri proseguirono per Lungro³⁶, sita nella stessa diocesi di Cassano, ove i Redentoristi avevano già predicato nel 1758³⁷. Anche su questa missione ci mancano notizie particolari. Le fonti a nostra disposizione c'informano soltanto sullo zelo straordinario del Fiocchi. « Alla seconda missione, di Lungro, quali erano Albanesi, volle lui fare la predica senza sparmiarci punto le sue fatiche, anche confessare la sera, dopo la predica, sino all'ore due della notte³⁸; e se la notte non era picciola, avrebbe tirato sino alle ore tre, siccome avea usato nelle missioni d'inverno, che le notti sono più lunghe »³⁹.

Finita la missione di Lungro, verso la metà di maggio i padri andarono nel vicino paese di Altomonte⁴⁰. Dato che la popolazione stava aspettando i missionari, il Fiocchi volle andarvi il giorno prestabilito, nonostante che la pioggia avesse reso impraticabile la strada. Anche questa volta ebbe un infortunio. Su una discesa ripida e cretosa il cavallo scivolò, trascinando con sé il cavaliere. Ambedue rotolarono lungo il pendio per un bel pezzo, finché furono fermati da un tronco di olivo. Rimontato a cavallo, con l'aiuto del popolo che aveva osservato con spavento la scena, il Fiocchi continuò per Altomonte. E, « come mai li fusse sortita tal caduta, [...] volle predicare la mattina, senza riposarsi nemmeno un'ora; e di questa maniera, con la sua prudenza, dava animo a' suoi compagni a soffrire tutto per la gloria di Dio e salvezza dell'anime »⁴¹.

In queste tre missioni, ognuna delle quali durò due settimane incirca, i padri rimasero impegnati da metà aprile alla fine di maggio. Forse si recarono anche a fare qualche predica in altre località, ma di ciò le nostre fonti non parlano. C'è dunque da supporre che all'inizio di giugno 1763 i missionari siano ritornati a Pagani.

³⁶ A Lungro esisteva una badia dei Basiliani, anche questa era nel Settecento commenda cardinalizia. Cf. ALFANO, *op. cit.* 83; COTTINEAU, *op. cit.* I 1678; RUSSO, *op. cit.* II 283-284.

³⁷ Cf. *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 309.

³⁸ La notte cominciava al suono dell'Ave Maria, cioè mezz'ora dopo il tramonto. Nel mese di maggio ciò avveniva alle ore 7.30-8.00 di sera secondo il computo odierno delle ore.

³⁹ Memoria anonima, p. 5.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7. Anche in un altro manoscritto anonimo, intitolato *Fatti ed azioni accadute in vita del P. D. Carmine Fiocchi*, di 8 pp. (24,5 x 17,2 cm), cons. in AGR XXXVII F 3a, si trova qualche notizia sulla missione di Altomonte (qui detta: Montalto), o meglio sul modo di operare del Fiocchi. « Appena dormiva sole quattro ore nella notte, perché pochi i padri, per non incomodare questi. Esso ben di notte andava in chiesa, predicava a quella povera gente di campagna, poi si diceva la Messa e si poneva a confessare » (p. 3).

Nell'autunno dello stesso anno 1763 l'arcivescovo di Rossano, mons. Gulielmo Camaldari⁴², espresse il desiderio di avere i missionari Redentoristi per evangelizzare nella sua diocesi. La richiesta relativa fu presentata al p. Andrea Villani in una lettera del 5 novembre⁴³. L'arcivescovo la incluse in un'altra scritta il giorno antecedente⁴⁴ al vescovo di Cava, mons. Nicola Borgia⁴⁵, con la quale gli domandava di interporre i suoi buoni uffici al fine di poter ottenere l'intento.

Dalla lettera a Borgia si desume che già da un anno Camaldari stava pensando a far tenere le missioni in tutta l'arcidiocesi, ma che per certi ostacoli — probabilmente di natura economica — si era limitato in un secondo momento a domandare alcuni missionari e solo per predicare a Corigliano Calabro e a Rossano. Questa restrizione però era stata interpretata come il segno della mancanza di un vero interesse. Ritornando adesso al primo progetto, l'arcivescovo presentò al Villani un piano provvisorio per predicare missioni in tutti i luoghi di qualche importanza del suo territorio, con la domanda di « degnarsi mandare almeno quattro paja di valenti operaj ».

La richiesta fu accolta, ma per mancanza di documenti relativi non sappiamo esattamente, come Alfonso e Villani intesero realizzare il corso di missioni nell'archidiocesi di Rossano. In un primo momento il Fiocchi non era destinato a parteciparvi, come si rileva da una sua lettera dell'11 dicembre 1763. In questo giorno scrisse da Sarno a suor Mariangela del Cielo, superiora delle Redentoristine di Scala: « Figlia mia, facilmente ci vederemo nella missione di Amalfi, già appuntata per carnevale ». Ma un mese più tardi, l'8 gennaio 1764, scrisse da Pagani alla stessa figlia spirituale: « Ecco mutate le disposizioni umane, dopo tanti raggiri. Il mio Signore mi chiama in Calabria, per dove partirò tra giorni. Io voleva venire a Scala dopo Amalfi, ma Dio pensava di trasbalsarmi lontano. Sia benedetto per sempre. Vi prego a raccomandarmi a Dio e per lo viaggio e per la lunga dimora che devo fare colà »⁴⁶.

⁴² Notizia biografica su mons. Camaldari (1705-1778), arcivescovo di Rossano dal 29 marzo 1762, in RITZLER-SEFRIN, *op. cit.*, vol. VI (1730-1799), Padova 1958, 359.

⁴³ La lettera originale, scritta però da altra mano, si conserva in AGR I D 35, 38. Si pubblica *infra*, Doc. 2.

⁴⁴ La lettera originale scritta interamente m.p. da Camaldari, si conserva in AGR I D 35, 37. Si pubblica *infra*, Doc. 1.

⁴⁵ Mons. Borgia (1700-1779) era amicissimo di Alfonso e dei Redentoristi. Notizie biografiche in RITZLER-SEFRIN, *op. cit.* VI 111 e 158, e in *Spic. hist.* 9 (1961) 276, n. 2 e 362, n. 5.

⁴⁶ Le lettere originali si conservano in AGR XXXVII F 6c.

Verso il 10-15 gennaio 1764⁴⁷ il Fiocchi e nove compagni⁴⁸ partirono per la Calabria. L'ordine in cui le missioni furono date non lo conosciamo⁴⁹. E delle località in cui si svolse il lavoro apostolico ci sono note soltanto due: cioè Corigliano Calabro e Rossano.

Sulla missione di Corigliano disponiamo di qualche notizia tramandataci da uno dei missionari⁵⁰. Egli loda soprattutto lo zelo del Fiocchi, « che per venti giorni continui predicava [con tanto ardore] che nel ritirarsi la sera in casa, appena si poteva staccare la camiscia da sopra, tutta bagnata dal sudore »⁵¹. Il Fiocchi fece anche molto a Corigliano per alleviare le conseguenze della terribile carestia⁵², « vedendo la gran miseria che alcuni poveri — da me veduti — per la fame si cibavano di cortecce di cocozze ed altri si mangiavano la caniglia »⁵³.

« Finita la missione di Corigliano, [i padri] si divisero », per predicare in diversi gruppi in alcune località più piccole. « Dopo due o tre missioni si fece quella della città di Rossano, che anche il P. D. Carmine volle fare la predica con tanto fervore che anche l'arcivescovo stava spaventato. Tra l'altro, nella predica dell'inferno fece ritrovare la figura dell'anima dannata, per lo tanto spavento che ebbe, e compatendo le battiture e sudori del predicatore, che per ventidue giorni continuò là la predica »⁵⁴.

⁴⁷ KUNTZ, *Commentaria* VII 88 afferma: « Ineunte mense Ianuario, et quidem, ut nostra fert opinio, die undecimo, P. Carmelus Fiocchi profectus est cum decem Patribus in Calabriam ». Non si comprende su cosa si basi la congettura che siano partiti proprio l'undici. Quel giorno nel gennaio del 1764 (anno bisestile) cadeva di mercoledì.

⁴⁸ Da una lettera del 24 marzo 1764, che si pubblica *infra*, Doc. 3, si rileva che i missionari erano in tutto dieci, non undici (il Fiocchi e altri dieci, come dice KUNTZ; vedi la nota precedente). Soltanto di un compagno del Fiocchi conosciamo il nome: Lorenzo d'Antonio, che era stato superiore nelle campagne missionarie in Calabria negli anni 1756-1758; cf. *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 305 e 308.

⁴⁹ Nella lettera del 5 novembre 1763 l'arcivescovo Camaldari aveva dato al Viliani un piano per le missioni, ma non sappiamo se siano state date realmente in quest'ordine, e in tutte le località ivi menzionate.

⁵⁰ Memoria anonima, pp. 9-10.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

⁵² Anche Alfonso fece molto per aiutare i colpiti della carestia nella sua diocesi di Sant'Agata de' Goti. Cf. [A. TANNOIA], *Della vita ed istituto del ven. Servo di Dio Alfonso M. Liguori*, vol. II, Napoli 1800, 92-100 (lib. III, capp. 19-20); R. TELLERIA, *San Alfonso M. de Liguori*, vol. II, Madrid 1951, 119-133. Vedi anche *Spic. hist.* 9 (1961) 421-424.

⁵³ Memoria anonima, p. 9. Parole dialettali di questo brano: cocozza = zucca, cocomero, melone; caniglia = crusca.

⁵⁴ Memoria anonima, pp. 10-11. Uno degli atti che faceva più impressione durante le missioni era proprio quando si mostrava la figura dell'anima dannata nella

Del grande successo della missione di Rossano ci è rimasta una eloquente testimonianza nella lettera di mons. Camaldari a s. Alfonso, scritta durante la missione, il 24 marzo 1764⁵⁵. L'arcivescovo, dopo aver dichiarato che « la copiosa messe di frutti spirituali raccolta [...] ha ricolmato di consolazione indicibile il mio cuore », comunica che « la città mi ha presentato una supplica sottoscritta da cento e più persone e munita col sigillo universale, in cui mi richiede a volermi adoprare che si fondi in Rossano una casa della sua Congregazione ». Camaldari si dichiara completamente d'accordo con questa iniziativa, per mantener salda la conversione operata al tempo della missione, e domanda ad Alfonso di collaborare efficacemente per realizzarla. Dato però che tale fondazione incontrerà degli ostacoli e certamente richiederà del tempo, egli propone di lasciare a Rossano fino all'autunno due padri, che dovrebbero fondare e dirigere tre pie confraternite, cioè degli ecclesiastici, dei nobili e degli artisti. Questo non pregiudicherebbe alla continuazione delle missioni « per li rimanenti luoghi della diocesi, per li quali saranno sufficienti otto sacerdoti ».

Non conosciamo l'effetto di questa lettera, in cui Camaldari si mostra prudente e zelante pastore. Infatti non abbiamo la risposta di Alfonso, né altro elemento che ci fornisca anche la minima indicazione dell'atteggiamento del Santo di fronte alla proposta fattagli dall'arcivescovo⁵⁶. Ci sembra però che nessun passo concreto sia stato compiuto da parte della Congregazione per realizzare una fondazione a Rossano, altrimenti sarebbe rimasta qualche traccia nelle fonti a nostra disposizione⁵⁷. La ragione potrebbe trovarsi nel fatto che in quel tempo venivano proposte anche altrove nuove fondazioni — come a Corato⁵⁸ e nella diocesi di Rieti⁵⁹ — che sembravano avere migliori possibilità di riuscita.

predica dell'inferno. Il p. Franz Springer, nella sua relazione della missione predicata a Nocera nel novembre-dicembre 1823, dice che faceva una impressione terribile (einen entsetzlichen Eindruck). Cf. *Spic. hist.* 4 (1956) 32.

⁵⁵ La lettera originale, scritta però da altra mano, si conserva in AGR I D 35, 39. Si pubblica *infra*, Doc. 3.

⁵⁶ Ringrazio sentitamente don Nicola Librandi, archivista della curia di Rossano, per le diligenti ricerche fatte, purtroppo rimaste finora senza esito positivo.

⁵⁷ Conservate in AGR e nell'archivio della Provincia Napoletana CSSR a Pagani.

⁵⁸ Già dall'anno 1760 il p. Antonio Tannoia, che era nativo di Corato (prov. di Bari, arcidiocesi di Trani), si adoperava per tale fondazione. Proprio nei primi mesi del 1764 c'erano buone prospettive di realizzarla. Per diversi motivi però — tra l'altro per l'opposizione di una parte del clero locale — la fondazione non fu mandata ad effetto. Diversi documenti relativi alla vicenda sono trascritti in KUNTZ, *Commentaria* VII 93-102.

⁵⁹ Mons. Giovanni de Vita — ringraziando il p. Villani, il 18 settembre 1764, per

E' stata conservata anche una lettera del Fiocchi al p. Francesco Margotta, scritta l'8 aprile 1764, cioè verso la fine della missione di Rossano, o subito dopo di essa⁶⁰. Vi si mostra contento delle missioni fatte, che « sono riuscite fervorose », ma non dà notizie particolareggiate. Allo stesso tempo però si dichiara alquanto preoccupato per il futuro: teme che in alcuni paesi non vogliano la missione a causa della carestia. Nel poscritto comunica che a Rossano desiderano una fondazione della Congregazione, proposta che gli sembra ottima.

Nella stessa lettera dice anche che prima della metà di giugno lui e i suoi compagni non potranno cominciare il viaggio di ritorno, « per il pane che ubique manca ». Sembra infatti che i missionari siano tornati a Pagani alla fine di detto mese. Il 1° luglio 1764 il Fiocchi scriveva da Giorani a suor Mariangela a Scala: « Figlia mia, da tre giorni mi sono ritirato in questa casa ». Del lavoro svolto nell'arcidiocesi di Rossano non dà notizie. Soltanto accenna alla carestia, che lì era stata meno dura⁶¹.

Concludiamo la rassegna — purtroppo molto lacunosa — delle missioni predicate dai Redentoristi nei primi sei mesi del 1764 nell'arcidiocesi di Rossano. Come si è già osservato precedentemente, non sappiamo in quale ordine siano state date, e conosciamo soltanto due località ove i padri predicarono. Ciononostante crediamo di poter dire che fecero sentire l'appello alla conversione in tutta l'arcidiocesi, conforme al desiderio dell'arcivescovo Camaldari espresso nella lettera al Villani del 5 novembre 1763. I missionari erano dieci, numero alquanto elevato. Lavorarono ininterrottamente per quasi mezz'anno, periodo abbastanza lungo. Nelle città, come Corigliano e Rossano, operarono tutti insieme, predicando nelle diverse chiese. Mentre nelle località minori i missionari si recarono contemporaneamente in gruppi composti da 3-5 padri. Tenendo conto di questi tre dati sicuri, e considerando d'altra parte che il territorio non era tanto esteso e popolato⁶², non sembra azzardata la supposizione che siano state predicate missioni in tutte le località di una certa importanza⁶³.

le congratulazioni inviategli in occasione della sua elezione a vescovo di Rieti — espresse il desiderio di avere una casa della Congregazione nella sua diocesi. Lettera originale cons. in AGR XXXVII A 8. — Dal 1755 de Vita conosceva Alfonso e i Redentoristi e nutriva una grande ammirazione per la loro opera apostolica. Cf. *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 22, n. 45.

⁶⁰ La lettera originale si conserva in AGR XXXVII F 6b. Si pubblica *infra*, Doc. 4.

⁶¹ La lettera originale si conserva in AGR XXXVII F 6c.

⁶² Secondo le indicazioni dell'*Annuario Pontificio per l'anno 1979*, p. 473, la superficie è di 1.300 km², le parrocchie sono 51, la popolazione è di 112.000 abitanti. Nel Settecento questi dovevano aggirarsi sui 40-50.000.

⁶³ Questa è anche l'opinione di KUNTZ, *Commentaria* VII 89-90.

Nel mese di luglio del 1764, quindi poco dopo il ritorno dei missionari dalla Calabria, vennero fatte le nomine dei superiori delle case per il nuovo triennio 1764-1767. In quest'occasione il Fiocchi fu esonerato dalla carica di rettore del collegio di Ciorani, che aveva ricoperto nel triennio antecedente 1761-1764⁶⁴. Sembra che in agosto venisse iscritto alla casa di Pagani⁶⁵.

Nell'autunno dello stesso anno venne destinato a dirigere una terza spedizione missionaria in Calabria.

Da una lettera scritta da Sant'Arzenio (Salerno) a suor Mariangela del Cielo, il 18-20 novembre 1764⁶⁶, si desume che i missionari partirono per la diocesi di Bisignano il 21 novembre⁶⁷. Il numero dei compagni del Fiocchi non ci è noto, e di nessuno di loro conosciamo il nome. Non abbiamo neanche trovato notizie indicanti il motivo e la preparazione della spedizione⁶⁸.

Dopo un viaggio di sei giorni, « assai penoso, perché tutto il tempo del viaggio, dal primo giorno della partenza, fu sempre con neve e pioggia », i missionari raggiunsero Acri. La sera stessa dell'arrivo si aprì la missione, che « durò per lo spazio di giorni ventidue »⁶⁹. Mancano purtroppo altri particolari.

Finita la missione di Acri, i padri andarono sotto la pioggia a Bisignano, « e per compimento del viaggio, nell'entrare la città, venne un diluvio d'acqua. [...] Dopo scampata alquanto la pioggia, il Padre D. Carmine si portò nella chiesa, tutto bagnato da capo a' piedi,

⁶⁴ Cf. KUNTZ, *Commentaria* VII 166. Nella sopraccitata lettera del 1° luglio 1764 a suor Mariangela del Cielo, il Fiocchi aveva già detto: « Io tra giorni deposito l'ufficio ». Per cui dubitava di poter continuare ad aiutare le suore come prima: « Vedrò che risoluzioni prenda il nuovo superiore, e vi scriverò subito e farò quanto posso per servirvi ».

⁶⁵ La lettera del Fiocchi a suor Mariangela del Cielo, scritta da Nocera il 30 agosto 1764, comincia così. « Figlia mia, sin da jeri sono in questa casa, e stamattina il nostro P. Mazzini mi ha consegnate le vostre » [lettere]. Anche le lettere scritte nel mese di settembre alla sua figlia spirituale sono datate da Nocera. Gli originali si conservano in AGR XXXVII F 6c.

⁶⁶ La lettera originale si conserva in AGR XXXVII F 6c. Un estratto si pubblica *infra*, Doc. 5.

⁶⁷ La Memoria anonima, p. 11, dice invece « che nel 1763 alli 8 Novembre [il Padre D. Carmine] si portò nella diocesi di Bisignano », e a p. 7: « Nel seguente anno 1764, alli 8 Novembre [il Padre D. Carmine] di nuovo andiede » [in Calabria]. L'autore del manoscritto confonde parecchie volte date e avvenimenti senza fare una netta distinzione fra le tre successive spedizioni missionarie. — Per la correzione della data della partenza per la diocesi di Bisignano, vedi anche KUNTZ, *Commentaria* VII 228-229.

⁶⁸ In quel tempo mons. Bonaventura Sculco (1708-1781) era vescovo di Bisignano (dal 21 VI 1745). Cf. RITZLER-SEFRIN, *op. cit.* VI 123. Non abbiamo notizie sui contatti tra questo prelado e i Redentoristi.

⁶⁹ Memoria anonima, pp. 11-12.

sopra del pulpito per incominciare la prima predica ». Un'imprudenza che gli attirò un forte rimprovero da parte del vescovo: « prima dovea cambiarsi e poi andare alla chiesa »⁷⁰.

Nelle fonti a nostra disposizione troviamo menzionate soltanto due missioni tenute nella diocesi di Bisignano, cioè ad Acri e nella sede vescovile. La prima cominciò il 26 novembre, l'altra all'inizio della seconda metà di dicembre. Sappiamo che la prima durò tre settimane, per cui è lecito supporre che l'altra abbia avuto la stessa durata. Possiamo quindi ritenere che la missione di Bisignano sia terminata verso il 10-15 gennaio 1765.

Ma i missionari rimasero ancora un mese nella diocesi, come si rileva da una lettera del Fiocchi del 15 febbraio. Quel giorno infatti egli scrisse da Bisignano a suor Mariangela del Cielo: « Ho finita questa diocesi. Lunedì⁷¹ partirò per altra diocesi più lontana. Se mi scrivete, fate: Cosenza per Cutri »⁷². Non abbiamo notizie sul lavoro apostolico svolto dai Redentoristi nella diocesi di Bisignano tra il 15 gennaio e il 15 febbraio 1765.

Il 18 febbraio il Fiocchi partì dunque da Bisignano « per altra diocesi più lontana ». Qui ci si domanda: di che diocesi si tratta? La risposta dipende da come si interpreta l'indicazione del recapito comunicato dal Fiocchi nel suo biglietto a suor Mariangela: « Cosenza per Cutri ». Dal momento che non esiste un paese di questo nome, vien fatto di pensare che il Fiocchi intendesse riferirsi a Cutro o Cuti. Qualcuno propende per *Cuti*, probabilmente perché il Fiocchi dice di indirizzare la corrispondenza a Cosenza, e Cuti apparteneva all'arcidiocesi di Cosenza⁷³. E in base a questa interpretazione sarebbe da concludere che i missionari si trasferirono da Bisignano nell'arcidiocesi di Cosenza⁷⁴.

A noi sembra invece che il Cutri nell'indirizzo segnato dal Fiocchi sia da interpretare come *Cutro*, località appartenente all'arcidiocesi di Santa Severina. Preferiamo questa interpretazione, perché è certo che nel 1765 i Redentoristi predicarono una missione anche in un'altra località della stessa arcidiocesi, cioè a Crotonei⁷⁵. In ambedue i

⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 12.

⁷¹ Il lunedì dopo il 15 febbraio 1765 era il 18 febbraio.

⁷² La lettera originale si conserva in AGR XXXVII F 6c.

⁷³ ALFANO, *op. cit.* 82. Ora Cuti fa parte del comune di Rogliano (a 19 km da Cosenza).

⁷⁴ KUNTZ, *Commentaria* VII 256.

⁷⁵ Memoria anonima, p. 7. La data ivi indicata è certamente sbagliata.

luoghi avevano già annunciato l'appello alla conversione e alla penitenza nel 1758⁷⁶.

Nella già citata lettera del 18-20 novembre 1764⁷⁷ il Fiocchi comunicava a suor Mariangela del Cielo che la spedizione missionaria avrebbe avuto una durata di 7-8 mesi. Questo significa che secondo il piano originale i padri avrebbero dovuto rientrare in sede nel maggio-giugno dell'anno seguente, come avevano fatto in occasione di alcune spedizioni precedenti in Calabria. Non sappiamo però se ci si attenne al piano originale, perché le nostre fonti non forniscono notizie sul viaggio di ritorno.

Se i padri rimasero veramente in Calabria fino al maggio-giugno del 1765, cioè 4-5 mesi dopo il loro arrivo nell'arcidiocesi di Santa Severina, avranno certamente predicato numerose altre missioni. Ma dalle fonti a nostra disposizione risultano soltanto due località: Cutro e Crotoni. Non sembra da escludere che abbiano svolto anche il lavoro apostolico in alcune diocesi limitrofe, come Cosenza e Strongoli.

⁷⁶ Cf. *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 309.

⁷⁷ *Infra*, Doc. 5.

DOCUMENTI

1. - Lettera di mons. Gulielmo Camaldari, arcivescovo di Rossano, a mons. Nicola Borgia, vescovo di Cava; Rossano, 4 novembre 1763. — Originale in AGR I D 35, 37.

Ill.mo e R.mo Sig.re, Sig.re P.ne Col.mo

Spero ammanire qualche somma per i Padri del Redentore e ringrazio Dio che alla fine ò veduto spuntare qualche raggio di luce, ma non può credere V. S. Ill.ma il demonio che à fatto e che fa tutto giorno per impedire questo bene. Pure la mia ultima lettera scrittale relativa alle passate è stata interpretata non secondo contava, giacché avea scritto, vedendomi totalmente escluso, almeno mi procuri quattro, due Padri per Corigliano e Rossano, non che io non li voleva per tutta la diocesi, ch'è un anno che tengo speranzata¹. Una tal proposizione dalli missionarj fu stimata assai male, e che io operava molto freddamente — di ciò n'è testimonio la sua degnissima persona — e che non li voleva per tutta la diocesi². Ma Dio sa tutto e vede tutto. E non ostante le mie miserie per la mancanza degl'ulivi in due anni, da dove dipendono le rendite di questa chiesa, giacché di certo non arriva ad avere ducati duemila, inclusi i pesi che non sono pochi, e la pensione di ducati settecento, pure l'assicuro della carità mi comanda di fare di ducati cinquanta; non che io abbia tal modo, ma vedo che Dio apre altra strada. Onde altro non resta se non se mettersi all'ordine e partire per rendermi totalmente consolato.

Il suo impegno deve essere che ne' principj di Quaresima si trovino qui, essendosi a tal fine dismessa la predica, poiché questi Signori Regimentarj³, scottati da' mali predicatori, desiderano missioni, tantopiù che la povera città è in molte strettezze.

Qui annessa troverà lettera diretta al Padre Vicario Generale, Sig. Villani, che averà la bontà legere e poi incaminare per dare sollecito disgribo [= disbrigo] ad affare di tal conseguenza.

Mentre coll'onore de' suoi venerati comandi con tutta stima mi dico

Di V. S. Ill.ma

Divot.mo ed oblig.mo serv^e vero
Guglielmo Arcivesc^o di Rossano

Rossano, li 4 9mbre 1763

[PS] E vi priego per la sollecitudine, e dell'avviso della di loro partenza.

Monsig. Borgia, Vesco di Cava

¹ La corrispondenza alla quale si allude, non ci è conosciuta.

² Sui tentativi di mons. Camaldari per avere i missionari Redentoristi prima del novembre 1763 e sulle reazioni di questi ultimi alle sue proposte non siamo informati.

³ Cioè, coloro che tengono il reggimento, i governanti.

2. - Lettera di mons. Gulielmo Camaldari, arcivescovo di Rossano, al p. Andrea Villani; Rossano, 5 novembre 1763. - Originale in AGR I D 35, 38.

Ill.mo Sig.re, Sig.re P.ne mio Col.mo

Per non far perire tante povere anime, da Dio alla mia cura commesse, le quali si vedono tutto giorno correr fameliche ed affamate della divina parola, essendo da più anni mancata in queste parti, motivo per cui ogn'uno s'è dato in braccio alle sue passioni, ed altro non regna se non il furto e l'omicidio, la fornicazione e l'adulterio; la simonia e 'l sacrileggio, commettendosi a man franca e senza rimorso alcuno, mi muovo ad implorar dalla gran bontà e zelo di V. S. Ill.ma la S. Missione; per la qual cosa, quanto so e posso, e per quanto le sono care queste anime re-dente col sangue di Gesucristo, la priego degnarsi mandare almeno quattro paja di valenti operaj, affinché possano sfamare gli abbitatori di questa sua [= mia] archidiocesi.

E perché son sicuro che non sarà per negarmi una tal grazia, torno a farle una nuova preghiera, la quale si è di trovarsino qui giusto ne i principj di Quaresima, essendosi appositamente non provveduto questo pulpito⁴. Sicché favorendo, potrà far cominciare la detta Missione da Tarsia, per poi passare in Terranova, da Terranova a S. Demetrio, da colà nella Macchia e S. Cosmo, da S. Cosmo in Vaccarizzo, da dove passeranno in S. Giorgio e quindi in Corigliano, ove si potran trattenerne i Padri per tutta la fine del Carnevale, per poi trovarsi qui ne' principj di Quaresima⁵. E se, spedito Rossano, non vorranno trattenersi per lo rimanente de' giorni quaresimali, potranno passare in Cropalati, ove per caggion d'una fabrica di chiesa non si fa quaresimale, e così poi faranno per lo rimanente de' luoghi.

Mentre offerendomi prontissimo al disimpegno de' suoi riveriti comandi, pieno di stima mi confermo

Di V. S. Ill.ma

Divot.mo ed oblig.mo serv^e vero
G. Arcivesc^o di Rossano

Rossano, 5 Nov^e 1763

⁴ Cioè, che non era stato invitato un sacerdote per predicare durante il corso della quaresima, come era solito farsi.

⁵ Tra la missione di Corigliano Calabro e quella di Rossano i padri predicarono in alcune località minori; Memoria anonima, pp. 10-11. Dalla lettera di mons. Camaldari del 24 marzo (*infra*, Doc. 3) risulta che i missionari in quaresima erano a Rossano.

3. - Lettera di mons. Gulielmo Camaldari, arcivescovo di Rossano, a s. Alfonso; Rossano, 24 marzo 1764. — Originale in AGR I D 35, 39.

Ill.mo e R.mo Sig.re, Sig.re P.ne Col.mo

La copiosa messe di frutti spirituali raccolta dal Padre Focchi e compagni nelle Sante Missioni fatte con zelo veramente apostolico in più luoghi della mia diocesi, e che ora stan facendo in questa città, ha ricolmato di consolazione indicibile il mio cuore, che si ritrovava afflittissimo dalle presenti pubbliche calamità⁶. Quindi mi riconosco in debito di renderne incessantemente li miei più umili ringraziamenti, prima a Dio ch'è il vero datore di ogni bene, e poi a V. S. Ill.ma ch'è il capo e fondatore di questa esemplarissima Congregazione, su della quale il Signore si compiace di piovere abbondantemente le celesti sue benedizioni. E' da temersi però che la divozione ora introdotta in ogni cetto di persone non sia per riuscire di poca durata, qualora dopo le Missioni non si coltivi con impegno e fervore; e per questo motivo la città mi ha presentato una supplica sottoscritta da cento e più persone e munita col sigillo universale, in cui mi richiede a volermi adoprare che si fondi in Rossano una casa della sua Congregazione, e son pronti tutti gli altri cittadini a sottoscriverla⁷.

Io spero che il Signore voglia benedire questo loro pio desiderio, che riconosco uniforme al mio, e che voglia ispirare a V. S. Ill.ma a concurrervi colla sua autorità e beneplacito, affinché potessimo di concerto concordar la maniera di venirne a capo per la maggior gloria di Dio e salute di queste anime. Ma perché questa impresa richiede del tempo e dovrà senza dubbio dispiacere al nemico infernale, ho pensato di confermare i cittadini nella loro santa risoluzione col vieppiù infervorarli ed affezionarli a questi buoni Padri.

Il mezzo più efficace sarebbe, secondo me, di far fondare da' medesimi tre congregazioni: una degli ecclesiastici, la seconda de' nobili e la terza degli artisti, sotto la direzione de' medesimi Padri⁸. Perlocché desiderarei ritenerne presso di me in questo palazzo arcivescovile, e propriamente nell'appartamento superiore, segregato dalle altre stanze abitate da me e dalla mia famiglia, in cui presentemente abitano tutti i Padri, due di essi, quando gli altri, terminate che avranno le Missioni in Rossano, dovranno incaminarsi per li rimanenti luoghi della diocesi, per li quali saranno sufficienti otto sacerdoti; e li due che desidero far restare in Rossano, li vorrei sino al mese di Novembre.

Questa è la grazia che con tutta la vivezza del mio spirito, e quanto più so e posso, chiedo a V. S. Ill.ma colla ferma fiducia che non sia per

⁶ La carestia del 1763-1764.

⁷ Nonostante le diligenti ricerche fatte a più riprese, questo documento non si è potuto trovare.

⁸ Nel Settecento l'istituzione di pie congregazioni e confraternite, per consolidare i frutti delle missioni, era una usanza assai diffusa. I Redentoristi la praticavano regolarmente. Cf. l'esposizione di O. GREGORIO in *Spic. hist.* 9 (1961) 115-118.

negarmela, perché vivo persuasissimo che non inferiore al mio sia il suo impegno di veder perfezionata l'opera così bene incaminata; mentre desideroso dell'onore de' suoi riveriti comandi con pienezza di ossequio e di stima Le bacio riverentemente le mani.

Di V. S. Ill.ma e R.ma

Divot.mo ed oblig.mo serv^e vero
Guglielmo Arcivesc^o di Rossano

Rossano, 24 Marzo 1764

Monsig. Liguori, Vesco di S. Agata

4. - Lettera del p. Carmine Fiocchi al p. Francesco Margotta; Rossano, 8 aprile 1764. — Originale in AGR XXXVII F 6b.

J. M. Jos.

Rossano, 8 Aprile '64

Padre mio, sete stato in Atella⁹, e non vi sete degnato di farmi di là un rigo, tanto più che nell'ultima vostra me ne avevate data qualche parola¹⁰. Grazie al Signore che vi sento girare. Noi siamo stati qui addolorati per D. Carmine¹¹. Io l'ho celebrato Messe e fatte preci per lui, ma spero che le calunnie siano scoperte a quest'ora¹².

Le nostre missioni sono riuscite fervorose, e Dio ha mandato il pane alla gente per farci fare le missioni. Se seguirà così, <noi> faremo tutta la diocesi. Ma dubito, perché in questo mese e nell'altro si sentirà più la carestia, e dubito che qualche paese non voglia assolutamente la missione, e questo sarebbe peggio per noi, perché sarei obbligato a marcire in qualche luogo ed a spendere. Monsignore ci ha dato il promesso; qualche altra limosina si è avuta, ma la compagnia è grossa. Sempre si spende, ed il fatto è questo che in tutto non abbiamo 30 ducati. Si

⁹ Il p. Francesco Margotta — deceduto a Napoli l'11 agosto 1764, quindi pochi mesi dopo aver ricevuto questa lettera — si recava spesso ad Atella, dove aveva conoscenze che risalivano al periodo precedente alla sua entrata tra i Redentoristi. Cf. A. SAMPERS, *Progetto di fondazione dei Redentoristi a Rionero in Vulture, c. 1750, in Società e religione in Basilicata nell'età moderna*, vol. II, [Roma 1977], 706.

¹⁰ Non ci sono pervenute lettere dirette al Fiocchi tra le numerose lettere del Margotta che si conservano in AGR XXXVIII A 3-4.

¹¹ Si tratta di Carmine Ventapane, professore di medicina a Napoli e amico del Margotta. Era un esimio benefattore della Congregazione, ed aveva contribuito alle spese anche di precedenti campagne missionarie dei Redentoristi in Calabria. Cf. *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 304-305.

¹² Non sappiamo in quali difficoltà Ventapane allora si dibattesse.

[h]anno da fare nove altri luoghi e due pagliaje¹³, e si [h]an da dare a D. Antonio 7 ducati e mezzo, e già ne vuole Messe, e il P. D. Lorenzo¹⁴ ha scritto in Iliceto per farle celebrare. Io ho parlato qui al Sig. D. Lelio de Paoli, corrispondente di D. Carmine. Il soccorso promesso lo potrà mandare per questo canale.

Padre mio, io non so come faremo il viaggio, e prima de' 15 di Giugno¹⁵ non potremo partire per il pane che ubique manca; e ancorché ne portassimo, ci sarebbe tolto per la via. Qui abbiamo speso poco e Labonia <ha> fatto molto¹⁶.

Scriveteci qualche cosa di D. Carmine e del mondo [?] e della Congregazione. A D. Benedetto ho scritto quattro volte, ma non mi ha risposto¹⁷. Io mi ricordo di V. R. nel pulpito e nell'altare, fatelo pure per noi. E vi abbraccio e bacio le mani.

di V. R.

Vostro servo e fratello
Carmine del SS^o Red.

[PS] Qui vogliono la fondazione, e sarebbe per noi propria.
Saluto il gran Tandoja¹⁸.

Indirizzo (a p. 4):

Al Molto Rev. P. Consultore Gen.
P. D. Franco Margotti del SS.mo Rede
Benevento¹⁹

¹³ Pagliaja o pagliara: cumolo conico di paglia, stanza o capanna di paglia. Qui s'intende probabilmente un agglomerato di case di paglia o tuguri.

¹⁴ Il p. Lorenzo d'Antonio che aveva diretto le prime spedizioni missionarie dei Redentoristi in Calabria negli anni 1756-1758. Cf. *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 305, n. 38.

¹⁵ Cioè prima della nuova raccolta.

¹⁶ C'era in quel tempo nella Congregazione il chierico studente Gennaro Labonia, nativo di Rossano. Forse si tratta qui di suo padre Antonio, o di qualche altro parente: comunque di una persona ben nota al Margotta.

¹⁷ Si tratta di Benedetto Grazioli, uomo ricco di Atella, amico e penitente del Margotta. Negli anni 1750-1753 Grazioli si diede molto da fare per realizzare una fondazione dei Redentoristi a Rionero in Vulture. Questa però non riuscì, soprattutto a causa dell'opposizione del governo. Cf. SAMPERS, *art. cit.* (*supra*, n. 9), 705-715.

¹⁸ Il p. Antonio Tannoia.

¹⁹ P. Margotta era allora maestro dei novizi. Nel 1762 il noviziato era stato trasferito da Deliceto a Sant'Angelo a Cupolo, presso Benevento. Cf. KUNTZ, *Commentaria* VI 425 e VII 102.

5. - Inizio e fine di una lettera del p. Carmine Fiocchi a suor Mariangela del Cielo; Sant'Arsenio, 18 novembre 1764. — Originale in AGR XXXVII F 6c.

J. M. Jos.

Dalla Missione di S. Arsenio, 18 9 64

Figlia mia, jeri giunsi qui e trovai alla metà questa Missione²⁰. Mercoledì prossimo²¹ partirò per le Calabrie. Rispondo al vostro letterone con una letteretta a dispetto di Sr. M.a Rafaele²², che sempre mi dice e predica seccaggine.

[...]

Oggi che scrivo, 20 di Novembre, finisce questa Missione e diluvia spietatamente, e noi domani dovemo partire e fare cinque giornate per arrivare al nostro destino. Piora mia, pregate assai per me. Mi sento bisognoso veramente della divina onnipotenza in tutte le cose. La Missione è di 7 o 8 mesi; considerate voi.

Se mi volete scrivere qualche volta, fatelo così: Castrovillari²³ per Bisignano. E ditemi per quale posta vi devo rispondere.

Saluto tutte, specialmente quelle che mi dite nella vostra. Fate pregare per me, e vi benedico di cuore.

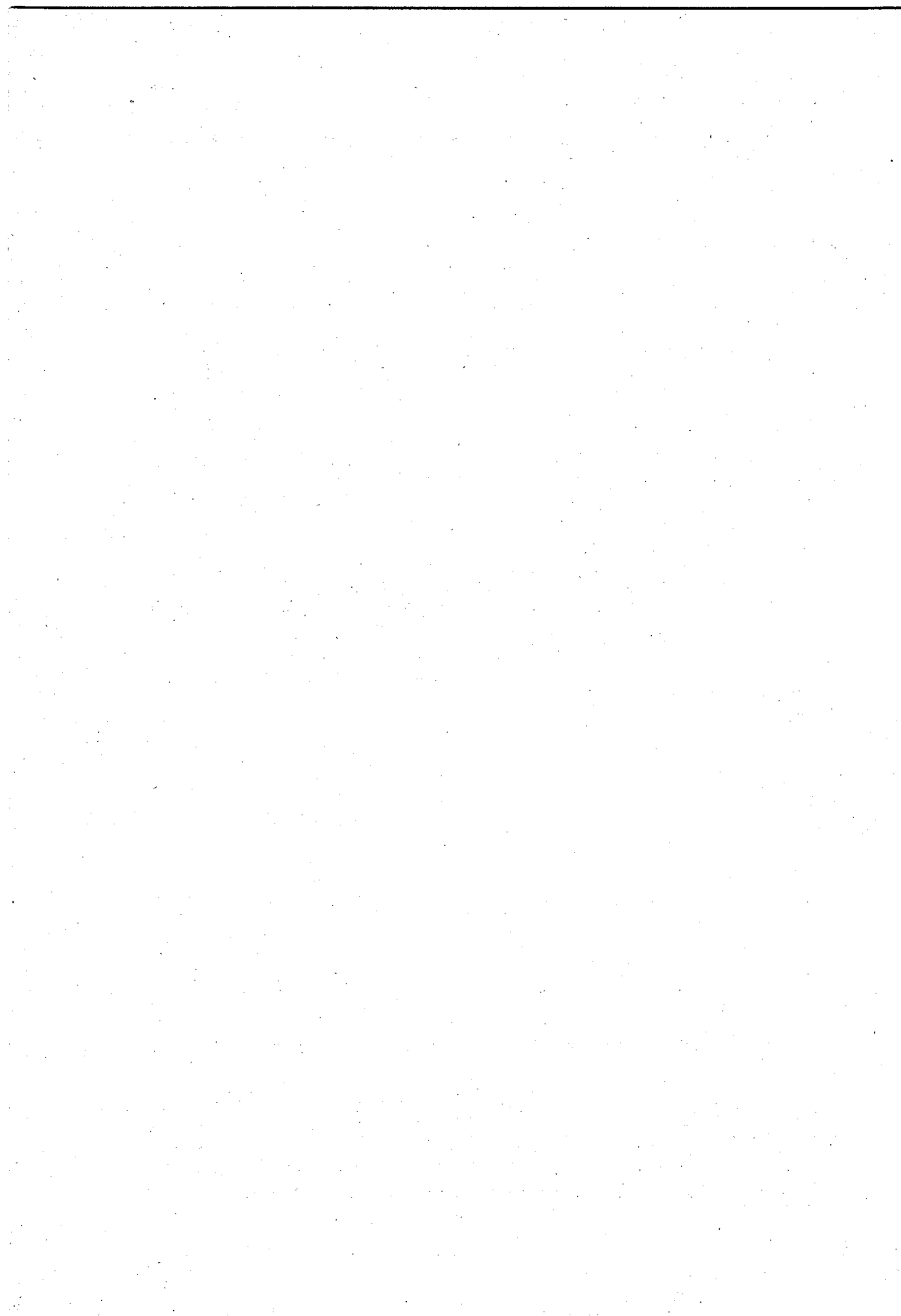
Carmine Fiocchi del SS. Red.

²⁰ Sulla missione di Sant'Arsenio (Salerno) non abbiamo notizie.

²¹ Il 21 novembre.

²² Suor Maria Raffaella della Carità, al secolo Matilde de Vito (1699-1778), era la sorella maggiore di suor Mariangela del Cielo (vedi *supra*, n. 22). Quando nel 1766 s. Alfonso fondò un monastero delle Redentoristine a Sant'Agata de' Goti, suor M. Raffaella vi divenne superiora. Un suo schizzo biografico si trova in DUMORTIER, *op. cit.*, 57-90. Altre biografie sono segnalate in *Spic. hist.* 3 (1955) 491, n. 385 e 495, n. 434.

²³ Città della provincia di Calabria Citra, diocesi di Cassano; cf. *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 313-314.



SAMUEL J. BOLAND

R. A. COFFIN AND THE ENGLISH ORATORY

A previous article in *Spicilegium* treated the conversion of Robert Aston Coffin, one-time Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene's in Oxford and within a short time to become the first superior of the English province of the Redemptorists¹. Immediately after his conversion, however, Father Coffin spent a brief period among the first companions of John Henry Newman in his newly founded Oratory, an experience he described with some enthusiastic vividness in his letters to his benefactor, Ambrose Phillipps, copies of which may be seen in the provincial archives at Clapham². What he had to say is not without interest, even though the description differs no more than slightly from the one that has become more familiar, drawn from Newman's own extensive correspondence. However, the letters to Phillipps, which are offered as an appendix to this article, have the further advantage that they present the Oratory as seen through eyes not entirely in sympathy with the founder, since Coffin, in fact, left the young institute after only a couple of years. The interlude, brief as it was, is obviously of some significance for the Catholic career of Father Coffin, who exercised such an important influence on the young English province and indirectly on those that developed from it. It may well be, too, that another man's view of the beginning of the Oratory may provide just a little more knowledge of that figure that stood like a giant among the churchmen of last century, Cardinal Newman.

¹ *Spic. Hist.* 27 (1979) 355-374. Once again we draw mainly on material in the archives of the London province of the Redemptorists, quoted in this article ALP. In particular we use the two manuscript biographies: the anonymous *Life of Right Rev. R. A. Coffin C.S.S.R. First Part*, quoted as *Life*, and B. Lubienski C.S.S.R., *Mémoires sur la vie de Mgr. Robert Coffin C.S.S.R., évêque de Southwark*.

² The Phillipps correspondence is in ALP, Db 85.

It is not at all difficult to discern to what extent Coffin's view of the Oratory was affected by his own character and by his own peculiar religious needs³. His close association with Phillipps had revealed an enthusiastic and even intolerant medievalism. His journey to the Church had been, at least in its closing stages, a quest for the security offered by the doctrinal authority of the hierarchy. Both these tendencies made him incline almost instinctively towards the older Catholic traditions rather than remain with the newer fashions that enriched the Church with the coming of Newman and his companions; and in this Coffin was far from being alone among the Oxford converts, as Ward and Manning were emphatically of the same stamp. What was probably more particular to Coffin was his need of reassurance for his own personal spiritual development. He had spoken of this before he came to the Church⁴, seeing it as a need for a confessor and spiritual director such as was readily offered by traditional Catholic practice. Immediately, however, Newman was his guide. Newman had hustled him over his final hesitations in 1845, and a year later was once more urging him to come to the Oratory. Coffin had his misgivings, but again it was largely Newman's word that he took, and for a while he was quite happy that it should be so. But he remained what he had always been, very dependent on authority and always looking anxiously for a safe spiritual guide.

After his reception into the Church at the beginning of December 1845, Coffin at first experienced what the other converts had discovered, the sharp break with the past and the natural fears concerning his future among strangers. His letters to his Anglican friends brought two replies telling him that as a renegade he was no longer acceptable to his former associates⁵. His meeting with the Catholics, on the other hand, was made the easier and more agreeable by his reception in the household of Ambrose Phillipps. That he owed especially to Bishop Nicholas Wiseman, who busied himself with the welfare of the converts and recommended Coffin for the post of tutor to Phillipps' two sons⁶. His duties allowed him ample time to be initiated into Catholic practice according to the fervent, if eccentric,

³ On Coffin's religious development up to the time of his conversion cf. *Spic. Hist.* 27 (1979) 365-369.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Life*, 16.

⁶ Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, London, 1897, I, 443.

ways of *Grace Dieu*, the Phillipps home, where he remained throughout 1846.

Towards the end of the year he took his young charges to Boulogne to give them some practice in speaking French; and from there he was summoned by Newman to meet him in Paris⁷. Newman and St. John⁸, his almost inseparable companion, were on their way to Rome, where they intended to make some important decisions for their own future and, so they hoped, for that of their fellow converts. In some circles in England there had been much excited speculation about what was to become of these distinguished new Catholics, and it was well known that Newman had for some months been much involved in discussions and planning as to how he and his friends could best serve the Church⁹. Coffin appears to have been particularly eager for something to come from the meeting in Paris, as he hurried there as soon as he received the message. Newman wrote to Frederick Bowles the day before he left England: « Poor Coffin is waiting for us in Paris »¹⁰.

As it turned out, the meeting offered nothing whatever to satisfy Coffin's hopes, as he confessed afterwards. Pleasant as the few days spent with the travellers had no doubt been, he returned to Boulogne still ignorant of Newman's plans¹¹. For that matter, at that stage, September of 1846, Newman himself had not yet made up his mind.

At the end of the year Coffin relinquished his position in the Phillipps household, with some reluctance one may be sure, but with a determination to come to a decision as to his own future. Like many another of the Oxford converts he had recourse to Father Robert Whitty, the genial and learned Rector of St. Edmund's College, Ware¹².

⁷ *Life*, 16.

⁸ Ambrose St. John (1815-1875), a student of Christ Church from 1834, had been one of the first Oxford converts, being received into the Church in 1843. Cf. Charles Stephen Dessain and Vincent Ferrer Blehl S. J., *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol. XI, London, 1961, p. 355. Henceforward quoted as *Letters and Diaries*.

⁹ For the suggestions made by Wiseman and by Blessed Dominic Barberi, cf. Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, London, 1913, vol. I, p. 123-126.

¹⁰ Frederick Sellwood Bowles (1818-1900) was a student of Exeter College. He had been with Newman at Littlemore, and with him had been received into the Church. He was one of the first members of the Oratory with Newman, but he left in 1860. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*. XI, 1961, p. 334.

¹¹ *Life*, 17.

¹² Robert Whitty (1817-1895) was a native of Wexford and a student of St. Patrick's, Maynooth, from 1830. Ordained in 1840 for service in England, he held a

It was on his advice that early in the following year he set out for Rome, accompanied by his old friend Richard Macmullen, only recently received into the Church¹³.

While he was busily making his plans with Whitty's help Coffin received further word from Newman. As it is told by the author of the *Life*, in all likelihood according to Coffin's own reminiscences, early in 1847 while on a visit to his parents at Dover, he received a letter from Newman speaking of his intention to establish the Oratory in England, for which purpose the Pope had urged him to gather about him as many converts as possible¹⁴. From a letter Newman wrote to Phillipps on 7th January it appears he had written to Coffin at the same time¹⁵. But it is hard to see how Newman could have been in a position at this early stage to speak with such assurance of Pius IX's encouragement, even though he had been inclining himself towards the Oratory since December¹⁶. Very likely he had not really been quite as peremptory as the *Life* suggests.

It seems at least that at this time Newman proposed that Coffin join himself and the other converts he was gathering in a religious institute; and Coffin was not at all convinced that the scheme was a good one. In replying he suggested that a religious community composed of nobody else but converts might well turn out to be something rather less than Catholic¹⁷. His objection met with a short and sharp rejoinder: « Do you know better than the Vicar of Christ »¹⁸? Once again, lacking the correspondence itself, one's only evidence for the exchange is the possibly faulty memories recorded in the *Life*. That there was an exchange, at least substantially as described, can be verified from other letters of Newman. On 10th January he wrote to Richard Stanton:¹⁹ « We have thought of Coffin these days he has

number of important posts, which enabled him to assist the Oxford converts. He was in touch with Newman from as early as 1843 and always retained a warm affection for him. He joined the Oratory in 1849, but left in the following year. Becoming a Jesuit in 1857, he held the positions of English provincial and later of assistant to the Father General. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 360.

¹³ *Life*, 17.

¹⁴ *Life*, 18.

¹⁵ *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 3.

¹⁶ Cf. Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 169.

¹⁷ *Life*, 18.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ Richard Stanton (1820-1901), a student of Brasenose College, had refused on grounds of conscience ordination to priesthood by the Bishop of Oxford and joined Newman at Maryvale. A foundation member of the Oratory, he remained with it to the end of his life. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 357.

been with you. I wrote to him about his own matters the other day »²⁰. Father Whitty, too, whom Coffin had consulted about his vocation, wrote to say that he had advised him to join Newman, adding that what Coffin had wanted was a religious life in the company of the old, traditional Catholics, but that he feared the association would have more effect on the older Catholics than on Coffin himself. For his own part, he assured Newman, « I do feel more and more drawn to your body »²¹.

Coffin was not yet convinced when he set out for Rome with Macmullen at the end of January²². Newman confided to Dalgairns²³: « I don't like Coffin's way of going on »²⁴. The editors of the *Letters and Diaries* explain that he was referring to a letter from Coffin speaking of his own inclinations towards the Oblates and his intention not to make up his mind before coming to Rome²⁵.

He had, in fact, seriously considered joining the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a community of whom had been settled in the neighbourhood of *Grace Dieu* under the generous patronage of Phillipps²⁶. He clearly retained his attraction to the religious life of the style already established in the Catholic Church; and in spite of Whitty's assurances he wanted to see a little more of what was available before he fell in with the plans for the new converts. For his own part, Newman was quite evidently irritated by Coffin's backing and filling instead of being guided like the others by his own decision. A note in his diary for 6th March 1847 reported: « Coffin and Macmullen are come and called »²⁷. The following day, writing to David Lewis²⁸, he made short work of Coffin's objections. « The great advantage of the Oratory is that it leaves scope for persons of very different tastes and qualifications. It is a most pleasant thing for us to find since

²⁰ *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 11.

²¹ Whitty to Newman, 4 I 1847. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 19.

²² *Life*, 18.

²³ John Dobré Dalgairns (1818-1876), a Scot, a keen Tractarian, became known as Father Bernard as an Oratorian. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 338.

²⁴ Newman to Dalgairns, 14 II 1847. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 36.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 8 IV 1847.

²⁷ *Letters and Diaries*, XXII, 1962, p. 57.

²⁸ David Lewis (1814-1895) was a student and later a Fellow of Jesus College, Oxford, holding the post of vice-principal from 1845 to 1846, when he became a Catholic. He had been Newman's curate during the latter's final year at St. Mary's. As a Catholic he won a reputation for his scholarly translation of the works of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 344.

making our choice that in the Oratorian Rule our having lived together is an actual recommendation, and may (as it were) go for part of our novitiate. This is the answer we get at Rome to the fidgety talk in England about the danger of converts living together »²⁹.

Coffin was still « fidgety » as he went about making up his mind in his own way, as he had planned. On 22nd March Newman wrote to Dalgairns that « Coffin is going into retreat at Sant'Eusebio this day — and I trust on coming out will find his mind made up at once to join us. If so, he will go to St. John and St. Paul immediately after Easter Day »³⁰. And sure enough, nine days later he noted in his diary: « Coffin came out of retreat, having made up his mind to join us »³¹.

The retreat with the Jesuits, who at that time still occupied the house attached to Sant'Eusebio on the Esquiline, apparently put an end to Coffin's « fidgetiness », as his letter to Phillipps announcing the outcome reveals him as now calm and even quite optimistic³². He told his friend of his decision and of the ready support given to « Newman and his community » by the Pope and their hopes of expanding once they got themselves settled in England. He had made up his mind, he said, that the Oratory seemed to be what he had been looking for, and that there were besides « so many reasons for my keeping to Newman ».

The *Life* adds a little further information. The Jesuit confessor who helped him come to his decision was an English speaker whose acquaintance Coffin had made shortly after his arrival in Rome. To him Coffin now explained himself; and when it seemed clear that he had a call to the religious life, the confessor made him put down on paper the reasons for and against his becoming a Jesuit. The arguments for appeared to Coffin the stronger, but he was not at all attracted to the Society. The confessor, therefore, advised him that « for the moment he had nothing to do but follow Dr. Newman »³³.

He assured Phillipps of his regret at not being able to gratify his friend by joining the community of Oblates or « Conceptionists » as he called the current favourites of Phillipps' patronage. He added, though, how much he and Macmullen appreciated the warm welcome

²⁹ Newman to Lewis, 7 III 1847. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 61.

³⁰ Newman to Dalgairns, 22 III 1847. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 64.

³¹ Diary, 31 III 1847. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 66.

³² ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 8 IV 1847.

³³ *Life*, 19.

they had received in Marseilles from Mgr. de Mazenod and Father Aubert. The bishop showed « very great interest in *Grace Dieu* »³⁴.

Rome was proving full of interest to the new convert who quite evidently viewed it through spectacles tinted with the medievalism he had acquired at *Grace Dieu*. He was even moved to declare categorically « I hate Michael Angelo more and more and the Pagan things that one sees all over Rome in the way of statues etc. ».

His first experience of the society away from the shelter of *Grace Dieu* he was finding most satisfactory. In Paris he had met a person who had acquired some renown, the Russian Basilian abbess, Irene Makrina Mieczyslawska, the only survivor after her monastery in Minsk had been suppressed in 1845. She had been visited by many of the new converts and had been the subject of some correspondence in *The Times* in 1846³⁵. Rome, when he arrived there must have seemed simply full of English Catholics, both old like the amiably eccentric Lord Clifford of Chudleigh³⁶ and new, there being no fewer than eighty converts in the city.

Having made up his mind at last to join Newman, Coffin was sent to the Passionists at SS. Giovanni e Paolo, where he was met by another friend of Phillipps, John Morris, also newly converted, who reported: « He looks very well in his clerical dress »³⁷. His own letters speak of the beginnings of the Oratory and of the novitiate made at Santa Croce in very much the same terms as in the well known biographies of Newman. There are, however, some incidents to be gathered from the two manuscript lives of Coffin which seem to be of some significance. There were two occasions during the novitiate of slight disagreements between Newman and Coffin.

³⁴ Eugène de Mazenod had taken a close interest in the establishment of the Oblates in England, in this way making the acquaintance of Phillipps, for whom he retained his admiration. Cf. Jean Leflon, *Eugène de Mazenod*, III, 1965, p. 741-756. Father Casimir Aubert O.M.I., had played a part in the English foundation, and in this way, no doubt, had come to know Phillipps.

³⁵ Concerning the Abbess Makrina and the interest in her cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 345.

³⁶ Hugh Charles, seventh Baron Clifford (1790-1858), was married to the daughter of Cardinal Weld. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 336. Thomas Cardinal Weld, of course, was a widower when he was ordained priest. After being created Cardinal in 1830, he was a familiar and picturesque figure in his walks on the Pincio, where people were frequently intrigued to see his Eminence holding a scarlet umbrella over his little grandchildren. Cf. Shane Leslie, *Mrs. Fitzherbert*, New York, 1939, p. 325.

³⁷ John Morris to Phillipps, 23 IV 1847. J. H. Pollen S. J., *The Life and Letters of Father John Morris S. J.*, London 1896, p. 69. John Morris was a Cambridge scholar who, captivated by the *Tracts for the Times*, came into the Church in 1846. He later distinguished himself as a Jesuit for his historical studies of the Reformation in England.

The first occurred when Coffin and four of his fellow novices were taken by the Rector of the English College, Dr. Thomas Grant³⁸, to an audience with Pius IX³⁹. Occasions of this kind were by no means rare, as there is evidence that the Pope meant what he had said to Newman at their first meeting, that he wished to meet Mr. Newman « again and again »⁴⁰. This time, however, Newman was not present, and that was the trouble, because when the five happily recounted the Pope's friendliness, they were given « a round scolding from Dr. Newman because they went to the Vatican without a word to him ».

Father Lubienski describes some little awkwardness among the little group in Santa Croce⁴¹, some of them paying so much attention to their Oratorian companion that Newman showed himself offended and for a time would not speak. These « bashful fits » of his were not uncommon when he could not « speak two words if it was to keep me from starving », as he himself once put it to St. John⁴². Naturally, they made things a little uncomfortable, and on this occasion Coffin took it on himself to go to Newman and ask how he had been offended, and he received the reply: « Nobody treats me as superior »! Once it was explained that the others had assumed that he was for the time a novice like the rest of them, the misunderstanding seems to have been solved.

Newman, of course, was much preoccupied just at this time with writing *Loss and Gain*, which probably went far towards explaining this particular « bashful fit ». It is also probable, however, that incidents of this kind already caused Coffin to be troubled by the sort of misgiving he was to express to Faber some three years later. « It is most certain that up to the present time I have had no training, no novitiate, no breaking in »⁴³.

It rather looks as though the converts were not quite clear in their minds as to what they should expect in their novitiate. Newman's suggestion to Lewis that the community experience some of them had known in Littlemore and Maryvale « may (as it were) go for part of

³⁸ Grant at that time was Rector of the English College and was shortly to become the first Bishop of Southwark.

³⁹ *Life*, 21.

⁴⁰ Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 148.

⁴¹ Lubienski, *op. cit.*, 51-53.

⁴² Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 111.

⁴³ ALP Db 76, Coffin to Faber, 26 XI 1850.

our novitiate »⁴⁴ is at least vague. There is some vagueness, too, in the application made to the Pope on 20th June. The letter, written in Italian, asks that Father Carlo Rossi of the Roman Oratory be appointed as a guide to the *novello istituto* in the Oratorian Constitutions⁴⁵.

The novitiate itself, as Coffin described it to Phillipps, appears to have been well conducted by Father Rossi, the good Oratorian from the Chiesa Nuova, who showed himself « most devoted and interested in our cause »⁴⁶. He kept his charges well occupied with readings and instructions about the Oratorian life and other studies, particularly of moral theology, for which a teacher came four times a week. It was all, however, very short, since about the beginning of November the novices began to scatter. And if Father Lubienski's narrative is to be trusted, it would appear that Father Rossi himself was not quite satisfied. He relates that Newman announced one evening that he and St. John would leave next morning for Naples. Some time after their return after having been absent for about a month Father Rossi in his turn announced one evening: « Tomorrow I shall go to Breslau ». And so he did, as the Pope had sent him there on a diplomatic mission. Father Lubienski adds that Father Rossi had complained to Pius IX that his position was not satisfactory⁴⁷.

The English Oratory, one must say, had at least at its beginning the weaknesses of a forced growth. One can get a sense of the excited interest in the Oxford converts from Coffin's telling Phillipps that George Ryder⁴⁸ had organised an audience for fifty of the eighty converts then visiting Rome⁴⁹. Naturally enough, interest concentrated on Newman and the group close to him. Though Newman had repeatedly protested that he did not wish people to be so dependent on him, very likely all of his companions at Santa Croce had made up their minds just as Coffin had done, finding « so many reasons for

⁴⁴ Newman to Lewis, 7 III 1847. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 61.

⁴⁵ Newman to Pius IX, 20 VI 1847. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 87.

⁴⁶ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 8 VIII 1847.

⁴⁷ Lubienski, *op. cit.*, 53; cf. Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, I, 463.

⁴⁸ George Dudley Ryder (1810-1880) was a son of the Bishop of Lichfield. Ordained in the Church of England, he left the country for the sake of his wife's health in 1845 and became a Catholic in the following year. He was a relative of Phillipps with whom he resided on his return to England. One of his sons became Father Cyril Ryder C.S.S.R. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 355.

⁴⁹ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 8 IV 1847.

keeping to Newman »⁵⁰. The fact was that, whatever he may have preferred, Newman found himself right from the end of 1845 making decisions that affected all of his companions. And there was no lack of excited suggestions as to what was best for these distinguished converts.

Newman, for his part, favoured two proposals, that of Wiseman whom he had quickly learned to trust and one of Blessed Dominic Barberi, the saintly Passionist who had received him into the Church. He thus found himself and his friends faced with two alternatives⁵¹. On the one hand Father Dominic saw his famous converts leading a band of « preachers, missionaries, martyrs ». Wiseman's influence led in another direction, and Newman began to toy with a notion that remained with him for a very long time, that of a theological school. Wiseman hoped that his venture would help to fill the breach between old and new Catholics that had already manifested itself. But he at the same time shared Father Dominic's hope that the Oxford Movement would in time prove to be the beginning of the return of England to the Catholic Church, and in his enthusiasm he sent a circular letter appealing for prayers for that intention to his many friends among the European hierarchy⁵².

Wiseman's influence proved the stronger. What precisely he had in mind was in all probability something like what he was to propose later to Manning after he came to the Church in 1850. He possibly hoped from Newman some new institute similar to the later Oblates of St. Charles whom he intended to take charge of his seminary⁵³. Newman's correspondence suggests that he thought rather along these lines, as he considered in turn the Dominicans and the Jesuits and even took a brief look at the Redemptorists. By the end of 1846 he was beginning to become more and more preoccupied with the Oratorians.

An interesting comment by an Anglican visitor to Rome after Newman was already established in Birmingham reported current gossip in ecclesiastical circles. « They spoke of Newman as having adopted the Oratorian Rule on account of his character being too much set and matured to fall into a very strict and absorbing Rule without

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Cf. Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 123.

⁵² Cf. Jean Leflon, *op. cit.*, III, 747.

⁵³ Cf. Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, II, 121-122.

difficulty »⁵⁴. He frequently spoke of the Oratorian rule as being so adaptable, and in the end, announcing the Holy See's approbation of the project to Wiseman, he said that the Papal brief would « impose such modifications as are necessary to adapt it to the state of England »⁵⁵.

As early as April Coffin was able to inform Phillipps that « Father Newman is most anxious, when we are fairly set off and know something of the rule, that old Catholics should join, as also others not immediately connected with him. So I hope whenever you have an opportunity you will mention it »⁵⁶. Wiseman had also been urging the same thing, and for a time Newman appears to have considered the possibility of a man like Whitty or Dr. Newsham becoming the first superior⁵⁷. In the event Whitty's membership of the Oratory did not go beyond an incomplete novitiate, and it was a few years before older Catholics joined Newman. In any case the idea of associating with them that he shared with Wiseman was to form more friendly relations with them rather than learn from them the old Catholic traditions, which was what Coffin was hoping to find.

That year when the converts were starting their Oratory was full of excitement for the numerous colony of English Catholics in Rome, as Coffin reported to his friend. In July Wiseman and Bishop James Sharples, Coadjutor to the Vicar Apostolic of the Lancashire District, arrived « on important matters regarding the Church in England », and rumour was busy with the whisper that Wiseman was to be a Cardinal⁵⁸. Then there was the brief disturbance caused by what people were calling the conspiracy that had been discovered in that year and which caused something of a flutter in diplomatic circles⁵⁹. The excitement interrupted Wiseman's business, on account of his being sent on what was to prove a very profitable mission to Lord Palmerston. In a short time the nature of the « important matters regarding the Church in England » was known. In October Coffin

⁵⁴ The diarist was John Wynne, who shortly afterwards became a Catholic and in time became a widely known Jesuit. Cf. J. H. Pollen S. J., *op. cit.*, 73.

⁵⁵ Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 461.

⁵⁶ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 8 IV 1847.

⁵⁷ Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, I, 462. Newsham, President of Ushaw, was a man much admired by the converts for his learning and his ready understanding of their problems.

⁵⁸ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 8 VIII 1847.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* For Wiseman's part in the affair cf. Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, I, 476-485.

was able to report to Philipps that the establishment of the hierarchy in England « was finally settled »⁶⁰. He was surprisingly well informed, even though much of the detail he recounted was not in the shape of things finally published three years later.

At the end of October Coffin and Penny⁶¹, the last of the novices to be ordained, received the priesthood⁶². During the following month the group broke up, each to make his own way back to England and come together in Maryvale. They waited only for the final brief establishing the English Oratory⁶³, and that came after a delay in the curia, naming Newman as superior and containing the completed statutes, adapted by Newman⁶⁴.

Coffin left Rome on 27th November and made his way to Bruges where his family, as was the practice among English gentlefolk, was residing for the winter⁶⁵. He had further experiences to interest him in his still new Catholicity and for him to hand on to his friend. Passing through the Tyrol, he visited a reputed stigmatic, an experience that attracted a surprising number of the new converts⁶⁶. In Munich he was introduced to Döllinger, who also exercised an attraction for the converts.

In Bruges he found that quite a large number of the English visitors were Catholics, and he was happy to find among them an opportunity for his first pastoral activity as a Catholic priest. In Bruges, too, he had his first meeting with the Redemptorists, when a Scots Catholic introduced him to the superior of the little community, Father Reyners⁶⁷. Through them he also made the acquaintance of the

⁶⁰ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 16 X 1847.

⁶¹ William Goodenough Penny (1815-1885), a student of Christ Church, became a Catholic in 1844 and was with Newman in Littlemore and Maryvale. He left the Oratory in 1851. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 351.

⁶² ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 8 XI 1847.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ Wilfrid Ward, *The Life and Times of Cardinal Wiseman*, I, 464; ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps 26 XII 1847.

⁶⁵ *Life*, 22; ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 26 XII 1847.

⁶⁶ Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 133; J. H. Pollen S. J., *op. cit.*, 62-65. The *ecstatica* visited by Coffin and by many a distinguished Englishman was Maria Mörl of Caldaro or Kaltern.

⁶⁷ *Life*, 22. Father Paul Reyners was born 1 I 1812, was professed as a Redemptorist 8 IX 1839 and ordained 10 IX 1843. He was for a time novice master of the Belgian province and for a time also acted as Visitor, having authority over the English houses. He died 27 X 1887.

Redemptoristines, whom Father Reyners jokingly told to « pray the Rev. Mr. Coffin into the Congregation », a pleasantry which, it need scarcely be said, affected him as lightly as it was intended.

The English Oratory began its existence when the members, their numbers already beginning to swell, came together at Maryvale on 2nd February 1848. There are three short letters of Coffin to Phillipps in the collection in Clapham, all of them written during the early months of the Oratory. Though they offer no information about the new institute that is not to be found in other accounts, they do give a little knowledge of Coffin himself in those early days of his Oratorian life.

The picture one gets from the letters is of a happy, tranquil existence with opportunities for agreeable occupation, some preaching and time to publish a little devotional literature⁶⁸. There is a glimpse of the community which will probably arouse memories among religious: discussion of an article in *The Rambler* on screens, the occasion for some harmless gossip about a useless topic and some dreadfully condescending remarks about the Church of England. Altogether, it seemed an unruffled life⁶⁹.

Coffin himself was quite busy in those days. He was appointed minister, or bursar, of the rapidly growing community. Immediately after settling in he had to go to Cheadle in Staffordshire with Newman to see about bringing Faber and his community to Maryvale, raising the numbers from seven to sixteen⁷⁰. It was, of course, an embarrassment to Newman to find all of a sudden that he had on his hands, not only more recruits than the original number of members, but a second house as well. He found himself, he said, like the man who bought an elephant and then found he was too poor to keep it and too merciful to kill it and unable to persuade anyone to accept it as a gift⁷¹. As minister, Coffin found himself much concerned with St. Wilfrid's in Cheadle, and it was to figure very much in his future problems with the Oratorian life.

One gets the impression that Coffin was content while he was so busy. Those days of rapid increase were both thrilling and anxious ones for Newman. From the letters to Phillipps, however, one would draw the impression that everything was serene. But it was really an

⁶⁸ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 28 II 1848.

⁶⁹ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 29 VII 1848.

⁷⁰ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps, 12 II 1848.

⁷¹ Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 221.

uneasy time, of which there were soon indications; and before long Coffin, too, had to be affected.

There was, in fact, an uneasiness in the new institute. So much is apparent from the surprisingly rapid changes of membership, whatever the reason for it may have been, an insufficiently critical admission of postulants or possibly inadequate training. At any rate, Newman commented on it to Faber.

« I could laugh at our misfortunes were they not worries. Have you heard the 'last' ? E. is gone! He drank too much beer, laid himself out on the kitchen dresser, packed up and went! *Omnia tendunt visibiliter ad non esse*, as King Edward says in our Oriel statutes. Formby, Whitty, A, B, C, D, and now E!, et tu Brute. Fr. Minister was so anxious for him »⁷².

The number that joined the Oratory in the beginning, only to leave it within a short time, suggests that all was not well. Newman himself, one may be sure, found more serious considerations than amusement at the candidate drunk on the kitchen dresser. Other excellent men left after a very brief trial. Whitty, in spite of his initial enthusiasm, did not complete his novitiate, but went on to achieve some renown as a Jesuit. Newman also mentions Henry Formby, Vicar of Ruardean in Gloucestershire, who was received into the Church in January 1846 and joined the Oratory in Maryvale but did not remain. He and Whitty were certainly very different cases from the preposterous E. And one must remember that of the six men who were with Newman in Santa Croce three left the Oratory within a short time, Penny and Bowles as well as Coffin. Even in the case of Dalgairns, who left Newman to join Faber in London, there is occasion to question. Newman's comment to Faber suggests a disagreement of some kind. « Curiously enough, I have set down seven years for a long time as the term of *Contubernium* with my friends »⁷³. Stanton, too, joined Faber, which left of the six original members only « dear Ambrose St. John, whom God gave me when He took everyone else away »⁷⁴.

It was to be expected, of course, that the early days of the new institute should have been somewhat uncertain. It seems to be in order, though, to look closely at Newman's leadership — mainly for what light it may cast on Coffin's later departure.

⁷² Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 227.

⁷³ Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 217; cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 338.

⁷⁴ Newman, *Apologia pro vita sua*, Everyman Library, London, 1912, p. 250.

The English Oratory was probably too much dependent on Newman at its start. Just a month after the inauguration he noted « I as superior, as novice master, as lecturer in theology, have enough to do — besides chance matters and going to Birmingham »⁷⁵. And he held those posts too long. He could scarcely have discharged well all his duties. His companions relied on him as they had since the days in Littlemore, and that in spite of his repeated and earnest protestations. Their being Oratorians at all was due principally to his initiative, and his were the modifications introduced into the rule they followed. One has to suspect that having the others depend on him for so long had its effect on himself. The misunderstanding and confusion over his relations with the London Oratory which caused him so much pain was probably due most of all to that cause⁷⁶. The same must be said about his appointment of a matron for the Oratory school over the protests of the headmaster, Nicholas Darnell, which occasioned the latter's departure⁷⁷.

Those who left the Oratory, including those like Whitty and Coffin who had successful careers in other religious institutes, had no criticism to make of Newman. They retained their veneration for him. Their dissatisfaction was more with the new institute struggling towards maturity. But it is not unfair to say that they would in all likelihood have found those growing pains less irksome if the superior had shared his multiple responsibilities.

For the time being, however, Coffin, the Oratorian, the new Catholic, revealed his character a little more. Whitty had mentioned to Newman his attraction to the older Catholics and their traditional ways, a result, no doubt, of his association with Phillipps. In any case, Coffin was definitely Catholic in his sympathies, even to the extent of speaking with regrettable condescension of his former Church of England companions.

He was already quite set, one gathers, in his religious attitudes. His medievalism, for example, he expressed to his friend in terms that could well have been used by Phillipps himself or even by the notoriously intolerant Pugin. Worthy of the latter was his expressed wish to whitewash Michelangelo's Last Judgment in the Sistine Chapel and replace it with something edifying by Overbeck⁷⁸.

⁷⁵ Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 201.

⁷⁶ Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 450-452.

⁷⁷ Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.*, I, 456-457.

⁷⁸ ALP Db 85, Coffin to Phillipps; 1 VI 1847.

Just as he had been before his conversion, he was very much dependent on spiritual directors. His waiting for word from Whitty and from his Jesuit confessor in Sant'Eusebio Newman obviously found quite irritating. For Coffin, though, it was to remain a matter of some anxiety up to the time of his leaving the Oratory.

In those early months of the English Oratory, busily occupied as he was at Maryvale and at St. Wilfrid's, he was peaceful and apparently uncritical. The Oratory, however, hardly met his personal needs as Whitty had recognised them. It offered neither a religious life in the old Catholic tradition nor the ready access to guidance in Catholic ways of the kind he desired. Like those others of his companions at that time who had second thoughts, it was inevitable that once the first excitement had passed, Coffin in his turn should become restless.

DOCUMENTS

1. - Coffin to Phillipps, Easter Sunday (8 IV) 1847

I have now been in Rome a month, nearly ten days of which I passed in retreat with the Jesuits of S. Eusebio in the house beyond S. Maria Maggiore. I went in to be able quietly to think over my future state of life and to have the opportunity of doing so in perfect quiet and with many helps in the way of religious exercises. After much consideration I have determined to join the Oratorians, of whom you doubtless know much more than I do. You will of course have heard that Newman and his community had settled to join the Congregation, much to the delight of all people and especially those in authority, who all seem to think it is an Institute exceedingly well fitted for the present wants of England. St. Philip Neri, the founder, as you know is the great saint of Rome and called its Apostle, and the many memorials he has left behind him in the way of devotional practices, confraternities etc. and all of which still work so well, make me hope that we shall be blessed even in England with his patronage, and that he will help to establish in time some of these most edifying and beautiful practices. The Pope has taken up the matter most warmly and will do all to forward it, but under the most express understanding that England is to be the scene of our campaign; and I suppose the Central District, only we must be in some large town, probably Birmingham, Maryvale being a kind of Mother house, Novitiate and place of retreat. When I came to think over the matter with regard to my joining

them, I found that the Congregation was so much what I wanted myself and that there were so many reasons in favour of my keeping to Newman that with the help of a good and sensible Jesuit confessor I decided to enter the Congregation. We shall make our Novitiate abroad under an Oratorian Father. Newman is most anxious, when we are fairly set off and know something of the rule, which by the way is rather a strict one, that old Catholics should join, as well as others not immediately connected with him. So I hope whenever you have an opportunity you will mention it. The Jesuits here, with whom I am most delighted, approve most highly of the plan and think it exceedingly well adapted for England at the present time. Indeed there is but one opinion about it. I hear from Penny and Stanton who have arrived here that Bishop Walsh⁷⁹ and Bishop Wiseman are both highly satisfied.

And now I must say one word as to my idea about the Conceptionists, and that is that, though I fear both yourself and they will be disappointed with my decision, yet you will believe me when I say that I have tried to follow only what appeared to be the course marked out by Providence for me, putting aside all things of my own or any preconceived plans. If this be really so, then all is best as it is and all will be well, and this you, I know, will be the first to acknowledge; and though my future work may not be immediately in the parts in which you are most interested, yet it will be in the same District, and I shall have frequent opportunities of seeing you, the Oratorian rule allowing of a month's absence from the house in the course of the year.

I have seen the Abbess Makrina and recommended to her prayers your missions and all your present works. I also took the enclosed picture for her to sign and which I hope you will like. She is not a striking-looking person, and I cannot but say I was a little disappointed, but then she cannot speak French and her Confessor acts as interpreter and so I did not hear much that she said. She is stout and very good-tempered looking and is a most cheerful person.

I am in the same house with Lord Clifford and Talbot⁸⁰ and some of the converts. I need not tell you that I am delighted with Rome. The devotion of the people and the real, thorough, practical religion that one meets with here is most wonderful. They fail in ceremonies, except in those of the *quarant'ore*, which devotion is the great thing here.

I do not like the style of music at all — was quite disappointed with the *Tenebrae* in the Sistine. I hate Michael Angelo more and more and the Pagan things one sees all over Rome in the way of statues etc., and though I am wonderfully struck by the churches, and especially with the old basilicas, I see, nevertheless, more and more that Gothic is the style for Christianity and the only style which thoroughly harmonises with its

⁷⁹ Thomas Walsh had been Vicar Apostolic of the Central District since 1826, Wiseman his coadjutor since 1840.

⁸⁰ George Talbot (1816-1886), of the family of Baron Talbot, had been received into the Church by Wiseman in 1842. Newman was unwilling to admit him into the Oratory. Introduced by Wiseman to Pius IX, he became the Pope's adviser in the affairs of the Church in England. In 1868 he was confined to an asylum at Passy near Paris. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 357.

mystical and sacramental rites and services. I have not as yet tried many of the conventual churches, so have heard hardly any plain chant. The only approach to it was at Santa Croce, which was good compared with the ordinary style. I was delighted with the Easter Day Mass at St. Peter's, and with the Benediction from the Loggia, as also with the illumination of St. Peter's, all of which are wonderful. Certainly one has no idea of the grandeur of the Church until one sees Rome. The Pope is a most striking-looking man, most benevolent, yet at the same time he has firmness and great decision of character marked in his countenance. He is greatly beloved and the people continue most enthusiastic about him. All he does is most wise and everyone seems most hopeful about him. Mr. G. Ryder has got up a large number of converts who are to go one day this week to be presented to the Holy Father — about fifty out of eighty who are here are going.

I am going in a day or two to stay at the Passionists', where Penny and Stanton are and where we shall remain until our Oratorian house and other matters are settled. Dalgairns will join us shortly. Mr. Edward Petre⁸¹ to whom Mrs. Phillipps was kind enough to give me a letter has been very kind to me. Mrs. Petre has been very ill, but is now much better. William Clifford⁸² is at the *Collegio Nobili*: he received two of the Minor Orders at St. John Lateran on Saturday. Lord Clifford is very well and seems quite at home in Rome. He is much taken up with Russian and Irish politics, and I hear writes a great deal on these subjects and then tears up what he writes.

(Easter Tuesday) Since I wrote the above I have removed to the Passionists'. This seems a most edifying community. The situation is lovely, and the view from my window charming. I look out on the Coliseum, that wonder of all wonders, and St. Peter's. The interest of Rome is intense, both of ancient as well as of Christian Rome. The very old churches, such as St. Clement's, SS. Nereus and Achilleus, with their beautiful mosaics delight me exceedingly. I have been much struck with the mosaics in S. Maria in Trastevere. They are a most striking proof that the Gothic vestments were not confined only to the North, as here you have the Apostles dressed in the ample chasuble, just like those of Pugin. These mosaics are of the XII century, if not earlier. Will you tell me when you write which is the church you mention in the preface of your *Little Gradual*⁸³. Is it St. Paul's? I was there today and the monks were chanting vespers very nicely. I am very fond of the Gesù as a devotional church, as also S. Ignazio where St. Aloysius is buried; and I often go to the church of S. Andrea delle Fratte where Ratisbon was converted: it is close to the Propaganda.

⁸¹ Edward Petre was of the traditionally Catholic family of Lord Petre. One of the family to achieve some renown was Maud Petre, friend and biographer of George Tyrell.

⁸² William Joseph Clifford, son of Lord Clifford, was ordained in 1850, becoming Bishop of Clifton in 1857. During the first Vatican Council he was the principal exponent of Newman's views. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 336.

⁸³ *The Little Gradual* edited by Phillipps was published in London in 1847.

Newman is very well and in good spirits. He sends you his kind regards as also to Mrs. Phillipps. Macmullen likes the English College. He has not got his dress yet, but will have it in a day or two. Mr. Morris told me he was going to write to you, so I need say nothing of him, except that he appears to be a very agreeable person.

We had a prosperous journey and were most delighted with the Bishop of Marseilles, who was all kindness to us. Will you tell the good Conceptionists how kindly we were entertained and lodged in their house and how pleased we were with their young Oblates at the seminary. Father Aubert was most kind. The Bishop is a very striking person. He spoke in terms of very great interest about Grace Dieu and the Mission.

2. - Coffin to Phillipps, 1 VI 1847

On Trinity Sunday Newman and St. John were ordained Priests by Cardinal Fransoni in the chapel of the Propaganda and will say their first Mass on Corpus Christi. You may suppose that it was a very happy day for all Newman's friends, and indeed I think that everyone who knows anything about him is much pleased that he is now in a position to act and teach in the Catholic Church.

I was to have received the Tonsure and Minor Orders the same day, but owing to some technical difficulty in making out the Letters Dimissory etc. it has been put off; but I hope shortly to have entered the clerical state and to be as far as an Acolyte on the road to the Priesthood.

My next bit of news is that we are to make our Novitiate at Santa Croce, a part of which monastery the Bishop has directed the Abbot to give up to our use. Yesterday we went to see the rooms etc. which we like very well. As you know, it is in a nice position, with a lovely view of the mountains above Tivoli, Frascati and Albano. It will be a perfect retreat for the time, as it is so far distant from the town and now that the heat has set in, I suppose we shall not be allowed when there to go out until two hours or so before the *Ave*. We shall be eight to begin with including the Oratorian Father, but there is a chance of one or two more joining us, though not quite at the commencement. The Pope has been most kind and considerate: indeed as yet we are indebted entirely to him for the arrangement of the whole affair. We are all very well and stand the heat very fairly. As to myself, I was never better and find I can bear the heat much better here than I can in England.

I continue to like Rome very much, but cannot get converted to the Italian style of architecture or to Michael Angelo or to the innumerable naked figures which meet one on all sides in the churches, but especially in St. Peter's, and which really are dreadful. I need not tell you how delighted I am with the frescoes of Pinturicchio, Perugino, B. Angelico da Fiesole, with the mosaics, some of which are most striking, and with the earlier pictures of Raphael executed before he thought it necessary to leave devotion and deep Christian feeling for anatomy and anatomical development of the human form. As to the Last Judgement in the Sistine, I think it perfectly awful. Doubtless it is most wonderful as a work of

art, but I think if I were Pope I should feel very much inclined to paint it all over and then get Overbeck to draw something Christian and edifying in its stead.

I quite agree with you in thinking that the ceremonies in France are much more imposing than in Rome and infinitely better done. Indeed, excepting the Papal « functions », as they are called, and which are *sui generis* and not to be seen elsewhere, they have no grand ceremonies here, and you can see that it is not the line of the people to take pleasure in them. It is difficult to meet with Solemn Vespers; and as for services corresponding to the cathedral services in France, I have never seen any yet that gives me any pleasure, but I do not wish to be over critical on the one hand or to pretend to like everything here on the other, merely because it happens to be done in Rome. I think the Northerners have much to learn from the Italians, and they in their turn would do well to take one or two hints from us.

The Pope is a wonderful person, and if his life is spared must do great things. There seems to be no doubt that he has his eye on the old religious orders with a view to a just and proper reform. I cannot say that I am particularly taken with the old orders, excepting the Capuchins and Carthusians, who appear very striking men indeed. Pugin was here for a week or ten days, was horrified with everything he saw, excepting for a few details. All he says seems to me most true, though I think there may be a doubt as to the policy of saying all you think on matters about which people are so divided, and about which many are so ignorant that you cannot expect them to alter their opinions in a hurry. You will doubtless see him on his return and will hear his own opinion of Rome etc. from himself. I was very glad to find him so well and in such good spirits.

As to our return to England, it seems at present uncertain when that wished-for day will come, but I think it is not very far off — perhaps Christmas or a little later may see us back again. Bishop Wiseman and Bishop Sharples⁸⁴ are expected here soon, and I hope the former may urge a speedy return, which I think we all desire.

Dalgairns, Bowles and Penny desire their very kind regards to yourself and Mrs. Phillipps, in which I am sure Newman and St. John heartily join. Lord Clifford and William Clifford are both quite well. I have seen Mr. C. Weld⁸⁵ once or twice since I last wrote and like him very much. Conversions seem at a standstill just now, but we must hope that there will be another before long. We hear bad accounts of the scarcity and disease in England. O'Connell's heart has been brought here, and there was a dirge for him yesterday at the Irish College.

We hope to go to Santa Croce in ten days or so.

⁸⁴ James Sharples (1797-1850) had been coadjutor to Bishop George Brown, Vicar Apostolic of the Lancashire District since 1843.

⁸⁵ Charles Weld, a nephew of Cardinal Weld, was an enthusiastic amateur painter whose work in the chapel of the English College was much admired at the time. Cf. J. H. Pollen S. J., *op. cit.*, 74.

3. - Coffin to Phillipps, 8 VIII 1847

Your very kind and most welcome letter of the 28th June ought to have been answered by me before, but you will excuse my delay when I tell you that it reached me just as I was in the midst of preparing for my examination for my subdiaconate. Then came the retreat and this last week I have been for three days at Monte Porzio staying with Macmullen, who has not been well. Today, however, I take the advantage of the quick post to write you a few lines. And first I must tell you that I am a subdeacon, fairly embarked now in the Holy Ministry of Christ's Church. I hope to be a Priest in November, and must ask your and Mrs. Phillipps' prayers that I may prepare myself with all diligence for such a tremendous undertaking. Three of us were ordained subdeacons last Sunday by Bishop Wiseman in the Chapel of St. Philip at the Chiesa Nuova. Penny and Stanton will be priests almost at once and Bowles and myself in November. At least we hope so, and so it is at present arranged. Then if we are all alive at the time of our return, we shall be seven Priests to commence the foundation of an Oratorian Congregation in England.

We continue to like our residence here exceedingly, as also our good director, Father Rossi, who is most devoted and interested in our cause. Our time is well occupied in learning the different customs of the Congregation, in our private reading, and now we have a Professor in Morals four times a week. We have a Refectory to ourselves in which we read by turn, as also serve at dinner and supper. Before the end of each meal some moral doubt is proposed and discussed. This is a distinctive feature of the Congregation, and I fancy peculiar to it. In the evening we have the Oratory, consisting of a half-hour's mental prayer, the Litany of the Saints, the Antiphon of the BVM with several *Patens* and *Aves* said in silence for particular intentions. So our days pass. In the evening as the sun goes down we go out for our exercise. One day is much the same as another, varied now and then by some great Festival, when we go to visit the remains, if so be, of the Saint whose day it is, or the church particularly dedicated to him. We manage to bear the heat very well, though by all accounts it is nothing to be compared with that of last year. The mornings try me a little, as one gets as hot in getting up as in taking a walk, and this brings on a kind of languour which for an hour or two quite unfits me for the duties of the particular time.

You will have seen, no doubt, much in the papers about the politics of Rome and the late attempt at a disturbance. I should fancy you will believe nothing of what you read, as even here it is impossible to get to the bottom of things. Some say the old conservative party, that is Pope Gregory XVI's party, urged on by the Austrians, if not in their service, are the fomentors of all the disturbances; others that Young Italy is to blame, and that they are discontented because the Pope will not go far or fast enough for them. The Jesuits are, as usual, very unpopular, and I cannot but think are greatly calumniated. Cardinal Lambruschini is also said to be concerned in the matter; but that he is so actively seems very improbable, even though everyone knows he is not of the same views as the Pope⁸⁶. The last report is that they are putting up some state rooms

⁸⁶ Cardinal Lambruschini, Secretary of State under the recently deceased Gre-

at S. Angelo as if they were expecting some occupants soon, but I dare say this is false. In fact it is impossible to know what to believe and the gossip and rumours of Rome beat anything I have ever heard of. The Pope has granted a National Guard, and this has given great satisfaction, and for the present all the young Romans are well occupied in being drilled, and for a while I suppose they will be quite absorbed in the admiration of themselves and their new uniforms. The Pope, it is said, is full of anxiety and is much fatigued with the constant work he has upon him. He stands alone in the midst of all the European powers, but I take it he is stronger than all of them together, for if God is for us who shall be against us?

Bishops Wiseman and Sharples are at the English College on important matters regarding the Church in England. They have much to do at Propaganda, and their return is at present uncertain. People talk, but I fancy at present it is mere talk, that Bishop Wiseman is not unlikely to be the English Cardinal.

We are all much grieved to hear of Mr. Spencer's⁸⁷ illness, indeed the account was so bad as to make us think that ere this he must have been taken away. If so, it is, to speak humanly, a great loss to us, and yet surely we may confidently hope that he will benefit the Church more by his prayers, and so we must not repine. It seems as if Almighty God were visiting Catholics in a very mysterious manner just now, cutting off so many priests at a time when there was such a call for them. We dare not pry or examine into His all good designs and can but say: « His ways are not ours... ».

Your account of the procession of the Blessed Sacrament interested us all very much, as also the advance of Catholicity in your parts. I look forward with the greatest pleasure to coming to Grace Dieu, and next to my own home my first visit shall be there, please God. Oh, how happy I shall be to say Mass at the altar of your nice chapel, where I have knelt so often; but I must not look forward or I get impatient of where I am. We hear that Burns, the publisher⁸⁸, has become or is about to become a Catholic. If so it is a very great gain for the Church, and I hope you will soon get acquainted with him. I wish he had the publication of the Oratory books. It is a pity so good a cause is in the hands of Protestants.

gory XVI, was well known of course for his reactionary views.

⁸⁷ George Spencer (1799-1864), son of the second Earl Spencer, had been a student of Trinity College, Cambridge and had been received into the Church in 1830. From 1839 he had been teaching at Oscott. In 1840 he came to Oxford to ask Newman to join him in prayer for Church unity. Becoming a Passionist in 1846, he took the name of Ignatius, under which he won some renown as a Catholic writer. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 357.

⁸⁸ The conversion of James Burns, the publisher, captured the interest of the group at Santa Croce to the extent that Newman was said to have written *Loss and Gain* to assist the man who had published the *Tracts for the Times* and many other important Anglican works. Cf. Wilfrid Ward, *The Life of John Henry Cardinal Newman*, I, 191; Cyril Ryder, *Life of Thomas Edward Bridgett C.S.S.R.*, London, 1906, p. 217-218.

4. - Coffin to Phillipps, 16 X 1847

On All Saints' Day I hope to have the wonderful privilege of offering the Holy Sacrifice for the first time, and please God I will say Mass for your intentions. My ordinations have come so rapidly, and now the crowning point of all, that I can hardly realise that the blessings in store for me are so near at hand. I hope I do not forget on the other side the fearful responsibilities of a Priest, and I beg you and Mrs. Phillipps to pray that I may remember them more and more. Penny will be ordained with me. We go into retreat on the 21st at S. Eusebio and are to be ordained deacons on the 24th and Priests on the 31st.

Excuse my saying so much of myself. I hasten on to tell you that that which you have so long desired and prayed for has at last been granted, namely the establishment of the hierarchy in England. It is finally settled that there are to be twelve bishops, to be increased to sixteen if we can but find persons to appoint. Westminster is an archbishopric, and they say here good Bishop Walsh is to be the archbishop. Southwark to be a bishopric. Bishop Wiseman to be Bishop of Birmingham, which *entre nous* I do not believe, for I cannot but think he will remain in London. However, they say he is *fixed* for Birmingham. Dr. Ullathorne⁸⁹ to be Bishop of Plymouth, Dr. Brown⁹⁰ of Lancaster, Dr. Sharples of Liverpool, Dr. Briggs⁹¹ of Leeds. (poor Dr. Hook⁹²!!) This is all that I have at present heard as being fixed. They talk of Southampton as one of the new sees. I shall be anxious to hear how this is received in England, both by the Government and by the poor old Church of England, if she has life or strength sufficient to give an opinion on the subject. Certainly it is a great move. The Pope, I believe, has simply settled it himself, and we cannot but hope that coming from such a Vicar of Christ as Pius IX, the measure will receive his Master's blessing. May we Catholics of England show ourselves worthy of it. This is the great point.

I have just seen Faber's translation of Bacci's life of St. Philip Neri⁹³. We had been reading the original in the refectory, and from the

⁸⁹ William Bernard Ullathorne O.S.B. (1806-1889) had already distinguished himself as Vicar General to Bishop Edward Slater, Vicar Apostolic of Mauritius, having jurisdiction over all of Australia from 1832 to 1840. In 1846 he became Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, being transferred to the Central District when Wiseman went to London in 1848. As Bishop of Birmingham from 1830 he showed himself a constant friend to Newman. Cf. Cuthbert Butler O.S.B., *The Life and Times of Bishop Ullathorne*, London, 1926.

⁹⁰ George Hilary Brown (1786-1856), Vicar Apostolic of the Lancashire District since 1840, became Bishop of Liverpool in 1850. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 334.

⁹¹ John Briggs (1788-1861) had been Vicar Apostolic of the Yorkshire District since 1836. He became Bishop of Beverley in 1850.

⁹² Walter Farquahar Hook, Anglican Dean of Leeds, was a redoubtable controversialist against the Catholics. Cf. Cyril Ryder, *op. cit.*, 162-166.

⁹³ The *Vita di San Filippo Neri* of P. G. Bacci was published in Verona in 1624. Faber's predilection for Italian devotions dated from his visit to Italy in 1843 while he was still an Anglican. His translation of Bacci was one of the first volumes of the series *Lives of the Modern Saints* which he commenced before coming to the

first I lamented that Faber had determined simply to translate it as it stands. I quite agree with what you say about it; but do not let my opinion go beyond yourselves, as Faber has many objections without my adding to them.

As to the Post-tridentine period, I have not read its history sufficiently to be able to give an opinion about that part of your letter in which you refer to it, though I feel much inclined to think that it is a dreary period of the Church's history; and if so, I suppose that one great value of the lives of the Post-tridentine Saints is to show that when things seem to be looking bad and gloomy all around, yet God has ever His great witnesses and that the Church is ever making fresh conquests and giving fresh proofs of her Divine power. Thus England is lopped off and India sends forth a marvellous shoot. Luther and Calvin and their crew appear to be doing somewhat: St. Ignatius is raised up and averts in great measure the consequent evils; and so it has been ever since. But if you speak of imitation, I cannot but agree with you in thinking that the spirit and principles of the middle ages, so far as they can be carried out in this, our XIX century, are infinitely preferable to those as far as I know them of XVI and XVII centuries, in which for my part there is sadness enough for a Catholic. But we must keep this and many other interesting subjects for the hospitable fireside of Grace Dieu, where if all goes well, I hope to be some time in January next, supposing of course that you are able to receive me. We shall be leaving Rome the end of next month. I go to my family at Bruges, and before I join the rest of the community at Maryvale my plan is to come to Grace Dieu.

We are all well here and are expecting our Brief shortly. Then we shall become Fathers of the Oratory. As to the music, you must bear in mind that the Oratory is not a church and that the Blessed Sacrament is not reserved in it, and then it would admit of figured music, the idea being in part to give a kind of recreation to young men and so to keep them from dangerous resorts. If we are so fortunate as to have a church, as we hope to have, you need not fear that I shall cease to advocate, as far as is in my power, the use of the Plain Chant with an organ accompaniment. Pugin when here did not master the idea of the Oratory, and seemed to confuse it with a church, from which it is meant to be totally distinct. When I say figured music, of course, I mean grave and edifying music but harmonised. The services of the Oratory are quite in the power of the Fathers and thus ritual directions and rubrics do not come into play. Newman, Dalgairns, Penny and Bowles desire their very kind regards.

5. - Coffin to Phillipps, 8 XI 1847

You and Mrs. Phillipps will, I am sure, be glad to learn that I was ordained a Priest on the 31st and I had the happiness of saying my first

Oratory. In the course of 1848 when the series aroused criticism, Bacci's *Life* was found to be one particularly singled out as unsuitable for English piety. Cf. Wilfrid Ward, *op. cit.* I, 206-214.

Mass on All Saints' Day at the tomb of St. Philip Neri in the Chiesa Nuova (the Oratorian church). On St. Charles' day I said Mass as I promised for you all, and I need not say I shall be but happy to do so often: it will be the best way in which I can show my gratitude to you and Mrs. Phillipps for so many kindnesses and for the interest you are still good enough to take in me. Yesterday I sang High Mass for the first time in the Basilica. The Monks are most obliging people, and allow us to have High Mass whenever we like. They sing for us, real good Plain Chant, and well sung too. The same Creeds and Glorias as you have at Grace Dieu and which always recall the little chapel to my recollection. I hope by the time I arrive in England to be quite at home in the Mass, and great pleasure will it give me to say it at Grace Dieu before your image of the Blessed Virgin.

The exact time of our leaving Rome is still uncertain, though I hope for many reasons it will not be later than the 1st of next month. We are now waiting for the Pope's Brief, which is quite finished, but has to pass as a matter of form the Congregation of Briefs. When we have once got it, we shall then be free to move when we please. Though we are going home, and to England too, yet we cannot leave Rome without much regret. It is a place to which you become so attached from its numberless holy associations and the churches and tombs of the Saints which are all around become like old and dear friends whom we shall miss very much when once we are no longer amongst them.

We are much interested in the ecclesiastical arrangements in England at present. It is said here that good Bishop Walsh is to be Archbishop of Westminster and Bishop Wiseman to remain in Birmingham; but I should think that the former was not equal to such a post now, while the latter in every respect seems so well adapted for London and likely to do so much good there. I have been sad to hear bad accounts of Bishop Walsh's health. I fear all these changes will have made him very nervous and really impaired his health. We have only heard reports as to who the new bishops are likely to be. There seems to be some difficulty in the choice, and I expect it is a real one.

Dalgairns leaves on Friday for Guernsey. Lord Clifford is as usual engrossed in politics. We see him from time to time. He is a wonderfully saintly man, and I think your cousin, Mr. C. Weld, is also. I see him some times. He is still hard at work in his chapel in the English College, which he has painted in fresco in the real Gothic style. Beautifully has he done for an amateur. William Clifford is at the *Collegio Nobili* pursuing the regular course of studies. I shall not be surprised to hear he is ordained subdeacon shortly, as he has been making a retreat at S. Eusebio. Mr. Newman begs to send his very kind remembrances to yourself and Mrs. Phillipps.

6. - Coffin to Phillipps, 26 XII 1847

I arrived here (Bruges) on Monday last, having left Rome on the 27th and had a very interesting and prosperous journey through Florence,

the Tyrol, where I saw the Ecstatica, and Munich, where we stayed five days, which gave me an opportunity of making Dr. Döllinger's acquaintance. I travelled with two Catholic gentlemen, Mr. Berkeley jnr. of Spetchley⁹⁴ being one of them. He has been obliged to relinquish his intention of studying for the Priesthood owing to an affection of the eyes which quite prevented his reading.

My chief object in writing to you now is to ask you whether it will be quite convenient to yourself and Mrs. Phillipps for me to come to Grace Dieu about the middle of next month: the exact day I would let you know as soon as I arrive in London.

I am at present staying with my family who have been residing here this year. I have heard nothing of our « Superior » since I left; but I suppose he must be in England by this time. Nor have I heard if Bishop Wiseman's appointment is finally settled. There was a hitch the day before I left Rome, and Newman was to stay either for the Brief establishing the hierarchy or for the Pallium for the new Archbishop. Our own Brief establishing us as a Congregation in England and appointing Newman Superior came the day I left Rome. We commence our community life on the first of February. I said Mass for you on St. Ambrose's day in a beautiful little chapel in the Tyrol near Caldaro. How consoling is the state of religion in the Tyrol. One can hardly believe it even when there, so unlike, alas! is the ordinary state of countries.

7. - Coffin to Phillipps, 12 II 1848

I am going today to St. Wilfrid's with the Father Superior. On Monday he will admit Father Faber and his community, and we shall bring back with us Brothers Wells⁹⁵ and Mills⁹⁶. With them and the two Mr. Gordons⁹⁷ who will arrive in a day or two we shall be sixteen in number, six priests, five novices and five lay brothers. On Sunday last Father Dalgairns and myself preached at St. Chad's. The former will go to Birmingham every Sunday, and some of the rest of us are, I believe, to serve

⁹⁴ Robert Berkeley, son of Robert Berkeley, squire of Spetchley Hall in Worcestershire, was born in 1823. He was a close friend of John Morris. Cf. J. H. Pollen S. J., *op. cit.*, 51.

⁹⁵ Frederick Fortescue Wells (1826-1849) was a student of Trinity College, Cambridge. Becoming a Catholic in 1845, he joined Faber's Brothers of the Will of God in 1847. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 360.

⁹⁶ Henry Austin Mills (1823-1903), also a student of Trinity College, Cambridge, became a Catholic in 1846. He remained in the Birmingham Oratory until his death. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 347.

⁹⁷ John Joseph (1811-1853) and William Philip Gordon (1827-1900) belonged to a West Indian family. Both were educated in England, John at Trinity College, Cambridge, and William at Christ Church, Oxford. They became Catholics in 1847 and in the following year Oratorians. William was for several years superior of the London Oratory. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 431-432.

the Convent of Handsworth⁹⁸. The new church there is beautiful and one of Pugin's most successful works.

We should like much to see Lord Shrewsbury's letter⁹⁹ if you will kindly send it. I am sorry that I shall not have the pleasure of making his Lordship's acquaintance while at St. Wilfrid's, but I believe he has left Alton.

8. - Coffin to Phillipps, 28 II 1848

If you have no objection, I wish very much to bring out those devotions of Blosius which I translated for your *Manual*¹⁰⁰ in a cheap form. We think here they would form a very useful little book for the poor and those who have not the means to purchase the *Manual*. I shall be glad to have your opinion; and if you see no objection to the plan I will write to Richardson to tell him to print them off, and I would like them to be in the same type and form as in the *Manual*.

We are getting on here, I hope, very well and are now quite a large community. The Father Superior has been preaching on Sunday evenings at St. Chad's. Father Dalgairns has regular work on Sundays and Mondays in Birmingham, and three others of us have taken the Mass and Sermon (a course on the Roman Catechism) at the Convent church at Handsworth.

What a terrible affair is this in France; and where will it lead to? It seems really as if all the dynasties were coming to an end. The whole of Europe seems ripe for a general Revolution.

I was at St. Wilfrid's a fortnight back and was most charmed with the place, as also with Alton. I did not see the Towers, and it was so dark when I went into Cheadle church that I can hardly be said to have seen it, though what I did see pleased me exceedingly¹⁰¹.

9. - Coffin to Phillipps, 29 VII 1848

Many thanks for your kind letter, which I am sorry to say came too late, for we had just received the *Rambler* with a huge article about screens. Our Father Superior is away in retreat at Mt. St. Bernard¹⁰². I

⁹⁸ Convent of the newly founded Sisters of Mercy. The chapel, the work of Pugin, was much admired.

⁹⁹ John Talbot, sixteenth Earl of Shrewsbury (1791-1852), was known as « the millionaire saint » because of his donations to the Church, reputed to have been more than half a million pounds sterling. A friend of Phillipps and Pugin's most generous patron, he commissioned the latter to design his residence, Alton Towers. Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XI, 1961, p. 356.

¹⁰⁰ *The Oratory of the Faithful Soul*, Coffin's translation of *Sacellum animae fidelis* of L. Blosius, was published in London in 1848.

¹⁰¹ The Church in Cheadle had been designed by Pugin at the request of Lord Shrewsbury, who endowed it generously enough for his architect to give uninhibited expression to his taste for the Gothic.

¹⁰² Mount St. Bernard was the foundation of the Cistercians from Mt. Melleray

am sure he would agree with you, as I think most of us, in thinking a newspaper controversy on such a subject most undesirable. To me it seems like children playing at battledore and shuttlecock when the house is on fire, or perhaps, and which is one reason why I deprecate this discussion so very much, it is like the Puseyites squabbling about what kind of cassock should be worn by the clergy. Surely when thousands and thousands are living in mortal sin and millions around us are out of the Church, it is not a time for Priests and Laity to be frittering away their energies and losing time and, as will certainly be the case, temper if not brotherly charity about a subject which, after all, however interesting it may be, is not sufficiently important in our times to be made the matter of public debate. But now they have begun we must pray that all will be directed to God's glory and any breach amongst us may be mercifully avoided. I hope to make a retreat in Autumn at the Monastery¹⁰³, when, if all goes well, I look forward to seeing yourself and Mrs. Phillipps.

made in the neighbourhood of *Grace Dieu* through the generous assistance of Phillipps. The monastery and church were designed by Pugin.

¹⁰³ The Monastery, of course, is Mount St. Bernard.

GILBERT HUMBERT

DIVISION DE LA PROVINCE GALLO-HELVETIQUE
ET NAISSANCE DE LA PROVINCE DE LYON, 1900

SUMMARIUM

Die 2 februarii 1900, Reverendissimus Pater Generalis Matthias Raus decretum divisionis Provinciae Gallico-Helveticae in tres provincias, Lugdunensem scilicet, Parisiensem et Matritensem (de qua hic nihil fit) publici iuris fecit.

Multum Reverendus Pater Godart, ultimus superior Provinciae Gallico-Helveticae, hanc divisionem preparaverat; ille est etiam qui hanc divisionem in actum duxit.

Attributio territorii, domorum personarumque Provinciis Lugdunensi et Parisiensi sine difficultatibus effecta est. At bonorum materialium partitio, cum sine magna cura parata fuisset, nonnullas graves difficultates inter duas novas provincias creavit et oppositiones inter confratres exacerbavit.

In hoc articulo narratur quomodo haec divisio parata fuit, quomodo in actu deducta est, demum quaenam fuerunt consequentiae huius divisionis demonstratur.

Le 2 février 1900, le Révérendissime Père Mathias Raus, Supérieur général et Recteur majeur de la Congrégation du Très-Saint-

N. B. Pour écrire cet article, on a utilisé les documents fournis par les Archives générales de la CSSR à Rome, par celles de la Province de Lyon (Champagne-au-Mont d'Or), et de la Province de Paris (Paris). On y a consulté, soit des manuscrits: lettres des personnages concernés, chroniques encore inédites, la Chronique de la Province de Lyon, rédigée par le P. Théophile Chételat, soit des imprimés: documents officiels, rapports, circulaires, ou les revues *La Sainte Famille*, *L'Apôtre du Foyer*, la *Petite Chronique* à usage interne qui se divisa en deux (1901): la *Petite Chronique* de la Province de Paris et la *Petite Chronique* de la Province de Lyon, ainsi que la revue *Alphonsiana*.

Au cours de cet article, on utilisera les abréviations suivantes:

- AGR, PL : Archives Généralices de Rome, Provincialia Lyon.
AGR, PP : Archives Généralices de Rome, Provincialia Paris.
APL : Archives Provinciales de Lyon.
APP : Archives Provinciales de Paris.
ChrPL : Chronique de la Province de Lyon.
PetChrTri : Petite Chronique Trimestrielle.

Rédempteur, publiait le décret de division de la Province Gallo-Helvétique en deux nouvelles provinces, celle de Lyon et celle de Paris. Le Très Révérend Père Godart, dernier provincial de la Province Gallo-Helvétique, prépara et réalisa cette division. Si l'attribution à chaque province de son territoire, de ses maisons et de son personnel s'accomplit sans trop de problèmes, la répartition des biens matériels, au contraire, mal préparée, créa de graves difficultés entre les deux provinces et suscita entre les confrères une certaine animosité.

C'est le récit de cette division et de ses conséquences qui est présenté dans cet article.

Lorsque le 23 juillet 1898 s'éteignit au studendat de Thury-en-Valois le T.R.P. A. Desurmont, il laissait après lui une province extrêmement florissante. Sa vigoureuse impulsion en avait fait la province la plus prospère de la Congrégation du Très-Saint-Rédempteur.

Cinquante ans auparavant, la Province Gallo-Helvétique chassée de Suisse ne comptait que cinq maisons: quatre dans l'est de la France: Bischenberg, Landser, Saint-Nicolas-du-Port, Teterchen, et une dans les Etats sardes, Contamine-sur-Arve, en Savoie. En 1898, elle comprenait 660 membres répartis dans 31 communautés. Encore convient-il de préciser qu'elle était amputée de la région qui avait été son berceau: l'Alsace-Lorraine, érigée en vice-province autonome comptant 56 confrères.

Son territoire s'étendait sur trois grands secteurs:

- La Province: France et Suisse . . . 16 maisons, 349 membres.
- La Vice-Province d'Espagne, avec
San Juan de Porto-Rico 9 maisons, 158 membres.
- La Vice-Province du Pacifique . . . 6 maisons, 153 membres.

Laissons de côté l'Espagne, en pleine expansion, et dont la croissance arrivait au point qui permettait son accès normal à l'indépendance. Ne nous occupons pas non plus, pour l'instant, de l'Amérique du Sud. Penchons nous sur la carte de la France d'alors et de la Suisse. Les décrets anti-religieux du Gouvernement fédéral avaient jeté hors des frontières helvétiques la CSSR. Celle-ci y avait fait une rentrée discrète en 1880 dans le canton catholique du Valais en y implantant clandestinement le juvénat d'Uvrier, présenté et maintenu officiellement comme un collège dirigé par des prêtres séculiers sans liens avec une société religieuse¹.

¹ APL, Dossier Uvrier.

Selon le catalogue de 1898, la Gallo-Helvétique comprenait alors seize maisons. Prenons le temps de les détailler:

Antony, maison provincialice: missionnaires	12 pères, 7 frères.
noviciat	12 novices clercs
	12 novices frères.
Saint-Nicolas: missionnaires	13 pères, 6 frères,
	2 novices frères.
Contamine: missionnaires	13 pères, 6 frères,
	2 novices frères.
Dunkerque: missionnaires	7 pères, 3 frères,
	1 novice frère.
Chateauroux: missionnaires	10 pères, 5 frères.
Boulogne-sur-Mer: missionnaires	9 pères, 5 frères,
	1 novice frère.
Lille: missionnaires	11 pères, 3 frères,
	2 novices frères.
Argentan: missionnaires	9 pères, 5 frères,
	1 novice frère.
Houdemont: missionnaires	7 pères, 3 frères,
	4 novices frères.
Valence: missionnaires	13 pères, 5 frères,
	1 novice frère.
Paris: missionnaires	13 pères, 5 frères,
	1 novice frère.
Gannat: missionnaires	12 pères, 6 frères.
Montauban: missionnaires	11 pères, 2 frères,
	4 novices frères.
Thury-en-Valois: studendat	14 pères, 9 frères,
	3 novices frères,
	32 étudiants profès,
	10 non-profès.
Uvrier: juvénat	13 pères, 6 frères,
	4 novices frères,
	1 étudiant.
Sables d'Olonne: missionnaires	7 pères, 2 frères,
	1 novice frère ² .

A ces seize communautés s'ajouteront dans les deux années suivantes cinq nouvelles fondations: Marseille, Rumillies, Saint-Etienne, Coutras et Bordeaux. C'est donc vingt et une communautés que se partageront en 1900 les deux nouvelles provinces.

Quelques remarques:

1. - Le nombre important des novices frères (41) répartis dans toutes les communautés. Les vœux temporaires n'existaient pas. Après un premier noviciat de six mois les frères novices accomplissaient plusieurs années de probation avant de faire un noviciat de six mois se

² Catalogus CSSR, 1898, pp. 28-35, 143-146.

terminant par la profession des vœux religieux.

2. - Le studendat de Thury comptait 42 étudiants; parmi eux dix non-profès³. Les novices qui devaient faire le service militaire ne faisaient pas profession avant d'avoir accompli celui-ci; ils se contentaient alors d'une promesse de vœux. Pour échapper à ce service militaire qui durait trois ans, la plupart de ceux qui en étaient menacés étaient expédiés, avec le consentement des parents, en Amérique du Sud. En tant que résidant hors d'Europe ils étaient dispensés du service mais ne pouvaient rentrer en France qu'après onze ans de séjour. Voilà pourquoi la province entretenait à Santiago d'abord, à San Bernardo ensuite, un second studendat aussi important que le premier, de quarante cinq étudiants presque tous français.

3. - La province progressant à partir de l'est et du nord pénétrait peu à peu à l'intérieur du pays et vers le midi. Mais les vocations provenaient encore en majeure partie du nord et de l'est (y compris Alsace-Lorraine et Luxembourg).

4. - Chassée de Suisse, la CSSR n'y maintenait pas de communauté, pas même des missionnaires dispersés. Seul le juvénat s'y trouvait clandestinement. La Gallo-Helvétique était donc pratiquement circonscrite à l'intérieur des frontières de la France, ce qui justifie le nom qu'on lui attribuait souvent de *Provincia Gallica*: Province Française.

5. - En regardant la carte des implantations et compte tenu de tout ce qui vient d'être dit, on comprend que si la division s'opérait, la seule solution possible était celle qui fut retenue, le partage du territoire par la diagonale des Ardennes au Pays Basque. Toute autre solution aurait provoqué un déséquilibre et laissé une province plus faible face à l'autre plus forte.

6. - Le rattachement de l'Alsace-Lorraine à l'Allemagne avait entraîné le détachement de cette région de la Province Française et la création d'une vice-province autonome directement rattachée à Rome. On ne pouvait songer au partage de la Province Française sans tenir compte de cette situation. On n'y pensa pas. Nous savons, après coup, quels graves ennuis et quelle source de frictions engendra cette imprévoyance lorsque l'Alsace-Lorraine eut réintégré le territoire fran-

³ Catalogus CSSR, 1898, p. 39.

çais, et que la Province de Strasbourg se sentit à l'étroit dans des limites insuffisantes pour sa vitalité.

Voilà donc à peu près comment se présentait la Province Gallo-Helvétique à la veille de la division. Elle donnait l'impression d'un ensemble puissant et dynamique. Pour remplir sa mission elle était capable d'aligner un corps missionnaire de vaste ampleur et de remarquable valeur.

Pour illustrer ce point, je ne résiste pas au plaisir de citer un document relatif à la mission de Marseille du carême 1897:

« Cette mission s'ouvrit le 20 Mars par le défilé imposant de 72 missionnaires traversant l'immense cathédrale, toute entière envahie par le peuple, pour aller aux pieds de Monseigneur demander bénédiction et courage »⁴.

« A ma grande joie, écrit un rédacteur de la *Croix du Var*, mais aussi à ma grande stupéfaction, mes craintes se sont évanouies et dès à présent on peut espérer, prévoir, prédire des résultats merveilleux. Cette grande difficulté: trouver dans une seule Congrégation 72 prêtres doués à un haut degré du talent de la parole a été résolue. Je suis, je l'avoue, un auditeur pointu et difficile. Eh bien, mes souhaits ont été et de beaucoup dépassés. D'abord de belles voix, presque toutes superbes de puissance et de sonorité, puis de grands talents parlant en toute simplicité; pas la moindre préoccupation de se faire admirer, pas de phrases ronflantes, pas de fanfreluches. Et pour le fond, l'essence de la religion, les grandes vérités, pas un mot de politique, pas même une allusion et de façon incidente; mais l'âme, Dieu, la vie présente, la vie éternelle. Ces gens-là prêchent comme prêchaient les Apôtres »⁵.

On ne peut rêver plus bel éloge.

Eloge que rejoint cette appréciation du P. Provincial Gavillet:

« Comme je crois l'avoir dit à votre Paternité, nos Pères sont vraiment forts dans leur partie. C'est ce que tout le clergé reconnaît. Ils sont apostoliques jusqu'au bout des ongles et apportent en chaire une argumentation serrée, un style simple, mais d'une correction irréprochable. On peut mobiliser facilement 80 hommes armés de toutes pièces pour les diriger sur n'importe quelle ville de France où ils feront bonne figure. J'étais autrefois un des coqs parmi les prédicateurs de notre Province. Maintenant, si je me compare à eux, je ne suis plus qu'une poule mouillée »⁶.

Ce corps missionnaire fallait-il le morceler? La partition de la province s'imposait-elle? L'idée était-elle dans l'air? Et si oui, où et comment avait-elle germé? A vrai dire, la grande masse des intéressés

⁴ APL, *La mission de Marseille* (brochure polycopiée), p. 27.

⁵ APL, *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁶ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Gavillet au P. Raus du 28-04-1898.

ne se sentaient pas tellement concernés par ces questions. « Cette affaire, déclare le Père Chételat, ne passionnait pas les sujets. Elle les laissait indifférents, absorbés qu'ils étaient par le labeur des missions. En eut-il été tout-à-fait de même une soixantaine d'années auparavant? J'en doute, et qui sait s'ils ne s'en seraient pas occupés plus que de raison? Cette fois les Supérieurs ne se heurtèrent à aucun gêneur »⁷.

La base n'était pas dans le coup. C'était une affaire de supérieurs. La décision s'élaborait à un niveau élevé et tomberait d'en haut sur un monde peu conscient de l'enjeu. « C'est surtout à partir du Chapitre de 1894 qu'on commença à parler de la division dans les conseils des supérieurs »⁸.

Cette affirmation du P. Chételat se trouve confirmée par une lettre du P. Monniot qui venait de faire la visite canonique dans la Province Française. Il écrit le 6 Octobre 1894: « Cela me donne l'occasion du reste de revenir sur ce que j'ai dit à votre Paternité, qu'il faudra songer à établir deux provinces en France »⁹.

Il semble bien pourtant que jusqu'en 1898 le projet n'eut aucune tentative d'exécution. Le P. Provincial Gavillet, qui y fut favorable après son provincialat, ne se serait sans doute pas résigné à opérer lui-même le partage.

Le P. Desurmont, replacé en 1898, à la tête de la province, après onze ans de vie privée, « reçut comme mission spéciale le soin de préparer la division de la province en deux »¹⁰. Mais cela ne devait guère l'enthousiasmer. On n'en trouve aucune trace dans sa correspondance. Il ne se pressa pas d'optempérer à la consigne. Au témoignage du Père Général Raus « il voulut pendant trois ans mûrir son projet »¹¹. Or il mourut au bout de trois mois.

C'est à son successeur, le P. Godart, qu'incomba la tâche de le réaliser. Lui aussi reçut la consigne. D'emblée il en accepta l'idée et s'empessa de la mettre à exécution. « Je crois qu'on pourrait scinder la « province avant la fin du triennat »¹². Le P. Général fut obligé de le freiner; il lui recommanda de prendre son temps, de réfléchir et

⁷ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 133.

⁸ APL, Ibid., p. 133.

⁹ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Monniot au P. Raus du 06-10-1894.

¹⁰ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 133.

¹¹ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Raus au P. Godart du 20-10-1898.

¹² AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 25-10-1898.

de prier: « Cela ne peut se traiter à la hâte, à véloce »¹³.

Rapidement le projet se précisa et prit la forme d'un rapport exposant le *pourquoi*, le *comment*, et le *quand* de la division. Voici cet important document.

QUELQUES RÉFLEXIONS SUR UN PROJET DE SCISSION DE LA PROVINCE FRANÇAISE

I. Raisons qui me paraissent en faveur de cette scission:

A. La première est l'impossibilité où se trouve le provincial de faire face complètement à la multitude des affaires, travaux et soucis qui lui incombent. Il y a en effet pour lui, dans l'état actuel des choses, très grande difficulté à suivre les choses de près, et dans le détail: de là un détriment pour la prospérité spirituelle, pour les études et pour le gouvernement général des maisons.

B. La deuxième est que l'établissement de deux provinces en France créera entre chacune d'elle une sorte d'émulation qui ne peut être que profitable à toutes les deux.

C. La troisième est que, chaque province ayant son noviciat, le zèle en faveur des vocations se trouvera par là-même plus excité. Le recrutement étant plus régional sera peut-être aussi plus facile.

Objection. Mais, n'est-il pas à craindre que cette division n'amène une diversité d'esprit et une diminution de ferveur, au moins dans l'une des deux provinces? — Je ne crois pas ce danger particulièrement menaçant, à cause des traditions qui seront gardées par les maisons anciennes réparties entre chaque province. D'ailleurs il suffira que l'on veille de part et d'autre à la sérieuse formation de la jeunesse.

II. Comment établir cette scission.

A. Quant aux maisons.

Le mode le plus favorable me paraît être de partager la province actuelle du nord au sud, en mettant ensemble les maisons du nord, du centre et de l'ouest d'une part, et d'autre part les maisons de l'est et du sud-est. La répartition sera la suivante:

¹³ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Raus au P. Godart du 20-10-1898.

Province de Lyon

Saint-Nicolas
 Contamine
 Houdemont
 Valence
 Gannat
 Montauban
 Uvrier
 Marseille
 Saint-Etienne

Province de Paris

Dunkerque
 Chateauroux
 Boulogne
 Lille
 Argentan
 Paris
 Antony
 Thury
 Les Sables d'Olonne
 Coutras
 Rumillies
 Bordeaux

Les résidences des provinciaux seraient Saint-Etienne et Antony.

La Province de Lyon garderait la priorité, à cause de Saint-Nicolas qui est la plus ancienne maison de la province actuelle. Les diocèses rattachés à chaque maison seraient les mêmes que dans la circonscription actuellement en vigueur pour les travaux apostoliques. Une carte jointe aux présentes notes donne l'indication du partage.

Les raisons qui me semblent militer pour le mode du partage susdit sont les suivantes:

1. - L'avantage d'avoir ainsi dans chaque province un certain nombre de maison anciennes, plus solidement constituées et ayant les traditions de l'Institut. Le partage en sens contraire, de l'ouest à l'est, mettrait ensemble presque toutes les anciennes maisons dans la province du nord et d'autre part presque toutes les nouvelles maisons dans la province du midi, ce qui serait, me paraît-il, un fort grave inconvénient.
2. - Le nord et l'est sont les deux principaux foyers de vocations, les mettre ensemble serait peut être condamner l'autre partie à végéter.
3. - Par la division proposée, on obtiendra pour chaque province, variété de climat et variété de travaux, de manière à mieux satisfaire aux diverses aptitudes ou exigences individuelles.

Objection: Mais cette division ne supprimera pas pour le provincial et pour les sujets la nécessité de longs voyages.

Réponse: La division dans le sens opposé ne la supprime guère non plus, car la France est presque aussi large que longue. De plus, le service des chemins de fer est surtout organisé de manière à faciliter la circulation du nord au sud. De l'ouest à l'est les trajets se font plus lentement et difficilement. Donc avantage considérable, même à ce point de vue, dans le projet énoncé. Du reste les deux maisons d'Antony et de Saint-Etienne se trouveront à peu près au centre de chaque province et les voyages seront ainsi diminués.

B. Quant au personnel.

1. - En principe chacun resterait dans la région d'où il est originaire, du moins pour les pères. Ce plan est déjà à peu près exécuté, par suite des déplacements que j'ai fait dans diverses maisons. Donc, je crois qu'il suffirait de maintenir le personnel fixé actuellement dans chaque maison, sauf à introduire des changements de détail, selon les diverses nécessités.

2. - Noviciats: chaque province aura son noviciat, la Province de Lyon à Gannat (la maison de Saint-Etienne ne pouvant pas être noviciat par suite de la défense de Mgr le Cardinal Archevêque de Lyon) et la Province de Paris à Antony.

3. - Studendats: les studendats de Thury et de San Bernardo resteront communs aux deux provinces, jusqu'au retour de nos étudiants d'Amérique. Le studendat de Thury dépendra directement de la Province de Paris; et celui de San Bernardo de la Province de Lyon. Le personnel dirigeant et enseignant de Thury sera fourni par le provincial de Paris; celui de San Bernardo par le provincial de Lyon.

Pour le moment on laissera le status quo dans les deux studendats. Mais quand il y aura lieu de faire des mutations, les lecteurs, ainsi que ceux qui ont actuellement d'autres charges dans ces maisons d'étude, retourneront à leur province d'origine.

La pension de chaque étudiant sera payée par le provincial respectif, selon l'arrangement à intervenir entre les deux provinciaux.

Le provincial de Paris aura toute juridiction sur le studendat de Thury et s'occupera de ce qui a rapport à l'observance régulière et au matériel de la maison (constructions, réparations, soins à donner à la propriété, etc.).

Le provincial de Lyon aura les mêmes droits et les mêmes devoirs pour San Bernardo.

Mais, ce qui a rapport à l'enseignement, à l'organisation des études, à l'éducation, à la formation spirituelle, sera réglé en commun. De même le choix des préfets et des lecteurs à présenter à Rome.

Le travail personnel de chacun des pères lecteurs se règlera avec le provincial respectif.

Chaque étudiant appartiendra à sa province d'origine. Les étudiants alsaciens non encore prêtres seront répartis entre les deux provinces, de même pour les juvénistes.

4. - Juvénats: chaque province a le sien: celle de Lyon à Uvrier, celle de Paris à Rumillies. Le personnel enseignant appartient actuellement aux deux provinces. Quand les lecteurs seront déplacés, ils retourneront dans leur province d'origine.

5. - Vice-province: on propose de diviser en deux la Vice-Province du Pacifique et de faire:

1° - Une Vice-Province du Sud (Chili et Pérou) dépendant de la Province de Lyon.

2° - Une Vice-Province du Nord (Equateur et Colombie) dépendant de la Province de Paris.

Les deux vice-provinciaux auraient les mêmes pouvoirs et devoirs que le vice-provincial actuel.

6. - L'Espagne formerait une province à part. On s'en remettrait au provincial d'Espagne pour le rapatriement des pères français d'origine. En tous cas ce rapatriement ne se ferait pas avant quatre ou cinq ans.

C. Quant à la *Caisse*.

1. - L'argent qui forme le pécule de la province serait divisé également entre les deux nouvelles provinces.

2. - Pour les dépôts avec charges, attendre la réalisation des conditions pour faire le partage.

3. - On pourrait laisser pendant quelque temps les fonds des deux provinces à la gestion du procureur actuel.

III. Quand opérer cette scission?

A mon avis le plus tôt possible.

A. Pour les raisons énumérées en commençant. Sans quoi une foule de choses resteront en souffrance, surtout dans les juvénats, studendats, à Thury, à San Bernardo. Sans quoi les relations entre les sujets et le provincial ne peuvent être ni assez faciles, ni assez fréquentes. Sans quoi bien des choses ne se feront qu'à moitié.

B. Les événements qui nous menacent me paraissent réclamer cette scission à bref délai. Si ces événements surviennent avant la scission, un seul provincial se trouvera comme écrasé sous le poids des affaires et des difficultés. De plus la scission serait alors remise à une époque que nul ne peut prévoir, et la situation de malaise se prolongerait indéfiniment en s'aggravant toujours.

Si la décision a lieu en ce moment, chaque provincial pourra préparer les nominations des recteurs pour le futur triennat.

Il me semble que tout est préparé pour la scission. Depuis dix-huit mois j'ai travaillé à équilibrer les forcés des diverses maisons. Si quelques changements de détail sont à opérer, sa Paternité pourra facilement s'en rendre compte par elle-même lors de la visite extraordinaire et donner à chaque province sa situation définitive.

Pour le moment, jusqu'à la scission du Pacifique, l'un des provinciaux s'occuperait de cette vice-province.

De même pour l'Espagne.

Le noviciat resterait commun jusqu'au huit septembre, époque des professions¹⁴.

¹⁴ APP, Dossier: Division de la province française.

A ce rapport sont jointes deux Annexes.

Première Annexe.

C'est la liste nominative de tous les choristes avec leur affectation à leur nouvelle province et le résumé récapitulatif suivant:

	<i>Lyon</i>	<i>Paris</i>
Travail apostolique	84 pères	94 pères
Dans l'éducation	32 pères	9 pères
Etudiants	34	32
Novices	13	11
Total	163 choristes	146 choristes.

N. B. La Province de Paris aura 17 sujets de moins, mais à l'heure présente elle a 19 pères de plus dans le ministère ¹⁵.

Seconde Annexe.

Elle contient la division du territoire par diocèses avec le nombre d'habitants et de pratiquants. En résumé:

Lyon: 44 diocèses, plus 2 diocèses suisses,
15 425 000 âmes,
4 060 000 pratiquants,

Paris: 39 diocèses,
22 713 000 âmes,
5 230 000 pratiquants ¹⁶.

Examinons ce rapport et ses annexes.

Disons tout d'abord qu'en ce qui concerne les maisons, les territoires et les personnes, le partage apparaît comme assez équitable.

En ce qui concerne le *pourquoi* les choses n'allaient pas de soi. Nous avons vu qu'il y avait un inconvénient réel à affaiblir le corps missionnaire en le morcelant, d'autant que l'unité de coeur et de mentalité était réelle: « Quel grand bien et quelle force que cette union! Il ne faut pas se priver de ces avantages ni surtout les remplacer par les fruits amers de la division » ¹⁷.

¹⁵ APP, Ibid.

¹⁶ APP, Ibid.

¹⁷ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 136.

Aucune nécessité interne ne requérait le partage. Pas de diversité ethnique, comme par exemple aux Îles Britanniques où la scission entre Irlandais et Anglais s'imposait, ou, comme plus tard en Belgique entre Wallons et Flamands. Pas de diversité de langue non plus comme au Canada. En France « la multiplication des provinces serait une anomalie criante et injustifiée, et la ligne de démarcation serait aussi arbitraire que peu rationnelle »¹⁸.

Il existait naturellement de bons arguments en faveur de la division. C'étaient avant tout des raisons de gouvernement et d'administration. La province grandissait en nombre et en étendue, et semblait loin d'avoir arrêté sa croissance (nous avons vu cinq fondations nouvelles en deux ans). Incontestablement, une province aussi vaste et aussi peuplée posait des problèmes à ceux qui en avaient la responsabilité. « Un homme bien portant et actif et de ressources infinies comme le P. Desurmont pouvait suffire. Il allait encore au-delà; ne dictait-il pas aux recteurs la grande part des mesures qui étaient de leur ressort propre et de leur consulte? Mais un homme ordinaire avait du mal de suffire à la tâche »¹⁹. « Le gouvernement était impossible », avouait après son provincialat le P. Gavillet²⁰.

Fallait-il se rendre à ces raisons? L'obstacle n'apparaît pas insurmontable et n'aurait probablement pas suffi à emporter la décision. L'exemple du P. Desurmont démontre d'ailleurs par les faits que l'argument n'était pas décisif. Alors?

Il faut bien nous faire l'écho d'une rumeur qui n'apparaît pas dans les documents officiels, mais qui n'a pas cessé de circuler jusqu'à nos jours et qui est très sérieusement relatée par le P. Chételat dans sa chronique de la Province de Lyon: Le conseil général avait ses raisons « inspirées par le bien général de la Congrégation. A Rome, on voyait dans la création d'une seconde province en France un moyen très efficace de conserver dans toute la Congrégation l'esprit de Saint Alphonse et de nos premiers pères d'en deçà des Monts dans toute sa pureté. Le respect du principe d'autorité, le culte de l'observance régulière, un zèle apostolique infatigable, et une dose assez prononcée d'austérité apparaissaient comme les éléments constitutifs de cet esprit »²¹.

¹⁸ APL, *Ibid.*, p. 134.

¹⁹ APL, *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²⁰ APL, *Ibid.*, p. 136.

²¹ APL, *Ibid.*, p. 135.

Et voici la conclusion: « Les voix des délégués de la seconde province de France fortifieront dans les chapitres généraux le parti des bien-pensants »²².

C'est flatteur, mais on reste pour le moins perplexe devant ce genre d'argument. On ne saurait mettre en doute la sincérité et la rectitude d'intention du conseil général et en particulier du Père Raus. Mais, originaire, comme son prédécesseur le P. Mauron, de la Province Gallo-Helvétique n'avait-il pas trop tendance à juger de l'esprit de l'Institut sur l'esprit de la province dont il était issu?

La décision était prise. Restait l'exécution. A quelle date? C'est le moment d'examiner le *quand*.

Le Père Godart soupirait après la scission. Il s'appliqua à la préparer du moins en ce qui concerne les maisons, les territoires, et les personnes. Et il rédigea le rapport ci-dessus. Pourquoi cet empressement? Il se sentait écrasé par sa charge et s'imaginait qu'en divisant la province il partagerait aussi le fardeau en deux. « Oui, disait-il au général, je désire que cette scission se fasse le plus tôt possible »²³. « Je suis surmené, il m'est impossible de vivre conformément à la Règle. [...] Il y a tant de questions à traiter. [...] Je me demande comment je pourrai mener ce train durant trois ans »²⁴. « La charge de provincial n'est vraiment pas tenable dans l'état actuel des choses »²⁵.

De plus, il voyait venir la persécution du gouvernement français, et, comme il l'avoue dans son rapport, il prévoyait « qu'un seul provincial se trouverait comme écrasé sous le poids des affaires et des difficultés ». Ses calculs s'avèreront faux et le partage de la province ne diminuera pas ses soucis, comme il l'avouera plus tard au P. Général: « Votre Paternité comptait me décharger un peu en opérant le dédoublement de la province. Jusqu'à présent il n'en est rien, et je me vois dans ces premiers temps tellement accablé de lettres et d'affaires »²⁶. Mais n'anticipons pas. Le fait est qu'il se hâta. Accompagné de son consultant, le P. Monniot, il partit pour Rome le 10 décembre 1899 « pour y proposer des décisions sur lesquelles il y a pour nous une nécessité capitale et pressante d'attirer la bénédic-

²² APL, Ibid., p. 135.

²³ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 25-12-1898.

²⁴ AGR, PL, Ibid.

²⁵ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 01-07-1899.

²⁶ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 26-02-1900.

tion de Dieu »²⁷. Il était de retour le 3 janvier 1900. Tout était arrêté et décidé. On n'attendait plus que le rescrit de la Sacrée Congrégation des Evêques et Réguliers pour promulguer le décret. Ce rescrit fut signé le 16 janvier 1900.

Dès le 14 janvier le provincial annonça à ses confrères « comme imminent le dédoublement de la province, imposé entre autres motifs par le nombre et la distance des maisons »²⁸. Suivent quelques recommandations: accepter les dispositions des supérieurs comme l'expression de la volonté de Dieu, s'abstenir de toute critique, resserrer les liens « afin que la division de la province ne soit pas une désunion, mais un affermissement de l'unité d'esprit et de coeur »²⁸.

C'est le 8 février qu'il proclama à toutes les communautés de France, d'Espagne et du Pacifique le grand événement: Par décret du 2 février 1900 le Rme Père Général promulguait la création d'une seconde province en France, la promotion de l'Espagne au rang de province, et le partage de la Vice-Province du Pacifique en deux parts, rattachée chacune à l'une des provinces françaises. Puis, il précisait l'attribution des maisons. Enfin la circulaire donnait le nom des supérieurs et conseillers provinciaux et vice-provinciaux²⁹.

Deux jours plus tard, le 10 février, dans une circulaire commune, les deux provinciaux de France déterminaient la répartition des confrères et publiaient quelques détails d'application³⁰.

C'en était fait, la mère-province avait accepté dans une indifférence résignée de mettre au monde deux jumelles et sacrifiait sa vie en leur donnant le jour. L'une reçut le nom de Province de Lyon. Parce qu'elle possédait la maison la plus ancienne, elle fut considérée comme l'aînée et en cette qualité hérita de sa mère le titre de Gallo-Helvétique qui la plaçait au quatrième rang dans la hiérarchie des provinces de la Congrégation. Sa soeur puînée, appelée Province de Paris, fut regardée comme la dernière née de la famille CSSR et alla prendre son rang, le quatorzième, à la suite des autres provinces nées avant elle.

Le P. Godart, perdant son titre de provincial de France, devint le premier provincial de Lyon. Et le P. Désiré Castelain fut nommé premier provincial de Paris³¹. Ces deux hommes étaient bien diffé-

²⁷ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 135.

²⁸ APL, Godart, Lettre circulaire du 14-01-1900.

²⁹ APL, Raus, Litterae circulares, pp. 195-197.

³⁰ APL, Godart et Castelain, Lettre circulaire commune du 10-02-1900.

³¹ APL. Godart, Lettre circulaire du 08-02-1900.

rents. Le P. Godart était ce qu'on appelle un brave homme, très aimé de ses sujets, mais il était faible. Submergé sous les difficultés, il aura bien du mal à faire face aux obstacles qui se dresseront à chaque pas sur son chemin, et en toute occasion il aura recours à son supérieur général pour trancher les différents. En face de lui, le jeune P. Désiré Castelain, 36 ans, très maître de lui, saura prendre ses responsabilités et n'aura recours au général que lorsque les affaires auront déjà été portées à Rome par son collègue de Lyon.

Ayant examiné le *pourquoi* et le *quand*; il nous reste à voir le *comment*.

Le moins que l'on puisse dire est que la nouvelle ne suscita pas l'enthousiasme dans les communautés. Les diverses chroniques enregistrent le fait sans transports de joie. La revue *La Sainte Famille* qui, à cette occasion, présente à ses lecteurs un bilan très élogieux de la Province Française ne laisse percer aucun élan d'allégresse³². L'heure était plus à l'inquiétude qu'à la réjouissance à cause surtout de la persécution imminente.

Chacun se consola comme il put. Lyon, lyrique, vanta ses régions: « Nous possédons dans les Vosges, les Alpes, les Monts d'Auvergne, le Forez, les Cévennes, les sites les plus pittoresques. A nous, la Suisse et la Côte d'Azur, les deux plus belles contrées d'Europe. A nous les pèlerinages les plus célèbres et les plus pieux: Paray-le-Monial, Fourvière, La Salette, Le Puy, Lourdes »³³. Mais, pouvait-on s'empêcher, tout en exaltant ainsi les gloires de son territoire, de ressentir l'absence de ce qui était irrémédiablement perdu?

Revenons prosaïquement aux réalités. Le découpage territorial et la répartition des maisons s'accomplit selon le plan prévu, sans difficultés sérieuses et sans récriminations. Ce fut un peu plus délicat pour les personnes, à qui d'ailleurs on offrit la possibilité d'opter pour la province autre que celle d'origine. C'est ainsi par exemple que les PP. Wilpotte et Félix Délerue se fixèrent à Lyon, tandis que les PP. Hermann et Monniot s'intégrèrent à Paris³⁴. Les étudiants alsaciens non prêtres, eux, n'eurent pas le choix et furent tirés au sort dans la barette du P. Monniot³⁵. Remarquons que la Province de Paris était avantagée en ce qui concerne l'effectif missionnaire, tant en nombre

³² APL, Revue *La Sainte Famille*, mars 1900, pp. 150-151.

³³ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 140.

³⁴ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 139.

³⁵ APL, Anonyme: Division de la Province Gallo-Helvétique.

qu'en qualité. « Il se trouve, avouait le P. Godard, que tous les beaux prédicateurs sont de la Province de Paris: Mouton, Riblier, Nicolas, Georges, Albert, Wilpotte »³⁶. Tandis que la Province de Lyon était favorisée du côté des enseignants, la majorité des professeurs étant de son ressort. Dans les difficultés qui vont jaillir chaque provincial fera naturellement jouer ses propres atouts.

Quoiqu'il en soit, ces questions concernant les personnes seront toujours secondaires par rapport à celles posées par les biens matériels. Dans son rapport le P. Godard consacre à peine cinq lignes au partage de ce qu'il appelle la *caisse*. Manifestement l'importance de cet aspect matériel des choses lui avait échappé.

Le comportement de nos jumelles fut celui de deux soeurs s'aimant tendrement, mais se disputant âprement le patrimoine maternel. Il aurait été prudent et facile de faire l'inventaire de l'héritage et d'en déterminer l'attribution *avant* la division effective des provinces. Il n'en fut rien. Confiant dans la sagesse des responsables, surestimant sans doute l'efficacité de ce fameux bon esprit de la Province Française, le conseil général laissa les deux provinciaux s'arranger *après coup*.

Un principe fut admis de part et d'autre comme allant de soi. La répartition se fera sur le pied d'une parfaite égalité. Mais tout le monde sait qu'en matière d'héritage ce principe est inapplicable, car certains biens sont indivisibles. Tout au plus peut-on espérer un partage équitable. D'autre part, dans le cas présent, l'avoir n'était pas *gelé* hors de portée des bénéficiaires en attendant la signature de l'arrangement, mais était de fait détenu par l'une et l'autre des héritières. Ce qui allait singulièrement compliquer la tâche des négociateurs.

Cet *avoir*, en quoi consistait-il?

Il y avait d'abord le capital de la province. Je n'ai, sous la main, aucun élément qui permette d'en apprécier le montant et la nature.

Il y avait les revenus des maisons *rentées* (5 à Paris, 2 à Lyon).

Il y avait la revue *La Sainte Famille* avec son influence et l'argent qu'elle drainait. Il y avait les oeuvres de presse (livres, brochures) dont certaines étaient propriété de la province.

Il y avait les bourses du juvénat d'Uvrier, la sacristie du noviciat d'Antony, la riche bibliothèque et la sacristie du studendat de Thury.

³⁶ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 22-10-1900.

Il y avait les biens personnels de certains confrères, tels ceux du P. de la Salle, qui étaient considérables, mais qui avaient servi, avec son consentement, à bâtir et à équiper la très belle maison d'Antony, et que leur propriétaire voulait maintenant rapatrier dans sa Province de Lyon.

Telles étaient les parts du magot qui feront l'objet des pourparlers, mais pas forcément du partage³⁷.

Si le capital était facilement divisible, il n'en était pas de même de tout le reste. Par ailleurs si Lyon était l'aînée, c'est Paris qui détenait presque tous les biens (Lyon n'ayant que les bourses du juvénat et les rentes de deux maisons sur sept). L'adage *Melior est conditio possidentis* s'appliquait littéralement à la situation. Dans la négociation pour revendiquer ses droits, Lyon avait le désavantage de se trouver en position de quémandeuse. Notons encore que le procureur de Paris, le P. Coloos, n'était autre que le procureur de la province-mère défunte. Il sera bien souvent, malgré les directives des provinciaux, réticent à appliquer les accords de répartition des biens. Enfin, la fondation de deux provinces au lieu d'une allait multiplier par deux les frais généraux, mais diviser par deux les ressources pour y faire face.

Le moment était venu d'une négociation épineuse qui allait mettre à rude épreuve l'union des coeurs officiellement affichée. Jamais, en effet, la controverse n'apparaîtra dans les documents officiels, notamment les circulaires, toujours empreints de sérénité, de charité et de bonne entente. Par contre elle sera manifestée dans les réflexions et la correspondance privée des responsables et dans la rumeur publique.

La passation des pouvoirs s'était faite à Antony au cours d'une rencontre des deux nouveaux provinciaux et de leurs consultants les 8 et 9 février 1900. Le P. Castelain put alors annoncer que « Toutes choses étaient réglées cordialement. Même les affaires les plus délicates s'étaient arrangées d'un commun accord, sans l'ombre d'une difficulté »³⁸.

Pourtant deux jours après, en arrivant à Gannat, où il campa deux mois en attendant l'achèvement de sa résidence de Saint-Etienne, le P. Godart était préoccupé et « sa voix traduisait une émotion spéciale et étrange, mélange de confusion et d'amertume en prononçant cette phrase: notre province est la plus pauvre, mais tant mieux, je

³⁷ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, pp. 182 et 184.

³⁸ APL, PetChrTri, n. 5, p. 7.

m'en réjouis, ce sera une garantie des bénédictions du ciel »³⁹. Que s'était-il donc passé? Nous le savons, le P. Godart manquait de cette ténacité de caractère qui eut permis dans des discussions serrées d'arriver à un accord acceptable. Il préféra renoncer et se retira, dit-on, en faisant le généreux⁴⁰.

Tout n'était pas si bien réglé que l'avait laissé entendre le provincial de Paris. Il fallut provoquer une seconde rencontre. « Le P. Castelain, écrit le P. Godart le 15 mars 1900, a bien voulu venir à Gannat pour achever de régler avec moi les divers points concernant l'intérêt commun. Nous nous sommes entendus parfaitement sur toutes choses, car nous ne cherchions l'un et l'autre que le bien supérieur de la Congrégation »⁴¹.

Au niveau des provinciaux les accords étaient encore possibles. Mais dès qu'ils descendaient à l'échelon où ils devaient être appliqués, les choses se gâtaient. Par exemple à l'échelon des procureurs. Vis-à-vis du P. Tournois, pâle procureur de Lyon, celui de Paris, le P. Coloos, se comportait en patron: « On partage la *caisse* de l'ancienne province, je le veux bien, avoua-t-il, puisque les provinciaux sont d'accord, mais je sais que le P. Desurmont ne l'aurait pas permis. Mais, réplique le P. Tournois, avez-vous pensé que l'ancienne province c'est la Province de Lyon? Le P. Coloos se redressa et sur un ton de maître il reprit: Parlez-vous sérieusement? ... Vous oseriez réclamer la *caisse* de l'ancienne province? »⁴².

Pour ce qui regarde les maisons d'éducation, le décret du 2 février avait attribué globalement et sans nuances ces maisons et leurs biens à l'une et l'autre province, consacrant du même coup la mainmise sur ces biens de l'une des deux partenaires. Si bien que lorsque Lyon réclamait sa part des sacristies de Thury et d'Antony, Paris avait beau jeu de répliquer que ces biens étaient intégrés à des maisons qui lui avaient été attribuées et n'étaient donc pas négociables. Quand Paris réclamait sa part des bourses du jувénat, Lyon répondait qu'elle ne les céderait que lorsque Paris consentirait au partage de certains biens d'Antony et de Thury.

La négociation tournait à l'aigre et les accords des provinciaux étaient sans cesse remis en question par des subalternes. Dans ces conditions, le P. Coloos ne cédait que des broutilles⁴². Pour financer les

³⁹ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 142.

⁴⁰ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 184.

⁴¹ AGR. PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 15-03-1900.

⁴² AGR, PL, Mémoire du P. Tournois au P. Raus du 16-09-1900.

dépenses de sa maison provincialice et de son noviciat le P. Godart imposa les autres maisons, qui se récrièrent et tournèrent leur colère contre la province soeur⁴³. Comme toujours en pareil cas, en l'absence d'information sérieuse, on accusa les parisiens des plus noires intentions et notamment de vouloir tout garder. Il y eut des réclamations, et, il fallait s'y attendre, des recours au P. Général⁴⁴.

De son côté le P. Castelain fut excédé: « Il arrive un moment où le flot monte et la coupe déborde. Vous savez que je n'ai jamais fait entendre de réclamation, écrit-il au P. Général, je n'aurais pas même importuné votre Paternité avec toutes ces questions, si la Province de Lyon ne les avait pas déjà portées à votre tribunal. [...] Il s'agit de savoir si ceux-là obtiendront davantage qui crieront le plus fort [...] Je serais heureux si toutes ces questions pendantes de personnel et d'argent étaient tranchées au plus tôt »⁴⁵.

« Renonçons, comme le conseille le P. Chételat, à étudier par le menu tous les détails du litige »⁴⁶. Le fait est qu'il fallut la haute intervention du Rme Père Raus, alors en visite en France, pour imposer une solution. « N'est-il pas regrettable que le partage contentant les deux parties n'ait pas été fait et terminé avant son arrivée? En cela nous nous sommes conduits comme ces gamins qui se laissent rosser par un camarade et qui vont ensuite demander à papa de les venger »⁴⁶.

C'est à Thury que le P. Général fit signer aux deux provinciaux l'accord suivant:

Les provinciaux de Lyon et de Paris, réunis à Thury le 15 septembre 1900, se sont mis d'accord sur les points suivants, qu'ils proposent à la sanction du Rme Père Général:

1. - Les capitaux représentant les bourses du juvénat, ayant été divisés également entre les deux provinces, il semble préférable de s'en tenir aux précédentes conventions: chaque province percevra les revenus des capitaux qui lui ont été attribués.

2. - La pension des étudiants et juvénistes est fixée:

- à 1000 francs pour Thury
- à 800 francs pour San Bernardo
- à 550 francs pour Uvrier

⁴³ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 183.

⁴⁴ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 187.

⁴⁵ AGR, PP, Lettre du P. Castelain au P. Raus du 12-08-1900.

⁴⁶ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 187.

Pour les prêtres, comme leur pension est en grande partie acquittée par leurs messes, la province n'aura à payer que ce qui manque à la somme de 1000 ou 800 francs, tout compte fait des messes qu'ils ont célébrées pour le studentat.

3. - Les ouvrages qui se trouvaient à la maison d'Antony lors de la division de la Province Française, seront distribués également entre les deux provinces. Les bénéfices réalisés par la vente de ces ouvrages depuis le 10 février 1900 jusqu'à ce jour seront répartis entre les deux provinces. Quant aux nouvelles éditions des ouvrages qui sont notre propriété, elles seront confiées à la province à laquelle appartiennent ou ont appartenu leurs auteurs par leur origine.

4. - Les archives et chroniques de l'ancienne Province Française retourneront de droit à la Province de Lyon, qui a hérité du nom de Province Gallo-Helvétique.

5. - Le dépôt du Chanoine Hetzel sera versé, chaque province y contribuant par moitié, au R.P. Vice-provincial d'Alsace. Il en sera de même du don de la bienfaitrice de Lyon, don qui sera affecté à la fondation de Saint-Etienne.

6. - Les provinciaux de Lyon et de Paris s'engagent à ne plus soulever de difficultés, par rapport aux questions d'argent, soit dans le présent, soit dans l'avenir. Chaque province conservera ses maisons et sa situation respective, et comptant sur la divine Providence, demande humblement la bénédiction de sa Paternité ⁴⁷.

Mais la grogne était lancée, et, malgré cet engagement solennel, le contentieux entre les deux provinces ne fut pas liquidé. L'amertume s'installa dans la Province de Lyon. Gênée pécuniairement et péniblement administrée par le brave P. Tournois, procureur, qui laissa sa santé dans cette affaire, la province agitée et récriminatrice fit sortir de ses gonds l'impulsif Père Berthe, consultant général, qui préconisa sa mise en régie sous la tutelle du P. Castelain ⁴⁸. Cette proposition peu prisée des lyonnais jeta un peu plus d'huile sur le feu, mais ne fut pas retenue.

La collaboration s'avérant difficile, le P. Godart se replia sur sa province et, incapable de maîtriser la situation, céda à la tentation de se passer illico de Paris et de faire cavalier seul. Il s'était empressé d'aménager son noviciat de Gannat; malgré les réticences de la communauté et celle de nombreux autres confrères. Il fit des pieds et des

⁴⁷ APP, Dossier: Division de la province française: Protocole d'accord sur la répartition des biens du 30-07-1900.

⁴⁸ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 187.

mains pour obtenir du général la fondation de son propre studendat. « Je suis convaincu que nous n'aurons la paix et l'union qu'autant que la séparation de tous les intérêts sera nettement tranchée. Je souhaite vivement n'avoir rien de commun avec le provincial de Paris »⁴⁹. Son crédit diminua auprès des autorités romaines. Il avait mis beaucoup de mauvaise volonté à se rendre à la convocation de Thury: « Le but de mon voyage serait de m'entendre avec le TRP. Castelain sur les questions de partage. Or, je suis persuadé que je n'obtiendrai aucun résultat. Je n'ai donc pas l'intention de répondre à votre aimable invitation »⁵⁰.

Le conseil général apprécia peu cette manière d'agir. Le P. Godart s'en rendit compte. « A plusieurs indices qui l'attristèrent profondément il pressentit qu'il n'était plus *persona grata* à Rome »⁵¹. Aux nominations de 1901 il céda la place au P. Mansuy. Fondateur de la Province de Lyon il n'avait présidé qu'un an à ses destinées.

Les provinces jumelles, tout en gardant entre elles de solides liens individuels d'amitié, réalisaient à marche forcée leur autonomie et empruntaient des voies parallèles. Le désenchantement avait fait son oeuvre. Chacune reprenait précipitamment ses billes. Dotée de *son* jувénat, ayant fondé *son* noviciat, la Province de Lyon, sans plus attendre créait *sa* revue, elle aura bientôt *son* studendat et *ses* oeuvres de presse. L'union ne se maintenait plus qu'au niveau des sentiments, des prières et des paroles. Dans la pratique elle n'avait pas résisté à l'épreuve des intrigues nouées autour d'un héritage. En signe concret du *cor unum* hautement proclamé, seule survivra quelque temps une institution commune mais combien dérisoire: l'Union des messes et suffrages pour les confrères défunts des deux provinces⁵².

La nomination d'un nouveau provincial à Lyon fut saisie comme une occasion de resserrer les liens distendus. Le P. Castelain invita le P. Mansuy à Antony. Ce dernier « s'empressa de répondre à l'invitation et vint passer à Antony la journée du 5 mai. Sa présence au milieu de nous, rapporte le chroniqueur, a été l'occasion d'une petite fête bien propre à montrer que les deux provinces soeurs ne forment qu'une seule âme et un seul coeur. [...] Après les compliments et les chants notre Père Provincial s'est levé et a montré dans le Père Mansuy l'homme de l'union. [...] Le TRP. Mansuy a remercié et promis de

⁴⁹ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 16-07-1900.

⁵⁰ AGR, PL, Ibid.

⁵¹ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 187.

⁵² APL, Ibid., p. 191.

favoriser de tout son pouvoir cette union si nécessaire, surtout dans les temps troublés que nous traversons »⁵³.

« Cette visite, avoue de son côté le P. Mansuy, a fait très bonne impression dans la Province de Paris, sans me nuire dans celle de Lyon. [...] Plusieurs recteurs et pères de l'autre province m'ont écrit qu'ils considéraient ma nomination comme un gage de fraternelle union. Pour maintenir cette union, je suis prêt à tous les sacrifices, même à perdre 100 000 francs, car la charité et l'union sont d'un prix infini. Seulement je voudrais une bonne fois les affaires tirées au clair. Après quinze mois de séparation le procureur ne sait absolument pas ce qui lui revient. [...] Vous avouerez, Révérendissime Père, que c'est un peu violent et je trouve que le P. Coloos est vraiment lambin. Il n'a jamais voulu dire au P. Tournois ce que possédait l'ancienne province. Or, moi, je suis d'avis que la première chose à faire et qu'on aurait dû faire, c'est de dresser le bilan de l'avoir et des charges. On a bien posé le principe: *il faut tout partager, tout également*. Et nos braves hommes (ceux de Lyon) n'ont pas pensé à poser la seconde question: qu'y a-t-il à partager? Et voilà pourquoi aujourd'hui nous sommes en pleine nuit »⁵⁴.

Dans sa province le changement de provincial fut ressenti à la fois avec soulagement et comme une humiliation. Avec soulagement, car la province espérait être mieux défendue. Comme une humiliation, car ce changement était la consécration officielle de la confusion dont elle avait fait preuve pour s'administrer.

Le soulagement allait être de courte durée. A la vérité on ne s'explique guère la nomination du P. Mansuy. L'homme certes était extrêmement estimable. Il avait occupé les charges de maître des novices, de recteur, de préfet des étudiants, mais il souffrait d'une grave déficience de santé. Son séjour au Chili avait ébranlé son système nerveux, on avait dû le rapatrier à la suite d'un état dépressif. Nommé préfet des étudiants de Thury, il avait été contraint d'abandonner ce poste au bout de dix-huit mois, victime d'une nouvelle dépression⁵⁵. Pendant qu'il se reposait à Boulogne et commençait à se trouver mieux, il reçut son diplôme de provincial, du fait, insinue le P. Chételat, qu'il avait eu l'heur de plaire au P. Berthe qui se reposait à Boulogne en même temps que lui⁵⁶.

⁵³ APP, PetChrTri, n. 10, p. 2.

⁵⁴ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Mansuy au P. Raus du 19-05-1901.

⁵⁵ APL, ChrPL, an. 1901, p. 208.

⁵⁶ APL, Ibid., p. 222.

Deux mois après sa nomination, le premier juillet 1901, fut promulguée la loi de liquidation des Congrégations. Le pauvre P. Mansuy essaya courageusement de faire front, mais c'en était trop pour lui. Vers la mi-juillet son psychisme flancha. Il dut se retirer à Boulogne après trois mois de provincialat. Il le fit avec beaucoup de dignité. « Il est monté dans notre estime non moins haut que le poste dont il a été obligé de descendre »⁵⁷.

Il avait eu le temps de prendre deux excellentes mesures: Il avait nommée au poste de procureur le P. Lemoine, « esprit à longue visée, positif, exact, exigeant la précision, prudent, expérimenté, débrouillard, actif, qui se fit livrer la liste complète de l'avoir de la province par le P. Coloos, procureur de Paris, chose que n'avait pu obtenir le P. Tournois »⁵⁸.

Il avait confié au P. Tailleur la mission de prospecter la Belgique pour chercher un éventuel refuge, avant tout pour notre jeunesse. Ce fut l'origine de la maison d'Attert.

Une nouvelle fois la Province de Lyon humiliée et désespérée gémissait: « Sommes-nous donc incapables de fournir un provincial »? Le temps pressait car il y avait à sauver vaille que vaille la « province d'une ruine imminente »⁵⁹. Rome vit le danger et ne lésina pas. Sur le conseil du P. Mansuy, elle nomma le 25 juillet 1901 vice-provincial, puis en octobre provincial en titre le Père Jean Kannengiesser. La Province de Lyon tenait enfin en sa personne le provincial de classe qui lui avait fait défaut jusque là.

Solide, « bâti à chaux et à sable »⁶⁰, équilibré, bûcheur, homme de science, de vertu et de décision, il allait prendre en main sa province et par une activité inlassable remplir sa charge de façon irréprochable. La persécution qui commençait, allait détruire toutes ses communautés de France. Il fallait organiser, prévoir, décider au jour le jour. Il ne se laissera jamais démonter et saura toujours faire face à la situation.

A quelque chose malheur est bon. La danger commun allait rapprocher les deux provinces soeurs. « La destruction des Congrégations a réuni tous les coeurs, et a refermé le fossé qui s'ouvrait entre les deux provinces »⁶¹.

⁵⁷ APL, Ibid., p. 225.

⁵⁸ APL, Ibid., p. 210.

⁵⁹ APL, Ibid., p. 225.

⁶⁰ APL, Ibid., p. 227.

⁶¹ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 187.

La maison provinciale

On peut s'étonner que notre province ait été baptisée Province de Lyon alors qu'elle n'avait pas et n'avait jamais eu de maison dans cette ville. Dans la mentalité du temps, du moment qu'on créait deux provinces, cela allait de soi. Il y en aurait une lyonnaise et une parisienne.

« Ecclésiastiquement parlant, le nom de Lyon ne balance pas, il prime celui de Paris. [...] Lyon nous apparaissait comme notre terre promise; l'instinct apostolique et l'amour de la Congrégation nous y poussaient avec une persistance implacable. On est allé de l'avant avec l'héroïque constance de Josué et de Caleb marchant à la conquête de la Palestine »⁶². Brave Père Chételat, laissons-le s'expliquer sur un ton moins emphatique: « Un diocèse comme celui de Lyon qui compte une population de 1.400.000 âmes, deux grandes villes, près de 2000 prêtres, plus de six cents paroisses, d'importants établissements d'éducation, cinq petits séminaires, des oeuvres, des institutions, des associations de tout genre, un grand nombre de maisons-mères de frères et de soeurs ... un tel diocèse offrait un champ des plus splendides à notre activité apostolique »⁶³.

Mais voilà ... Lyon ne nous était pas accessible, ou du moins, elle ne l'était plus. Cela pour trois raisons qu'exposa en 1895 Mgr Coullié au provincial d'alors le P. Gavillet:⁶⁴

- 1° - Les ressources de mon diocèse seront en partie détournées des oeuvres diocésaines. et de bonnes vocations iront chez vous.
- 2° - J'ai refusé l'entrée de mon diocèse à d'autres; si je vous reçois, je serai obligé de recevoir les autres.
- 3° - Les congrégations que j'ai me suscitent déjà tant d'embarras; un nouvel établissement ne serait pas pour les diminuer.

Cette réponse avait au moins le mérite de la franchise, mais maintenant la porte bien fermée. Il n'en avait pas toujours été ainsi. Vingt ou quinze ans plus tôt, le Cardinal Caverot manifesta plusieurs fois à son directeur de conscience, le P. Desurmont, le désir de nous posséder dans sa ville archiépiscopale. Le P. Desurmont, lui, n'en voulait à aucun prix. Pourquoi? Nous ne le saurons sûrement jamais. La raison qu'il avança est de toute évidence une raison-bidon: C'était pour des considérations d'ordre moral, il voyait dans Lyon une im-

⁶² APL, Ibid., p. 151.

⁶³ APL, Ibid., p. 149.

⁶⁴ APL, Ibid., p. 147.

mense puissance de séduction et ne voulait pas exposer ses religieux à l'épreuve du mal -⁶⁵. Quand on sait qu'il fonda Paris, Lima et Santiago, on n'est guère convaincu par ce genre d'argument.

En 1900 c'était trop tard, on songea à une solution provisoire de remplacement, dans la banlieue de Lyon: Villeurbanne du diocèse de Grenoble. « Voici donc ce que je proposerais à votre Paternité. Villeurbanne, petite ville de 5000 à 6000 habitants, tout en ne faisant pour ainsi dire qu'un avec Lyon, appartient au diocèse de Grenoble. Etre à Villeurbanne, c'est être à Lyon sans être du diocèse de Lyon »⁶⁶.

Ce caractère provisoire du projet le fit abandonner pour un autre plus stable dans le diocèse même de Lyon. Puisque cette ville nous était fermée, « on se rabattit sur Saint-Etienne, seconde cité du diocèse. Cette ville nous convenait encore à plus d'un titre: c'était une ville populeuse, 150 000 habitants, mais ou l'élément ouvrier et campagnard [*sic*] domine. Les paroisses sont assez nombreuses et grandes; on y trouve dans les quartiers excentriques un trop grand nombre d'âmes abandonnées. [...] Il reste des traces de la piété, droiture et simplicité d'autrefois; l'apport élevé de la Haute-Loire et de l'Ardèche maintient ces précieux restes ... Hélas l'incrédulité, la légèreté mondaine, l'esprit révolutionnaire, les haines sociales, la corruption morale ont fait de terribles ravages dans tous les rangs de la société »⁶⁷.

C'est donc à Saint-Etienne, qu'après quelques péripéties, les fils de Saint Alphonse s'établirent, au quartier de Monthieux.

La maison venait d'être acquise quand fut créée la Province de Lyon.

Tout naturellement, et grâce aussi à sa position centrale, elle devint le siège du provincial. Le P. Godart dut attendre son achèvement pour pouvoir s'y installer. Elle fut placée sous l'autorité du P. Favre et fut inaugurée le 25 mars 1900.

Il faudra attendre l'année 1913 pour voir les Rédemptoristes s'établir dans la ville de Lyon.

⁶⁵ APL, Ibid., pp. 146-147.

⁶⁶ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 16-08-1898.

⁶⁷ APL, ChrPL, an. 1900, p. 151.

Le noviciat

Dans la tradition de notre Institut, chaque province est une entité complètement autonome, disposant de toutes les structures nécessaires à sa fonction et à sa survie.

Dans cette perspective, il était dans la logique des choses que la nouvelle Province de Lyon ait cherché à se doter des maisons de formation qui lui manquaient et d'abord du noviciat. Ce qui surprend, c'est la précipitation et l'improvisation qui ont présidé à sa fondation. Nous avons vu plus haut, quelle en fut la raison.

Pourquoi le choix de Gannat? Apparemment deux autres maisons plus vastes et bien équipées auraient mieux fait l'affaire: Saint-Nicolas et Contamine⁶⁸. Le Père Chételat pense que la position centrale de Gannat et sa proximité de Saint-Etienne ont été les raisons qui ont arrêté le choix sur elle. Il faut ajouter que le P. Godart avait sûrement un plan d'ensemble d'aménagement de la province et qu'il réservait les grandes maisons à d'autres usages, notamment au studentat⁶⁹.

Gannat, matériellement et spirituellement, présentait des inconvénients. Matériellement, « Gannat a beau paraître grand et spacieux, ce n'est qu'une façade sans profondeur. Pas de place pour un noviciat, pas de cellules, pas d'oratoire, pas de salle commune, pas de place suffisante au réfectoire ni à la tribune pour les exercices communs. Il ne reste que les mansardes dont il faudra se contenter et qui devront fournir tous les locaux essentiels, oratoire, salle commune et cellules »⁷⁰.

C'est ce qui fut fait. On créa les chambres dans les combles; à une extrémité on logea la salle commune (l'actuelle bibliothèque du noviciat). Au deuxième étage, l'atelier du P. Bouchage, autrefois bibliothèque, devint l'oratoire⁷¹.

Spirituellement, « malgré tous les efforts des supérieurs, Gannat reste une maison où le genre missionnaire tapageur fleurit dans tout son épanouissement. Conséquemment au point de vue du genre et des habitudes, aucune maison ne se prête aussi peu à un noviciat »⁷².

⁶⁸ APL, Ibid., p. 170.

⁶⁹ APL, Ibid., p. 172.

⁷⁰ APL, Ibid., p. 171.

⁷¹ APL, Ibid., p. 171.

⁷² APL, Ibid., p. 171.

La décision fut prise sans retard par le P. Godart, et dès le 20 février les travaux de déblaiement commencèrent. Tout devait être terminé pour l'ouverture, le jour de la Saint-Alphonse.

Le Père Général, au cours de sa visite du printemps 1900, « trouve que les locaux étaient suffisamment convenables pour l'espace, mais surtout pour la formation de l'esprit religieux, car le noviciat resplendissait de tout l'éclat de la pauvreté. Mais il formula une réserve: Je crains bien que ce ne soit trop chaud en été et terriblement froid en hiver »⁷³. Effectivement, mais, pensait le père maître, « si les novices avec des précautions faciles à prendre, ne réussissaient pas à entretenir une température modérée dans leurs cellules, ils seront heureux d'avoir ce bouquet de myrrhe à offrir à l'Enfant Jésus »⁷⁴.

A noviciat pauvre, père maître austère. C'est le P. Stanislas Bédon qui fut désigné en dernière heure pour cet office. Averti par dépêche⁷⁵ le 21 juillet, il quitta sur le champs son professorat de Thury, se rendit à Antony où il se heurta à l'attitude peu coopérative du P. Herbaux et arriva à Gannat le 29 juillet. Aussitôt il se mit à l'ouvrage et jeta les bases d'une formation sans concession au libéralisme ni compromission avec le laxisme. Écoutons-le formuler à cette fin, des questions au P. Général et en obtenir les réponses:⁷⁶

1. - Faut-il faire pénétrer le genre d'Antony pour les séances musicales multipliées, les longues et fréquentes fêtes appelées de famille?

Réponse: Non, c'est un abus.

2. - Faut-il pousser la séparation complète d'avec la communauté?

Réponse: S'en tenir à la Règle.

3. - Faut-il introduire la récréation commune avec la communauté à certains jours de fête? On l'a à Antony, le père maître s'en plaint et la Règle l'interdit.

Réponse: Non, tenez-vous en à la Règle qui n'interdit pas d'introduire parfois quelque père isolé à la récréation des novices (N. 1210).

4. - Faut-il demander un frère du noviciat?

Réponse: Évidemment puisque c'est la Règle.

5. - Faut-il laisser l'inspiration Bouchage pénétrer au noviciat?

Réponse: Non.

⁷³ APL, Ibid., p. 173.

⁷⁴ APL, Ibid., p. 173.

⁷⁵ APL, Chronique du noviciat, vol. I, p. 3.

⁷⁶ APL, Ibid., p. 12.

6. - Faut-il tenir beaucoup à l'ordre du jour et à la régularité des exercices, ou se montrer facile à accorder les novices pour le service de la maison et de la province?

Réponse: Ordinairement non.

7. - Faut-il me laisser engager dans les prédications à la chapelle?

Réponse: Pas sans avoir été averti assez longtemps à l'avance.

La communauté fit plutôt grise mine à ce noviciat qu'on lui imposait. « Le Père Vigneron, assure le P. Bédon, n'avait accepté qu'à contre-cœur cette installation du noviciat dans sa maison, et surtout les aménagements faits pour l'y recevoir. Il trouva le moyen de s'absenter le jour de la cérémonie de prise d'habit comme il avait été absent lors de l'arrivée des novices et du père maître. Cette froideur du recteur se communiqua un peu au personnel de la maison dont la liberté devait être nécessairement gênée par la présence des novices, gent essentiellement scandalisable. De là un malaise réciproque qui rend notre situation délicate et pénible, surtout quand la question financière s'y joindra »⁷⁷.

Le mieux pour éviter les frictions était de réduire au minimum les relations entre les deux communautés. La Règle d'ailleurs y veillait, elle fut appliquée dans toute son intégrité: « La porte qui se trouve au sommet du grand escalier sera toujours fermée à clef. Si quelqu'un doit pénétrer dans les corridors du noviciat, il devra sonner à la porte et un novice sera chargé d'ouvrir à ceux qui se présenteront »⁷⁸. C'est le propre neveu du P. Raus qui sera le premier portier du noviciat. Peu à peu, les angles s'arrondirent, et la vertu du P. Bédon d'une part et la bonne volonté des confrères d'autre part rendirent fraternels sinon chaleureux les rapports entre communauté et noviciat.

Les novices de Lyon et d'Alsace arrivèrent par petits paquets et se retrouvèrent au nombre de douze pour la prise d'habit du 8 septembre, cependant qu'à la même date, dans la grande maison d'Antony, la même cérémonie regroupait quatre novices!

Tout le monde fit contre mauvaise fortune bon cœur, il manquait des lits et bien d'autres objets usuels, il manquait aussi des bréviaires et des livres essentiels que le P. Herboux ne lâchait qu'au compte-gouttes et sur injonction de son provincial. Progressivement, le noviciat s'équipa⁷⁹.

⁷⁷ APL, Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁸ APL, Ibid., p. 11.

⁷⁹ APL, Ibid., p. 47.

En 1901 pourtant, il faillit périr. Devant la crainte d'une prochaine expulsion, le P. Mansuy donna l'ordre aux futurs novices de rester à Uvrier. Puis l'ordre fut rapporté⁸⁰. Le noviciat de Gannat eut un sursis d'un an. Le 24 novembre 1902, le père maître emmenait son petit troupeau en exil à Attert. Le noviciat, après deux ans de présence, quittait Gannat, il y reviendra en 1934⁸¹.

Le studendat

Quittant Dongen (Hollande), le studendat s'était installé à Thury-en-Valois (Oise) en 1893. Depuis le 2 février 1900, il était devenu propriété de la Province de Paris. Le hasard fit qu'à cette date tous les professeurs et les cinq étudiants prêtres se trouvaient être originaires de la Province de Lyon.

Un second studendat aussi important que celui de Thury existait à San Bernardo (Chili). Il appartenait à la Vice-Province du Pérou-Chili, laquelle dépendait de la Province de Lyon.

D'une certaine façon (?), chaque province avait donc son studendat, regroupant des étudiants des deux provinces. Cette imbrication rendait difficile le chacun pour soi. Un protocole définissant la juridiction des deux provinciaux avait d'ailleurs été établi au moment de la division, et les conditions financières furent précisées dans l'accord du 15 septembre 1900.

Toute une polémique s'instaura à propos du studendat de Thury. Lyon trouva que le prix de pension des étudiants fixé par Paris était exorbitant. Et le P. Godart se démena pour obtenir la création de son propre studendat. Il prévoyait de placer les philosophes et les dogmaticiens à Saint-Nicolas et les moralistes à Houdemont⁸². « L'entente cordiale entre les deux provinciaux ne pourra s'établir que par la séparation des studendats »⁸³. En l'occurrence il avait la partie belle puisque tout le corps professoral du studendat était lyonnais.

Le provincial de Paris ne pouvait évidemment pas accepter cette éventualité. Vis-à-vis de Thury il avait d'ailleurs ses propres ennemis, qui étaient financiers. La province-mère avait pu pourvoir à l'entretien de deux grandes maisons comme Antony et Thury; mais une

⁸⁰ APL, *Ibid.*, p. 47.

⁸¹ APL, *Ibid.*, p. 103.

⁸² AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 02-07-1900.

⁸³ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 17-07-1900.

province réduite de moitié le pouvait difficilement. Le P. Castelain sollicita donc l'autorisation de réunir à Antony studendat et noviciat dans des quartiers séparés⁸⁴. Dans ce but il adressa au P. Général un rapport de quatre pages⁸⁵. Mais celui-ci refusa cette solution. On conserva donc le studendat de Thury.

Finalement ce fut l'expulsion de 1902 qui provoqua la scission des étudiants de Paris et de Lyon, encore ne fut-elle prévue que pour le temps de l'expulsion.

Le provincial d'Angleterre avait généreusement offert son juvénat de Bishop-Eton comme refuge à notre studendat de Thury⁸⁶.

Le P. Jean, ex-recteur de Thury, ne voyait pas d'un bon oeil l'exil en Angleterre, et même l'union avec Paris.

En premier lieu l'éloignement « au pays des milords » lui parut un « obstacle à l'exercice de sa fonction sur le studendat ». En second lieu, il tenait à extirper de ses étudiants « l'esprit de Thury ». Quatre éléments, selon lui, constituaient cet esprit : l'insubordination, la manie de la critique, une attitude débraillée, et la gaminerie⁸⁷.

La séparation lui offrait l'occasion de prendre en mains ses étudiants. Il fit aménager, à cet effet, le château de Gérumont (Belgique) que la famille Desclée venait de nous louer⁸⁸. Sur ces entrefaites, le provincial de Belgique offrit au P. Jean de prendre les étudiants de Lyon à Beauplateau. « Noyés dans la foule des étudiants belges, les nôtres perdraient vite l'esprit de Thury »⁸⁹.

Voilà comment le studendat de France éclata en deux morceaux : le contingent de Paris partit en Angleterre, celui de Lyon à Beauplateau. Le départ en exil eut lieu le 14 novembre 1902⁹⁰. Après trois ans de présence à Beauplateau, les étudiants quittèrent le studendat de Belgique et allèrent fonder, à Attert, le premier studendat de Lyon. C'était le 30 septembre 1905⁹¹.

⁸⁴ AGR, PP, Lettres du P. Castelain au P. Raus du 22-05-1900 et du 04-06-1900.

⁸⁵ AGR, PP, Rapport du P. Castelain sur le transfert du studendat à Antony du 04-06-1900.

⁸⁶ APL, ChrPL, an. 1902, p. 287.

⁸⁷ APL, Ibid., p. 287.

⁸⁸ APL, Ibid., p. 288.

⁸⁹ APL, Ibid., p. 288.

⁹⁰ APL, Chronique du studendat de Thury, p. 352.

⁹¹ APL, Ibid., p. 354.

L'Apôtre du Foyer

La revue *La Sainte Famille* avait une orientation de formation spirituelle. C'était dans la logique de sa fondation. Le premier numéro de janvier 1875 spécifiait que « *La Sainte Famille* serait une revue ascétique »⁹².

En 1900 cet aspect exclusivement spirituel n'apportait plus satisfaction à bon nombre de missionnaires, qui désiraient disposer d'un instrument qui ne se cantonnerait pas dans les articles pieux et les récits édifiants, mais serait dirigé davantage vers l'action apostolique. On souhaitait donc une revue qui « continuerait le travail de conversion et de sanctification commencé par la mission, qui soit le missionnaire perpétuel de la famille [...] s'adressant chaque mois à tous, aux bons, aux indifférents, aux hostiles »⁹³.

La Province de Lyon naissante se sentait de taille à tenter pareille entreprise. Elle ferait d'une pierre deux coups: elle aurait sa revue propre, elle aurait une revue vraiment missionnaire.

C'est le P. Favre, premier recteur de Saint-Etienne, qui conçut l'idée et la lança. Dans son discours d'installation du 25 mars 1900, il fit part d'un projet d'une revue. « Cette annonce fit ouvrir de grands yeux »⁹⁴.

Le P. Godart entra pleinement dans ces vues. Rome accorda l'autorisation « à condition qu'on assurerait à la revue le concours permanent de trois Pères au moins, qui s'occuperaient presque exclusivement de la rédaction »⁹⁵. On désigna les PP. Favre, Bouchage et Roche. Il fallait aussi un administrateur; les PP. Godart et Favre supplièrent le P. Charbonnier d'accepter ce poste, au moins provisoirement. Il accepta par devoir. Ce provisoire devint définitif et « le P. Charbonnier a toujours soigné sa revue comme si c'était l'oeuvre de son goût et de son choix »⁹⁶.

Pour le contenu, une réunion des recteurs décida que « dans un cadre élastique, on introduirait tous les éléments d'une prédication de mission »⁹⁷.

⁹² APL, Revue *La Sainte Famille*, n. 1, Introduction.

⁹³ APL, Lettre du P. Charbonnier au P. Chételat du 19-10-1902.

⁹⁴ APL, Ibid.

⁹⁵ APL, Ibid.

⁹⁶ APL, ChrPL, an. 1901, p. 204.

⁹⁷ APL, Lettre du P. Charbonnier au P. Chételat du 18-10-1902.

Grâce au zèle de nos confrères, et à celui des confrères de Paris, la revue atteignit mille abonnés au bout de trois mois et 2300 abonnés dix-huit mois après sa fondation⁹⁸.

Réalisait-elle son but? « Pas suffisamment, écrivait lucidement le P. Charbonnier en 1902. Nos articles sont trop longs, trop théoriques, pas assez populaires. La famille, ut sic, n'y trouve rien. Ce qui est vraiment réussi, c'est ce qui est secondaire: les annales de N.D. du P.S. et de St Gérard, les relations de mission, les récits, les poésies. On a le vif désir de réaliser l'idéal »⁹⁹.

Ainsi naquit *L'Apôtre du Foyer*, qui s'éteignit en 1957, pour laisser la place à la revue interprovinciale *Mission Chrétienne*.

La bibliothèque provinciale

Le bien le plus précieux de la Province Gallo-Helvétique était sans nul doute la bibliothèque du studendat. Elle était en grande partie l'oeuvre du P. Hermann. C'est d'ailleurs pour ne pas en être séparé que ce père opta pour la Province de Paris. Dans une lettre au P. Chételat il nous décrit l'histoire des tribulations et de la formation de cette bibliothèque:¹⁰⁰

Le T.R.P. Desurmont nous a souvent raconté que, dans les années 1852 et suivantes, à Teterchen, la bibliothèque de la province remplissait 2 ou 3 rayons placés au-dessus d'une porte. Quelques temps après, une partie des livres de notre maison de Fribourg fut envoyée. Quelques dons et quelques achats vinrent peu à peu l'augmenter. En 1870, elle remplissait deux salles. Lorsque les Prussiens chassèrent nos pères d'Alsace-Lorraine, j'ai aidé à emballer la bibliothèque qui fut envoyée à Luxembourg où elle resta un an, en caisses. Lorsque le studendat fut fixé à Houdemont, la bibliothèque y fut aussi envoyée et placée dans les rayons dans la grande salle du rez-de-chaussée. C'est alors, en 1875, que je fus nommé bibliothécaire. En septembre 1876, lorsque le studendat fut transféré à Avon, la bibliothèque fut de nouveau emballée et nous suivit à Avon. A Avon, elle s'augmenta considérablement par des envois faits de Rome par le P. Reuss. En 1880, par suite des expulsions, elle fut réemballée et envoyée à Tourcoing où elle passa deux ans. Une fois que Dongen fut aménagée, la bibliothèque vint aussi nous y rejoindre. En 1883, le P. Desurmont demanda au Rme Père Mauron la permission de dépenser une somme assez

⁹⁸ APL, Ibid.

⁹⁹ APL, Ibid.

¹⁰⁰ APL, Lettre du P. Hermann au P. Chételat du 18-10-1902.

considérable pour achat de livres. Le Rme Père lui répondit qu'il était heureux de cette détermination et qu'il lui accordait volontiers de dépenser non seulement la somme par lui indiquée, mais le double de cette somme, ce qui indiquait clairement que le désir du Rme Père était qu'on montât bien la bibliothèque. Je fus chargé de ces achats. J'écrivis aux principaux bouquinistes de l'Europe entière qui s'empressèrent de m'envoyer leurs catalogues. Ces achats durèrent six ans. C'est alors que je procurais à la bibliothèque les plus importants ouvrages sur la théologie dogmatique et morale, l'Écriture Sainte, le droit canon, l'ascétisme, en particulier la mariologie, puis l'histoire, la philosophie, et la collection aussi complète que possible des ouvrages de nos confrères. Pendant ce temps également, on fit relier presque tous les ouvrages brochés chez Mr Behn, à Saint-Trond, à des conditions exceptionnellement favorables. A partir de 1888-1889, on ne fit plus d'achats considérables quoique, de temps en temps, on profitât d'une bonne occasion. En 1893, la bibliothèque fut transférée à Thury, et à l'heure où je vous écris, les livres sont de nouveau partis en exil. Ce qui fait que j'ai emballé cette bibliothèque quatre fois pour mon compte et une cinquième fois comme aide à Teterchen. Actuellement, c'est-à-dire avant l'emballage, la bibliothèque occupe une surface de 315 à 320 mètres carrés.

Au moment de la séparation des provinces, que fallait-il faire de cette bibliothèque? D'un commun accord les deux provinciaux décidèrent, et c'est heureux, qu'elle ne serait pas partagée. Paris, province détentrice, s'offrit à la garder moyennant juste rétribution. A quel prix l'estimer?

Il y avait la valeur réelle. Le P. Gavillet, ancien provincial, consulté estima qu'elle valait entre 500 000 et 600 000 francs¹⁰¹. Convenant que « autre est la valeur d'une bibliothèque *in se*, et autre sa valeur relative »¹⁰², les deux provinciaux s'entendirent sur l'estimation de 80 000 francs.

La modicité de ce prix souleva de telles protestations chez les lyonnais, que cet accord, comme beaucoup d'autres, fut remis en question, ce qui indigna le P. Castelain: « La chose a été réglée à Ganat. [...] On trouve donc que la bibliothèque a été estimée trop peu. Fort bien. Nous l'estimerons de nouveau si vous y tenez. Mais alors si l'estimation nous paraît trop forte, je vous avertis que je ne l'accepte pas. Et alors, ou bien je vous offrirai de prendre la bibliothèque pour votre province, et vous nous avancerez la moitié du prix, ou bien nous partagerons la bibliothèque en deux »¹⁰³. Elle revint finalement à la

¹⁰¹ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 04-07-1900.

¹⁰² AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Castelain au P. Godart du 05-07-1900.

¹⁰³ AGR, PL, Ibid.

Province de Paris, sans doute sur la base du prix convenu à Gannat.

A la fermeture de Thury, elle fit, au moins partiellement, le voyage de Bishop-Eton, puis celui de Fauquemont en 1911, où elle accomplit son plus long séjour. En 1939, elle suivit le studendat à Saint Amadour, et fut transférée à Dreux en 1946. Actuellement elle est installée à Paris au 170 du Boulevard du Montparnasse où de nombreux étudiants viennent la consulter.

Les livres de Fribourg, dont parle le P. Hermann, provenaient de la riche bibliothèque rassemblée surtout par notre P. Schmitt, le moraliste, et « infatigable investigateur de notre histoire », dit un mémoire de la bibliothèque cantonale de Fribourg qui précise qu'elle comprenait 5000 volumes. « En 1847, les livres furent jetés pêle-mêle, sans surveillance, dans les salles du collège. Certains de ces livres, et non les moins précieux, furent enlevés en grand nombre, d'autres furent lacérés, dépareillés. [...] Le reste fut finalement incorporé à la bibliothèque cantonale. Sur réclamation des Liguoriens, le gouvernement leur fit rendre en 1858 tout ce que nous avons de leur bibliothèque, environ 2700 volumes ». Certains de ces ouvrages furent envoyés à Teterchen et à Contamine, d'autres furent échangés en faveur de la bibliothèque cantonale¹⁰⁴.

La chroniquette

Préparant la division de la Province Gallo-Helvétique, le Père Godart, soucieux de garder un trait d'union entre les nouvelles provinces autonomes se fit promoteur d'un bulletin de liaison, sans prétention, composé de quelques feuillets photocopiés paraissant aux quatre temps. Le premier numéro sortit en février 1899.

Dans leur circulaire collective du 10 février 1900 les deux provinciaux spécifiaient que *La chronique trimestrielle* et la *Chronique alphonstienne de la Sainte Famille* continueraient à être l'organe commun des deux provinces pour les nouvelles domestiques, avec Antony pour siège unique¹⁰⁵.

Se faisant l'écho de cette déclaration, le numéro 5 (19 mars 1900) de *La chronique trimestrielle* affirme sa vocation d'union: « Malgré la division de la province, rien ne sera changé à notre chroniquette. Plus que jamais notre petite revue est appelée à servir de trait d'union

¹⁰⁴ APL, Mémoire sur la bibliothèque liguorienne de Fribourg, p. XXIV.

¹⁰⁵ APL, Godart et Castelain, Circulaire commune du 08-02-1900.

entre tous les membres de l'ancienne Province Gallico-Helvetica et de ses deux anciennes Vice-Provinces d'Espagne et du Pacifique. On l'a répété en effet avec tant d'insistance qu'on n'en peut douter; la division de la province n'entraînera jamais la désunion et la séparation des coeurs »¹⁰⁶.

Mais le numéro 8 (22 décembre 1900) rend un tout autre son de cloche. « Est-ce que la *Petite Chronique* verra le vingtième siècle?, ou bien est-elle appelée à disparaître avec ce numéro? Toujours est-il qu'elle cesse d'être l'organe de toutes les maisons de notre ancienne Province Gallico-Helvetica. On nous dit que le TRP. Provincial de Lyon renonçait à assurer la collaboration de ses maisons. Or, du moment que toute notre ancienne province ne prend plus, à la communication de nos petites nouvelles de famille, une part également fraternelle, mieux vaut que chaque province pourvoie, comme elle l'entendra, à la rédaction d'un petit écho qui lui soit propre »¹⁰⁷.

Ainsi mourut la chronique trimestrielle commune, victime de la brouille entre les deux provinces soeurs. Elle donna naissance à deux autres chroniquettes, puisque chaque province eut désormais la sienne.

Le P. Chételat, dans le premier numéro de celle de Lyon (1901), la présente ainsi: « Désormais chaque province aura sa chroniquette à elle. Sa Révérence, le T.R.P. Godart, désire que la nôtre ne dépasse pas huit pages de papier à lettre moyen. Je prie donc les chroniqueurs locaux de ne pas m'écrire des relations interminables. Que chacun envoie sa contribution de nouvelles, et une page par maison suffira »¹⁰⁸. Pauvre P. Chételat, comme il se faisait des illusions! Par la suite, le rédacteur supplia souvent les chroniqueurs de maisons de lui envoyer des compte-rendus.

Cette chroniquette eut la vie courte. A la mort du P. Jean, en 1907, le P. Favre, son successeur, créa *Alphonsiana*, petit fascicule imprimé en supplément à *L'Apôtre du Foyer*. En plus de la chronique, *Alphonsiana* avait pour mission de faire connaître la doctrine de St Alphonse. « Dans quelques jours, votre Paternité recevra le premier numéro d'un petit bulletin que j'ai créé pour remplacer la chroniquette trop enfantine, en faveur de nos missionnaires dispersés, qui ont besoin d'être reliés de plus en plus à la Congrégation et confirmés dans l'esprit de Saint Alphonse »¹⁰⁹.

¹⁰⁶ APP, PetChrTri, n. 5, p. 1.

¹⁰⁷ APP, Ibid., n. 8, p. 1.

¹⁰⁸ APL, PetChrTri, Lyonnaise, n. 1, p. 1.

¹⁰⁹ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Fr. Favre au P. Raus du 05-12-1907.

Elle dura ce que vécut le premier provincialat du P. Favre: c'est-à-dire deux ans. Rien à ma connaissance ne succéda à cette *Alphonsiana*. C'est, je crois, le *Risselet* qui reprit l'idée de la chronique en l'an de grâce 1956. Il tenait son nom du R.I.S. romain. A la mort de celui-ci, on chercha un autre titre; telle est l'origine du *Bip-Lyon* à qui nous souhaitons longue vie.

L'affaire De la Salle

Rien n'illustre mieux la querelle des deux provinces-soeurs que le différent qui les opposa à propos des biens du Père Maurice De la Salle.

Ce fils de famille avait fait profession le 15 octobre 1893¹¹⁰. Il avait apporté en dot une somme assez coquette, dont aucun document n'a pu nous préciser le montant. Avec le consentement du père une partie de cette somme avait contribué à payer la construction de la maison d'Antony¹¹¹. Il restait malgré tout un capital assez important. Les revenus de ce capital étaient affectés aux besoins de la province-mère et notamment à ceux de la maison d'Antony.

Survint la division de la province. A qui appartenait ce capital avec ses revenus? A première vue, il semblait logique de le partager entre les deux nouvelles provinces. Mais le donateur, Père De la Salle, en devenant sujet de la Province de Lyon, affirmait qu'il faisait don de sa dot à sa nouvelle province¹¹². Et Lyon était d'autant moins encline au partage qu'elle savait sa soeur parisienne plus favorisée qu'elle du point de vue matériel.

Juridiquement l'affaire n'était pas claire. Et malgré le protocole d'accord du 15 septembre 1900 qui imposait aux provinciaux de ne plus soulever de difficultés à propos d'argent, cette affaire continua d'empoisonner les rapports entre les deux provinces.

Le P. Coloos, procureur de Paris, n'était pas décidé du tout à respecter l'intention du P. De la Salle en faveur de la Province de Lyon, et il obtint en cela le soutien de son provincial, le P. Castelain. Il tenta même de persuader le P. De la Salle d'attribuer ses revenus à la maison d'Antony¹¹³.

¹¹⁰ APL, Catalogus CSSR, 1895, p. 164.

¹¹¹ APL, Dossier: Attribution des biens du P. De la Salle, 1913.

¹¹² APL, ChrPL, p. 186.

¹¹³ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Godart au P. Raus du 10-12-1900.

Le pauvre P. Godart, poussé par ses confrères, n'avait plus qu'une ressource: recourir à Rome au P. Général, ce qu'il fit à plusieurs reprises¹¹⁴, mais sans succès. Le P. Général se garda bien, lui, de prendre parti.

Ce ne fut qu'au bout de deux ans, grâce à la fermeté du P. Jean Kannengiesser, que l'affaire des revenus trouva sa solution: « La question des revenus du P. De la Salle est réglée. Sur ma demande, le P. Castelain a renoncé aux prétendus droits qu'il pouvait avoir là-dessus, et que je n'admettais pas. Malheureusement cela ne nous a pas beaucoup profité jusqu'ici »¹¹⁵.

On pouvait croire cette affaire enfin réglée. Elle allait rebondir de façon inattendue onze ans plus tard.

Dépossédée de sa maison d'Antony par la loi spoliatrice du 2 juillet 1901, la Province de Paris fit une réclamation devant les tribunaux au nom des anciens fondateurs et bienfaiteurs; certains de ceux-ci eurent gain de cause; parmi eux le P. De la Salle obtint la somme de 141 325 francs de restitution.

La question rejaillit: à qui revenait cette somme?

Pour Paris, il n'y avait pas de problème: l'argent du P. De la Salle avait servi à la construction d'Antony. Or la maison d'Antony était devenue propriété de la Province de Paris. La loi de 1901 l'en avait dépossédée. En faisant intervenir le P. De la Salle pour obtenir restitution d'une partie de ce qui avait été spolié, elle ne renonçait pas pour autant à son droit de propriété; et la somme de 141 325 francs lui revenait en entier¹¹⁶.

Mais Lyon lui opposait l'argument suivant: la donation du P. De la Salle fut faite à l'ancienne Province Gallo-Helvétique avant la division. Les deux Provinces de Lyon et de Paris ont les mêmes droits d'héritage. Par conséquent, Lyon a droit à la moitié de la somme récemment restituée au P. De la Salle¹¹⁶.

Ceci se passait en 1913. Le provincial de Lyon, le P. Wilpotte, porta l'affaire devant le conseil général de Rome, et envoya à cet effet un long mémoire juridique du P. Favre. Une nouvelle fois le P. Général refusa de se prononcer: « Je ne ferai rien pour entendre les deux sons de cloche » écrit-il en marge de la lettre du P. Wilpotte¹¹⁷.

¹¹⁴ AGR, PL, Lettres du P. Godart au P. Raus des 18-10-1900, 22-10-1900, 10-12-1900, 19-02-1901.

¹¹⁵ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Kannengiesser au P. Raus du 06-05-1902.

¹¹⁶ APL, Dossier: Attribution des biens du P. De la Salle, 1913.

¹¹⁷ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Wilpotte au P. Murray du 22-05-1913.

Celui-ci s'obstina et revint plusieurs fois à la charge¹¹⁸. Enfin le P. Favre adressa aussi une requête dans ce sens au P. Général le 26 juillet 1914¹¹⁹.

Le 2 août 1914, la grande guerre éclata. Cette tourmente apporta aux provinciaux de France bien d'autres soucis. Et l'affaire De la Salle fut reléguée aux oubliettes.. d'où elle n'est plus jamais sortie.

En conclusion, on peut se poser la question: Fallait-il ou non diviser la Province Gallo-Helvétique? Chacun se fait une opinion. On peut épiloguer longtemps sur la question. Mais, à coup sûr, celle-ci ne se serait jamais posée, si, au début du siècle, cette province n'avait pas été débordante de vitalité.

¹¹⁸ AGR, PL, Lettres du P. Wilpotte au P. Murray du 19-12-1913, 22-04-1914, 21-05-1914.

¹¹⁹ AGR, PL, Lettre du P. Favre au P. Murray du 26-07-1914.

COMMUNICATIONES

ANDRÉ SAMPERS

LES DOCUMENTS CONCERNANT ST CLÉMENT HOFBAUER CONSERVÉS AUX ARCHIVES NATIONALES À PARIS

SUMMARY

In the French National Archives and in the Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris there are several documents concerning St. Clement Hofbauer and his companions in Warsaw at the beginning of the 19th century. Most of these documents are translations in French of the papers seized by the French authorities when they suppressed the Redemptorist community of St. Benno (Warsaw, June 1808). The documents were translated for the government in Paris, and then the original papers were destroyed.

In the years 1916 and 1921 Fr. Eugène Béthune carefully examined both archives and sent copies of all the relevant documents to Rome, where they are kept in the General Archives of the Redemptorists (vol. IX, Appendix). Nearly all were published in the *Monumenta Hofbaueriana*, fasc. VII (1934) and VIII (1936).

Recently, through the kindness of the Rev. Charles Molette and Fr. Théodule Rey-Mermet we obtained a photocopy of one of these files, i.e. the one kept in the National Archives, classified AF IV 1687, nn. 72-87. An inventory of this file is given below according to the present numbering of the documents, which slightly differs from the former system. Moreover, two hitherto unpublished documents from the file are edited. They give some insight into the devotional life and apostolic activity of the members of the Association of the Oblates (*Sodalitium Oblatorum*) founded by St. Clement, and provide some data on the hierarchical structure of the sodality.

Le 16 février 1916, le père Pierre-Almire Riblier¹, Supérieur des Rédemptoristes de la Province de Paris, communiquait au Supérieur général de la Congrégation, le père Patrick Murray, qu'on venait de faire « une précieuse découverte aux Archives Nationales de Paris sur le père Hofbauer ». Un père Capucin lui avait signalé qu'il

¹ Pierre-Almire Riblier (1859-1934), Supérieur de la Province CSSR de Paris durant les années 1912-1916.

s'y trouvait un bon nombre de documents — « en tout 170 pièces environ en deux cartons » — qui semblaient d'une extrême importance pour la vie et l'oeuvre des Rédemptoristes à Varsovie au commencement du XIX^e siècle. « C'est un vrai trésor pour nous ». Et il concluait: « Nous bénissons la Providence de cette trouvaille vraiment précieuse »².

Dans sa réponse du 20 février, le p. Murray, en exprimant sa joie de la découverte, disait qu'il pensait envoyer à Paris l'archiviste général, le p. Edouard Böhrel³, pour faire des recherches exhaustives et transcrire les documents. En répondant, le 26 février, le p. Riblier ne se montrait pas enthousiaste de ce projet⁴ et faisait remarquer au Père Général qu'il serait plus simple et moins coûteux de faire dépouiller les dossiers par le p. Eugène Béthune⁵, « très entendu dans ce genre de travail⁶ et très soigneux », et de faire copier les pièces par des copistes professionnels qu'on pourrait trouver facilement sur place.

Ainsi fut fait. Le p. Murray demandait au p. Béthune de se charger des recherches et de fournir une copie fidèle de tous les documents. Le 28 mars, celui-ci remerciait de la mission reçue⁷ et, le 25 mai, il signait un bref rapport qui précède les pièces transcrites. Il y donne un compte-rendu du travail fait: « Le tout a été copié fidèlement et intégralement avec les fautes d'orthographe et les mentions policières, v.g. le mot *insignifiantes* dont sont gratifiées certaines lettres fort intéressantes. Tout ce qui est écrit à l'encre se trouve dans le manuscrit, que j'ai soigneusement collationné. Quelques mots

² La correspondance Riblier-Murray est conservée aux archives générales des Rédemptoristes à Rome (dorénavant citées: AGR), Provincia Parisiensis, I, Correspondance entre le Supérieur général et le Supérieur provincial, année 1916.

³ Edouard Böhrel (1843-1924), archiviste général CSSR durant les années 1903-1924.

⁴ Le p. Riblier disait entre autres qu'il trouvait l'écriture du p. Böhrel « loin d'être merveilleuse » et qu'il serait assez facile de trouver « des copistes plus calligraphes ». De fait, l'écriture du p. Böhrel est beaucoup plus belle et plus claire que celle des copistes! Il nous semble que le p. Riblier ne voulait pas se dessaisir de l'affaire, sans oser le dire nettement à son supérieur.

⁵ Eugène Béthune (1849-1939) était un prédicateur de grand renom. Il s'intéressait vivement à l'histoire de la Congrégation.

⁶ Le p. Béthune n'était certainement pas familier avec la méthode des recherches d'archives. Qu'il s'entendait dans ce genre de travail ne peut signifier rien d'autre qu'il était habitué à travailler d'une manière exacte et consciencieuse.

⁷ La correspondance Murray-Béthune est conservée aux AGR, Prov. Parisiensis, H, Personalia.

d'éclaircissement *au crayon* sont seuls de moi »⁸. Ensuite, les copies, un ensemble de 196 feuilles in-folio, furent transmises à Rome et déposées aux archives générales des Rédemptoristes⁹.

Notons encore en passant que dans les archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères à Paris sont aussi conservés des documents sur le p. Hofbauer et ses compagnons. En 1921 le p. Béthune avait l'occasion de dépouiller ces archives et y copiait lui-même toutes les pièces concernant les Rédemptoristes de Varsovie et qui complètent très utilement celles conservées aux Archives Nationales¹⁰. Par une lettre du 18 avril, le père envoyait les copies au p. Murray¹¹.

Durant les années 1924-1926, tous les documents furent copiés à Rome pour les archives de la Province CSSR de Pologne¹² et ensuite utilisés par le p. Wladyslaw Szoldrski pour une étude sur la suppression du couvent des Rédemptoristes à Varsovie en 1808¹³. Une dizaine d'années plus tard, en 1934-1936, les pièces — à quelques exceptions près — furent publiées¹⁴ par le même père dans les *Monumenta Hofbaueriana*¹⁵.

La grande majorité des documents en question sont les traductions des papiers saisis par les autorités françaises au couvent de St-Bennon à Varsovie, quand celui-ci fut supprimé et les religieux déportés, le 17-20 juin 1808. De presque toutes ces pièces, écrites en allemand, italien, latin et polonais, fut faite une traduction française, expédiée ensuite à Paris, en trois envois successifs, avec un rapport dans lequel on résumait leur contenu le plus important selon le

⁸ Le p. Béthune ajoute à son rapport l'observation suivante: « Je ne crois pas qu'il se trouve d'autres documents qui nous concernent, car j'ai fouillé tous les cartons qui pouvaient, par quelque côté, se rapporter à nous ».

⁹ Le rapport du p. Béthune du 25 mai 1916 et les documents sont conservés aux AGR IX, Appendix.

¹⁰ Voyez la lettre du p. Béthune au p. Murray du 18 avril 1921, dans laquelle il dit entre autres: « Je me suis empressé de copier [les pièces] en quatre séances de trois heures chacune ».

¹¹ La lettre du p. Béthune et les copies sont conservées aux AGR IX, Appendix.

¹² Voyez la correspondance entre le p. Murray et le p. Emanuel Trzemeski, aux AGR, Provincia Polonica, I, années 1924-1926.

¹³ *Wywiezienie Benonitów z Warszawy dnia 20 czerwca 1808 roku*, dans *Ateneum kapłańskie* 17. (1926) 261-277, 375-394, 463-474. Tirage à part de 48 pp., Włocławek 1926.

¹⁴ Il résulte de la correspondance Riblier-Murray, citée ci-dessus, que déjà en 1916 on pensait à une édition éventuelle des documents, du moins des plus importants.

¹⁵ *Monumenta Hofbaueriana* (dorénavant cités: MH), fasc. VII, Toruń 1934, 83 ss.; fasc. VIII, Toruń 1936, 9 ss.

point de vue des usurpateurs¹⁶. Les originaux et les copies saisies furent détruites, parce qu'on les tenait désormais pour inutiles¹⁷. En outre, il y a la correspondance entre les autorités de Varsovie et celles de Paris concernant la suppression du couvent et la déportation des religieux.

Récemment, Mr l'abbé Charles Molette avait l'amabilité de nous signaler l'existence d'un certain nombre de « documents relatifs à l'expulsion des religieux bénonistes de Varsovie, 1808 », conservés aux Archives Nationales de Paris sous la cote AF IV 1687, dossier I, pièces 72-87¹⁸. Après en avoir obtenu une photocopie¹⁹, nous avons constaté que le numérotage actuel des documents diffère légèrement de celui indiqué dans les MH. C'est pourquoi il nous semble utile de donner ici le contenu du dossier selon le numérotage actuel, en indiquant où les pièces ont été éditées dans les MH.

Après cet inventaire seront publiés deux documents, qui n'ont pas été insérés dans les MH, mais qui ne semblent pas être sans intérêt à cause de quelques détails concernant l'Association des Oblats de St Clément et la relation de cet Institut avec l'association secrète, connue sous le nom de ' Amitié Chrétienne '.

¹⁶ Après l'arrivée des documents en France, deux autres rapports furent rédigés par l'archevêque de Malines, Dominique de Pradt. Celui-ci considérait leur contenu comme absolument inoffensif pour l'Etat et l'ordre public. Ces rapports sont édités dans les MH VII 105-107 et 111-112.

¹⁷ Il n'y a pas de preuve directe de la destruction des papiers saisis à St-Bennon. Mais le fait qu'on n'a pu les retrouver ni dans les archives de Paris ni dans celles de Varsovie, ne semble explicable qu'en admettant leur destruction.

¹⁸ Dans ce qui suit, il s'agit seulement de ce dossier et non pas des documents concernant les Rédemptoristes conservés sous d'autres cotes aux Archives Nationales.

¹⁹ Nous remercions vivement Mr l'abbé Charles Molette et le p. Théodule Rey-Mermet pour leurs soins à nous procurer les photocopies.

INVENTAIRE

des documents relatifs à l'expulsion
des religieux bénonistes de Varsovie, 1808
conservés aux Archives Nationales à Paris
sous la cote AF IV 1687, dossier I, pièces 72-87

72. - Rapport du maréchal Louis Davout à l'empereur Napoléon I; Skierniewice, 8 VII 1808. - MH VII 107-109, n. 71.
73. - Rapport de l'archevêque Dominique de Pradt à l'empereur Napoléon I; sans date. - MH VII 111-112, n. 74.
74. Extrait d'une lettre de Mr Bourgoing du 15 juin 1808, avec des observations du maréchal Davout. - MH VII 109-110, n. 72.
75. - Extrait d'une lettre de Mr Bourgoing à Mr Serra du 27 juin 1808. - MH VII 110-111, n. 73.
76. - Rapport du colonel Saunier au maréchal Davout; sans date. - MH VII 83-89, n. 52.

A ce rapport sont jointes 27 pièces traduites, conservées sous les nn. 77-84.

77. - N. 1. - Prières journalières et ordre du jour de Hélène [Chrapowicka]; sans date. Trad. du polonais. - Le document sera édité ci-dessous, n. 1.
- N. 2. - Lettre de Hélène Chrapowicka au p. Hofbauer; sans date. Trad. du polonais. - MH VII 85, note 1.
- N. 3. - Lettre du p. Charles Jestershein au p. Hofbauer; Grębków, 14 V 1808. Trad. de l'allemand. - MH VIII 166, n. 105.
- N. 4. - Lettre de Maria Lubomirska au p. Hofbauer; sans date. Trad. du polonais. - MH VIII 214, note 1 (résumé).
- N. 5. - Lettre de Maria Lubomirska au p. Hofbauer; 25 V [l'année manque]. Trad. du polonais. - *Ut supra*.
- N. 6. - Lettre du curé Vincent Buczyński au p. Jestershein; Gluchów, 9 VI 1808. Trad. du polonais. - MH VIII 265-266, n. 177.
- N. 7. - Lettre du commerçant Paul Chiodetti au p. Hofbauer; Spoleto, 4 I 1808. Trad. du latin. - MH VIII 163, note 3 (extrait).
- N. 8. - Lettre du baron Auguste Hoyoll (?) au p. Jestershein; Popiele, 25 III 1808. Trad. de l'allemand. - MH VIII 264-265, n. 176.

- N. 9. - Billet au p. Joseph Vichart [= Wichert], tout seul, à Mitau; sans date. Trad. de l'allemand. - Ce document n'est pas édité.
- N. 10. - Lettre du curé Adrien de Courten au p. Jestershein; Viège en Valais, 17 III 1808. - MH VIII 263-264, n. 175.
- N. 11. - Lettre du p. Passerat au p. Hofbauer; Viège en Valais, 18 III 1808. - MH VIII 163-165, n. 103.
- N. 12. - Lettre du p. Passerat au p. Hofbauer; sans date. Trad. de l'allemand, du polonais et du latin. - MH VIII 158-160, n. 100.
- N. 13. - Lettre du nonce Antoine Severoli au p. Hofbauer; Wien, 29 I 1808. Trad. du latin. - MH V 103-104, n. 99 (texte en latin).
- N. 14. - Lettre du cardinal Laurent Litta au p. Hofbauer; Roma, 16 III 1808. Trad. du latin. - MH VII 87, note 2.
- N. 15. - Lettre de l'abbé Henri Edgeworth de Firmont au p. Hofbauer; Warszawa, 25 V [l'année manque]. Trad. du latin. - MH VII 86, note 1.
- N. 16. - Lettre de l'abbé Joseph Beissler au p. Hofbauer; Dresden, 6 IV 1808. Trad. de l'allemand. - MH VII 94-96, n. 61.
- N. 16 bis. - Lettre de l'abbé J. Schneider au p. Hofbauer; Dresden, 14 V 1808. Trad. de l'allemand. - MH VII 96.
- N. 17. - Lettre à Mr Weber, chez le p. Jestershein à St-Bennon; Wien, 10 III 1807 (est la date du timbre). Trad. de l'allemand. - MH VII 85, note 2.
- N. 18. - Lettre du p. Hofbauer au p. Thaddée Hübl; Augsburg, 11 V [1806]. Trad. de l'allemand et du polonais. - MH XIV 105-106, n. 191.
- N. 19. - Billet sans adresse ni signature; 16 II [l'année manque]. Trad. du polonais. - Ce document n'est pas édité.
78. - N. 20. - Lettre de l'archevêque Laurent Litta au p. Hofbauer; Roma, 2 VIII 1800. - MH VIII 197-198, n. 123.
79. - N. 21 - Lettre de l'abbé Dominique Morenowski au Saint-Père; Warszawa, 31 VII 1800. - Le p. Thaddée Hübl, recteur de la maison de St-Bennon, est mentionné à la fin de la lettre. - Ce document n'est pas édité.
80. - N. 22 - Lettre du p. Pierre-Paul Blasucci au p. Hofbauer; Nocera de' Pagani, 15 II 1800. - MH VIII 67-69, n. 54.
81. - N. 23. - Lettre du p. Pierre-Paul Blasucci au p. Hofbauer; Nocera de' Pagani, 28 XII 1800. - MH VIII 81-82, n. 57.
82. - N. 24. Exposé non signé; sans date. - Le document sera édité ci-dessous, n. 2.

83. - N. 25. - Acte de Joseph Wierziewski; Warszawa, 5 VII 1804. - MH XIV 146, n. 268 (la date est fausse).
84. - N. 26. - Lettre de Mr Sartory au p. Hofbauer; Wien, 23 VI 1808. - Ce document n'est pas édité.
85. - Lettre du maréchal Davout à l'empereur Napoléon I; Skierniewice, 26 VII 1808. - MH VII 115, n. 82.
86. - Lettre du nonce Antoine Severoli au p. Hofbauer; Wien, 8 VII 1808. - MH V 105, n. 102 (texte en latin).
87. - Lettre du nonce Antoine Severoli au p. Hofbauer; Wien, 2 VII 1808. - MH V 104, n. 101 (texte en latin).

DOCUMENTS

Les deux documents que nous publions ici, étaient connus du p. Szoldrski, mais il ne les a pas insérés dans les MH, probablement parce qu'il les jugeait sans importance. En les lisant attentivement, il nous semble pourtant que le contenu en justifie la publication.

Depuis quelque temps nous recueillons des informations sur l'Association des Oblats (*Sodalitium Oblatorum*) fondée et propagée par St Clément Hofbauer, non seulement comme moyen efficace de la sanctification des membres, mais aussi comme organisation d'apostolat actif¹. Nous nous intéressons particulièrement à la question: Est-il possible de déceler des liens historiques — dépendance directe ou indirecte, rapports réciproques — entre l'association de St Clément et l'Amitié Chrétienne (AC), association religieuse et apostolique fondée vers 1780 à Turin par l'ex-jésuite Nikolaus von Diessbach, que St Clément a certainement connue à Vienne². Nous voudrions aussi trouver des renseignements qui nous permettent de connaître plus à fond la vie religieuse et l'activité apostolique des Oblats³.

Le premier document est écrit par la 'castellane'⁴ Hélène Chrapo-

¹ Cf. *Spic. hist.* 26 (1978) 79-80 et 86. Plusieurs documents concernant l'Association des Oblats de St Clément ont été édités dans les MH; voyez le fasc. XV, p. 165 (Index, s.v. *Sodalitium Oblatorum*).

² Cf. *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 262, note 25.

³ Notre intérêt est évidemment de nature historique, mais ne se restreint pas uniquement à une connaissance plus approfondie du passé. Il nous semble, en effet, que la Sodalité des Oblats de St Clément pourrait fournir aujourd'hui encore des indications valables pour constituer une association de ce genre.

⁴ Par le nom de 'castellan' était indiqué autrefois en Pologne le gouverneur d'un château fort.

wicka⁵, fille spirituelle de St Clément, que l'on suppose, par conséquent à bon droit, avoir été membre de l'Association des Oblats. Elle décrit ses pratiques journalières de dévotion et indique plusieurs livres ascétiques dont elle fait usage⁶. Le point qui nous intéresse le plus c'est que Mme Chrapowicka mentionne des obligations en relation avec l'Amitié Chrétienne⁷.

L'autre document est un exposé d'une dame, qui avait une certaine autorité dans une association, que nous sommes enclins à identifier avec la Sodalité des Oblats. Dans ce rapport, la dame expose comment Mlle Joséphine Lubianka — qui nous est, par ailleurs, inconnue — a manqué à ses engagements de membre de l'association. Elle relate aussi l'intervention des supérieurs⁸ pour la faire revenir à de meilleurs sentiments, et indique les motifs qui les ont amenés « à la rayer de la liste des initiés », c.-à-d. de l'exclure de l'association.

1. - Compte de conscience de Hélène Chrapowicka; sans daté. — Texte français, traduit du polonais, cons. aux Archives Nationales à Paris, AF IV 1687, pièce 77, n. 1.

Prières journalières et ordre du jour.

Le matin, en m'éveillant, je dis les prières du matin du livre de St Benoy. Je prends le café au lit pour la santé. Cela dure une heure, et quelquefois moins.

Après avoir fait mon lit, je dis à genoux six *Ave Maria*, saluant sa pureté; demandant d'avoir en partage, par ses instances, la même pureté intacte. Trois *Ave Maria* aux anges gardiens, et trois pour St Udalrik. Enfin une prière pour me recommander à la protection divine dans mes besoins.

En me coiffant, je dis à haute voix les psaumes au nom de Jésus, une prière sur la transfiguration, le psaume « Dieu, prends pitié de moi », et les litanies de la pénitence, que je me suis imposées pendant une année. Je lis ensuite à haute voix la méditation tirée de l'évangile par Woykowski.

⁵ On trouve plusieurs informations sur Mme Chrapowicka dans les MH; voyez le fasc. XV, p. 180 (Index, s.v.).

⁶ Nous renvoyons la description bibliographique de ces livres à l'étude que nous préparons sur la vie interne de l'Association des Oblats de St Clément, et qui paraîtra sous peu dans cette revue.

⁷ Bien que le texte du 6^{me} alinéa du document ne soit pas tout à fait clair — le traducteur n'étant certainement pas très versé dans de telles matières! — nous ne doutons pas qu'il s'agisse d'obligations résultant de la liaison avec l'Amitié Chrétienne. A cause de son caractère secret, cette association est indiquée par les seules initiales: A. C. C'était l'usage courant parmi les initiés.

⁸ Plusieurs indications, dans le document, portent à croire que l'association avait une structure très hiérarchique.

Je vais ensuite à l'église, lorsqu'il fait beau, et je lis dans mon livre les prières que j'ai consacrées. Tous les jeudis je me suis imposé une litanie à tous les Saints, tous les vendredis les psaumes de la pénitence.

Dans le jour ou au soir, je lis les lettres de St François de Sales et l'Ame sur le Calvaire.

Les rosaires, les litanies, voilà les prières d'Hélène. Les six prières prescrites pour l'objet connu sont récitées tous les jours. Au sujet de ces prières je suis douteuse, s'il n'y a pas d'autres obligations que celles résultantes de la liaison A. C.

Je désire en tout remplir vos bons conseils. Soyez assuré que tout ce qui s'appelle amusements du monde a cessé depuis longtemps d'avoir de l'agrément à mes yeux, et surtout dans mon état actuel. Je me trouve sauvage. Je ne suis heureuse que lorsque je suis seule. Mais combien je suis inquiète sur cette guerre que V. R. m'a annoncée avec l'ennemi de mon âme! Puissent les prières que V. R. m'a imposées, me défendre, reconnaissant la faiblesse de mes forces, au milieu du tumulte de mes idées.

Vous pouvez être assuré que je ne pense pas à un nouveau mariage. Que dois-je faire? Si une pensée pareille me venait, je ne doute plus alors de cette guerre! Mais comment reconnaître si c'est la volonté divine qui s'oppose, ou bien si ce sont les stratagèmes de l'ennemi. Je suis comme un soldat auquel on a annoncé une bataille et qui cherche à assurer son existence. Je désire aussi faire ma confession générale; ce sera la troisième.

Je remercie très humblement V. R. pour l'aimable réprimande contenue dans sa dernière lettre. Et en espérant une autre, je suis avec toute la maison dans l'attente de votre bénédiction et souvenir.

H^e

2. - Exposé non signé; sans date. — Texte français, traduit du polonais, cons. aux Archives Nationales à Paris, AF IV 1687, pièce 82, n. 24.

Que Jésus notre amour soit loué!

Les premiers motifs qui ont donné lieu à éloigner Mlle Joséphine Lubianka, furent qu'au commencement de notre réunion elle n'a point voulu aller voir notre père. Depuis ce dernier lui a fait reprendre son diplôme d'initiation, ce que je fis, mais en cachette, croyant qu'il y aurait moyen de la ramener. J'ai tout employé, jusqu'à me mettre à genoux, pour la décider d'aller à confesse, mais elle m'a répondu brusquement qu'elle n'irait plus ni à confesse, ni à l'église. Cependant vers [= par] la suite j'ai trouvé moyen de la faire aller à l'église.

Après cela elle commença à convertir différentes personnes et négligea les devoirs prescrits par notre ordre [règlement?]. Elle ne venait plus aux dénonciations [réunions?]. Et quelques fois six semaines se sont passées sans voir Mlle Joséphine. Les autres soeurs étaient étonnées de ne plus la voir aux séances. J'ai été lui faire des remontrances de la manière la plus douce: qu'elle n'avait pas besoin de sacrifier toute une semaine pour la conversion, qu'elle devait en exclure un jour pour le salut de son âme, qu'elle ne venant pas aux séances des dénonciations et aux lectures, qui s'y font, elle y perdait beaucoup. Mais toutes mes admonitions étaient infructueuses, et elle avait l'air de m'en vouloir. Je lui ai réitéré que sa conversion n'était et ne pouvait être d'aucun mérite, si elle ne voulait pas obéir et se soumettre aux règlements de l'ordre, qu'aucun missionnaire ne faisait du bien que lorsque le salut de son âme était assuré. Mais il m'était difficile de la ramener. Sous prétexte de conversion elle recevait beaucoup de personnes chez elle.

Elle est venue un soir très tard à confesse, de manière que le père n'a pas voulu l'entendre. Elle en fut tellement fâchée qu'elle est tombée malade le lendemain. Elle me fit chercher et me dit qu'elle avait une inquiétude qui rongait son coeur, mais qu'elle ne voulait pas voir le père, qu'elle aimait mieux mourir sans confesse que de le revoir. Nous avons toujours remarqué qu'elle avait une conduite contraire à sa vocation. Les soeurs inférieures en grade ont souvent rencontré chez elle des jeunes gens. On a vu particulièrement un jeune homme dont les visites étaient très assidues, et qui paraissait la demander en mariage. Il lui serrait la main, la baisait, et elle était très affable envers lui.

Nous avons aperçu qu'à la place des bagues de la congrégation il y en avait d'autres, et que les premières furent mises sur les doigts de la main gauche. Nous l'avons regardée depuis avec mépris, surtout parce qu'elle avait déclaré qu'elle ne voulait plus voir notre père, ce qui nous a décidées à la rayer de la liste des initiés. Nous le fîmes cependant encore en cachette. Nous priâmes le père d'aller la voir et la maîtresse de la prendre chez elle pour ne pas lui laisser des occasions de contrevenir aux ordres [= règles] de l'ordre. La maîtresse fit son possible pour la décider d'aller avec elle, mais elle n'aurait jamais réussi sans le secours des autres soeurs. Elle a été à son arrivée à confesse chez notre père. Il lui a tout pardonné. Lorsque sa santé fut rétablie, elle demanda très instamment d'aller chez elle. Peu après son beau-frère est venu et l'a emmenée avec lui. Elle a été demander la permission à notre père, qui pour se débarrasser d'elle la lui a accordée. Ce n'était cependant que des purs pré-

textes, car elle avait dit plusieurs fois qu'elle serait bien aise d'aller à la fête de son beau-frère, attendu qu'il y aurait beaucoup de monde et qu'on lui ferait des cadeaux.

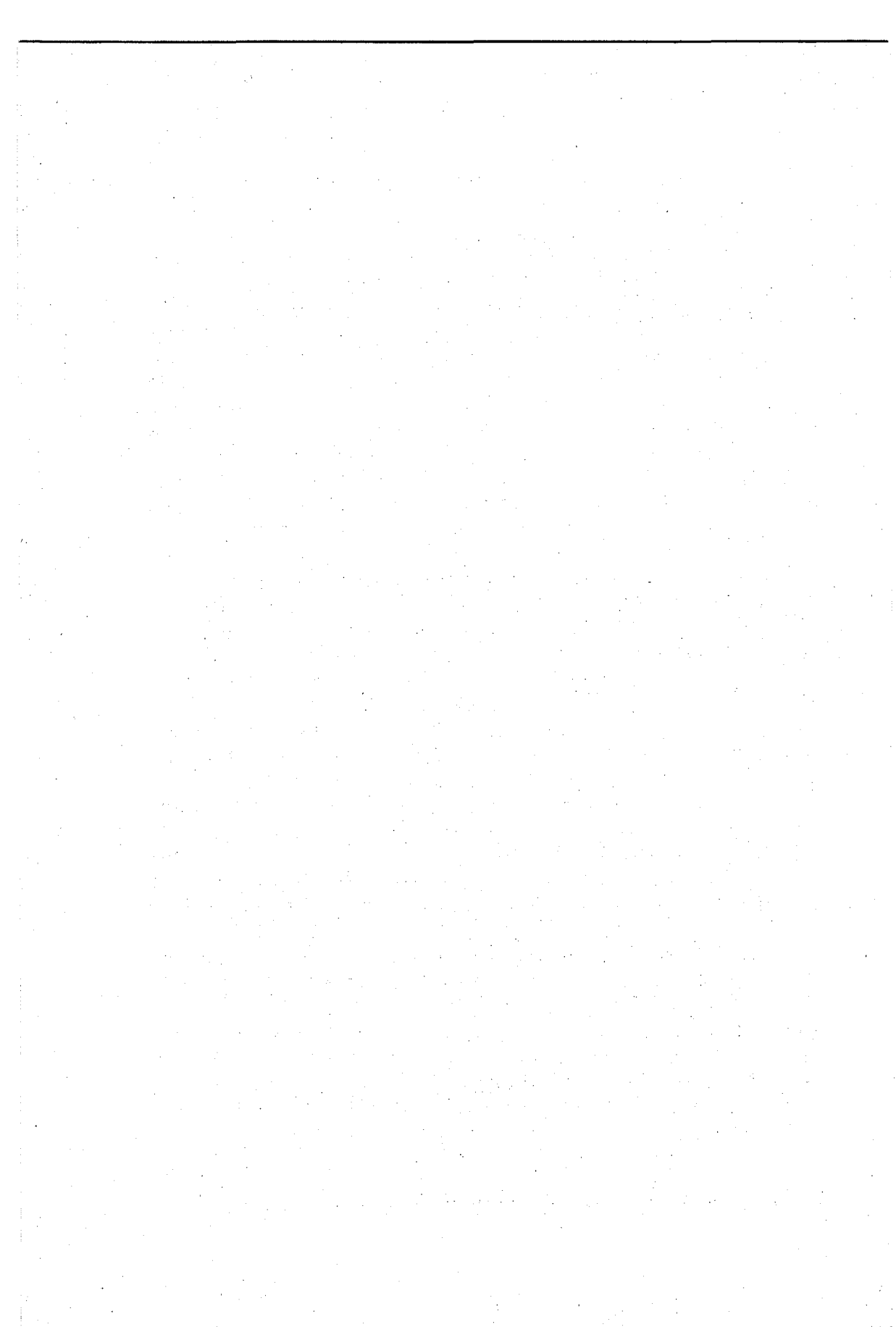
Nous avons appris aussi que les jeunes gens restaient chez Mlle Joséphine jusqu'à minuit et qu'elle jouait aux cartes avec eux. Je lui en avais fait des remontrances avec ma supérieure. Je lui ai dit: « Ma chère Joséphine, pourquoi permets-tu aux hommes de te fréquenter aussi souvent? Ignorez-tu que cette conduite donne lieu à la médisance? » Elle m'a répondu que cela lui était égal, et que les hommes ne venaient qu'à cause de la mère. Quant à celui qui lui fait la cour, c'est un de ses parents et elle est obligée de le souffrir souvent à côté d'elle parce que la mère le veut. Tout cela n'était pourtant qu'un mensonge, car nous avons appris depuis qu'elle était très affable et prévenante envers ceux qui venaient la voir. Un jour on l'a trouvée avec trois hommes à dix heures du soir sans chandelle. Elle était coiffée, et la mère était dehors. A la fin je lui ai demandé, pourquoi elle n'allait pas à l'église. Elle m'a répondu que c'était la mère qui l'empêchait, et cette dernière a dit qu'elle avait beau l'exhorter à y aller et à confesse, que jamais elle ne voulait y aller.

Lorsque nous nous sommes réunis pour la dénonciation, elle s'y est présentée après que la séance fut finie. Je lui ai demandé, si elle a été à la communion et où. Elle m'a répondu que oui et que c'était à l'église des Carmes. « Je ne sais pas — lui dis-je — ce que cela veut dire que les Carmes te la donnent maintenant de si bon gré, et qu'autrefois tu avais toutes les difficultés d'en obtenir ». « Au contraire — me répondit-elle — il vient (le prêtre) lui-même me demander, si je veux me communier ». Mais nous savions déjà qu'il y avait deux ou trois semaines qu'elle ne s'est point confessée ni communie. Elle nous faisait accroire qu'elle voyait le père, qu'elle allait à confesse, qu'elle avait obtenu la permission de s'absenter et de communier là où elle serait.

Là-dessus je lui ai dit qu'elle ne me tromperait pas, « car je sens dans l'âme ce que tu fais ». « Ce que je fais, dites-le moi, Mlle? De quoi vous apercevez-vous? Qui est-ce qui peut blâmer ma conduite et me dénigrer à vos yeux? Dites-le moi, car je ne souffrirai pas des calomnies injustes ». « Eh bien — lui dis-je — vous nous en imposez à tout instant. Vous vous imaginez que nous ne savons rien, néanmoins nous sommes instruits de tout: vous n'allez ni à confesse, ni à la messe ».

Pour copie conforme.

Le secrétaire de S. E. Mgr le M.al Davout, Lenoir.



ANDRÉ SAMPERS

FATHER JOSEPH PASSERAT'S HEROIC VIRTUE
declared on April 29, 1980

SUMMARIUM

Occasione data decreti super heroicitate virtutum a ven. patre Iosepho Amando Passerat exercitarum, opportunum visum est dare quasdam notitias de vita et actuositate tanti viri, cuius memoria quodammodo neglecta videtur in historiographia Congregationis SS.mi Redemptoris ultimis quadraginta annis.

Vitae curriculum p. Passerat (1772-1858) perlustranti statim apparet eum magnum locum tenuisse in historia Instituti per primum dimidium saeculi XIX, quando continenter munera maximi momenti obibat: vices gerentis s. Clementis in Germania (1803-1807) et in Helvetia (1807-1820), vicarii generalis Congregationis transalpinae (1820-1848). Hoc periodo Redemptoristae firmas sedes constituerunt in Europa centrali et occidentali nec non in Statibus Foederatis Americae, ibique bonam famam acquisierunt. Quod sane non soli p. Passerat debetur, certo certius tamen magna ex parte ipsius perseverantiae ac prudentiae gubernandi attribuendum est, maxime vero ipsius verbo et exemplo, quo suos induxit, ut plene se vocationi dederent.

Sicut eius decessor in munere vicarii transalpini, s. Clemens, p. Passerat firme persuasum habuit, Congregationem diffundendam esse per regiones extra Italiam. Ambo toto corde et omni vi sese huic operi impenderunt, quod prospere eis successit. Notatur tamen quaedam diversitas in eorum regimine. S. Clemens in documentis apparet homo activus, semper exercitio operum pro proximo deditus, p. Passerat e contra magis ad contemplationem inclinatus. Adhortatio ipsius continua in vitam interiorem incumbendi, i. e. ad orationem colendam et virtutes exercendas — et quidem secundum observantiam Constitutionum a. 1764 conditarum — quibusdam s. Clementis discipulis nimia videbatur, atque etiam quodammodo abnegatio spiritus magistri iudicabatur, saltem quatenus talis fidelis observantia Constitutionum usque in minimis praescriptis detrimento quodam esset exercitio laborum apostolicorum.

Quidquid sit de indole et pondere vitae asceticae a p. Passerat congregatis verbo et exemplo impositae, eius regimen — a plerisque subditis ut Dei donum consideratum — salutarem effectum in Instituto habuit et usque ad hunc diem habet. Recte animadvertit superior generalis p. Nicolaus Mauron die obitus Servi Dei: « Quidquid vitae interioris ac asceseos

exercitii habetur hodie in Congregatione transalpina, hoc omne debetur Patri Passerat ».

Postremo in hoc scripto datur, per summa capita, iter causae. Processus ordinarii seu diocesani celebrati sunt ann. 1892-1896. Causa introducta est an. 1901. Deinde processus apostolici celebrati sunt ann. 1902-1910. Post longiorem prolationem causa assumpta est a postulatore generali, p. Nicola Ferrante, et die 29 aprilis 1980 Congregatio pro Causis Sanctorum decretum super heroicitate virtutum p. Passerat edixit. Quod documentum adiungitur forma archetypi.

The studies of Redemptorist history and of the Congregation's outstanding figures published in the last forty years give the impression that Fr. Passerat's important place in the development of the Institute and his spiritual eminence have not received during this time the attention they deserve. The decree, recently issued by the Congregation for the Causes of Saints declaring officially that Fr. Passerat practised the virtues to a heroic degree, is a welcome occasion for a few notes on his personality and his work, and on their significance for the Congregation.

Born on April 30, 1772, at Joinville (Champagne, France), Joseph-Amand-Constantin-Fidèle Passerat wanted at an early age to become a priest. The anti-church policy adopted by the French government around 1790 forced him to interrupt his studies. After deserting from the army (1792), he continued them in Augsburg, where he received minor orders on September 19, 1795, and in Würzburg at the seminary for French emigrants. In Southern Germany he got to know the writings of St. Alphonsus de Liguori and the apostolic work of the Redemptorists; whereupon he decided to join this Congregation. So, in 1796 he went — with three companions — to Warsaw, to the only Redemptorist monastery at that time in existence outside Italy.

St. Clement Hofbauer received the young man with open arms. Passerat was admitted among the sons of St. Alphonsus: he began his novitiate on July 22, 1796, and took his vows — less than four months later — on November 13. After finishing his theological studies, he was ordained in Warsaw on April 15, 1797, by Bishop Jan Albertrandy. A few months later St. Clement appointed him as master of novices and prefect of students; he also taught church history and theology. As confessor and spiritual director, he also took an active part in what is appropriately called the 'perpetual mission' at St. Benno's, directed by Fr. Hofbauer who repeatedly showed that he was very pleased with the newcomer's spiritual attitude and activity. But not for a long time was Warsaw to be the scene of Fr. Passerat's apostolate.

St. Clement succeeded in establishing his first foundation on

German soil, at Mount Tabor near Jestetten, at the end of 1802. He called Fr. Passerat in the summer of 1803 and appointed him superior of the community. Moreover, he gave him ample faculties: such as to transfer the community, to admit candidates to the novitiate and to profession, to authorize his subjects to present themselves for holy orders and to appoint them to community offices. In effect, Fr. Passerat became St. Clement's deputy in matters concerning the Congregation in the German countries.

When the Redemptorists had to leave the diocese of Constance, Fr. Passerat led his men to Babenhausen near Augsburg (1805) and a few years later (1807) from there to Switzerland: first to Chur (canton of the Grisons) and then to Visp (Valais). In 1811 he moved the community to the canton of Fribourg where the fathers, however, were forced at first to remain scattered in different parishes. Finally, in 1818, thanks to Fr. Passerat's persistent efforts, a religious house was assigned to the Redemptorists, viz. the former Carthusian monastery La Valsainte. At last he had at his disposal a building in which all the confreres could be united and where he could set up real religious community life as he had always wished to do. But only two years later, St. Clement died on March 15, 1820, and Fr. Passerat was appointed his successor, which implied that he had to leave his beloved Valsainte.

On May 30, 1820, the document naming Fr. Passerat vicar general of all the Redemptorists outside Italy was signed by the superior general of the Congregation, Fr. Nicola Mansione. Fr. Passerat accepted the nomination, not with pleasure, but out of obedience to his superior, trusting that it was the Will of God who would give him the strength to carry 'this formidable burden'. On September 27 he left La Valsainte for Fribourg, and on October 2 he went from there to Vienna, his new residence, where he arrived on the 20th of that month. For twenty-eight years he remained in office, notwithstanding his repeated offers to resign, offers inspired by his conviction that for several reasons he was not quite fitted for the task. He was reappointed, nevertheless, by Fr. Mansione's successors as superiors general, Frs. Celestino Cocle and Giancamillo Ripoli on July 28, 1824, and on April 14, 1833, respectively.

After the suppression of the Redemptorist house in Vienna on April 6, 1848, Fr. Passerat fled to Belgium, arriving at Liège on May 9. As there was no possibility of continuing in office in the confusion both inside and outside the Congregation, he submitted a final resignation, which was accepted by the superior general, Fr. Ripoli,

on July 9, and by the Roman Congregation of Bishops and Regulars on October 2.

In October he retired to the hospice in Bruges, where he became superior on December 27. Here he remained for two years, mainly as confessor and spiritual director to the Redemptoristines and to celebrate the liturgy in their public chapel. But it was becoming too much for him, at his age of nearly eighty. On June 21, 1850, he suffered a first stroke. Though a mild one, it impaired his memory and both his physical and mental faculties to some extent. Thanks to affectionate and capable treatment, he improved somewhat but soon felt that he should retire completely. On September 3, 1850, he reached the Redemptorist house of Tournai, where he suffered another stroke on October 30 from which he did not recover. There followed a long and painful illness, during which the venerable old man was a spectator, so to say, of his own disintegration. Though he was very much afraid of death, as he confided to a confrere only the day before he died, his end finally came as a relief on October 30, 1858. The prisoner — as he had sometimes called himself — was finally set free. His continuous prayer to die as a member of the Congregation had been heard.

Fr. Passerat's importance in the history of the Redemptorist Congregation emerges clearly from the above summary. From soon after his ordination (1797) until he retired to Tournai (1850) — a period of a good fifty years — he was in a position of authority: master of novices and prefect of students in Warsaw (1798-1803), superior of a community and St. Clement's deputy for the Congregation in Germany and Switzerland (1803-1820), vicar general of the Transalpine branch of the Congregation (1820-1848), superior of the hospice in Bruges (1848-1850).

The first half of the nineteenth century was the period during which the Redemptorists got a firm footing in several countries beyond the Alps and in which the good name of the Institute was widely recognized over Central and Western Europe and in the United States. Obviously, this was not due to Fr. Passerat alone; but, on the other hand, to a large extent it has to be accredited to his perseverance and prudent leadership: mainly to his word and example through which he inspired in many of his subjects a complete dedication to their vocation.

Like St. Clement, Fr. Passerat was absolutely convinced that, for the good of the Church, the Congregation of St. Alphonsus had to be extended to the countries north of the Alps because he saw the

Institute — with its traditional piety and absolute loyalty to the Roman authorities — as a mighty bulwark against the spirit of the times, tending towards materialism and secularism. Both men had the gift of conveying their conviction to others who unconditionally devoted their energies to realizing what their superiors had proposed. This means that both of them were personalities of more than ordinary stature.

St. Clement's and Fr. Passerat's basic attitudes to the Congregation and its role in the Church and the world were undoubtedly very similar. Numerous documents, however, show that there is also some difference; although, on further consideration, this can be seen merely as a difference in emphasis. Differences of this kind are often found in religious groups of so-called mixed life (*vita mixta*), i.e., contemplative personal and active apostolic life. Obviously, every superior and member is inclined to solve the problem according to his own predominantly contemplative or more active nature.

St. Clement emerges from the documents above all as a man of action, always eager to do some good for his neighbour and to stimulate the brethren to apostolic activity. Fr. Passerat's main concern, on the other hand, is the religious life of the Congregation's members, which means he emphasizes the inner contact of each one with God in continuous prayer. There is, of course, no contradiction between these two attitudes. Both men were equally convinced that apostolic work had to be founded in and to result from the religious life of the apostle. It is not a question of one or the other but only of more or less, of what gets primary attention.

Not only was Fr. Passerat principally concerned with the salvation and sanctification of the Institute's members, but he had also quite definite ideas how this perfection should be attained.

From the very beginning of his term as vicar general (1820), he tried to obtain what he considered the authentic Alphonsian Constitutions, drawn up in the General Chapter of 1764, according to which he thought the life of the Congregation in Italy was regulated. As his requests for a copy had no effect, in 1823 he sent Fr. Franz Springer to the headquarters of the Institute in Nocera de' Pagani (Naples) to transcribe these Constitutions.

Although the Redemptorists were recognised as a society in Austria on the basis of different Constitutions, which St. Clement had submitted to the government in 1819, and the Constitutions of 1764 were until then unknown in the Transalpine Congregation, Fr. Passerat did his utmost to introduce them as the only binding rule governing life inside and outside the monastery. Despite many diffi-

culties and a good deal of opposition, he succeeded in this, which certainly had a good effect inasmuch as it consolidated and secured the unity between the Congregation beyond the Alps and the one in Italy.

A close examination of Fr. Passerat's regime poses the question of whether he did not exaggerate in imposing strict observance of the 1764 Constitutions. Many a scholar and even a good religious of our times will be inclined to think that he could have been somewhat more flexible, taking due account of the very different circumstances of country (Southern Italy - Central and Western Europe) and time (1764 - 1824 ff.).

Though the documents show clearly that he was conscious of some such differences and that, therefore, his subjects could not lead exactly the same religious life as their Italian confreres, we get the impression that he was a bit too stubborn in upholding several marginal details — some of which were not observed at the time even in Italy. A tragic consequence of this attitude was that some prominent disciples of St. Clement left the Congregation, while others remained for a long time in opposition to the line of conduct traced by their superior.

They thought, in fact, that making the exercise of apostolic work dependent on the strict observance of, at least in part, outdated Constitutions was contrary to the spirit of the master who had inspired them to join the Congregation. They were convinced — and, as it seems, quite rightly — that where the practice of certain forms of apostolic activity conflicted with strict observance of the Constitutions, St. Clement would have interpreted and, if necessary, relaxed the latter to facilitate the former.

The great majority of the Institute's members, however, followed Fr. Passerat willingly and joyfully, even enthusiastically, considering him a real man of God whose government was enlightened from on high. He had transferred to them his conviction that the true religious has to be judged on the quality of his interior life of prayer and virtue, not on his eagerness for and productivity in external labours, however outstanding they may be.

Saints are of course human beings; their judgment sometimes fails and consequently they make mistakes — *errare humanum est!* But, no doubt, Fr. Passerat's generation-long regime was a blessing for the entire Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, inasmuch as he implanted firmly in its Transalpine branch the spirit of profound interior life and prayer. This spirit outlasted his tenure, fostered as it was by the superiors who succeeded him. Perfectly true is the very significant observation of Superior General Fr. Nicolas Mauron when

he received the telegram announcing Fr. Passerat's death: « Whatever interior life and practical ascetism there are in the Transalpine Congregation today are all due to Father Passerat ». No wonder that Fr. Mauron felt obliged to keep Fr. Passerat's spirit alive for the benefit of the entire Institute.

In the French and Dutch speaking sections of the Congregation in particular, Fr. Passerat's memory was held in veneration. Several Fathers instilled devotion to him also outside the Institute, and people began to invoke his help. Graces, supposedly received through his intercession, were reported; among them several rare recoveries from various diseases. So it is by no means surprising that more than once the saintly man was tentatively proposed for the honors of the altar.

After the beatification of Fr. Hofbauer on January 29, 1888, such proposals took a firmer shape and finally crystallized. On January 6, 1892, Fr. Mauron announced in a circular letter to the members of the Congregation that he was about to begin a cause for Fr. Passerat's beatification. At the same time he asked any of them who might have information useful in promoting the cause to notify Fr. Claudio Benedetti, the postulator general, or Fr. Jules Jacques, the vice-postulator in Tournai.

In fact the ordinary or diocesan processes began that same year: in Tournai (1892-1895), in Vienna (1892-1894), and in Rome (1892-1896). Furthermore, a supplementary process was held at Annecy (1893). The decree by which the cause was introduced at the Congregation of Rites was signed by Leo XIII on May 13, 1901. The apostolic processes began the following year: in Tournai (1902-1907), and in Vienna (1902-1910). On July 9, 1913, the processes were recognized as valid.

During the first twenty years, the cause had proceeded well and rather speedily. Then, for several reasons, it ground to a long halt. The so-called *Positio*, i.e., the printed summary of the depositions given by the witnesses, with the remarks and objections of the Promotor Fidei (the well-known Devil's Advocate) and the lawyer's reply, was ready only in 1959. On the basis of this *Positio*, Fr. Passerat's virtue was finally debated in a first session (the so-called *Congregatio antepreparatoria*) on February 7, 1967, but the outcome was not exactly favourable. A good number of doubts were expressed and questions raised, all of which were summarized by the Promotor Fidei in his new remarks (*Novae Animadversiones*), formulated on June 15, 1971. After a meticulous study the reply to these observa-

tions was presented by the postulator, Fr. Nicola Ferrante, on April 28, 1973.

The remarks plus the reply were printed as a *Nova Positio* and discussed in a special session (*Congressus peculiaris*) of the Congregation for the Causes of Saints on May 15, 1979, and then, in the plenary session (*Congregatio plenaria*) of December 4. This time the proposed question of whether Fr. Passerat had practised Christian virtues to a heroic degree was answered plainly in the affirmative. On March 13, 1980, Cardinal Prefect Corrado Bafle informed the Pope of the positive outcome of the discussions, whereupon His Holiness ordered that the decree declaring Fr. Passerat's heroic virtue be drawn up. The document was issued on April 29. We publish it here in the original Latin text.

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SACRA CONGREGATIO PRO CAUSIS SANCTORUM

Decretum. Tornacen. seu Vindobonen. Beatificationis et Canonizationis ven. Servi Dei Iosephi Amandi Passerat, sacerdotis professi e Congregatione SS.mi Redemptoris.

Super dubio: An constet de virtutibus theologalibus Fide, Spe et Caritate tum in Deum tum in proximum, necnon de virtutibus cardinalibus Prudentia, Iustitia, Temperantia et Fortitudine, earumque adnexis, in gradu heroico, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.

« Mementote praepositorum vestrorum, qui vobis locuti sunt verbum Dei, quorum intuentes exitum conversationis imitamini fidem » (*Heb.*, 13, 7).

Redemptoriana familia quae Sanctum Alphonsum M. de' Liguori patrem ac magistrum colit, Sanctumque Clementem M. Hofbauer propagatorem insignem, merito Venerabilem Iosephum Amandum Passerat velut matrem ac nutricem extollit.

Ipsae enim priorum praepositorum heres et alumnus, eorum doctrinam assecutus, eam verbis lustravit, exemplo posteris transmisit. Fuit igitur anulus tertius eiusdem aureae traditionis qua sui evangelii nuntiandi praecones corroborantur et perficiuntur et, ipso duce, victores mundum peragraverunt.

Iosephus Amandus Passerat *Joinville*, in Lingonibus, die 30 Aprilis 1772 ortum duxit, prior duorum filiorum Iosephi ac Catharinae Oliver et eodem die rite baptizatus est. Puer cum egregia indole maxime ad pietatem prona singulare coniunxit ingenium, quod primo enituit in Abbazia Sancti Urbani, ubi sub Patribus Ordinis Sancti Benedicti prima litterarum spatia summa cum laude decurrit. Paulo post in Catalaunense semi-

narium exceptus, humanioribus litteris operam dedit. Interea, cum probe intelligeret quae sit dignitas, quae pulchritudo sacerdotii ad quod sese iam inde impelli sentiebat, prope erat ut Lutetiam Parisiorum peteret superioribus disciplinis addiscendis, quando eius votis rerum publicarum conversiones obstiterunt, quae ad eius patriam funditus evertendam iam aperte fluebant. Ideoque, ne a falsis opinionibus noxiisque erroribus illuc investis deciperetur, domum paternam rediit, pro sua integra fide ad omnia paratus. Blanditias respuit, minasque refellit, usque ad carcerem restitit ne nefario sacramento novis reipublicae legibus ab Ecclesiae rationibus dissociatis sese devinciri cogeretur. Verum, urgente bello, e carcere deductus, et a rebellibus per vim militiae addictus, anno 1792, Deo protegente, ipsi se subtraxit et per Belgicas terras in Germaniae fines pervenit, pedibus errans, unam post aliam urbem visitans, Augustam Vindelicorum pervenit. Hic primo, deinde Herbipoli sacrae theologiae studiis vacavit. Ast cum novisset Redemptorianam familiam, anno 1732 in Italia exortam, per Sanctum Clementem iam Varsaviae consistere, quasi divino instinctu, ad hunc Ordinem profitemdum impulsus, omni abrupta mora, huc pedes convolvit ibique ab ipso Sancto Clemente, die 22 Iulii 1796, inter tirones Congregationis cooptatur.

Novum vitae genus exortus, Iosephus iis comparandis virtutibus quae a Patre Alphonso requiruntur ita prorsus se dedit ut eum tamquam exemplar suspicerent omnes, et ipse eius magister Sanctus Clemens. Hinc eius humilitas et mansuetudo; hinc in seipsum asperitas; hinc eius patientia quam Sanctus Clemens admirabatur cum scriberet: « *Patientia ipsa esse videtur* »; hinc praesertim oriebatur illa mirabilis orandi consuetudo quae, quamdiu vixit, eius forma et quasi naturalis nota fuit eique vulgo *magni preicatoris* nomen comparavit. Quid mirum si eodem anno, die 13 Novembris, ad vota nuncupanda admittitur? Anno insequenti, die 15 Aprilis 1797, sacerdotio auctus, statim in ipsa domo Varsaviensi theologiam et ecclesiasticam historiam solerter ac erudite docuit. Paulo post, anno 1798, tironibus efformandis praeficitur, quod officium per 22 annos retinuit. Insimul et rectoris et vicarii itinerantis transalpini Instituti officium obiit ut suos e furore Gallicorum exercituum per Europam sese effluentium eriperet. Quatuor annos per Germanicas regiones, undecim per Helveticas transmigravit, de regno in regnum fugiens, « nec labores recusans, nec pericula timens », ut Sancti Clementis verbis utamur, semper animarum zelo compulsus, semper inter curarum angustias, strenui ducis ad instar qui, variis locatis praesidiis, hac illac discurrit, ad unum ad alium properabat vicum, ad unam et aliam pergebat curiam eo maxime spectans ut vinculum dispersi sodalitiis penitus servaretur ac tirones qui secum erant ad omnem pietatem effingeret. Tandem, anno 1818, in regione quam « Vallem Sanctam » vocant, prope Friburgum tutum refugium invenit. Ibi coenobium vetustissimum et labefactatum erat, at, eius ductu et auspicio, inter paupertatis angustias, disciplinae et perfectionis studium ad miraculum eluxit.

Duobus post annis, Sanctus Clemens qui a Varsavia iam depulsus, Vindobonae Vicarii Generalis munus pro transalpinis regionibus obierat, ad coelitum sedes feliciter evolavit. Tunc Iosephus Passerat, ab eodem Sancto Clemente antea designatus, auctoritate Moderatoris Generalis, plaudentibus omnibus, eidem successit et statim arduum demandatum opus

coepit moliri. Difficultates oriebantur ex rerum adiunctis, nam leges a Iosepho II latae vigeant quibus iura laedebantur Ecclesiae ac religiosorum coetuum; et hae palam in publicis academiis docebantur. Quapropter Iosephus omnia movit donec facultatem obtinuit studiorum instituendi palaestram ubi clericis sana et tuta scientia traderetur. Ipse autem tiro-num magisterium suscepit et effecit ut perpetuo subolesceret Patrum copia qui, insigni exercitatione christianarum virtutum et apostolicorum laborum, Instituti nomini gloriam adderent et christianae reipublicae utilitatem magnam procurarent. Tandem, quo tanta fabricanda moles aptioribus fundamentis consisteret, omnibus viribus contendit ut exemplar antiquarum constitutionum quod ipse S. Alphonsus condendo sodalities olim ediderat, manibus haberet, enixe petens ut totum animum ad illarum studium sodales adiungerent. Sic, mentibus constitutis, facilius quidem fuit suam familiam longe lateque propagare: per Austriam, Bavariam, Galliam, Lusitaniam, Belgium, Hollandiam, Angliam, Septentrionalem Italiam, Status Foederales Americae: 29 collegiis, in plures gentes diffusis. Quo melius mentem Sancti Alphonsi perficeret, Sanctimonialium virginum etiam Redemptorianam sodalitates trans Alpes propagare studuit et egit.

Ceterum in regenda religiosa familia, quam ad maiorem Dei gloriam, omni cura auxerat, qua provida et amantissima mater semper se gessit. Singulis quoque annis varias Congregationis domos rite lustravit, studiosissime invigilans ut ubicumque regularis observantia exacte vigeret, exemplis et hortationibus omnes ad perfectam virtutem assequendam incitabat. Itaque effecit ut, licet rigidum disciplinae vindicem sese praebere, ab omnibus summa veneratione et magno amore coleretur. Ast, anno 1848, popularis seditio, Vindobonae erupta, suum templum et coenobium vastavit, religiosus violenta manu depulsus. Tunc Servus Dei, multa mira fortitudine passus, cum suis Leodium petiit; hinc dispersos sodales monuit nulla vi Congregationis nomen labefactari posse, ideoque ita viverent aequae ac si in communitate degerent. Postea, propter devexam aetatem, Vicarii munere abdicato, Brugis per biennium Sanctimonialibus a Sanctissimo Redemptore in spiritualibus pater et magister adfuit. Ultimo, apoplectio ictu correptus, ac Tornacum deductus, per octo annos hanc aegritudinem placide fortiterque sustinuit, donec, Ecclesiae sacramentis munitus, die 30 Octobris 1858, obdormivit in Domino. Egregium profecto virum unde omnium virtutum exempla petas: quarum primo flagrantissima erga Deum caritas eiusque gloria totis viribus promovenda. Ideoque nihil magis eius in votis fuit quam Evangelii lumen inter incultas gentes proferre, terque quaterque beatum se fore dicebat si mortem pro fide potuisset obire. Cum Evangelii praecones quos ipse ad transmarinas regiones mittebat, in eo erant ut discederent, a lacrimis temperare non poterat dicens: « Me Deus refellit! ». At praesertim suorum alumnorum doctor ac praeceptor fuit summus, *forma gregis factus ex animo* (I Pt., 5, 4): regularis disciplina numquam cultorem sui invenit parem. Etenim, quamdiu ipse vixit, tamdiu vitae atque actionum suarum obedientiam perpetuam sociam ad ducem habuit. Nullam umquam, etiam ingravescente aetate, a communibus oneribus vacationem admisit. Paupertatis votum, tamquam sponsam dulcissimam coluit, totiusque animi reginam dominari iussit. Porro verbis, ore, gestu, totoque habitu corporis miram verecundiam et gravitatem prae-

se tulit adeo ut vel ipso adspectu ad eius virtutis amorem intuentes alliceret.

Sanctimoniae fama quam Servus Dei vivens sibi conciliaverat, post obitum adeo aucta et constans extitit, ut Processus Ordinarii super ea instituti et ad exitum perducti tum Tornaci, tum Vindobonae, tum Romae anno 1892, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi exhibiti fuerint. Deinde et super scriptis et super obedientia Urbanianis decretis praestita inquisitum est.

A S. R. C. decretum super Servi Dei scriptis die 3 Augusti 1896 et 1 Martii 1901 editum est. Die vero 13 Maii eiusdem anni Leo Papa XIII s. m. Commissionem Introductionis causae sua manu obsignavit. Anno insequenti, die 6 Maii a. 1902, super *non cultu* decretum est. Apostolicis processibus rite absolutis, die 9 Iulii a. 1913 iuridica omnium processuum vis recognita fuit. Hisce itaque ad normam iuris anteparaepraeparatoria quaestio super virtutibus theologalibus et cardinalibus iisque adnexis agitata est; deinde in Congressu Peculiari die 15 Maii a. 1979 habito, ac tandem, die 4 Decembris eiusdem anni, in Congregatione Plenaria Patrum Cardinalium, Rev.mo Cardinali Petro Palazzini causae Ponente seu Relatore; omnesque ad propositum Dubium affirmative responderunt, Famulum Dei scilicet Iosephum Amandum Passerat christianas virtutes heroum in modum coluisse.

Facta postmodum de hisce omnibus Summo Pontifici Ioanni Paulo II die 13 Martii a. 1980 relatione per subscriptum Cardinalem, Sanctitas Sua iussit Decretum super virtutum heroicitate Servi Dei apparari.

Hodierno tandem die, Beatissimus Pater, accitis ad se infrascripto Praefecto necnon Rev.mo Cardinali Petro Palazzini, Causae Relatore, meque a Secretis aliisque convocari solitis; iisque adstantibus, solemniter edixit: *Constare de virtutibus theologalibus Fide, Spe et Caritate cum in Deum tum in proximum, necnon de cardinalibus Prudentia, Iustitia, Temperantia et Fortitudine earumque adnexis Servi Dei Iosephi Amandi Passerat in gradu heroico, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur.*

Hoc autem Decretum publici iuris fieri et in acta S. Congregationis pro Causis Sanctorum referri mandavit.

Datum Romae, die 29 Aprilis A. D. 1980.

L. ✠ S.

C. Card. BAFILE, Praefectus

† Iosephus Casoria, Archiep. tit. Foronovan., a Secretis

1945

MEMORANDUM

TO: [Illegible]

Subject: [Illegible]

[Illegible text]

[Illegible text]

NOTITIAE BIBLIOGRAPHICAE

ANDRÉ SAMPERS

TWO RECENT PUBLICATIONS CONCERNING FATHER VLADIMIR PECHERIN

Since 1973-1974, when this review presented four articles on Father Vladimir Sergeevich Pecherin (1807-1885); not much, to our knowledge, has been published about this curious and to a certain extent even enigmatic person. The articles were intended to furnish reliable material for a long-awaited critical biography of Pecherin. The first three included over fifty documents¹, most of which are preserved in the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome (cited hereinafter: AGR). The fourth article included six letters written by Pecherin to Fr. Hieronim Kajsiwicz CR, kept in the general archives of the Resurrectionist Fathers in Rome². All these documents date back to the period 1840(41)-1861, when Pecherin was a member of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer.

A German work, written by Dr. Helmut Dahm, edited in 1979, gives Pecherin some attention³. A brief paragraph on him is found in the German translation of an essay published by Vasilij Rozanov in 1914. Dr. Dahm adds a note on Pecherin in which he refers to the articles published in this review and to several studies by Dr. Eóin MacWhite and others⁴.

The diligence with which the note on Pecherin is composed⁵ leads the reader to believe that all the many notes in Dahm's book are

¹ *Spic. hist.* 21 (1973) 165-197, 329-363; 22 (1974) 3-52.

² *Spic. hist.* 22 (1974) 255-271.

³ H. DAHM, *Grundzüge russischen Denkens. Persönlichkeiten und Zeugnisse des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts*; München, Johannes Berchmans Verlag, [1979]; 80, 591 SS. - ISBN: 3-87056-012-6. — DM 89. - (clothbound).

⁴ The paragraph in Rozanov's text on p. 198. Dahm's note on pp. 210-212.

⁵ In a conversation with Dr. Dahm in Bonn on September 12, 1976, we had occasion to inform him of our research on Pecherin carried on in close collaboration with Dr. MacWhite.

compiled with the same care. Lacking, however, the necessary knowledge in this field, this reviewer does not feel qualified to give a critical opinion. Nevertheless, it seems justified to affirm, on the authority of competent scholars, that Dahm's work, both in its carefully selected and accurately translated texts and in its added notes, is a good introduction to the basic ideas of Russian thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from Aleksej Chomjakov (1804-1860) to Ivan Il'in (1883-1954). The outline of Russian philosophy from its beginnings to the present in the introductory chapter (pp. 11-71) will certainly prove very helpful. And equally useful is the survey of general literature (pp. 551-556) and of bibliographical tools (pp. 557-560) at the end of the book.

The other study, in English, published on June 20, 1980, is of more direct interest to the readers of this review⁶. The author, the late Dr. Eóin MacWhite, is already known to them from repeated mention of him in the articles referred to above. Some time after getting in touch with Dr. MacWhite in June of 1968, and informing him of the Pecherin documents kept in AGR, we agreed on a joint study which would ultimately lead to a critical biography of Pecherin with a supplement including the most relevant documentary sources. In June 1971 Dr. MacWhite sent for our consideration the study which now has been edited by Dr. Patrick J. O'Meara⁷. We exchanged a number of letters about possible modifications, corrections and additions, and agreed to draft the paper in its final form in a meeting planned for August 1972⁸, according to the style of publication used in the *Spicilegium*, and then to publish it in this review⁹.

As an overall view of the present state of Pecherin research, the planned publication had two purposes: to summarize what had

⁶ E. MACWHITE, *Towards a biography of Father Vladimir S. Pecherin (1807-1885). A progress report and bibliography*. Edited and prepared for publication by P. J. O'Meara, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. 80, Section C, Nr. 7 (Dublin 1980) 109-158.

⁷ I wish to thank Dr. O'Meara for the copies he obligingly sent me.

⁸ Unfortunately, the planned meeting could not take place because of the tragic death of Dr. MacWhite in a motor accident on July 31, 1972, at Wassenaar, Netherlands. — Our last letters were written that same month. In a letter of June 15, Dr. MacWhite had sent photocopies of several documents concerning Pecherin's activity for the railway workers at Limerick Junction in 1854. These letters were found shortly before in the Cashel diocesan archives by Fr. Mark Tierney OSB. The idea was to add this aspect of Pecherin's activity to the study.

⁹ Publication was announced by Dr. MacWhite in *Studies* (Dublin) 61 (1972) 38. The fact that the study was originally destined for publication in the *Spicilegium* is mentioned by Dr. O'Meara in his editorial preface (p. 109).

been done to date, and to establish a clear point of departure for further studies. Moreover, it intended to serve as an invitation and stimulus to cooperation from other scholars interested in the subject.

For several reasons the publication was postponed, and at one time it seemed feasible to incorporate into the paper more of the vast research materials collected by Dr. MacWhite, and thus bring the study somewhat nearer to the author's ultimate goal: a real biography of Pecherin. Whoever has had experience of working on the scientific bequest of a scholar knows the difficulties and doubts that occur in this sort of work. So it is by no means surprising that Dr. MacWhite's study is now edited practically as he left it in 1972. We are grateful to Dr. Patrick J. O'Meara, of the Department of Russian, Trinity College, University of Dublin, who competently prepared the manuscript for publication, correcting a few slips and condensing the text in some places with the result that the 317 footnotes of the original paper have been reduced to 263 in the publication.

The editor inserted several headings in the paper, according to the different periods of Pecherin's life, and had the longer quotations printed as separate paragraphs. These technical changes, which do not affect the text itself, are helpful, as they give a clearer view of the paper's structure¹⁰. Perhaps it would have been useful for the researcher if the study had been updated with a few editor's notes, clearly marked as such. The many documents quoted from the originals kept in AGR and other Redemptorist archives (Brussels, Dublin, London) are now easily accessible, as they have been edited in 1973 and 1974 in the *Spicilegium*.

A few other brief remarks:

Page 129, note 111. For clarity's sake: Brussels Redemptorist Archives.

Page 140. The first line of the second paragraph should read: In November 1858 the Order instructed him to come to Rome, etc. See *Spic. hist.* 21 (1973) 344 and 347.

Page 140, at the end of second paragraph. In a quotation from the chronicle of the general house CSSR in Rome: Mezzofanti (not Mezzofante). An allusion to the polyglot Cardinal Giuseppe Mezzofanti. Full text in *Spic hist.* 21 (1973) 351.

Page 141. At the end of the first quotation from the *Memoirs* is a Latin expression taken from Horace. It seems that Kamenev did not read the

¹⁰ We can have no objection to these changes as we had made similar suggestions for the final draft of the paper, which were accepted by Dr. MacWhite.

manuscript correctly. Pecherin, who was a good Latinist, can hardly have written « tentatis », which makes no sense. See *Spic. hist.* 21 (1973) 357, n. 74.

Page 141, after the quotations from the *Memoirs*. In March 1859 Pecherin preached on Sundays in Rome in the church entitled « Gesù e Maria ». Better to give this full title, to avoid confusion with the church generally known as the « Gesù ». See *Spic. hist.* 21 (1973) 351.

Page 144, note 192. Read Swinkels', as the father's name is Swinkels, correctly given elsewhere.

But, of course, these are trifles, and in editing a posthumous paper there is always the question of the extent to which the editor can legitimately modify and expand the original. Thanks to Dr. O'Meara's careful editing, everyone now has easy access to Dr. MacWhite's last study, which fully testifies to the vastness of his research and to his ability to comprehend the sources. No doubt, for a long time to come this article will be the indispensable basis for all further study on Fr. Vladimir Pecherin, the course of his life and the development of his thought.

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The bibliography on Pecherin, listed by Dr. MacWhite at the beginning of his study¹¹, can be completed with a few items that appeared in the magazine *Search* published for private circulation by the Redemptorists of the Irish Province¹². As Pecherin worked as a Redemptorist in Ireland for over seven years (1854-1861), and remained in Dublin till his death in 1885 as chaplain of the Mater Misericordiae Hospital, it is easily understandable that there is a special interest in him among the Irish Redemptorists. In 1978 Fathers Patrick O'Donnell¹³ and Seán O'Riordan¹⁴ compiled a short note on him. Noteworthy is Fr. O'Riordan's well balanced judgement on Pecherin whom he rightly sees as one of the Founding Fathers of the Congregation in Ireland. « Petcherine had his faults — impulsiveness, combativeness and a lot of hurt feelings which he never got over regarding the way he was treated by the Congregation — but

¹¹ « Published work on Pecherin », pp. 112-116.

¹² *Search*. A Magazine for and about Redemptorists of the Irish Province. First issue, December 1977.

¹³ P. O'DONNELL, *Foundation in Limerick*, in *Search*, nr. 2 (Easter 1978) 10-12.

¹⁴ S. O'RIORDAN, *Our Cultural Tradition*, in *Search*, nr. 4 (December 1978) 65-66.

he was a very great man and a loyal Redemptorist at heart to the day of his death ». In 1979 Br. Ciaran O'Callaghan¹⁵ published a short article on Pecherin which makes good reading but has no scholarly pretensions (no footnotes). It seems to lean heavily on Dr. MacWhite's studies published in 1971-1972¹⁶. A somewhat shortened version of O'Callaghan's article was inserted in the Redemptorist magazine *Reality* (Dublin) 44 (1980) Nr. 2 (February) 28-31.

There is also to be mentioned an article by Mr. François Patrimonio, which appeared in October 1977 (Nr. 48) in the review *Plamia* (Meudon, France) under the title *Le Père Vladimir Serguëievitch Petchérine, 1807-1885. Une vie tumultueuse et une pensée non conformiste* (pp. 105-113). The author tries to explain the apparent contradictions in Pecherin's thought concerning the Catholic Church and its teaching in the sense that as time went on he opposed certain manifestations of religious doctrine and practice which are, however, by no means essential to the faith. Nowadays, such a critical attitude would not raise the eyebrows that it did last century. And so Mr. Patrimonio concludes: « Petchérine reste donc pour nous un signe d'Espérance ».

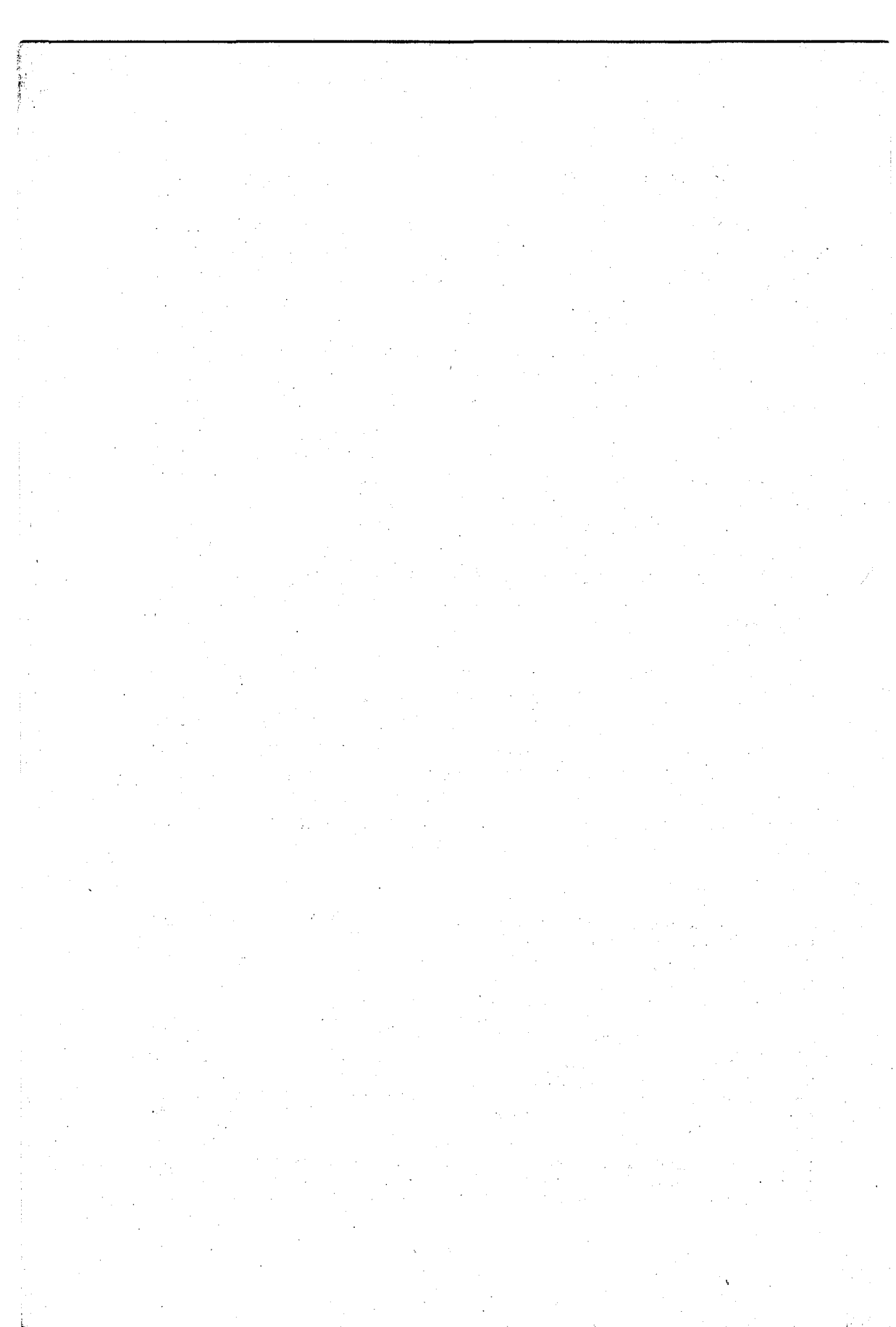
Dr. MacWhite mentions, of course, the famous trial of Pecherin for 'Bible burning' in December 1855, and gives some of the newspaper and pamphlet literature to which the case gave rise in Ireland, in England, and « even in Australia »¹⁷. He does not mention, however, anything printed in Australia. Recently, the Pecherin collection in AGR was enriched with a pamphlet printed in Australia, acquired there by Fr. Samuel J. Boland, a member of the Historical Institute CSSR¹⁸.

¹⁵ C. O'CALLAGHAN, *Vladimir Petcherine*, in *Search*, nr. 5 (Easter 1979) 28-34. On p. 32 a drawing of the tombstone in Glasnevin cemetery, Dublin.

¹⁶ E. MacWHITE, *Vladimir Pecherin, 1807-1885*, in *Studies* (Dublin) 60 (1971) 295-310 and 61 (1972) 23-40.

¹⁷ Pp. 138-139. Bibliography listed in note 158.

¹⁸ *Address of Thomas O'Hagan, Esq., Q.C., at the Trial of a Catholic Priest, on the alleged charge of Bible burning, before the Judges of Assize, in Dublin, 7th and 8th December 1855*. Hobart Town, printed by William Fletcher, Elisabeth-street, 1856. In-16° (17.5 x 11 cm), XI-32 pp. On pp. III-XI an unsigned introduction about Pecherin's trial and his acquittal, with some extracts from an article in *The Civil Service Gazette* (London) and another in the *Cork Examiner*. On pp. 1-29 O'Hagan's Address, followed by an extract from the *Dublin Evening Post*, « a paper entirely in the hands of Protestants » (pp. 29-30). On pp. 30-32 an appendix in which, with reference to the Rev. S. R. Maitland's « incomparable work on the Middle Ages » (the author being quoted by O'Hagan in his Address), the reader is assured that many editions of the Bible, in Latin and in the vernacular, were printed before Luther was born.



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