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SABATINO MAJORANO

IL P. CARMINE FIOCCHI DIRETTORE SPIRITUALE
Corrispondenza con suor Maria di Gesù di Ripacandida

Il padre Carmine Fiocchi (Gaiano di Mercato San Severino, 13 giugno 1721 — Fisciano, 22 aprile 1776) è una figura di spicco tra i primi redentoristi: « uno de' nostri più insigni Operarj », scrive Tannoia¹. Collaboratore tra i più stretti di sant'Alfonso, venne eletto consultore generale al posto del defunto Sportelli il 19 aprile 1750 e, riconfermato nel 1764, rimase tale fino alla morte².

Missionario instancabile, ha fatto scrivere al Landi: « 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 »³. E la sua attività missionaria è stata recentemente presentata su questa rivista dal P. A. Sampers⁴. Attenta considerazione merita però anche quel-

¹ *Della vita ed istituto del Venerabile Servo di Dio Alfonso M. Liguori*, vol. I, Napoli 1798, 287.

² Una sintesi biografica del P. Fiocchi e una panoramica sulle varie fonti sono state fatte da A. Sampers in *Spic. hist.* 28 (1980) 126-130.

³ Citato da A. Sampers, *ivi* 129, n. 19.

⁴ *Missioni dei redentoristi in Calabria dirette dal P. Carmine Fiocchi, 1763-1765*, *ivi* 125-145. Come dice il titolo, lo studio affronta direttamente un periodo ben limitato dell'attività missionaria del P. Fiocchi. Tuttavia l'ampia premessa lo inquadra nell'insieme dell'opera apostolica da lui svolta, dandocene un primo quadro sommario.

la di direttore spirituale, testimoniata, tra l'altro, dalle numerose sue lettere giunte fino a noi⁵.

Pubblichiamo perciò quelle da lui indirizzate a suor Maria di Gesù, carmelitana del monastero di Ripacandida⁶. Il manoscritto in cui sono state trascritte si conserva ora nell'archivio generale redentorista di Roma⁷ e fa parte di un insieme di documenti inviati dalla stessa suor Maria il 9 marzo 1778 al padre (con tutta probabilità Tannoia) incaricato di stendere la vita del Fiocchi⁸.

La scelta di questa corrispondenza non è stata casuale. Suor Maria di Gesù negli stessi anni è in rapporto di amicizia e lettere con sant'Alfonso⁹ e san Gerardo¹⁰. Quanto il Fiocchi afferma ci dà perciò non solo uno spaccato sulla sua spiritualità e la maniera con la quale dirigeva le coscienze, ma illumina meglio la figura di suor Maria e l'atteggiamento sia di Alfonso che di Gerardo nei suoi confronti¹¹.

⁵ Per la descrizione di tale materiale archivistico, cf. A. SAMPERS, *ivi* 129-130.

⁶ Suor Maria di Gesù (Maria Araneo, nata verso il 1725), nipote del fondatore del monastero carmelitano di Ripacandida (Giovanni Battista Rossi, 1690-1746), e superiora a più riprese dello stesso, fu donna di esimie virtù, in stretti rapporti con i redentoristi, specie della casa di Deliceto. Su di lei cf. N. FERRANTE, *Storia meravigliosa di S. Gerardo Maiella*, Materdomini 41980, 113-221; *Le lettere di san Gerardo Maiella*, a cura di D. CAPONE e S. MAJORANO, Materdomini 1980, 30-74.

⁷ AGR XXXVII F 6d: *Lettere copiate del P. D. Carmine Fiocchi di una sua Penitente nel Monastero di S. Giuseppe in Ripacandida*. Si tratta di un quaderno (cm 14,8 x 20,2) di 8 fogli, al quale vanno aggiunti altri quattro fogli, che riportano tre altre lettere. Vi è stata messa recentemente una numerazione per pagine, che noi seguiremo.

⁸ Nella lettera di accompagnamento suor Maria dice tra l'altro: « Dentro la scatola troverà alcune lettere copiate del fu mio P. Fiocchi, ed altri scritti delle cose notate da noi in persona di detto Padre. Io so, che V. R. tiene incombenza di scrivere la sua vita, onde la prego compatirci se non li troverà con quella polizia, e registro, che si conveniva, perché come povere ignoranti, non abbiamo saputo farli meglio, ma l'assicuro, che se avessimo da scrivere per minuto le sante azioni, consigli, ed opere da noi notate in 23 anni, che abbiamo avuto la fortuna di conoscere questo santo uomo, ci vorrebbero più volumi, e sarebbe un non finirli mai... » Incaricato di raccogliere la documentazione e stendere la vita del Fiocchi, deve essere stato il padre Antonio Tannoia: sul retro della lettera è stato infatti segnato da altra mano: « Al P. Tannoja ».

⁹ La corrispondenza tra sant'Alfonso e suor Maria è iniziata dopo la missione che egli ha tenuto a Ripacandida nell'aprile 1750 (la prima lettera che ci è giunta è del 30 dicembre di quello stesso anno) e si protrarrà a lungo con maggiore o minore intensità.

¹⁰ Sono quindici le lettere di san Gerardo a suor Maria che noi conosciamo e costituiscono un terzo dell'intero epistolario del santo. La comunione tra di loro fu molto profonda. Scriveva ad esempio Gerardo il 22 gennaio 1752: « Non vi è volta che io vado al Signore in verità vi dico, tante volte vi rimiro dentro al suo sacratissimo costato, offerendomi io più volte per voi e per tutto il suo sacratissimo cuore impiegato. E Dio sa l'affezione che mi cagionate, perché vi vedo così afflitta. Non è vera affezione, naturalmente si intenda, ma è mia invidia [...] Così dico a V. R.: non si dimentichi di me in tutte le sue sante orazioni » (*Le lettere di san Gerardo Maiella*, 246-247).

¹¹ E' questo il motivo (oltre naturalmente le esigenze di una corretta lettura delle lettere) per il quale in seguito più di una volta ci riferiremo in nota agli epistolari alfonsiano e gerardino.

Si tratta complessivamente di 16 lettere, che vanno dal 1753 al 1773, delle quali solo due non sono integrali¹². Ci è sembrato giusto aggiungere ad esse in appendice i frammenti della corrispondenza del padre con un'altra suora dello stesso monastero, che non ci è stato possibile individuare con precisione¹³.

Quanto al contenuto, alla frequenza e al valore delle lettere, nota la stessa suor Maria:

« Soggiungo, che per venti tre anni 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. Sarebbe non finirla mai se si volessero tutte descrivere, così io, come l'altre, ma in tutte dette lettere si raggira lo stesso, che ho copiato.

« Nelli cinque ultimi anni di sua infermità¹⁴, altro non scriveva, se non che mi fossi quietata, che non ci sarebbe venuto più, e sin dall'ultima volta, che se ne andiede si licenziò, sì da me, che dall'altre, che qui non ci sarebbe più ritornato. E [in] tutte le lettere in quest'ultimi anni di sua infermità sempre mi scriveva, che lui stava totalmente abbandonato totalmente nelle mani di Dio, o vivo, o morto, e che si fosse fatto in lui quello che era di più gloria del Signore, e che io fossi stata rassegnata, ed uniformata, che Dio mi aveva da aiutare¹⁵.

« Tutte le lettere suddette dal 1753 sino all'anno 1776 tutte si raggirano, ad inculcarmi osservanza, obbedienza alli Superiori, e stare sotto de' loro piedi sottomessa, come una semplice bambina, camminare con schiettezza di cuore, e sincerità, carità, ed unione colle Monache, uniformata, paziente, ed amante de' dispreggi, imponendomi continuo raccoglimento ed orazione, ed in tutte esse ci è una viva copia di Gesù Crocifisso, che nuda, e dispreggiata l'avessi seguita, morta e seppellita. A dire il vero mi sento un'infinita pena, in non potere copiare tutte le suddette lettere sì per mancanza di tempo, e di poca salute, che noi abbiamo, ma basta il dire, che sono tutte simile 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 sante reliquie sì io, come tutte l'altre mie sorelle »¹⁶.

Nelle lettere che pubblichiamo i problemi tipicamente spirituali di suor Maria si intrecciano con quelli delle burrascose vicende del suo

¹² Si tratta delle lettere n. 14 e 15, secondo la numerazione che in seguito daremo loro.

¹³ AGR XXXVII F 6d: *Sentimenti Santissimi del fu mio Santo Padre D. Carmine Fiocchi del SS.mo Redentore estratti dalle sue lettere*. Si tratta di 4 fogli (cm 21 x 30,5), non numerati, che nella loro prima parte (f. 1r-3v) contengono gli stralci di corrispondenza e nella seconda (3v-4v) una testimonianza della stessa suora relativa al P. Fiocchi.

¹⁴ Colpito per ben due volte da apoplezia, il padre non si riprese più del tutto e « il peggio si fu che li venne una fame canica, che s'avrebbe mangiato anche le toniche [= l'intonaco], e pareva che niuna cosa lo saziasse » (l'espressione è del Landi, cf. A. SAMPERS, *art. cit.*, 130).

¹⁵ aiutare.

¹⁶ Ms. p. 15.

monastero. I primi gravitano intorno al discernimento dei diversi fenomeni mistici sperimentati dalla suora; i secondi intorno al tentativo di « mitigazione » fatto dal vescovo Mons. Basta¹⁷ in vista dell'aggregazione del monastero all'ordine carmelitano¹⁸.

Riguardo agli uni e agli altri, la posizione di Fiocchi è sostanzialmente la stessa di sant'Alfonso. Questi aveva rassicurato la suora, scrivendole tra l'altro il 28 marzo 1753: « Per quello poi mi soggiungete, che state con tanti timori e dubbi e che tanti Padri vi chiamano illusa ed ingannata, mi consola più questo che se sentissi che aveste risuscitati dieci morti. Tutto ciò mi assicura che non siete illusa né ingannata... Del resto, vi comando da parte di Gesù Cristo che allargiate il cuore con Dio, e ci trattiate come prima con libertà e confidenza grande. Io vi assicuro che voi né ingannate, né siete ingannata »¹⁹. Fiocchi a questa valutazione di fondo aggiunge un dato, che si andrà facendo sempre più marcato: portare la suora a non dare troppa importanza ai fenomeni mistici che sperimenta, perché possa, in serenità e « quiete », diventare « viva copia » del Cristo, camminando per la « strada regia » delle virtù.

Riguardo alla « mitigazione », il parere di Alfonso è che non debba essere accettata. Scrive perciò il 23 febbraio 1753: « Arroccatevi e state forti e dite risolutamente a Monsignore, al Teresiano ed a tutti, che voi avete professata la Regola di S. Teresa, e quella puntualmente *ad litteram* volete osservare; e niuno può allargarvi. Il Teresiano parlerà forse, perché così si è allargata la Regola per le monache loro; ma voi non volete fare la Regola delle monache, ma di S. Teresa. E state forti, ché Gesù Cristo e Maria vi aiuteranno ». Aggiunge però che « il P. Fiocchi non si può mettere a contrastare con Monsignore »²⁰. E il Fiocchi sosterrà suor Maria nella sua battaglia, facendo però in modo che tutto questo non significasse rottura o ribellione verso il vescovo²¹.

Equilibrio, serenità, positività sono così le note dominanti della spiritualità e della direzione del Fiocchi. Ci si svela come un direttore dalla mano sicura, decisa, rispettosa tanto dei compiti che dei limiti propri del suo ministero. Centrata nella imitazione del Cristo Crocifisso, tesa a divenirne « viva copia », la sua spiritualità respira pace, fiducia, semplicità, grazie all'abbandono fiducioso alla provvidente volontà di Dio.

¹⁷ Pasquale Teodoro Basta, nato a Monteparano, fu vescovo di Melfi dal 29 gennaio 1748 alla morte avvenuta il 27 dicembre 1765, cf. R. RITZLER - P. SEFRIN, *Hierarchia catholica medii et recentioris aevi*, vol. VI (1730-1799), Padova 1958, 285.

¹⁸ Per le vicende del monastero, soprattutto in questi anni, cf. gli studi segnalati nella nota 6.

¹⁹ ALFONSO M. DE LIGUORI, *Lettere*, vol. I, Roma [1887], 212.

²⁰ *Ivi* 211.

²¹ Le lettere del Fiocchi nel manoscritto non sono riportate in ordine cronologico, cosa invece che noi facciamo nel trascriverle. Seguiamo fedelmente il testo, discostandoci da esso solo in qualche piccola modifica della punteggiatura (virgola dopo il vocativo, che generalmente risulta omessa; omissione dell'una o altra virgola chiaramente pleonastica che creerebbe eccessive difficoltà alla lettura), nel risolvere secondo i criteri oggi in uso eventuali dubbi riguardo alle maiuscole e nello sciogliere alcune abbreviazioni oggi non più chiare.

Quando si ha presente tutto ciò, è facile comprendere la profondità della sintonia intercorsa tra lui e san Gerardo e come sia stato proprio lui a porre l'umile fratello « sul candelabro. Ma sempre con la dovuta prudenza lanciandolo a tempo e luogo opportuno e tirando i freni quando l'entusiasmo della folla minacciava di diventare travolgente. Fu lui ancora a mitigarne i rigori e a prescrivergli un vitto meno scarso e una stanza come gli altri... »²².

DOCUMENTI

1. - 1753 maggio 3. - Ms. p. 7.

Gesù Cristo sia la vita, e M.a Addolorata la nostra pace.

Iliceto 3 di maggio 1753.

Figlia mia, vi rispondo in breve. State sicura per la pace che avete goduta nella fine di Quaresima²³, ho pregato io Dio, che vi avesse dato triegua. Volete sapere da me lo stato dell'anima vostra. Amate Dio, fate l'obbedienza, sopportate la croce, praticate le virtù, e vivete quieta. Da oggi fino al Corpus Domini²⁴, immergetevi nel gran mare, guazzatevi dentro, penetrate fin dove potete e fatevi una Persona generale: mettetevi sulle spalle le quattro parti del mondo, e se amate Dio, amatelo per parte loro, se lo ringraziate, sia per parte loro, in somma in tutti gli affetti procurate di riconoscere Dio, per parte del mondo intiero, che non lo riconosce, e vi benedico.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e

²² N. FERRANTE, *op. cit.*, 129-130.

²³ Il 28 marzo sant'Alfonso aveva scritto tra l'altro a suor Maria: « E' Dio che vi assiste e vi sta attorno, perché vi vuole tutta sua. Quando egli dunque vi apre la portiera e vi parla colle sue luci, prima umiliatevi [...] e poi, confidando in quella misericordia e bontà infinita del sommo Bene, abbandonatevi come morta nelle sue braccia amorose, e ricevete con ringraziamento ed amore tutte le cognizioni e i tocchi amorosi che dona all'anima vostra: ricevendoli per più umiliarvi e per proporre maggior fedeltà al suo santo amore. Questo sì vi raccomando: quando Dio vi lascia sola e non vi fa carezze, non vi lamentate né esternamente né internamente, né ve ne inquietate, né le andate cercando, perché nel cercarle vi potrebbe essere inganno. Né da oggi avanti v'inquietate più, come vi ho detto, di quanto vi dicono. Allora rispondete fra voi: *Io voglio solo Dio*; e mettetevi in pace. L'inquietudine va per chi vuole altro che Dio. Conservatevi questa lettera, per prendere animo allorché v'inquietano », *Lettere I*, 213.

²⁴ La festa del *Corpus Domini* cadeva il 21 giugno.

2. - 1753 maggio 22. - Ms. p. 8-10.

Gesù Cristo sia la vita, e M.a Addolorata la nostra pace.

Lucera 22 di maggio 1753.

Figlia mia, io ho un piacere nel pensarvi spriorata²⁵. Figlia mia, *quiesce pusillum*²⁶, è vero, che pure state impiegata, ma spero che averà un poco più di riposo. In questo tempo vi dovete mirare con occhio più fino, dovete riflettere alle mancanze, che forse avrete fatte nel tempo del vostro officio, esaminate bene, se avete mancato alla fraterna carità, se qualche volta, vi avesse trasportato l'aria di superiora a pigliarvi delle licenze poetiche, se vi²⁷ avete trattato come la minima tra tutte, se vi avete fatto trasportare dall'imprudenza, e se avete avuto l'occhio a tutte le cose della santa comunità, se vi sete dissipata²⁸. In somma, ora è il tempo di attendere di proposito a supplire qualche mancanza fatta a Dio. Ora dovete perdere il giudizio, e quel poco sapere, che forse avrete avuto finora, voi dovete stare soggetta alla Superiora, come una tenera bambina a piedi di sua madre, allora dovete dar parere nelle cose del Monastero, quando sarete domandata. Vedete, figlia, di mostrare la virtù su di questo, e dire alla nuova Priora, che non vi abbia alcun riguardo, che vi tagli, che vi spezzi, che vi giri a genio suo, ditele, che stia avvertita a non aver per voi quella rimira, che le giovani superiore sogliono avere per le superiori passate: voi sete figlia di quella, e il vostro avanzo può dipendere da lei.

Vi raccomando la chiarezza nel comunicare. Vederete far qualche cosa contraria a quelle, che avrete voi fatte: sottomettete subito il vostro intelletto. Quel Dio che ha regolato voi, darà regola alla nuova Superiora²⁹. Figlia, io vi invidio, e mi sento, che l'anima vostra

²⁵ A suor Maria era succeduta come superiora suor Maria Michela di S. Francesco Saverio.

²⁶ Cf. Mc 6, 31. In questa come nelle altre citazioni latine la sottolineatura è mia.

²⁷ Nel testo v'è un « non » cassato, su cui è stato scritto « vi ».

²⁸ Dopo « dissipata » risulta cassato « soverchiamente ».

²⁹ Suor Maria Michela, al fine di avere dei suggerimenti sicuri per il suo governo della comunità, si rivolse anche a san Gerardo, che le invidiò, anche se con un po' di ritardo, un « regolamento » cf. *Le lettere di san Gerardo Maiella*, 276-279 e 106-115.

si ha da ingrassare in questo tempo: voi spriorata, ed io porto la bella croce³⁰, e lo scrupolo, che mi rode si è, che fò male a me ed agli altri, son fatto quasi un secolare, mi son posto sulle cerimonie, e mi son dimendicato dell'osservanza regolare, perché mi trovo sempre fuori della santa mia comunità³¹; voglio dire, che io tengo per una grazia di considerazione quella, che Dio vi ha fatta.

Non so che dirvi, quantunque voi vi credete, che io non abbia di voi veruna cura³², pure l'assicuro, che vi vorrei vedere gigante nel mezzo delle eroiche virtù, piena dello stesso Dio, accesa infinitamente nel santo Amore, vorrei che voi vi prendeste delizia con Dio, e Dio lo facesse in voi, e con voi. Vi animo al camino, e quantunque freddo, grido da Lucera: fuoco, fuoco, fuoco di santa carità. Grido da qui: vedete d'Amare il Gran Tutto, e vedete di aggiungere al vostro Amore quello che mancano d'Amare altre creature. Fate voi così pur anche, voi da costì gridate, e fatevi sentire.

Dovrei scrivere alla nuova Priora, per confirmare i passi che finora sono passati tra la mia comunità, e la vostra, e specialmente tra me e tutte voi altre³³, ma ditecelo voi da mia parte, ditele, che non si affligga perché Dio l'aiuterà a portare il peso, e ditele, che cerca a Dio la prudenza necessaria al governo, che si consigli nelle cose dubbie³⁴, e che consegna le chiavi del Monistero alla Vergine Santiss.a, ditele finalmente, che ori per me miserabile, che io ben mi ricordo di lei, da che ci ebbi conferenza costì.

³⁰ Il padre Fiocchi era allora superiore di Deliceto e rimase tale fino all'autunno del 1755.

³¹ Alla intensa attività missionaria, si aggiungevano i contatti e le varie incombenze connesse con il suo ufficio di superiore.

³² In questo stesso periodo san Gerardo scriveva alla suora: « Mi dite che, adesso che non sarè priora, tutti si scorderanno di V. R. Dio mio! e come lo potete dire? E se mai si scorderanno le creature, non si scorderà di V. R. il vostro divino sposo Gesù Cristo. Se è per me, io mai mi sono scordato e non me ne scordo di V. R. », *Le lettere di san Gerardo Maiella*, 264. Ma è un dato che ritorna anche altre volte, cf. *ivi* 262 e 294.

³³ Suor Maria aveva chiesto il P. Fiocchi anche come confessore straordinario del monastero. Ma sant'Alfonso il 23 febbraio le aveva risposto negativamente, in quanto sarebbe stato un « abuso contro la Regola [...] levatevi di capo quella cosa di due o tre volte l'anno avere per istraordinario il P. Fiocchi. Questo è impossibile. A noi è proibito far l'extraordinario anche per una volta, quando non ci è missione ». E sei giorni dopo: « In quanto alla direzione del P. Fiocchi, mi ha consolato la risposta sana e santa che mi avete fatta, stando sicura che quel che io non fo per l'anima vostra, non lo farei certamente per alcun'altra. Del resto, io permetto e godò che il P. Fiocchi vi risponda in tutti i vostri dubbi e gli permetto ancora che qualche volta anche venga a trovarvi », *Lettere I*, 210-212.

³⁴ Sono questi anche i punti sui quali S. Gerardo insiste maggiormente nel suo « regolamento », cf. *supra* nota 29.

Nella Novena dello Spirito Santo, vi dico, che li facciate onore e diteli nove Gloria Patri sette volte il giorno, e vi benedico dalla parte di Dio.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

3. - 1753 agosto 9. - Ms. p. 7.

Gesù Cristo sia la vita, e M.a Addolorata la nostra pace.

Iliceto 9 agosto 1753.

Figlia mia, io non vi volli rispondere sì perché stava intrigato, sì anche perché vi conobbi troppo sollecita. State in pace, ma se il Prelato³⁵, vi rimproverasse il difetto, vi prego a non portare tante scuse. Umiliatevi, e sottomettetevi a quello, che vi dice, perché i passi, che vuole Iddio che si diano, si anno da dare per i canali giusti, e quando vuole Dio, ognuno ha da volere. Ci possiamo opporre alla volontà di Dio, ma non la possiamo impedire.

Per le cose di sua coscienza fatevi portare da Dio dove esso vuole, diteli però, che vi porti alla virtù³⁶, e vi benedico.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e

4. - 1753 ottobre 13. - Ms. p. 8.

Gesù Cristo sia la vita, e M.a Addolorata la nostra pace.

Iliceto, 13 ottobre 1753.

Figlia mia, ora andate bene, ed ora darete gusto a Dio, seguitate dunque la Regia via che caminate, e vivete sicurissima. Non vo-

³⁵ Mons. Basta. Nelle stesse prospettive si muove la « bellissima lettera » di san Gerardo del 24 aprile 1752, « degna di eterna memoria », a parere del suo ultimo superiore e primo biografo, il P. Gaspare Caione, cf. *Le lettere di san Gerardo Maiella*, 254-256 e 61-74.

³⁶ Il P. Fiocchi inizia in questa lettera a insistere maggiormente perché la suora, accantonate le preoccupazioni dovute ai fenomeni soprannaturali da lei sperimentati, si incammini con più decisione e serenità per la via normale delle virtù. Essa è a suo parere, come dirà nella lettera seguente, la via regia. Ma consiste essenzialmente nell'imitazione di Gesù Crocifisso.

glio quella tanta premura di cercare vie, e maniere per dar gusto a Dio; a Dio si va³⁷ in pace, e nella pace Egli stesso insegna la via. *Factus est in pace locus ejus*³⁸. Non mi state dunque a stordire con tante espressioni³⁹, perché vi accerto, che nell'abisso infinito si entra in fede pura, e viva, e in pace caminate colla vita di Gesù Cristo, *Et ego sum via, veritas et vita*⁴⁰. Egli è tutto.

Considerate bene il primo periodo della lettera, che vi è molta sostanza, e godo, che vi conoscete difettosa, e miserabile. Seguitate le via ordinaria battuta da Santi, quella via appunto che vi ho data, e starete sicura. Immitate le virtù di Gesù Cristo Crocifisso, e così amarete Dio. Non voglio quella pena, che mi dite: consumatevi nell'amore di Dio, senza quella pena, e vi benedico con Gesù, e Maria.

Carmine Focchi del SS.o Red.e

5. - 1754 agosto 12. - Ms. p. 13.

Viva Gesù, e M.a Addolorata.

Iliceto 12 agosto 1754.

Iddio è solamente necessario nel mondo, e le anime non stanno mai tanto ferme, quanto, quando sono solamente appoggiate solamente a Dio. Nello stato in cui ora sono non sono manco buono, a guidare capre, o altre bestie, mi credo di fare più danno, che utile. Mi dite, che l'obbedienza opera in voi⁴¹, e pure io non ne so niente. Sicché osservate la Regola, amate il disprezzo, umi[li]atevi nel vostro niente, ed anderete sicura.

Mi consolo assai, che il Signore vi dia tante ispirazioni, ed io miserabile non me ne sento nessuna, sto duro, come una pietra, ma il Signore con miracoli mi potrebbe ammollire, e fare santo⁴².

³⁷ Nel testo si legge: « a Dio si via si va ».

³⁸ Sal 76, 3.

³⁹ E' una raccomandazione che ritorna anche nella corrispondenza di santo Alfonso, cf. *Lettere I*, 208 e 213.

⁴⁰ Gv 14, 6.

⁴¹ Il 24 marzo 1754 sant'Alfonso ha scritto a suor Maria: « Mi consolo che trovate pace nell'ubbidienza di D. Carmine. Dunque seguitate l'ubbidienza; buttatevi nelle braccia della divina Bontà e tirate avanti », *Lettere I*, 248.

⁴² Manca la firma.

6. - 1754 ottobre 19. - Ms. p. 14.

Viva Gesù, e M.a Addolorata.

Atella 19 ottobre 1754.

Figlia mia, voi vi ricordate, che io voglio pace, tranquillità, e sicurezza nell'anima. Perché temete? Il passato non vi è stato molte volte assicurato, e quietato. Nel presente non avete occasione di temere; dunque in nome di Dio serenatevi di mente, ora che state nel camino ordinario, e delle virtù, dovete stare più allegra, e per carità statevi quieta, e serena. Mi dite, che state avvilita, no non lo voglio, ora, che Dio vi ha dato l'appoggio, ripigliate il fiato, lo spirito, e la generosità; se fate difetti, dopo averli commessi, umiliatevi, e non vi avvilitate. Per i demonj, perché vi pigliate paura: se Dio è con voi, chi potrà farvi danno? Voglio che non ve ne pigliate più spavento anzi ridetevene, e disprezzateli.

Volete regola, come vi dovete portare? Pigliate fervore nell'orazione: che regola più bella di stare in ogni tempo, stato, e luogo abbandonata alla Divina volontà? State così, ed anderete bene.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

7. - 1754 dicembre 28. - Ms. p. 3.

Atella 28 dicembre 54.

Sera venni qui, e stamattina mi sono levato presto assai, per rispondere alla vostra. Figlia mia, io l'ho letta, e riletta tutta, per la divisione, e unione insieme, che si vede nell'anima: *Deus operatur omnia in omnibus*⁴³. E per ciò tutta l'anima nello stesso tempo si può trovare in molte comunicazioni, quanto⁴⁴ l'anima è informata di Dio, si rassomiglia allo stesso che opera tante cose, in tanti luoghi nello stesso tempo, dico di più, che l'anima quando è divinizzata può dare vita allo stesso Dio: perché tiene il Divino ha l'essenza di Dio

⁴³ 1 Cor 12, 6.

⁴⁴ Deve trattarsi di un errore della copista e leggersi: quando.

in sé: quella stessa, che in Dio anima Dio. *Veniamus, et apud Deum mansione[m] faciemus*⁴⁵; eccovi operare nell'anima le stesse produzioni, che si fanno in cielo, perché la Trinità non fa una dimora inutile nell'Anima⁴⁶.

Per le altre cose, quando mi scrivete di nuovo spero dirvi qualche parola, è vero però, che il tutto va a riferirsi a quello vi ho scritto.

Per lo scrivere seguitate, perché va bene. Saluto la Priora, e tutte, e vi benedico, in Dio.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.mo R.e

8. - 1755 maggio 3. - Ms. p. 17.

Viva Gesù, e M.a Addolorata.

Sant'Agata 3 di maggio 1755⁴⁷.

Figlia mia, vi scrivo per sapere come state. Vi assicuro, che mi preme assai la vostra quiete, e quella della comunità, avvisatemi con sincerità se le cose vanno meglio [di] prima. Dite alla Priora che abbia prudenza, e pazienza. Volesse Dio, vi potessi aiutare col sangue. Io per codesta comunità ne ho una tenerezza grande: cosa insolita per me. Aspetto questa notizia con ansietà, e voi non mi avete mica scritto. Solamente mi state ad infracidarmi, ed a quelle cose, che poco, o niente stimo. Non mi date notizia se la comunità che io amo con tenerezza si porta bene.

Per voi state allegramente, Dio farà il tutto, vivete colla regola mia nel seno di Dio, praticate le virtù, e conservatevi un poco la salute; io vi voglio sana per servizio di codesta comunità. Io non mi scordo di voi, voi non vi scordate di me, vi assicuro che ho bisogno, son fatto un diavolo, e quello che più mi duole [è che] vado sempre

⁴⁵ Cf. Gv 14, 23. Però lo « apud eum » del vangelo è diventato « apud Deum ».

⁴⁶ Cf. la relazione inviata da suor Maria a sant'Alfonso, pubblicata in *Lettere di san Gerardo Maiella*, 367-371. In essa si legge tra l'altro: « Ricevuto che ho Gesù Cristo sacramentato, mi prostro nel fondo dell'anima per adorar ed amar tal Signore sacramentato [...] mi vedo unita alla fede dell'umanità ss. di Gesù Cristo. Ma ecco che mi pare che adoro me stessa. Mi levo da questo per tema che non sia idolatra di me stessa e vado ad adorare al vivo dell'anima la sua Divinità. E mi pare che adoro l'anima mia ».

⁴⁷ La copista ha scritto 1775, correggendo poi in 1755.

peggiorando, dissipato, distratto, senza Dio, e se fatico non è zelo, ma uso. Dite alla Priora che mi raccomanda a Dio, saluto tutte, e vi benedico.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

9. - 1755 luglio 8. - Ms. p. 3-6.

Viva Gesù e Maria Addolorata.

Consolazione⁴⁸, 8 luglio 1755.

Figlia mia, dopo aver letta questa laceratela. Ora vi rispondo a tre vostre: a quella di Nocera, a quella mandatami, per via di Rionero, e all'ultima avuta, per mano del Signor Erminio di Frivico, quantunque di questa ultima ve ne ho mandato una mezza e mezza risposta. Sento con piacere il vostro camino interiore, questo a me allora più piace, quanto è più nascosto, e più semplice, depurato da quelle tante comunicazioni, che sapete. La via Regia è la via della soda virtù, i direttori devono pian piano tagliare ogni altra via, e fermare le anime, in quella bella delle virtù. Sapete benissimo, che quando Dio vuole comunicarsi ha mille vie, e se gli si tronca una, egli ne trova altre cento, anzi sebene l'anima resiste, sfugga, s'opponga alle sue comunicazioni, egli ha il modo di fare in quella l'impressione, che gli piace: con tutte le resistenze, ancorché non si vuole pure Dio fa sortire l'effetto, che più gli piace nell'anime nostre, e frattanto, e l'anima si toglie del⁴⁹ timore delle fantasie, e dell'illusione, e il Direttore si leva dall'impaccio di far tanti esami, e tanti scrutinj, né per questo ne proviene picciolo detrimento all'anima. Voi sapete quante volte vi ho spezzato il camino, quante volte ve l'ho restituito, e quante volte ve l'ho assicurato, ora mi è paruto di dare il taglio forte, che vi rinnovo colla maggiore efficacia⁵⁰, e fortezza, che mai, ma nello stesso tempo pretendo di darvi la spinta, più forte verso la perfezione, e santità. Vi voglio depurata di voi stessa, in una profonda virtù, in una massiccia trasformazione al divino volere, e pretendo, per questa via vedervi gradita a quel Signore a cui vi siete

⁴⁸ Il santuario della Consolazione, cioè la casa redentorista di Deliceto.

⁴⁹ dal.

⁵⁰ efficacia.

consegata. Fatevi dunque animo, volate alla perfezione, con semplicità di spirito, e fervore, e mentre vi taglio assolutamente da tutto il sopra naturale, vi metto nella gran carriera ordinaria; ordinaria sì, ma pure divina, ma pure bella, ma pure amabile della virtù, restando quietissima del passato. Non voglio però che vi inquietate, se scappa la mente o da sé, o venisse senza suo consenso tirata da Dio, il quale finalmente è Padrone assoluto, assolutissimo di voi tutta.

Per l'obbedienza da cui vi ho separata, ed a cui vorrestivo essere restituita di nuovo, dico di no⁵¹, sebene vi accordo che per l'amore, che tiene Dio a questa virtù, voi possiate cercare ajuto ne' vostri bisogni, e conforto nelle vostre debolezze, né voglio altra unione, o altre cose.

Per il sacrificio fatto a Dio, per la vostra direzione, va bene: Egli è per verità lo sposo, e quando vuole e come vuole è Padrone di darla, e di cambiarla, per ora dunque che Dio vi tiene in questa direzione, sentitela, perché Dio la vuole, e quando Dio vorrà altrimenti bisogna obbedirlo, e sono pure di sentimento, che se Dio per la bocca del Superiore vi facesse risolutamente sapere, che egli non vuole più questa direzione, voi dovereste obbedire, senza aver timore di non trovare altra guida, perché Dio tiene potenza di cacciare i buoni direttori dalle pietre, quietatevi dunque su questo, e seguitate a vivere uniformata.

Per quelli due, che vi sono venuti a insinuare la mutazione, vi ringrazio, che me l'avete descritto, e senza voler sapere come vada la fa[c]cenda, vorrei sapere che motivi vi assegnano. Io mi conosco per verità inabile a dirigere, ma mi credo di certo di avere almeno la volontà di portare l'anime a Dio.

Per me poi voi già sapete, figlia, la gran indifferenza che ho per queste cose, che sebene spero di non mancare all'ufficio mio, con tutto questo vivo sempre nella mia scioltezza. Diranno, che io sono incredulo⁵², ma voi sapete, che non [è vero]; che io non sono dell'arte, a questo non sò che dire; diranno che io sono lontano, e questo ve l'ho detto io prima di loro. Seguitate dunque colla solita chiarezza, e obbedienza, e statevi colla vostra pace, e indifferenza, che se Dio cerca mutazione, la farà esso sortire, come più di Gloria sua. E vi soggiungo di più, che se io lo conoscerò in appresso, perché ora non lo conosco, sono capacissimo di scriverlo io, perché avrei scru-

⁵¹ Cf. la lettera n. 5.

⁵² Cioè riguardo ai fenomeni soprannaturali sperimentati dalla suora, per i quali Fiocchi la esorta a non nutrire eccessiva preoccupazione e restare distaccata.

polo infinito a contraddire il Divino volere. Vivete dunque in pace, attendete da vero a voi stessa. Purificatevi sempre più, annegatevi sempre più, raccoglietevi sempre più. Vi sia a cuore il desiderio dell'amore di Gesù Cristo, delle virtù; la santa Regola sia sempre la corona del vostro capo, il rispetto e venerazione al Prelato, alla Superiora, sia impresso altamente nell'anima vostra. Sete in obbligo d'amare Dio di essere tutta, tutta sua, senza riserba, perché egli ha fatto assai per voi. Mortificate le piccole ripugnanze, procurate di sottomettere il vostro intelletto a chi sta in luogo di Dio. L'ufficio assegnatevi fateli con puntualità, e con intenzione infinitamente purificata.

Guardate che la religiosa deve essere morta, e seppelita ancora. Non vi perdetes la pace dell'anima, per quelle cose, che sortiscono nella comunità, Dio darà riparo a tutto. La candidezza del cuore è la figlia più cara a Dio. Ajutate fin dove potete, le povere angustiate sorelle, riparate per quanto sapete, o potete agli sconcerti. Alle grate andate se l'obbedienza vi chiama. Le vostre meditazioni siano profonde, ma senza alzarvi dal camino stabilito, meditate Dio sull'umanità santissima da cui procurate estrarre una viva copia delle più alte virtù. Ed eccovi una gran lezione, una gran predica, un insolito processo. Vi raccomando infinito rispetto al Prelato, avetelo voi ed insinuatelo all'altre quando occorre. Credetemi, che la sola pace è il sostegno delle comunità, e le comunità senza pace sono inferno⁵³. Se vi volete tenere la lettera fate come vi piace.

Carmine del SS.mo Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

10. - 1757 settembre 21. - Ms. p. 10-11.

I.M.M.I.

Casa 21 settembre 1757⁵⁴.

Figlia mia, voi sapete, che io sono sincero, sapete, che non voglio per minima cosa tradire, e l'ufficio mio, e il mio Dio, e sapete che io ho sempre desiderato di vedervi corretta, mutata, e fatta

⁵³ San Gerardo concludeva il suo « regolamento » per suor Maria Michela con queste parole: « Perché si manca di prudenza, perciò vi sono tanti disturbi in alcune case religiose. Dove ci è disturbo vi sta il demonio, non ci è Dio », *Le lettere di san Gerardo Maiella*, 279.

⁵⁴ Nel manoscritto si legge 1777. Ma è chiaramente un errore della copista: Fiocchi è morto nel 1776. Del resto nello stesso errore è incorsa nella lettera n. 8, cf. *supra* nota 47.

buona Religiosa, e perciò vi ho parlato sempre, e scritto secondo la mia coscienza, e voi me ne dovete ringraziare. Se mi avessivo obbedito da principio, voi, ed io staremmo quieti, e voi stareste assai bene con Dio. Ma il fatto è fatto, ancora sete a tempo.

Io non vi voglio in diffidenze, Né voglio che vi crediate dannata, perduta. Vi prego solamente a fare una vita più soda, e questo lo voglio vedere ora che si fa la nuova Priora⁵⁵, datemi la consolazione di vedervi mutata. Ecco come vi desidero.

1. Via ordinaria con abbominio ad ogni cosa di fantasia, e cose soprannaturali.
2. Vita di vera orazione mentale sopra la Passione di Gesù Cristo, e Santissimo Sacramento.
3. Un triennio almeno (se Dio vi dà tanta vita) vita ritirata, nasco-
sta, alle grate per pura necessità, e silenzio nei disprezzi.
4. Non v'impacciate a niente delle cose della comunità, se non quanto sete chiamata a consulta, e detto che avete il vostro parere, non vi ostinate.
5. O si fa bene, o male, non tocca a voi, state da vera suddita, umile, obbediente, e leggete qualche libro spirituale. Io non so più come parlarvi, spero che vi porterete come vi ho detto, e vi benedico.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

11. - 1758 aprile 5. - Ms. p. 12-13.

I.M.M.I.

Santo Fele 5 aprile 1758.

Figlia mia, mi dite, che io non vi posso vedere: questo non è affatto vero, quietatevi, io per aiutarvi a farvi santa, sono stato, e sono disposto a far tutto, tutto, tutto, tutto, tutto.

Per le vostre cose va bene, seguitate a far conto delle minuzie, e del camino della virtù, e della fede.

Priora, avertite a portare le vostre monache per la via semplice delle virtù, e fuggite voi, e fate fuggire alle altre ogni soprana-

⁵⁵ Fu eletta suor Maria Cherubina dei Sette Dolori, cf. ALFONSO M. DE LIGUORI, *Lettere I*, 384.

turalità, perché sono il veleno dell'anima.

Godo, che state attenta alla comunità, seguitate. Confidenza in Dio, carità colle monache, fate l'ufficio vostro colla Regola alla mano, obbedienza a chi dovete. Girate qualche volta per il Monastero, ma più spesso statevi raccolta, e a pensare all'anima vostra, e lasciate il silenzio nelle mani della Santa Madre, che lo difendi. Vi raccomando l'orazione, ed il ringraziamento dopo la comunione. Vi raccomando la pace, ed avete carità colle monache.

Al confessore rispetto, e somissione. Fuggite il troppo parlare. State attenta a non far patire le monache, ajutate l'educande e vi raccomando i poveri. E sopra tutto voglio che *in omnibus* andate di concerto con il vostro Prelato. Veneratelo, stimatelo come vi dice la Regola, obbeditelo, e così troverete la pace vera.

Figlia mia, vi torno a dire, badate a quello potete, ma non vi trapazzate tanto. Procurate di assistere quasi sempre all'orazione comune. La superiora deve assistere sempre che può agli atti comuni, e badate di fare obbedire le monache all'ordinazione de' Superiori. Badate alla comunità, e vedete darle buono esempio. State attenta di non dare le licenze, specialmente in quelle cose, che sono contrarie all'uso, e vi benedico.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

12. - 1762 gennaio 21. - Ms. p. 18.

I.M.M.

Atella 21 del 62.

In nome di Dio dopo tant'anni vi scrivo la prima volta⁵⁶. Prego il Signore, che voglia darvi buona intenzione, acciocché possa io farvi in appresso la stessa carità come la fò a tante altre, anzi un poco meno. Per la vostra osservanza procurate di fare quanto si può, non v'inquietate di coscienza, ma vi sia a cuore l'osservanza, così dico per l'ufficio Divino, e per l'altre cose. Vi raccomando il raccoglimento, e

⁵⁶ L'assenza di lettere degli anni 1758-1762 non è quindi dovuta a una omissione della copista. Del resto una certa tensione tra il Fiocchi e suor Maria si intuisce già nelle due precedenti lettere.

la preghiera a Dio, e l'esercizio delle virtù, le sole virtù ci fanno piacere a Dio.

Per carità, ora che Dio vi fa la grazia di stare più serena di mente, non date luogo alla fantasia, vedete di fare una vita semplice, senza soprannaturalità in cui la vostra fantasia può inutilmente pascersi. Io per me vi benedico questo solo camino delle virtù, perché tutto l'altro in noi è dannoso, come si è veduto coll'esperienza.

Io vi proibii i voti, e voi l'avete fatti. Vi torno a dire: io non voglio. Amate Dio, vi benedico.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.mo Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

13. - 1773 luglio 26. - Ms. p. 21.

Gesù sia la vita, e M.a Addolorata la nostra pace.

Melfi 26 luglio 1773⁵⁷.

Madre mia, voglio credere che mi avete, per mal creato, giacché a molte sue non ho risposto, per carità compatitemi. Mi ho dovuto fare le prediche giorno, per giorno, ed ho avuto pure altre faccende, e vi è stata qualche negligenza ancora, ora rispondo. Per lo moccaturato⁵⁸ vi prego fare quanto sta scritto in questa cartella⁵⁹ che vi acchiudo. Per la mia venuta costà, non è possibile, vorrei però aiutare quell'anima, che V. R. mi dice. Io vado a pensare cosa sia il negozio. Mi si potrebbe scrivere tutto l'affare in Atella, dove sarò coll'ajuto di Dio, dovendomi [portare] colà la sera, e da là darei il mio parere. Non credere, che io mi sia mutato col vostro monastero. Lo sa Dio, ma voglio dar quell'ajuto, che mi viene permesso dalla coscienza, e prudenza. Madre mia, se potesse, vi vorrei incenerire col fiato d'amor di Dio. L'assicuro, che vi vorrei vedere sempre più piena dello Spirito Santo. Io sono miserabile, ed ho idee corte, forse per me, ma nudrisco alti pensieri di perfezione per gli altri. Via, dia-

⁵⁷ Questo è l'anno segnato dalla copista. E' probabile però che essa abbia commesso lo stesso errore già segnalato nelle note 47 e 54 e che debba perciò leggersi 1753: il tono generale della lettera e quanto il Fiocchi scrive di se stesso sembrano suggerire una tale interpretazione.

⁵⁸ fazzoletto.

⁵⁹ La copista non ci dà tale cartella.

moci da fare, ma amate Dio, Dio, Dio, e l'amore sia costante di lavoro ardente, e non vi scordate di me. Saluto tutte, e vi raccomando tutte, e vi lascio a piedi di nostra Signora Addolorata.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

14. - ? novembre 22⁶⁰. - Ms. p. 11-12.

Viva Gesù, e M.a Addolorata.

Oliveto nella sera di S. Cecilia.

Figlia mia, scrivo dopo aver fatta la predica, e dico, che lo scrivere in questa lettera mi è piaciuto assai, perché naturale e senza certe formole esaggerative. S. Teresa così ha scritto sempre, e così vorrei che scrivessero le sue figlie. Amen. Per lo stato dell'anima vostra seguitate a camminare in fede, [malgrado] l'oscurità della quale⁶¹ mi piace più, di tutte le passate chiarezze. *Iustus ex fide vivit*⁶². Vi credete abbandonata, vi vedete derelitta, tutto vi pare confusione, e fratanto voi fate il vostro camino, nelle derelizione, desolazione: caminate in fede e nella S. obbedienza.

Non tante riflessioni sopra voi medesima, finitevi di buttare nelle mani divine, e fatevi condurre dovunque vuole. Mi scrivete che non state arida, ma vi sentite abbandonata. A voi [non deve] importare altro, se non che si faccia in voi senza interesse il divino volere: voi sete in obbligo di Amare, o arida, o abbandonata, amate e caminate sicura sempre. Fate l'obbedienza, e vivete quieta. E questo vi basta.

Mi dite, che io mi sono dimenticato di voi, è vero, ma credetemi che mi sono dimenticato di me, di tutti, e di Dio ancora, quantunque le missioni sono a principio. Pregate per me, che non mi faccia cadere in mano della superbia, verso di cui sono tanto inclinato, e vi benedico con Gesù, e Maria.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS.o Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

⁶⁰ La copista non dà l'anno. Credo debba trattarsi del 1753, dato il tono della lettera e quanto viene detto in quelle n. 3 e 4.

⁶¹ la quale.

⁶² Rm 1, 17.

15. - Ms. p. 13⁶³.

Figlia mia, sento quanto mi dite per la S. Comunione, che vi è stata levata. La volontà di Dio, è il rimedio universale, e il pascolo pure de' Beati, se non vi potete saziare con Gesù, saziatevi colla Divina volontà, dove riposate, e vivete allegra⁶⁴.

Per l'oscurità, e mestizia, che sentite, non è niente, io però non la voglio, levatela, e pregatene Iddio, vi voglio in pace, in sicurezza, e in allegrezza in ogni tempo, eccovi l'assistenza, che mi cercate. Non vi voglio insensata, ma vigilante, e animata vivamente da Dio nelle vostre azioni⁶⁵.

16. - Ms. p. 13-14⁶⁶.

Figlia mia, sono già in casa, il P.e Rettore mi ha fatto tornare a mezzo camino, dopo avermi fatto un[a] brava cantata, e ne avea avuta qualche ragione, né vuole, che io esca di casa senza una necessità premurosa, ma non voglio, che si dica alle Monache, sicché almeno per tutto luglio, e forse agosto non ci vedremo, purché Dio non disponga altrimenti. Se vi occorre, scrivete con libertà, e credetemi, che io sono sempre pronto, ad ajutarvi purché non vi sia difetto. Avisatemi come si sta in pace, che tanto vi raccomando. Mi era compromesso di venire a trovarvi al ritorno, ma voi sapete il peso dell'obbedienza, voglio farmi otto giorni di esercitij spirituali, pregate per me, e di cuore vi benedico.

Carmine Fiocchi del SS. Red.e, e di M.a Addolorata

⁶³ La lettera è priva di data. La copista si limita a trascriverla dopo quella del 12 agosto 1754 (n. 5), premettendo semplicemente: « In un'altra lettera dice ».

⁶⁴ Il 12 dicembre 1752, sant'Alfonso scrive a suor Maria: « Ho saputo che il padre Teresiano vi ha levato la comunione quotidiana. Io ho fatto fracasso con Monsignore (ma tenetelo segreto), il quale non so che farà », *Lettere* I, 208. Questo porterebbe a ipotizzare che la lettera del Fiocchi debba collocarsi nello stesso periodo.

⁶⁵ Manca la firma.

⁶⁶ Anche di questa lettera, che trascrive dopo la precedente premettendo la semplice nota: « Dice in un'altra lettera », la copista non indica alcuna data.

APPENDICE

Brani di lettere del P. Fiocchi dal manoscritto intitolato

« Sentimenti Santissimi del fu mio Santo Padre D. Carmine Fiocchi del SS.mo Red.re estratti dalle sue lettere »⁶⁷.

1

Figlia, lo stato in cui vi trovate arido, e meschino deve essere una pruova della vostra fedeltà, delle promesse, che avete fatte al Signore di volere egli solo, e non già le sue consolazioni, e delle tante offerte fatte a Gesù di voler penare con esso nella Croce. Non vi dissanimate, perché Dio verrà di nuovo, chiamatelo, cercatelo, sospiratelo; *veniet, et non tardabit*⁶⁸. La nostra obbligazione però in questo stato si è di conoscere l'infinita nostra miseria, l'infinita nostre mancanze, l'infinita nostra incorrispondenza, e di più d'essere ferma, e costante in tutti gli esercizi di virtù, e di devozione, che solevate praticare. Ora è tempo di assistere a Gesù penante nell'orto, e nella croce. Siate adunque fedele, e disposta a tirare avanti lo stato presente di penalità fino a quando Dio vorrà, ancorché fosse per tutta la vostra vita, voi non meritate d'esser nel Taborre, anzi non meritate un'occhiata amorosa del vostro Dio. Credete però di certo, che anche presentemente Dio è con voi. La svogliatezza, gli tedi, la fred-

⁶⁷ Non mi sembra inutile trascrivere i passi più salienti della testimonianza sul padre Fiocchi, che segue i frammenti di lettere che qui trascriviamo: « Di questi, ed altri simili sentimenti sono ripiene le lettere del fu mio santo Padre D. Carmine Fiocchi, la vita del quale non era punto discordante da essi; imperocché era egli ammirabile nella indifferenza perfetta in tutto ciò, che accader soleva, o di prospero, o di averso, conservando una inalterabile pace, sicché non poteasi notare in lui mutazione alcuna, in qualunque avvenimento per dispiacevole, che fosse, vedendosi sempre uguale a se stesso, sempre sereno, sempre pacifico, sempre d'un istesso umore. Sembrava esser egli un uomo non soggetto a passione veruna. Insensibile mostravasi sì nelle lodi, come ne' disprezzi. Non scorgevasi in lui inclinazione più ad una cosa, che ad un'altra, ricercando con equal indifferenza tutto quello se li dava, pronto ben'anche a lasciarlo ad ogni qualunque minimo cenno della più infima Religiosa di questo Monistero non che della Superiora; e quantunque egli posseduto avesse qual gran fondo di dottrina, che il mondo sà, nulla di meno però, sembrava un fanciullo, per la semplicità che riluceva in tutte le sue azioni [...]. Nel confessionale, la sua pazienza, carità e dolcezza era ammirabile con tutte, sicché ogn'una affermar potea di scorgere in lui viscere più che paterne; quanto però il suo tratto era dolce, ed affabile, altrettanto lontano era dall'esser molle, ed effeminato, mantenendo mai sempre quella gravità, e decoro proprio del suo carattere. Nelle prediche, il suo stile quando semplice altrettanto vivo, e penetrante, le sue parole saettavano i cuori più duri », f. 3v-4v.

⁶⁸ Eb 10, 37.

dezza, che mi dite, non è segno che Dio non gradisca le vostre azioni, anzi servono per fortificarvi nell'opere buone, e per deporare⁶⁹ totalmente il vostro spirito dalle consolazioni celesti, e dal proprio gusto. Vi torno a dire: se in questo stato sarete più che fedele a Dio lo troverete certamente in ispirito, verità; fatevi la Comunione secondo il solito, l'orazione, la lezione, ed ogni altro esercizio spirituale, ed il Signore verrà di nuovo. Amate Dio assai, e con Dio la virtù, e vi benedico.

2

Figlia, sento lo stato in cui vi trovate di stupidità come voi dite, e di oscurità senza che o Dio, o il Mondo vi faccia senso. A questo vi rispondo, che voi andiate all'orazione col solito apparecchio, ma se non vi sentite impulso a fare i soliti affetti, né trovate via per farvi i soliti discorsi, riflessioni, o meditazioni, rimanetevi in quella oscurità, in quella strazione⁷⁰, attendete da Dio quello che vuole, e sappiate che *Nox ejus sicut dies illuminabitur*⁷¹. In quella notte l'anima si distacca, si denuda, si spoglia da tutto il sensibile, e si fa capace di trattare più da vicino coll'Infinita purità di Dio. Profondatevi dunque in quelle tenebre, e spero che ivi il Signore si faccia più conoscere, che non si conosce per i discorsi, e meditazioni. Dio è incomprendibile, ma qualche tocco delle sue Perfezioni lo suole dare da sé alle Anime, e quando le potenze sono vuote, egli discende, e le suole riempire. Seguitate dunque con coraggio, e spirito, non lasciate i vostri esercizi, amate la finezza delle virtù, e così *Qui adh[a]eret Deo unus Spiritus fit cum eo*⁷². Così averete la desiderata unione con Dio. Quando vi sentite spinta agli affetti fateli, e fuori, e dentro l'orazione, ma quando nell'orazione si oscura *nolite evigilare*⁷³. Se nella comunione vi accado⁷⁴ lo stesso, pure va bene. La vicinanza dello Sposo suole soprafare, o stupidire. Figlia, amate

⁶⁹ depurare.

⁷⁰ astrazione.

⁷¹ Sal 139, 12.

⁷² 1 Cor 6, 17.

⁷³ cf. Ct 2, 7.

⁷⁴ accade.

Dio, amatelo assai, amatelo con forza, o tutta o niente. Vi benedico⁷⁵.

3

Figlia, vi accordo la licenza per gli esercizi. La Regola, che io vi dò è di piantarvi nel cuore Gesù Cristo *vero Dio, e vero uomo*. Contemplate l'Umanità sagrosanta, le virtù, la passione di Gesù Cristo e contemplate la divinità, le divine Perfezioni, e quando il Signore vi porta all'Amore, *omnia ossa tua*⁷⁶ gridano: amo, amo, amo, e quando vi porta ad un profondo silenzio delle potenze *Iacta in Dominum curam tuam, et ipse te enutriet*⁷⁷ ecc.

4

Figlia, per le tentazioni non vi travagliate, la generosità partorisce mirabili effetti, ed è una virtù che non cura non riceve impressioni, o timore né speranza o da premj, o delle⁷⁸ pene, calpestando tutto corre a Dio solo ecc.

5

Figlia, voi dovete essere coraggiosa in tutto, e specialmente nella privazione di tutto il sensibile spirituale, voi dovete essere quieta nelle tentazioni perché è con voi il forte de' forti, dovete essere pacifica perché Dio è il Dio che governa, ed è di Pace, voi dovete essere eguale nell'indifferenza perfetta di tutto ciò che avviene o di buono, o di quello che pare male. Non tanti desiderj, anzi un[o] solo, desiderate l'unione con Dio e il possesso... Voi vi dovete spogliare più di tutto il sensibile. Dio è spirito, e dovete amarlo collo spirito. In somma credete, che Dio ha cura di voi, che egli vi conduce, egli vi porta per le vie, che gli piacciono al suo Amore, sebbene da noi non intese, e sconosciute, dite spesso: *Dominus regit me, et nihil mihi deerit*⁷⁹ ecc.

⁷⁵ La trascrittrice aggiunge: « Con queste fervorosissime parole soleva egli ordinariamente concludere e dar fine alle sue lettere ».

⁷⁶ Cf. Sal 35, 10.

⁷⁷ Sal 55, 23.

⁷⁸ dalle.

⁷⁹ Sal 23, 1.

6

Figlia, la malinconia, il pianto, l'affligervi non vi dà il raccoglimento, né l'amore di Dio; l'allegrezza, la pace ve lo può dare, e poi voi dovete aver pazienza con voi stessa. Dio deve in voi operare quella Perfezione che voi cercate, e lo farà quando voi avrete buona volontà, voglio che non fate tante riflessioni manco su di voi, Dio si trova nella semplicità del cuore, e nel riposo della mente, e intelletto. Intendete bene questo ecc.

7

*Post tenebras spero luce[m]*⁸⁰. Figlia, la vicenda è necessaria all'anima: vi deve essere la calma, e la tempesta, la tenebra, e la luce, onde state quieta. Quando la tenebra viene all'anima con essa suol venire la seccagine, l'aridità, e Dio suol dare il permesso al Nemico di tentare e angustiare l'anima, ma in questo stato l'anima patisce, e dà gusto a Dio, non ha timore di cadere. *Dominus supponit manum suam*⁸¹. Voi, figlia, state quieta, e con confidenza di nuovo verrà la luce, e Dio se durano le tentazioni pure è suo. Siamo viatori, per arrivare alla Patria si anno da patire infinite tribulazioni per via. *Ma de omnibus his liberabit Deus*⁸². State più allegramente, voi non vi fate su questo difetto, e chi ve le manda ne farà cacciar profitto ecc.

8

Figlia, mi piace il desiderio, che vi dà Gesù Cristo per i dispreggi; è ottimo l'amore per quelli, vi farà simile allo Sposo, seguendolo tralle⁸³ ignominie, voglio che un tal desiderio vi stia piantato nel cuore, senza fare su questo molte immaginazioni, contentatevi di star pronta, e parata a quello [che] Dio vi manderà ecc.

⁸⁰ Gb 17, 12.

⁸¹ Sal 37, 24.

⁸² Sal 34, 20.

⁸³ tra le.

9

Figlia, voi già sapete la mia massima. Non si cerca, non si rifiuta: se vi daranno l'ufficio di Maestra, accettatelo, ubbidite, ed il Signore vi ajuterà... Ubbidite, e non caderete negli inganni. Ubbidite, e vi perfezionarete. Ubbidite, e darete gusto al vostro sposo divino ecc.

10

Figlia, il desiderio della perfezione lo voglio pacifico, lo voglio robusto, ma non turbolento, voglio dire che godete il vostro Dio, ma nella pace del cuore, in cui Dio suole parlare all'anime, e affiarsi con esse loro; poiché la perfezione si acquista non colla violenza dell'opere, ma colla dolcezza, e pace interna, attendendo all'esercizio delle sante virtù. Non vi turbate adunque nelle vostre mancanze, abbiate pazienza con voi, e colle vostre imperfezioni, e così camminerete sempre più avanti a conoscere, e ad amare il sommo bene. Fatevi guidare da Dio colla suavità, amate la croce, il disprezzo se vi viene, e se no, vivete quieta. Se Dio vi dà il riposo nell'orazione ricevetelo, e se no, non vi smovete. Insomma, o tepida, o fervorosa, o esatta, o imperfetta non v'inquietate, basta che sempre procurate d'andare a Dio, di volare al vostro centro, al vostro tutto, e d'abbandonarvi in lui ecc.

11

Figlia, amate assai Gesù Cristo, e fatevi sua vera sposa imitandolo in tutto. Siate assai minuta nell'esercizio delle virtù. State serena col cuore, perché così riceverete l'impressioni della grazia. Vi raccomando la fiducia in Dio nelle vostre tentazioni, ma voi dovete far tutto per Dio, sebbene Dio non volesse accettarlo, riguardando il merito infinito del Signore, e amandolo con distacco da voi, e con amore di benevolenza ecc.

12

Figlia, amate assai il vostro Sposo Gesù Sacramentato. Ah! voi sete nel Paradiso colla vicinanza sua, dunque godetevi la vostra gioia,

il vostro Sposo. Unitevi, stringetevi con lui, amatelo, godetelo. Siate fedele, grata, amante vera ecc.

13

Figlia, amate, amate assai il vostro Dio, unitevi a lui con familiarità, e diteli, che stampi nel vostro cuore la viva immagine sua... Voglio che vi consacrate in una maniera particolare allo Spirito Santo. Egli sia il Padrone di voi tutta tutta tutta. Vi benedico il cuore, acciò sia fornace dell'amore di Gesù ecc.



ANDRÉ SAMPERS

HIGH PRAISE GIVEN IN 1846
TO THE REDEMPTORIST APOSTOLATE IN U.S.A.

In a French document, dated Munich, April 1846, the apostolic work of the Redemptorists in the United States, where they were active since 1832, is highly praised and warmly recommended for generous support.

The author who entitled his paper simply as « Some Remarks on the Missions in America »¹, is Baron Theophilus Henry von Schroeter², a pious layman³ from Germany, who did much to promote the German immigration into the U.S.A. and especially the appropriate pastoral care among the settlers⁴. He was a good friend of the Redemptorists and so his name appears quite often in documents concerning their work⁵.

Schroeter begins his exposition asserting that the Church in America is free; this in contrast with the situation in Europe, where she is

¹ *Quelques observations sur les missions en Amérique*. The neatly written manuscript of eleven numbered pages is kept in the Propaganda Fide Archives, section Scrittura riferite nei Congressi, America Centrale, vol. 14 (1845-1848), fo 257r-262r. A summary made by Mr. A. Debevec is given in *United States Documents in the Propaganda Fide Archives. A Calendar*. First Series (ed. by F. Kenneally OFM), vol. II, Washington, D.C. 1968, p. 15, No. 99.

² The original German name is: Gottlieb Heinrich, Freiherr von Schröter.

³ In the above mentioned summary von Schroeter is mistakenly presented as a priest (« Rev. »). In the same *Calendar*, vol. III, p. 179, Nos. 1098-1099 he is given as a Redemptorist.

⁴ We intend to give a biographical note on Theophilus von Schroeter in the near future in this review. The necessary research is somewhat cumbersome as it deals with a personage of secondary significance. Meanwhile see the notes on Schroeter in D.A. ROSENTHAL, *Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, Bd. I: *Deutschland*, 3. Teil, 2. Aufl., Schaffhausen 1872, 515, and J. Boland's article on Fr. R.A. Coffin — who was in contact with von Schroeter around 1850 — in *Spic. hist.* 28 (1980) 443.

⁵ There is, for instance, an invitation directed to German immigrants to settle down in St. Mary's Colony, Elk County, Pa., signed by Mathias Benzinger, Johann Eschbach, and Gottlieb von Schroeter. The document is published in J. WUEST, *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Provinciae Americanae*, vol. I (1832-1848), Ilchester 1888, 322 ff. The mentioning of the names in the context of St. Mary's Colony may be the reason why Benzinger and Eschbach, both laymen, are presented as Redemptorists in the *Calendar* (see footnote 1), vol. III, p. 180, No. 1099.

always dependent in some way, openly or veiled, on the temporal power. This means that there are great possibilities for the Church in America, which should be properly evaluated and efficiently used.

Schroeter is of opinion that the mission in America is better taken care of by members of Orders and Congregations than by the secular clergy. The latter come sometimes driven by unhallowed motives and several of them think more of enriching themselves than of working for the salvation of their fellow-men. It should not be forgotten, however, that no provisionary measures have been taken for elderly priests; everyone, therefore, has to put something aside for his old age.

Religious, on the contrary, are directed, supervised and cared for by their superiors. And this fact results in very well conducted and organized parishes, where all parishioners feel confident and happy. « One should go to the parishes entrusted to the Redemptorist Fathers and one will find an example. It would be difficult to find in Europe parishes of such extension, where true devotion, charity, and purity of morals flourish to the same degree ».

Then the various Orders and Congregations active in the U.S.A. are enumerated with some details about their work and a few words of appraisal (for instance, the Jesuits) or criticism (for instance, the Missionaries of the Precious Blood). There follows now the last part (pp. 6-11) of the « Remarks » that regards the Redemptorists, with at the end some criticism on the supposed partiality of the Lyons Organisation for the Propagation of the Faith in distributing the money collected from all over Europe. Also the use of the funds of the Ludwig-Missionsverein of Munich meets with Schroeter's criticism⁶.

Les Pères Rédemptoristes, venus en Amérique depuis une douzaine d'années, ont dû passer les premiers six ou sept ans par des épreuves bien rudes. On les empêchait de toute manière de s'établir dans une maison conventuelle; on les envoyait dans les endroits les plus éloignés sans moyens, sans secours, de sorte que plusieurs de ces Pères seraient morts de faim, si la divine Providence ne leur avait envoyé des âmes pieuses pour les sauver. Mais la sagesse éternelle, ayant pour l'avenir de ce pays de vastes vues sur ces Pères, les faisait passer par ces souffrances pour faire éclater l'esprit apostolique dont elle les a dotés. Les évêques, voyant la fidélité, la sainte ferveur et les grands succès des fils de St. Alphonse, les appelèrent de l'Allemagne pour s'établir en différents diocèses. La première maison fondée est celle de Baltimore. Depuis ce temps ils ont formé neuf stations: deux à Baltimore, une à Philadelphie, à New York, à Rochester, à Buffalo,

⁶ The orthography has been changed a little in the transcription: a few misspellings have been corrected and some omitted accents have been added.

à Pittsburgh, à Monroe et dans la nouvelle ville catholique de Ste Marie⁷.

L'Eglise catholique gagne un autre aspect partout où cette Congrégation s'établit en Amérique. Les moeurs changent d'une manière si parfaite que même les hérétiques admirent ce changement; des milliers de personnes éloignées depuis 20-30 ans de l'Eglise par égarement ou par manque de prêtres deviennent les catholiques les plus fervents. La paix et une sainte harmonie filiale rentrent dans les paroisses, qui — selon le triste usage de l'Amérique — vivaient en guerre ouverte et continuelle avec leurs curés; plus de duplicité religieuse, plus de respect humain. Ce sont surtout les Allemands qui se réunissent autour des Rédemptoristes et qui se distinguent par leur zèle touchant et sincère. Il est bien remarquable qu'en même temps que la vieille Allemagne prend de jour en jour un aspect plus triste et paraît vouloir tomber en ruines, il se forme au-delà de l'océan une Allemagne nouvelle, non par calculs humains ou politiques, mais seulement sur le fondement solide de l'Eglise catholique, devenue son centre lumineux, son soleil vital. Et ce changement est si évident, ce sentiment à la fois religieux et national est si généralement éveillé parmi les Allemands que toute l'Amérique hérétique en est stupéfaite. Les sectes avouent que désormais rien n'empêchera plus l'Eglise catholique de conquérir tout ce continent.

Cette résurrection du sentiment religieux date principalement de l'arrivée des Pères Rédemptoristes. La divine Providence se sert de cet Ordre apostolique comme d'une nouvelle verge de Moïse, pour faire jaillir l'eau de la vie éternelle du coeur endurci des hommes.

Or, ce fait est d'autant plus surprenant que cette Congrégation se trouve dans une position très fâcheuse quant au temporel. Appelée partout par les évêques au secours des âmes, elle ne trouva même pas les places pour bâtir les églises; elle dut en acheter pour des sommes immenses et élever les maisons de Dieu avec des dépenses encore plus grandes. Les subsides envoyés de l'Europe ne correspondent guère aux besoins les plus urgents. Mais la bâtisse était indispensable parce qu'il était impossible de laisser comme auparavant des communes de 2-10,000 âmes sans église. Les évêques, la plupart

⁷ The chronological order of these nine foundations is as follows: Rochester, St. Joseph's — 1836; Pittsburgh, St. Philomena's — 1839; Baltimore, St. John's — 1840 (transferred to St. Alphonsus', 1844); Baltimore, St. James' — 1841; New York, St. Nicholas' — 1842 (transferred to Holy Redeemer's, 1844); Philadelphia, St. Peter's — 1843; Monroe, St. Anthony's — 1844; St. Mary's Colony — 1844; Buffalo, St. Mary's — 1845.

Irlandais, ne pensaient pas du tout aux pauvres Allemands. Ils leur faisaient payer [une] contribution pour les églises et les cathédrales irlandaises, sans leur donner des prêtres qui les comprissent pour les instruire, pour leur administrer les saints Sacrements; de sorte que des milliers et milliers de ces catholiques délaissés se perdaient dans les sectes, qui leur donnaient du moins une place dans leurs temples. L'expérience montre qu'à l'instant où l'on prête le secours nécessaire à ces pauvres âmes abandonnées, elles se donnent de tout coeur au bon Dieu.

Je ne citerai qu'un seul fait entre une foule qui se présente. On envoie un Père Rédemptoriste à Buffalo sans être sûr d'y trouver assez de catholiques pour donner de l'occupation à ce bon missionnaire, mais à peine y est-il arrivé qu'une commune de deux mille Allemands se forme autour de lui, dont aucun ne s'abstient de remplir le devoir pascal. Des catholiques abandonnés, mais de si bonne volonté, ne méritaient-ils pas qu'on leur fît toute sorte de sacrifice? Mais ce ne sont pas seulement les Allemands qui jouissent des soins paternels de ces apôtres; ils se prêtent sans exception à tous ceux qui se présentent, qui ont besoin de secours. Ils soutiennent une mission française au Michigan, où ils prêchent aussi l'évangile aux sauvages, et une grande partie des catholiques irlandais, anglais, français, belges et de toute nation, est embrassée par la charité spirituelle et temporelle de ces pères des âmes⁸.

Pendant le dernier voyage en Amérique du Père Provincial [Frédéric] de Held, le fondateur distingué de la province belge de cet Ordre⁹, les évêques de Chicago, de Boston, de l'Orégon et plusieurs autres firent toutes les instances près de lui, pour le persuader d'établir des maisons dans leurs diocèses, ce qui montre assez la considération que ces prélats ont pour la Congrégation de St Alphonse et combien ils sont pénétrés de la nécessité de lui confier leurs brebis. Mais malheureusement, comme nous le dirons tout à l'heure, on n'a pas les moyens pour correspondre à ces désirs.

En ce moment la Congrégation de St Alphonse en Amérique a en construction cinq églises dont plusieurs sont déjà employées au

⁸ The house in Monroe was founded in 1844 by the Belgian Father Louis Florent Gillet; it was abandoned by the Redemptorists in 1855.

⁹ By decree of November 16, 1844, the American Redemptorist mission had been placed under the jurisdiction of the superior of the Belgian province, of which Fr. von Held was the first provincial during the years 1841-1847.

service divin; mais la masse des dettes, dont elles sont accablées, est si forte que difficilement on parviendrait à les achever si l'on ne trouvait une assistance énergique et extraordinaire. Les églises de Rochester et de Philadelphie, la première avec une paroisse de 3000, la dernière avec 10,000 âmes, étaient dernièrement sur le point d'être vendues par leurs créanciers. L'Association de St Louis en Bavière, à laquelle cette affaire déplorable fut sérieusement recommandée par sa Majesté le Roi, a accordé 30,000 florins; peut-être, si cette somme arrive à temps, les deux églises seront sauvées. Mais l'église de Baltimore et celle de Pittsburgh se trouvent dans une situation aussi très dangereuse, de sorte qu'un subside de 50,000 florins par an serait absolument nécessaire pour les deux années prochaines, et il faudrait que les 30,000 florins déjà accordés fussent décomptés de cette somme.

Il est à considérer que les pauvres Pères Rédemptoristes, tandis qu'ils se sacrifient avec un dévouement surnaturel au salut des âmes, tandis qu'ils ont employé les sommes reçues exclusivement aux églises et aux écoles, n'ont dans leurs neuf stations que trois maisons habitables; dans les autres ils occupent des cabanes en bois qui même ne leur servent d'abri ni contre le soleil ni contre la pluie ou les rigueurs de l'hiver.

Mais ce qui serait incroyable, si le fait n'était entièrement constaté, c'est que cette mission, qui ne le cède à aucune autre en importance, est abandonnée et négligée d'une manière fort dure par l'Association de Lyon, justement en ce moment critique. L'Association de Lyon pousse l'esprit de contrariété contre les missions de l'Amérique jusqu'à ce point que de tous les rapports envoyés par les Pères Rédemptoristes elle n'en a encore publié aucun depuis longtemps dans ses *Annales*¹⁰. Il paraît que, malgré les protestations réitérées

¹⁰ In the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome, under number X E 13, is kept a document written in French by Fr. Alexander Czvitkovicz, who was superior of the American Redemptorist mission during the years 1841-1845. The document is undated but from internal evidence it is clear that it was written in 1843. The title reads as follows. *Aperçu de l'état actuel de la Congrégation du Très Saint Rédempteur dans l'Amérique Septentrionale*, présenté aux directeurs et aux membres de l'Association de la Propagation de la Foi à Lyon. At the bottom of this report, at p. 18, an unknown hand has written: « On est instamment prié de ne publier par aucune feuille ce récit, parce qu'on offenserait par là l'Association de Lyon ».

It is somewhat difficult to see how the contents of this paper could offend the direction of the Lyons Association, it being nothing else than a clear exposition of the apostolic work of the Redemptorists on behalf of the German immigrants in the U.S.A. and a humble petition for support. Perhaps some offence was taken at a statement in the beginning of the paper: « La nation qui tant sous le rapport temporel que sous le spirituel est la plus abandonnée parmi les nations civilisées qui constituent les Etats-Unis est sans contredit la nation allemande. Toutes les autres, telles

d'impartialité, pour Lyon n'existe que la mission française. Cette manière d'agir a fait une impression bien sensible sur plusieurs membres de l'épiscopat de la Belgique et de l'Allemagne, ainsi que sur les catholiques qui concourent aux aumônes pour les missions. On se demande avec raison, s'il est catholique d'abandonner ses frères dans un moment qui décide de l'existence de leur culte. On désire connaître les motifs qui exposent les missionnaires belges et allemands à la dernière misère, à l'emprisonnement, à la honte et à la joie maligne du monde hérétique, tandis que les sommes contribuées par l'Allemagne et la Belgique, avec l'intention d'être au moins *aussi* employées au secours de leurs missionnaires, émigrent exclusivement en Océanie et en Chine. Quiconque a la moindre connaissance de l'état actuel de la religion avoue que les deux pays de la terre, qui donnent la plus grande et la plus sûre espérance pour l'avenir, sont l'Angleterre et l'Amérique du Nord, parce que nulle part l'Eglise catholique ne fait des progrès pareils. Malgré cela la mission américaine n'a pas assez d'importance aux yeux de l'Association de Lyon pour attirer son attention et son secours.

En vérité on expose l'Eglise catholique à de grands dangers en confiant l'administration des sommes contribuées par tous les fidèles à des personnes, qui se montrent tellement soumises aux faiblesses de partialité nationale. Si ces abus, connus et blâmés par tous les pays intéressés, ne sont pas réparés, les aumônes pour la propagation de la foi ne seront plus prêtées ou bien elles se dirigeront directement vers les lieux où elles sont requises. On donne volontiers pour aider les missions sans distinction, mais on ne trouve pas conforme à la justice catholique d'abandonner les propres enfants à la perdition, tandis que l'on emploie des forces immenses au bien-être des étrangers. Les missions de l'Amérique septentrionale, qu'on néglige davantage, sont les plus importantes à l'Eglise: on leur doit donc au moins une attention égale aux autres.

Un autre objet très digne de considération c'est l'emploi des sommes de l'Association de St Louis à Munich. Il serait bien à désirer que l'Association *ne fût pas forcée de diviser trop ses forces, comme elle a fait jusqu'à présent*. Il est hors de doute que des sommes considérables, par exemple celles qui vont à Berlin, ne sont pas employées selon les règles de l'Association; on les capitalise à Berlin au lieu de les consacrer aux besoins du moment. Les associations

que les Anglais, les Irlandais, les Français sont beaucoup plus secondés par les catholiques de leurs compatriotes en Europe et sont tellement pourvus relativement aux besoins spirituels qu'ils sont bien éloignés de manquer du nécessaire ».

donnent des secours continus, elles ne font pas de fondations. Si les forces de l'Association de St Louis étaient concentrées pendant quelques années, on pourrait procurer une existence solide aux missions de l'Amérique sans beaucoup de charges pour l'Association, tandis que l'on atteint peu de chose en voulant se prêter à tout.

Voici le résumé de nos observations:

L'Amérique a besoin d'Ordres religieux; mais non pas de ces Ordres qui autrefois avaient reçu une grande destination de la divine Providence, tandis qu'aujourd'hui ils ont perdu leur zèle et se sont éloignés de leurs institutions primitives. Ces Ordres dégénèrent complètement en Amérique et n'offrent que du scandale. Il serait à désirer que les évêques et les couvents de l'Europe n'envoyassent en Amérique que des prêtres pieux, instruits, qui ne cherchent que la gloire de Dieu, des hommes posés, mortifiés et d'expérience, que l'on ne regardât pas dorénavant l'Amérique comme une maison de correction pour les prêtres, parce que au lieu de se corriger ils se perdraient complètement.

L'expérience montre que la Congrégation des Pères Rédemptoristes travaille en Amérique, sous la direction du Révérend Père Provincial de Held, avec un tel succès qu'on la doit croire *proprement et spécialement destinée pour ce pays. Il faudrait donc lui donner plus d'attention et lui fournir dans sa position critique les moyens nécessaires pour continuer et dilater encore son activité.*

Vu que l'Association de Lyon n'est pas seulement une association française mais universelle, c'est-à-dire catholique, elle doit distribuer les fonds d'une manière impartiale et ne pas exclure l'Amérique, comme elle fait à présent. Les sommes de l'Association de St Louis en Bavière doivent être plus concentrées pour produire un résultat plus favorable aux intérêts de la religion.

Quand il s'agit de la gloire de Dieu, on doit mettre de côté toute autre considération: voilà pourquoi j'ai montré les choses dans toute leur vérité, quelque désagréable que cette vérité puisse être.

Munich, au mois d'Avril 1846

Théophile H. de Schroeter
de Ste Marie en Pennsylvanie

In the volume of the Propaganda Fide Archives, which includes Theophilus von Schroeter's « Remarks » published above, there are also several other documents of Redemptorist interest. It seems useful to give here a short note of them. A summary of each one can be found in the *Calendar*. For archive location and full title of *Calendar*, see note 1 *supra*.

In the letters of January 10 and May 2, 1845, of Mgr. Ludovico Altieri, nuncio in Vienna, to the prefect of Propaganda there are some notes regarding amounts assigned to the Redemptorists by the Ludwig-Missionsverein of Munich and the Leopoldinen-Stiftung of Vienna; f° 66r and 101r. — *Calendar* II 6, No. 29 and 8, No. 40.

A letter written by Rev. Peter Steinbacher from Reading, Pa., on November 2, 1845, to the prefect of Propaganda in which he asks permission to join the Redemptorists, and a letter from Mgr. Francis P. Kenrick of March 14, 1846, in support of Steinbacher's petition; f° 245r and 375rv. — *Calendar* II 15, No. 94 and 20, No. 137.

A letter written by Mgr. Francis N. Blanchet, Archbishop of Oregon City, from Vienna on August 4, 1846, to the prefect of Propaganda; f° 345rv. — *Calendar* II 19, No. 125. — This letter is published in *Spic. hist.* 26 (1978) 475-476.

A petition from Fr. Louis Florent Gillet to the Holy Father for dispensation from his religious vows, dated Detroit, October 11, 1847; f° 610rv-611r. — *Calendar* II 31, No. 216. — This document will be published before long in this review.

A petition from Fr. Johann Nikolaus Petesch to the Holy Father for dispensation from his religious vows, dated Baltimore, February 1, 1848; f° 658-659r. — *Calendar* II 33, No. 234.

STUDIA

SAMUEL J. BOLAND

THE CONVERSION OF EDWARD DOUGLAS C.S.S.R.

Father Edward Douglas was in his time quite an important personage. He was associated with matters of weight among the Redemptorists throughout the latter half of last century and he was held in veneration for so long a time in his institute that it is surprising that little has ever been written about him¹. His career suggests a number of considerations which justify one's disturbing the long obscurity that has hidden him, more acceptable though that may have been to his simple humility.

His long life was quite extraordinary in many respects. Born into a wealthy and aristocratic Scottish family², he shocked his relatives by becoming a Catholic. He was received into the Church early in 1842, numbered by a contemporary chronicler among the earliest fruits of the Oxford Movement³. Though he had been a student of Christ Church until 1841, he does not seem to have had much contact with Newman's friends, let alone been of his circle, so that his conversion was without the personal influence of the great man, which is the more common image one has of the Oxford converts.

After his ordination in 1848 Edward Douglas was accepted by the Redemptorists, taking his religious vows at the end of the following year. Four years later his superiors summoned him to Rome to help in the

¹ The only biography is in Latin. Fridericus Kuntz C.S.S.R., *De vita Eduardi Douglas, presbyteri Congregationis SS. Redemptoris breve commentarium*, Rome, 1909. Cf. also Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *Bibliographie générale des écrivains rédemptoristes*, II, Louvain, 1935, p. 129. Among the short pieces listed there the most informative is G. Stebbing C.S.S.R., *Father Edward Douglas* (32 pages) London, 1917.

² According to the commonly accepted authority on the British aristocracy, « the race of Douglas is amongst the noblest of all Europe ». Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Peerage and Baronetage of the British Empire*, London, 1869, p. 533. Hereafter quoted *Burke's Peerage*.

³ E.G.K. Browne, *Annals of the Tractarian Movement, 1842-1860*, London, 1861, p. 60. Hon. Edward Douglas is listed among the small handful of converts recorded for that year. Browne lists himself as one of the converts of the Oxford Movement. He had been curate of Bawdsley in Suffolk, and he became a Catholic in 1845. *op. cit.*, 116-117.

search for a suitable residence for the Superior General and his council. In the following August, when he was not yet five years professed, he was named superior of the Roman province, an office he retained until 1862.

The General Chapter held in 1855 elected him as one of the consultants of the new Superior General, Nicholas Mauron⁴. When he was relieved of the office of provincial he was appointed superior of the house of Sant'Alfonso on the Esquiline, and he continued in that post until his death, though in the last few years of his long life the title was rather an honorary one, the affairs of the community being in the hands of a vicar.

Apart from a brief visit to England in 1869 Father Douglas remained in Italy from 1853 until his death in 1898. In fact, he rarely even left Rome, so that his name became linked, possibly more than that of any other, with the house of Sant'Alfonso which his patrimony had purchased and enlarged, whose church he planned and built, and over whose community he presided with the unassuming gentleness so many remarked in him⁵.

For a man of whom those who knew him well say that he shunned publicity, he was well known to Church authorities in Rome. A person of his background was bound to attract attention, of course, particularly when there were so many distinguished visitors calling on him, as his correspondence shows⁶. His papers show, too, that he was consulted occasionally by the Holy See. His opinion was sought when the advisability of holding a General Council was being considered, when the restoration of the Scottish hierarchy was being discussed and on some few other occasions⁷.

He was certainly a remarkable character in his day; and interest in him continued for some time after his death, to such an extent in fact that serious thought was given to promoting the cause of his beatification⁸. With the passing of almost a century, however, his figure has become somewhat faded. It seems only right to give him some little recognition even at this late hour, and it may well be that the investigation prove useful and instructive.

Of the large mass of Douglas papers by far the greatest part is made up of material that is personal, his correspondence with his relat-

⁴ Nicholas Mauron, born 7 I 1818, made his profession as a Redemptorist in 1837 and was ordained in 1841. Elected Superior General in 1855, he died in 1893. See F. Dumortier, *Le Révérendissime Père Nicholas Mauron*, Paris, 1901.

⁵ Cf. [A. Walter C.S.S.R.], *Villa Caserta*, Rome, 1905, p. 223-232, where there is a resume of Edward Douglas's life as superior of Sant'Alfonso.

⁶ The Douglas papers constitute quite a large collection in the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome, quoted AGR. For the most part they are in sections XLVI & XLVII.

⁷ See Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 134-137; 144-146; 152-159.

⁸ [C. Benedetti], *Servorum Dei e Congregatione Sanctissimi Redemptoris Album*, Rome, 1903, p. 53-54.

ives and very many friends and with his Redemptorist confrères. Apart from three notebooks of jottings he made during journeys on the Continent and in the Holy Land as a young man, all of the papers date from the time of his ordination, and indeed with very few exceptions from the time of his joining the Redemptorists.

From these papers it has been possible to trace his progress from the Anglican belief he received from his pious mother to his reception into the Catholic Church and his finding his way to the Redemptorists. This reconstruction has been assisted most of all by material collected by Father Thomas Livius with a view to writing a *Life of Father Douglas*⁹. He was unable to complete his work, but the notebook containing the results of his investigations is in the General Archives of the Redemptorists¹⁰. Father Livius made inquiries among the contemporaries of his subject concerning Father Douglas's early years, copying into his notebook some useful and interesting letters he received in answer to his queries. Some of them are offered as an appendix to this article.

The Douglas papers suggest a number of reflections, all of which would probably be of some interest. For the present this short study may serve to introduce a man who has been too long unknown. We shall look at the family and religious development of Father Edward Douglas.

The Douglas family is descended from the Earls of Douglas and Mar¹¹. William, the second son of the second Earl, became Baron Douglas of Drumlanrig about the end of the fourteenth century. The ninth Baron was raised in 1638 by James VI of Scotland to the title and rank of Earl of Queensberry, becoming Marquess in 1681 and Duke in 1683. Sir William Douglas, second son of the first Earl of Queensberry, was created by James VI Baronet of Kilhead, and this is the family of Father Edward Douglas.

Sir James Sholto Douglas of Kilhead, Father Douglas's great grandfather, spent some time in the West Indies. Sarah, daughter of his second son, Sholto, was to marry John, sixth Marquess of Queensberry, making even closer the ties of blood in the family. His

⁹ Thomas Livius was born 29 XI 1828. In 1851 he gained his B.A. degree at Oxford, where he was a student of Oriel, Newman's old college. Ordained to the priesthood of the Church of England in 1853, he became unsettled in his religion until he was received into the Catholic Church by the Redemptorists in Clapham in 1857. He made his profession with them in the following year and was ordained in 1862. He became one of the distinguished English Redemptorist writers of the latter part of last century. He died in 1903. Cf. Maurice de Meulemeester C.S.S.R., *op. cit.*, II, 252-253; John F. Byrne C.S.S.R., *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, Philadelphia, 1932, p. 576-577.

¹⁰ Father Livius's notebook is with the Douglas papers in AGR XLVI, 1. In this article it is quoted *Livius Notebook*.

¹¹ Information about the more immediate family has been taken from *Burke's Peerage*, 923-924.

youngest son, James Charles Sholto, married Mary, daughter of Rev. Richard Bullock; and his son, Edward Bullock Douglas, in 1811 married Harriet, daughter of another Rev. Richard Bullock. From this marriage Edward Douglas was born in Edinburgh on 1st December 1819. In notes he made towards the end of his life Father Douglas was to comment on the close blood relationship between his parents, blaming it for the weakness that troubled his earliest years¹².

Edward Bullock Douglas was secretary to the last Duke of Queensberry, known to the family as « old Q », and when the latter died unmarried in 1810 at the age of eighty-five, he inherited a very considerable fortune¹³. Father Livius, who had been acquainted with some of the Douglas family from his own time in Oxford, asked the widow of one of them if there had been any resentment at the old Duke's leaving so much of his fortune to such a junior member of the family; and she replied that she had never heard any complaints on that score and « nothing but expressions of esteem and affection » for Edward¹⁴.

The elder Edward Douglas was always plagued by bad health, and he brought his family south in search of a milder climate, settling them in the neighbourhood of Sevenoaks in Kent. Finding that still unsuitable, he betook himself to Nice in his quest for the sun, and there he died in 1830, his son being then in his eleventh year.

Young Edward had been almost exclusively under his mother's care throughout his earliest years, and those who wrote of him in that time spoke of the close attachment of mother and son to each other. Mrs. Douglas was a devout person who took her Anglicanism so earnestly that not only did she have her little boy learn his catechism, but also memorise long passages from the Book of Common Prayer¹⁵. In his later years Father Douglas affectionately recalled the religious training he received from his mother and the long night prayers which included the recitation of what he had learned during the day as well as a diligent examination of conscience, the whole

¹² The incomplete autobiographical notes are to be seen in AGR XLVI, 1.

¹³ *Livius Notebook*, 40. After the death of « Old Q » the title of Duke of Queensberry reverted to the Dukes of Buccleigh, the successor to the deceased Duke, Sir Charles Douglas of Kilhead, becoming the fifth Marquess of Queensberry. Cf. *Burke's Peerage*, 923.

¹⁴ *Livius Notebook*, 42.

¹⁵ Autobiographical notes in AGR, XLVI, 1; Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 8-9.

usually concluding with one of the pious hymns of Bishop Ken sung by mother and son together¹⁶.

It must have been a much more than usually sheltered life that young Edward Douglas knew in those early years near Sevenoaks. In his brief autobiographical notes he described himself as what was called « a poor creature », a phrase which betrays his Gaelic blood. He was too physically weak and awkward, he says, to join in the usual games that delight a growing boy. That is the way he spoke of himself, but the isolation of his childhood could not have lasted very long, since at the age of six he went to a private school¹⁷.

From 1826 he was at Dr. Everard's school for young gentlemen in Brighton. Here he became acquainted with a little boy a year or two older than himself who was to become a lifelong friend. Charles Scott Murray was to be one of the most intimate as well as the oldest of his many friends, following him to the Catholic Church and continuing an affectionate correspondence until his death¹⁸. Mrs. Douglas, on returning to England after her husband's death in 1830, lived for a short time in Brasted, also in the neighbourhood of Sevenoaks. Lather Livius draws attention to one of the not infrequent escapes into fantasy one encounters in Purcell's *Life of Manning* in which the Cardinal is represented as recalling long rides with young Edward Douglas whom he used to visit at Brasted. Livius points out how unlikely to say the least it was that the mature Oxford scholar of twenty-three should go riding with a sickly child of eleven¹⁹. Miss Helen Douglas, when questioned on the matter, told him that her cousin had said it was « a strange mistake », adding her own comment: « The book is full of errors »²⁰. Mrs. Douglas did not remain long in Brasted in any case, because she purchased a home

¹⁶ Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, was one of the most venerated of Anglican spiritual writers. His *Exposition on the Church Catechism* was long popular under its subtitle, *The Practice of Divine Love*. His hymns enjoyed considerable renown. The one recalled by Father Douglas in his autobiographical notes was long a popular favourite, « All Praise to Thee, My God, This Night ». Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 1917, vol. X, 1287-1292.

¹⁷ Information about the childhood of Edward Douglas has been taken from his own notes in AGR, XLVI, 1 and from a letter of his cousin, Miss Helen Douglas, to Father Livius, *Livius Notebook*, 40.

¹⁸ Charles Robert Scott Murray (1818-1882) was of a wealthy Buckinghamshire family of landowners. Cf. Sir Bernard Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic Dictionary of the Landed Gentry of Great Britain and Ireland*, London, 1865, II, 1057. Hereafter quoted *Burke's Landed Gentry*.

¹⁹ *Livius Notebook*, 6. Cf. E. Purcell, *Life of Manning*, London, 1896, I, 14.

²⁰ *Livius Notebook*, 6.

in Bursleden near Southampton, which was to be her home until her son became a Catholic.

In 1832 Edward Douglas joined Scott Murray at Eton, and five years later the two friends were together again in Oxford, both students of Christ Church. There he had as his tutor the amiably eccentric Thomas Meyrick, who was to provide information about his pupil²¹.

The Oxford years were to prove decisive. It is unfortunate that for this time it is necessary to depend mainly on Meyrick's somewhat erratic evidence. When he answered Father Livius's questions towards the end of a long and eventful life, the old tutor's memory was far from reliable. He is clearly quite inaccurate in recalling such things as dates and happenings; but he speaks quite confidently, even categorically when he describes his pupil's character and academic ability.

Douglas and Scott Murray, Meyrick recalls, were not party men, but were held to be High Church²². Evidently they kept aloof from the busy debates aroused by the Tractarians and approaching their crisis at the time the two friends came to Oxford. They and their few associates were quiet, a little exclusive perhaps, but generally respected because they were such « exemplary young gentlemen »²³.

The tutor described his pupil as « an average Eton scholar », which he explained as meaning « without any high grade of classical attainments, but sufficient to pass easily. I did not think he required any assistance to take his degree »²⁴. Even so, Edward Douglas left Oxford without his baccalaureate. He presented himself for his final examination in May of 1840 as an honours candidate. He failed but did not return, as was the usual procedure, to take the alternative pass examination. Meyrick voiced his suspicions of unfair treatment,

²¹ Thomas Meyrick (1817-1903) was a scholar of Corpus Christi, taking a First in classics in 1838, the year after Douglas came to Christ Church. He was for a short time with the group at Littlemore, leaving them to become a Catholic in the course of 1845, having been released by Newman from a promise to postpone the step. He became a Jesuit and left them on two occasions. For a short time he even left the Church. His last years were spent as chaplain to a convent in Rome. He died in Brescia. Cf. Charles Stephen Dessain Cong. Orat. and Vincent Ferrer Blehl S.J., *The Letters and Diaries of John Henry Newman*, vol. XI, London, 1961, p. 346-347. Hereafter quoted *Letters and Diaries*.

²² *Livius Notebook*, 19.

²³ *ibid.*

²⁴ *Livius Notebook*, 25.

which in his opinion hurt Douglas to the extent that he never returned to Oxford even for a visit. « I think the examiners must have been unfit men at the time » is the old man's forthright comment on the incident²⁵.

Meyrick says he was glad to have Douglas as a pupil since he and Scott Murray were generally thought to share his own leanings towards Catholic observances. He recalls that he had occasion once to reassure his pupil whom he found disturbed by his religious uncertainties, telling him: « At least the Catholic religion, as Pusey allows, is a safe one to live and die in. We do not know where we are ». These frank and well-meaning words brought swift retribution.

« I was hauled up by old Pusey as a delinquent. He asked me whether I had said to Douglas that he (Pusey) had said the Catholic religion was a safe one to live and die in.

« I replied: 'Have you not said so'?

« To this he did not answer, but said: 'You are not in Orders'?

« I said: 'No' to which he said: 'Then perhaps what you said was right'. This is all that passed between us. I thought this poor reasoning for a man of such repute »²⁶.

Edward Douglas and his friends, earnest as they were about religion, could hardly have failed to be affected by the ferment that was so profoundly disturbing Oxford in the late thirties. The *Tracts for the Times* had been appearing since 1833 and Newman was still preaching his *via media*. Edward Douglas was fortunate in finding agreeable company to share his interest in the religious issues of the day and join him in the diligent search for the truth. A frequent visitor to Bursleden was Mary Elizabeth, daughter of Lieutenant General à Court. As Lady Herbert of Lea she readily agreed to satisfy Father Livius in his quest for information²⁷.

She was at Bursleden for an extended visit during the summer of 1841, the year after Edward Douglas had left Oxford. *Tract 90*

²⁵ Livius Notebook, 17.

²⁶ Livius Notebook, 20.

²⁷ Lady Herbert, widow of Sir Sidney Herbert of Lea, became a Catholic some time after her husband's death in 1861. She was friendly with Cardinals Manning, Newman and Vaughan, very generously assisting the last mentioned in his establishing the Mill Hill Society. Her husband's family appealed to the law to prevent her children following her to the Catholic Church and they succeeded in having her children declared wards of Chancery. One daughter, however, became a Catholic and married Frederick von Hügel. Cf. Michael de la Bedoyère, *The Life of Baron von Hügel*, London, 1951, p. 7-8.

had recently appeared, and Lady Herbert recalled the intense excitement with which the two young friends pored over « multitudes of pamphlets, newspaper articles and private letters, all tending to the one momentous question of whether we could remain in the Anglican Church or not ». This was what was agitating « the whole Puseyite world », as she put it, as a consequence of Newman's startling final contribution to the *Tracts*²⁸.

The two sat and read together for hours on end in the little summer house in the garden of Bursleden. « Corporate union was advocated by many of our friends, who deprecated the idea of individual conversions to Rome as likely to deter the masses from joining us. But Edward always stuck to the point of following his conscience, should he at last become convinced that the Church of England was only an offspring of the Reformation »²⁹.

They parted at the end of the summer without having finally decided to adopt the patronisingly patrician solution to the dilemma their friends were advocating. Then shortly afterwards Edward wrote « that he found his position untenable and intolerable, and that he felt that he had no alternative but to join the Church of Rome. He went to Rome towards the end of the year with Scott Murray »³⁰.

It seems useful as well as fitting to stress one point that emerges clearly from Lady Herbert's narrative, namely that Edward Douglas had already practically made up his mind before he went to Rome towards the end of 1841. One suspects that the events connected with the misplaced umbrella related by Kuntz and often repeated have been elevated into a sort of folklore³¹. It would be a pity if its repetition should obscure the personal and conscientious character of Father Douglas's search for religious truth. For what did happen on that visit to Rome Father Livius was able to call on Scott Murray's widow³². She used her husband's meticulously kept diary to aid her memory, so that her short account must be con-

²⁸ *Livius Notebook*, 47-48.

²⁹ *ibid.*

³⁰ *ibid.*

³¹ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 14-17.

³² Shortly after his conversion Scott Murray had married Amelia Charlotte Fraser, of the traditionally Catholic family of Lord Lovat. Cf. *Burke's Landed Gentry* II, 1057. After her husband's death Mrs. Scott Murray continued to correspond with Father Douglas. Cf. AGR, XLVII.

sidered quite reliable, a refreshing change from Meyrick's rambling and highly questionable gossip³³.

Douglas and Scott Murray remained in Rome over the end of the year, and on 18th January they attended a solemn papal function to celebrate the feast of St. Peter's Chair³⁴. The two had provided themselves with tickets for admission to a section reserved for distinguished guests; and since etiquette of dress did not allow him to carry an umbrella into the enclosure, Scott Murray left his in an empty confessional opposite the large monument of Benedict XIV. When he returned after the function, he found that the confessional had been locked. Scott Murray, who was already Member for Buckinghamshire, had to leave Rome immediately so as to be in time for the opening of Parliament, so he left it to his friend to recover the vagrant umbrella³⁵.

Edward Douglas's inquiries led him to the nearby church and Carmelite monastery of S. Maria in Traspontina³⁶. At that time it was a college of young students whose Director, Padre Simone Spilatros, was the confessor in question. When he heard the story of the lost umbrella, he called one of the young students, Padre Angelo Savini, and asked him to go with the young gentleman and recover his property for him. Conversing on the way, the two became at once so friendly that Douglas spoke freely of his dissatisfaction with the Church of England. Further meetings were easily arranged because of the Director's amiable hospitality and because Savini had charge of the little church of San Giuseppe on the via Lungara not far from Douglas's lodgings.

³³ *Livius Notebook*, 27-31.

³⁴ Following tradition, St. Peter's successive Sees of Antioch and Rome used to have distinct celebrations before liturgical reform limited observance to the single present feast on 22nd February. Father Kuntz draws attention to the fact that it was on the vigil of the second feast of St. Peter's Chair that Edward Douglas was conditionally baptised. *Op. cit.*, 16.

³⁵ *Livius Notebook*, 27. Father Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 15, quoting what he had heard in conversation from Father Douglas, tells the story as having been occasioned by Father Douglas's own umbrella. One would have to prefer Mrs. Scott Murray's narrative, relying as she did on her husband's notes, and regretfully conclude that Father Douglas's memory as an old man was not as entirely reliable as Kuntz and others alleged. Browne also has an account of the incident which there is reason to think was received from Scott Murray himself. E.G.K. Browne, *op. cit.*, 98-99. Cf. also the similar account, possibly by way of Browne, in David August Rosenthal, *Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, III 2, Schaffhausen, 1870, p. 684-685.

³⁶ Kuntz, *loc. cit.* There is a rather fuller account in a letter of the Carmelite, Agostino Diofebi, to Father Mauron, 9 X 1898 in AGR, XLVI, 1. Diofebi had often heard the facts from his superior, Father Douglas's old friend, Padre Angelo Savini.

Things moved quickly, no doubt on account of Douglas's having already reached his decision, as one must gather from Lady Herbert's evidence. Within a few weeks he was formally received into the Church, it could well be the first of those Oxford converts Browne dates from 1842³⁷. A document of the Sacred Penitentiary shows that he solemnly renounced the Anglican religion on 15th February 1842. Conditional baptism followed on the 21st, after which he received Holy Communion from Savini in the church of San Giuseppe. He was confirmed in the Lateran basilica on the 24th with Savini as his sponsor³⁸. The friendship between Douglas and Savini was intimate from the very beginning and continued to be warmly affectionate, as is evidenced by the considerable correspondence that remains³⁹.

The conversion occasioned problems. Soon after his confirmation Douglas went to Naples, and there he received a letter from Savini who wrote to console him on his very great grief⁴⁰. The letter is long and not very clear as to the nature of the sorrow beyond suggesting that it was occasioned by Douglas's change of religion. In his own recollections Padre Diofebi recalled that Savini had told him that Mrs. Douglas in some alarm at reports that had come to her had insisted that her son return to England, declaring that she would disinherit him should he join the papists⁴¹.

In his letter Savini told his friend about the excitement in Rome over the beginning of the English conversions. Three young men had renounced Anglican doctrines after having been prepared by a certain noble gentleman named Esmond, and no fewer than ten more had asked for instruction⁴². Savini expressed his delight that

³⁷ E.G.K. Browne, *op. cit.*, 60. Browne rarely indicates the date of conversion more precisely than the year.

³⁸ The documents of his abjuration and confirmation are in AGR, XLVI, 2. Cf. Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 16.

³⁹ AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁴⁰ Savini to Douglas, 7 IV 1842 in AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁴¹ Diofebi to Mauron, 9 X 1898 in AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁴² The names of the converts are not given, but it appears that even in 1842 they were rather more numerous than the dozen or so listed by Browne for the whole year. The noble Esmond mentioned by Savini must have been the Irish Jesuit, Bartholomew Esmond, whose name was more usually spelled Esmonde (1789-1862). He passed much of his life as a Jesuit in Malta and Rome. He supplied Newman

God should be lavishing His gifts on England, « a nation that will always be dear to me »⁴³.

Savini's letter gives the first indication of how great was the cost to Edward Douglas to change his religion. Writing after his death Mrs. Scott Murray recalled that he « was devotedly attached » to his mother⁴⁴. Others spoke in the same way, some using almost the very same words, so that it is not hard to believe that the mother should have spoken a little wildly when she first heard of the likelihood of her son's abandoning the religion in which she had so lovingly raised him. After the first shock had passed the mother and son must have been reconciled very soon after Edward's return to England. Meyrick remembered a visit to them in their London home⁴⁵, and the little of their correspondence that has survived is uniformly affectionate, though touched with sadness. In her last letter before her death in 1850 Mrs. Douglas wrote:

« I have no great bodily suffering, and for that I must thank God; but if my body is free from pain I cannot say the same of my soul, which is bitterly grieved that we are going our different ways. [...] May God keep you, Edward, my dearest son. May He keep you from all harm and lead you by the right way. This is the prayer of your most loving mother »⁴⁶.

Edward Douglas shocked his many relatives by his conversion. When Father Livius questioned the widow of his old Oxford friend, Stair Douglas, about the family's disappointment over so much of the Queensberry inheritance coming to Edward, she dismissed it with a word, but added at once that his change of religion remained a « sore subject » in the family⁴⁷.

Miss Helen Douglas wrote that after his conversion she had not spoken to Edward until she called on him in Rome in 1880, and after that she corresponded regularly with him until his death. She says she « found him the same affectionate creature of old times [...] He loved to hear all family news and appeared to feel the sev-

with much useful information for use in the notorious Achilli trial. Cf. Newman's *Letters and Diaries*, XIV, 1963, p. 359, 420, 544.

⁴³ Savini to Douglas, 7 IV 1842 in AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁴⁴ Livius Notebook, 29.

⁴⁵ Livius Notebook, 17.

⁴⁶ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 52-53. Unfortunately, the letter he quotes seems to have been lost.

⁴⁷ Livius Notebook, 42.

erance of old ties very much »⁴⁸. In a letter to the widow of her cousin, Stair, she spoke about her meeting with Edward after a separation of almost forty years. « I am thankful to remember that I have twice been in Rome of late years and seen the dear, good Father, though earlier memories of all the grief his action caused are painfully impressed »⁴⁹.

Writing to Mary Elizabeth à Court, the friend who was probably closest to him, to tell of his decision, he assured her that his only regret « was in the knowledge of the distress it would cause his mother to whom he was tenderly attached; but that he had no doubt whatever of the duty which lay before him, and that to remain in the Church of England would be for him an act of positive dishonesty »⁵⁰. She herself was sternly ordered by her father, the general, « an old fashioned Church of England Protestant », to have nothing more to do with Douglas⁵¹. They did not meet again for twenty years, by which time she had become the widowed Lady Herbert, soon herself finally to embrace Catholicism.

Meyrick's wayward memory, which tended to jump unpredictably from place to place and from one year to another, relates an incident that must have occurred almost immediately after Edward Douglas's reception into the Church. There is a ring of authenticity about the wry humour of the anecdote. Meyrick was himself in Rome at the time. « The reception », he recalls, « caused a sensation. A parson was sent from England to reconvert him, and made us laugh, that he despaired of arguing with Douglas, as he would not touch a bit of meat, it being a Friday in Lent »⁵².

Not all of his old friends avoided him. A couple of years after his conversion he had the happiness of introducing his childhood friend, Scott Murray, to Padre Savini⁵³. The young Member of Parliament was one of the most distinguished of the early Oxford converts, and he was received with some ceremony by Cardinal Fransoni, Prefect of Propaganda, in February 1844. According to Browne, Scott Murray had been « surprised to find his friend from conviction a sincere Catholic, and this led him to examine more fully into Catholic

⁴⁸ *Livius Notebook*, 41.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Livius Notebook*, 51.

⁵¹ *ibid.*

⁵² *Livius Notebook*, 23.

⁵³ *Livius Notebook*, 31.

doctrine »⁵⁴. Meyrick, too, speaks of a visit he paid to Douglas and his mother in London in 1844, the year before he himself became a Catholic. The two made a pilgrimage to Canterbury, kneeling to kiss the spot where St. Thomas a Beckett was martyred⁵⁵.

Towards the middle of 1842 Edward Douglas returned to England and joined his mother in her London home in Eaton Place. The Carmelite Diofebi mentions that before leaving Italy Douglas had assured Savini, « his good Father », that he would return at once after his mother's death to discuss his vocation⁵⁶.

His life during the few years that followed his conversion seems to have been spent for the most part with his mother, and it was apparently quite uneventful. In any case, as Kuntz remarks, Edward Douglas was always reluctant to talk about himself⁵⁷, so that what knowledge can be gained of his earlier years had to be gathered from his few remaining contemporaries, themselves already quite elderly. However, for a pilgrimage he made to the Holy Land in 1845 it is possible to consult a diary he kept, as had been his practice on other journeys he made as a wealthy young Scottish gentleman⁵⁸.

Perhaps the most revealing thing about the journey to Palestine and Egypt is the company he chose to join him on his pilgrimage. All three of his friends were of the kind that later Oxford converts were to call « the old Catholics ». John Furniss was a zealous young priest who was in Italy for his health. He came from a comfortable Catholic family of Sheffield. He was later to become a Redemptorist and win renown for his extraordinary success as the children's missionary⁵⁹. The other layman of the party was Richard Carrington Smythe of Acton Burnell, whose staunchly traditional Catholic family had achieved some unwelcome notoriety when one of them married the Prince of Wales, later George IV⁶⁰. The fourth

⁵⁴ E.G.K. Browne, *op. cit.*, 98. Browne wrote with evident delight of the twenty-five year old parliamentarian « in the High Tory interest », mentioning that his annual income was 20,000 pounds sterling.

⁵⁵ *Livius Notebook*, 17.

⁵⁶ Diofebi to Mauron, 9 X 1898 in AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁵⁷ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 27.

⁵⁸ The diaries are in AGR, XLVII, 128, 129, 130.

⁵⁹ John Furniss, born in 1809, was ordained in 1834, taking his vows as a Redemptorist in 1851. He died in 1865. Cf. T. Livius, *Father Furniss and his Work for Children*, London, 1896.

⁶⁰ Cf. *Burke's Peerage*, 1032. For information about the family of Carrington Smythe cf. also Shane Leslie, *Mrs. Fitzherbert*, New York, 1939, p. 3-7.

of the pilgrims was the abbate Hamilton, a vague personage who befriended so many of the Oxford converts, but whom nobody seemed really to know. Newman recorded a number of social encounters with Hamilton, but the editors of the *Letters and Diaries* were not very successful in identifying much more than that his Christian name was James⁶¹. Father Livius had not much more success. Meyrick had some idea that he belonged to the family of the Dukes of Hamilton, in which case he would have been a relative of Douglas. He was at any rate high enough in the esteem of Gregory XVI to be able to get Meyrick an audience⁶². Carrington Smythe's widow knew simply that he was very wealthy and a regular entertainer of the converts, adding: « I am afraid his later life was not satisfactory »⁶³. One is glad of Meyrick's final comment that he « died in Paris, attended by the abbé Rogerson », apparently another mysterious man like Hamilton himself⁶⁴.

The suspicion that Edward Douglas was attracted to old Catholic ways after his conversion is confirmed by papers found after his death, which would indicate also that he was strongly attracted to Rome itself. In 1845, the year of the pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he had himself enrolled in a sodality of the Sacred Heart in Rome⁶⁵. Similar documents show him having himself admitted to the Archconfraternity of the Precious Blood in March of 1847 and to the Sodality of a Good Death in May of the same year⁶⁶. Kuntz speaks of a conversation in which Father Douglas mentioned his having been present at the first Christmas Mass of Pius IX in St. Mary Major's in 1846. He also found a receipt for board in Rome for the months of January and February 1847 together with a papal indult granting a plenary indulgence and dated 29th March of the same year⁶⁷. Besides showing the new convert's remarkable eagerness to gain indulgences these documents would seem to indicate that Father Douglas's mother had so far resigned herself to her son's

⁶¹ Cf. *Letters and Diaries*, XII, 1962, p. 432.

⁶² *Livius Notebook*, 23.

⁶³ *Livius Notebook*, 22.

⁶⁴ *ibid.*

⁶⁵ AGR, XLVI, 2. Cf. Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 29, where the date is given erroneously, it appears, as 1847.

⁶⁶ *ibid.*

⁶⁷ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 29.

Catholic practices as to allow him freedom to spend a considerable part of the year in Rome.

That is doubtless the reason why, in spite of earlier misgivings, by 1848 he apparently met with no prohibition from his mother when he arranged for his ordination. The certificates attesting his reception of major orders show that he was ordained subdeacon and deacon in June in Forlì⁶⁸. His friend, Savini, had been transferred there at the end of the previous year, and no doubt Douglas had followed him in order to prepare himself under his direction. What that preparation entailed it is not possible to say beyond noting that it surely must have been sketchy in the extreme, as had been the case with others of the Oxford converts. Church authorities, one gathers, presumed a surprising theological preparedness in the scholars who came from the Anglicans during the forties. R.A. Coffin, also to become a Redemptorist, who came to the Catholic Church towards the end of that eventful 1845, was quite disturbed at the lack of training offered himself and his companions in Newman's Oratory. They were, he said, « all young converts brought up at school and College in the same way and with very little more than book knowledge, made priests without any regular training and confessors with as little »⁶⁹.

The Bishop of Forlì who ordained Edward Douglas subdeacon on 18th June and deacon on 22nd was Gaetano Carletti⁷⁰. He was a good friend of the Carmelites of the city, and he became attached to their guest as well: Edward Douglas did seem to have a most remarkable talent for attracting lasting friendships. And now in the *celebret* issued to him the newly ordained was described as a priest of the diocese of Forlì⁷¹. In fact the title of ordination was his patrimony, a sum of money which Douglas had invested, donating the interest each year to his Carmelite friends⁷². When Carletti was later transferred to the See of Rieti he continued a friendly correspondence with Douglas⁷³.

⁶⁸ AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁶⁹ Cf. *Spic. Hist.* 28 (1980) 450.

⁷⁰ The documents are in AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁷¹ *ibid.*

⁷² Letters of Carmelite superiors in Forlì giving a regular accounting of the annual interest are in AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁷³ *ibid.*

The friendly bishop, as a matter of fact, had to leave Forlì in a hurry. Those were troubled times in the Papal States. The disastrous war waged by Piedmont against Austria aroused bitter resentment against Pius IX for not having lent his formidable strength to the common cause of driving the foreigner from Italian soil. A sudden outburst of anticlericalism in Forlì expelled Bishop Carletti, never to return. In those exciting circumstances Edward Douglas had to be ordained to the priesthood on 24th June by the neighbouring Bishop of Bertinoro in the chapel of his episcopal residence⁷⁴.

Father Kuntz speaks of a pilgrimage Father Douglas made to the shrine of St. Alphonsus at Pagani soon after his ordination⁷⁵. For that he cites as evidence conversations with Father Douglas, who spoke also of his companion on the journey, a young friend who later became an Oratorian. The friend in question seems to have been James Rowe⁷⁶. Many of his letters were found among the Douglas papers, and another familiar acquaintance of both, the Duke of Norfolk, wrote with news of Rowe's death⁷⁷. Rowe frequently signed his letters *Giacomino* and often referred to a pleasant holiday the two had enjoyed together in 1847⁷⁸. According to Kuntz's account Father Douglas said Mass at the shrine of St. Alphonsus, gave Communion to his friend and spent most of the time praying for guidance in his vocation, which was the purpose of the pilgrimage⁷⁹.

It appears, in fact, that he lost no time at all in testing his vocation. He made some trial of life with the Franciscans before leaving Italy. Meyrick in his confused and rambling reminiscences had some vague recollection of having visited Douglas in some Franciscan monastery or other in Rome⁸⁰. Mrs. Scott Murray was sure he had spent a little time with the Franciscans, but rather thought it had been somewhere in the north of Italy, obviously confusing the

⁷⁴ *ibid.*

⁷⁵ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 34.

⁷⁶ James Boone Rowe (1825-1888) of St. John's College, Cambridge, after becoming a Catholic tried his vocation with the Jesuits and the Redemptorists before going to St. Wilfrid's, Cheadle, going on to Faber's London Oratory in 1850. Cf. Newman's *Letters and Diaries*, XIII, 1963, p. 517.

⁷⁷ AGR, XLVII.

⁷⁸ If Rowe was not mistaken, this journey could not have been the pilgrimage to Pagani, even though Kuntz's account seems to indicate Rowe clearly enough as having been Douglas's companion.

⁷⁹ Kuntz, *loc. cit.*

⁸⁰ *Livius Notebook*, 17, 23.

Franciscan interlude with Douglas's stay in Forlì for his ordination⁸¹.

Father Douglas was strongly attracted to the Franciscan life. After he had become a Redemptorist and had offered funds for purchasing a residence in Rome for the Superior General, he explained that he had promised in any case to build a church in honour of St. Francis, whose intercession had obtained him many blessings; and he was sure that St. Francis would be happy to renounce his claim in favour of St. Alphonsus⁸². Father Kuntz relates that he had heard from Douglas of a pilgrimage he had made to Assisi before his ordination⁸³. Whatever the attraction, the experience of Franciscan life must have been very short indeed. According to Kuntz it consisted of about a month spent as a guest in a Roman monastery very soon after Douglas's ordination, that brief acquaintance having convinced the aspirant that the life was too austere for him⁸⁴.

By September the new cleric was in England once more: for that there is evidence in the *celebret* issued to him for the London District⁸⁵. He lost little time in deciding that his future lay with the Redemptorists, since by the end of the year we find him admitted to their novitiate in St. Trond in Belgium. He and his English companion, Francis Weld⁸⁶, were the first vocations to the institute from the British Isles.

His knowledge of the Redemptorists dated from just before his reception into the Church. When he came to Rome with Scott Murray towards the end of 1841 he bought a little book containing short lives of the four saints recently canonised by Gregory XVI, and he was drawn especially to St. Alphonsus, whose life was the first one in the booklet⁸⁷. In 1844 he called on the Redemptorists in

⁸¹ *Livius Notebook*, 29.

⁸² A. Walter, *op. cit.*, 22.

⁸³ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 29. This could well have been the journey of which J.B. Rowe speaks in his correspondence as having been in 1847.

⁸⁴ *ibid.*

⁸⁵ AGR, XLVI, 1.

⁸⁶ Francis Weld, nephew of Cardinal Weld, belonged to the old Catholic family of the Welds of Lulworth Castle in Dorset. As Mgr. Weld he had been a familiar figure in Rome during the forties of last century. After taking his vows as a Redemptorist in 1849 he was dispensed in 1853. He died in 1898. Cf. Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 42; *Burke's Landed Gentry*, II, 1634.

⁸⁷ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 22. Among the others included was St. Francis Jerome who had foretold great things for Alphonsus.

Falmouth, where they had established themselves in the previous year, the reason for his visit being in all likelihood to satisfy his thirst for Catholic devotions, since he had himself invested at the meeting with the scapulars in use among the devout. So much Kuntz was able to gather from his conversations with Father Douglas⁸⁸. From the same source he learned that what finally made Father Douglas decide to come to the Redemptorists was his reading in the newspapers of attacks made on them and the Jesuits by orators in the so-called Parliament of Frankfurt. The object of opposition from anticlericals, he decided, must surely be pleasing to God⁸⁹.

He was professed 8th December 1849 and went on to Wittem in Holland, the house of studies for the clerics of the Belgian province, to which the English foundations then belonged. His stay there was very short, scarcely sufficient to supply the lack in his theological formation. Father Livius quotes an unfinished letter to his mother telling her it was likely that he would soon be returning to England⁹⁰. The letter was dated 28th February 1850, and probably the reason for its being left unfinished and unposted must have been that it was just at that time that Father Douglas did come back to England. Certainly, by the middle of March he was already at work in Clapham, where the Redemptorists had founded a house two years earlier.

Mrs. Douglas died in Edinburgh 2nd November 1850⁹¹. She had been ailing for some time, but the end came so unexpectedly that her son was not able to reach her in time. Savini wrote from Forlì as soon as he heard the news: he had known from the time of his friend's conversion how strong had been the ties between mother and son⁹².

One consequence of his mother's death was that Father Douglas now inherited the large estate left by his father, and that was really what gave occasion to his extraordinary later career. When circumstances, and in particular the insistence of the Holy See, had Redemptorist superiors urgently looking for a residence in Rome, they were delighted by the startling announcement that a young

⁸⁸ *ibid.*

⁸⁹ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 34.

⁹⁰ Livius Notebook, 36.

⁹¹ Livius Notebook, 2.

⁹² AGR, XLVI, 1.

English Father wished to buy a house for the Congregation. His immensely gratified higher superior at length summoned Father Douglas to Rome where, truth to tell, his heart had probably been all the time since that memorable visit with Scott Murray at the end of 1841⁹³.

It seems a good point on which to leave this introduction to Edward Douglas, his coming back to Rome, where he was to spend the rest of his long life. His journey from his comfortable, aristocratic High Church Anglicanism to the Catholic Church was not quite by the same route travelled by the better known of the Oxford converts. In spite of friends like Scott Murray and Lady Herbert who so warmly shared his religious interests, his decision in the end was a solitary one, made in his own conscience, without the excitement growing from year to year in the circle gathered about Newman. Meyrick remembered that « Douglas was never known as a party man when he was at Oxford »⁹⁴. The most he could recollect was that Douglas and Scott Murray « may have been held High Church ». The two friends with a small circle of others like themselves kept rather to « the quiet Canterbury Quadrangle, Christ Church »⁹⁵, not venturing among the distinguished personages who frequented Littlemore.

That is not to say, of course, that Edward Douglas remained unaffected by the Tractarians. But in the end, after the hours spent in the summer of 1841 with Lady Herbert and their « multitude of pamphlets, newspaper articles and private letters », it all came back to himself and his conscience. There was a clarity, or perhaps it was a simplicity, in his vision that his closest friends lacked: they were much slower in coming to their decision. Scott Murray asked his friend to introduce him to Savini, his « good Father », in 1844, and then only after he had been strengthened in his resolution by the Anglican Vicar of St. Mary Magdalen in Oxford, Rev. R.A. Coffin⁹⁶. And in the case of Lady Herbert it was not to be until twenty years later that she followed her good friend's example.

⁹³ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 75. From the time of Father Douglas's becoming a Redemptorist Father Kuntz was able to call on documentary evidence and not depend any further on patchy reminiscences gathered in conversations.

⁹⁴ *Livius Notebook*, 19.

⁹⁵ *Livius Notebook*, 15.

⁹⁶ The anonymous author of a manuscript life of Coffin quotes him as explaining

Of the more familiar figures among the Oxford converts the one whom Father Douglas seems most to have resembled was Faber⁹⁷. Faber was a slightly older man and already a notable figure when he became a Catholic, and he had been in some contact with Newman, collaborating in the *Library of the Fathers*, but in his progress towards Rome he followed his own path. A remarkable point of resemblance between himself and Douglas was the strong attraction each experienced to Italian piety. One would have to suspect that had he known him well enough, Cardinal Wiseman would certainly have included Douglas along with Faber in what he used to call the « Sweet Flowers of Devotion School » of spiritual doctrine. In Faber's case it preceded his conversion by some considerable time, while with Douglas it had already become quite marked in the years following his reception. It could well be that Edward Douglas had been somewhat conditioned by his mother's influence to favour instinctively that warm, expressive piety that Faber loved so much and Newman held in such distrust. One is surely compelled to speculate about a possible tradition even in the Church of England not far removed from the practices Douglas and Faber discovered after their conversion. Could it be that good Bishop Ken, stern opponent though he was of the papist James II, was closer than he realised in his religious thought and practice to the abhorred Church of Rome?

Meyrick's wandering memory rather thought that Edward Douglas was so disappointed at his being « plucked » that he never returned even to visit Oxford. Whether or not it was through pique or hurt as Meyrick suggested, it is true that in the very considerable mass of his correspondence there is practically nothing to suggest his association with the university. His conversion, which followed so soon after his leaving Oxford, marked a complete break with past influences. Apart from his family and his friends, whom his warm nature would not let him abandon, he retained very little, if anything at all, of his earlier years. His meeting with his Carmelite friend, Angelo Savini, set him on a new path, and it was to derive much more from an Italian than from an English tradition.

one of the reasons that contributed to his own becoming a Catholic. « When Mr. Scott Murray came to consult me about the doubts that filled his mind, I told him he could not rest in his state of doubt, that he ought to hold to his conviction and go ahead. He took my advice and left me to become a Catholic ». *The Life of Right Rev. R.A. Coffin C.S.S.R.* First Part, 11. The manuscript is in the archives of the London province of the Redemptorists, Clapham. On the conversion of Father Coffin cf. *Spic. Hist.* 27 (1979) 355-374.

⁹⁷ Cf. R. Chapman, *Father Faber*, London, 1961.

Some comment should surely be made on the surprising ease with which the new convert was admitted to ordination. The case of Edward Douglas was by no means an isolated one. Once he had become a Catholic, he was drawn almost instinctively to the priesthood, but he had to wait some five or six years before his mother was reconciled to his change of religion. Then in 1848 he was ordained after a preparation that could hardly have been more than token. One wonders how much theology he had learned. In Oxford he was a student of the classics, not of Divinity. The few months which seem to be the most he could have spent with Savini at Forlì could scarcely have supplied for what must have been an almost total lack of theological formation. Church authorities were obviously inclined to credit the Oxford converts with rather more theology than was justified. It has already been mentioned that this same neglect of preparation had greatly troubled Robert Aston Coffin, ordained shortly before Douglas; and he was, after all, a Divinity student and an ordained priest in the Church of England.

Very soon after his ordination Father Douglas came to the Redemptorists. Professed 8th December 1849, he was at work among the people of Clapham by March of the following year, so that the couple of months he spent in Wittem could not have offered him much opportunity for further study. And very soon he was advanced to positions of authority. His papers show that he had gained the confidence of his own superiors and even of the Holy See. And moreover, one has to conclude that he must have justified the confidence everybody showed in him, because he remained in office almost continually until his death.

What sort of a man was Father Douglas whom those who made his acquaintance describe as a simple, reticent man, but who was able to attract the literally scores who kept up a correspondence with him and was able also to exercise such an influence on Church affairs?

Miss Helen Douglas told Father Livius of her meeting with her cousin after a separation of forty years or so. She « found him the same affectionate creature of old times »⁹⁸. That is the way most of those who wrote to him seemed to think, all of them, one gathers, agreeing with his cousin when she wrote: « Father Edward's goodness and gentleness live in my memory »⁹⁹. The very many letters

⁹⁸ *Livius Notebook*, 41.

⁹⁹ *ibid.*

from the surprisingly large circle of friends reveal a person with a most unusual gift of attracting affection, showing to all the gentleness and kindness his cousin remembered so well.

For his own numerous relatives he retained to the end of his life an affection and an interest in everything that concerned them. His cousin said that « he loved to hear all family news and appeared to feel the severance of old ties very much »¹⁰⁰. In a long letter to Father Douglas herself she speaks of many of their relatives and finishes with the request that he send her more of his questions about the family¹⁰¹. Even though more than once those who spoke of him mention the grief felt in the family over his leaving the Church of England, it does not appear to have occurred to anyone to avoid him. The widow of Mr. Stair Douglas told Father Livius that of Edward she had heard « nothing but expressions of esteem and affection from every member of the family »¹⁰². That is what one would gather from a letter written by Maria Edith, wife of Rev. Stair Douglas, Helen's brother. After describing the serious illness of her husband, who was a Canon of Chichester, she goes on to express the wish that she could « talk it all over with you, dear Edward »¹⁰³.

It was very much the same with his many friends. Very likely he was all his life just as Meyrick described him, a quiet man, avoiding controversy and party spirit. And yet for one so retiring his correspondence reveals a remarkable talent for friendship. Letters of his oldest and most intimate friends, Lady Herbert, Scott Murray and James Rowe, reveal a warmth of affection that remained unaltered from youth to extreme old age. Perhaps that capacity to win the affection of others contributed largely to the great number of converts he attracted. Father Walter in his history of the Villa Caserta, which became the house and church of Sant'Alfonso, says that Father Douglas prepared fifty converts for their being received into the Church¹⁰⁴. In his account of Scott Murray's conversion Browne says that what made him look seriously at Catholic teaching was the example for his friend's sincerity in his new religion¹⁰⁵. Lady Herbert told

¹⁰⁰ *ibid.*

¹⁰¹ Helen Douglas to Edward Douglas, 23 XII 1889 in AGR, XLVI, 16.

¹⁰² *Livius Notebook*, 42.

¹⁰³ M.E. Douglas to Edward Douglas, undated, in AGR, XLVI, 16.

¹⁰⁴ A. Walter, *op. cit.*, 77.

¹⁰⁵ E.G.K. Browne, *op. cit.*, 98.

Father Livius of the « endless number of Protestants received into the Church by Father Douglas »¹⁰⁶.

His success with converts is certainly attested by the records, and for that one must look not only to the friendliness everybody found in him, but to the strength of his convictions. His coming to the Catholic Church contrasted with that of his friends who joined him later, and they, men like Scott Murray and Meyrick, were more typical of the Oxford converts. But for Father Douglas it was a simple issue, as he told Lady Herbert. He would have considered it « an act of positive dishonesty » to have remained in the Church of England¹⁰⁷.

The strength of his religious convictions can best be measured by the sorrow he experienced at his having to grieve his mother. It was a sadness that remained with him all his life. Another convert from Anglicanism and a fellow Redemptorist, Father Thomas Edward Bridgett, spoke once of the « heavy cost of changing one's religion »¹⁰⁸. The conviction Father Douglas brought to his faith was a firmness touched by a profound understanding of how much sorrow could be entailed in leaving the Church of one's fathers. It was that conviction that Scott Murray admired and which Father Douglas was able to share with those who followed him to Rome.

¹⁰⁶ *Livius Notebook*, 55.

¹⁰⁷ *Livius Notebook*, 51.

¹⁰⁸ T.E. Bridgett C.S.S.R., *A Sermon Preached at St. Mary's, Clapham at the Requiem Mass Celebrated on April 16th 1885, the Octave Day of the Funeral of Right Rev. Robert Aston Coffin C.S.S.R., Bishop of Southwark*, Clapham, 1885, p. 8.

DOCUMENTS ¹⁰⁹

1. - Thomas Meyrick's first letter to Father Livius

Sacred Heart Presbytery ¹¹⁰, Bournemouth,
March 27th 1898.

Dear Father Livius,

Douglas was my pupil. He never took his degree. He was plucked. In the winter of 1841-2 he was in Rome with Scott Murray. They lived in the Trastevere. It was Lent time, the day I do not remember ¹¹¹. He left his umbrella for safety in an open confessional of some priest while looking at the church, the name I forget. He inquired where the Father, I think possibly a Redemptorist, lived, went for his umbrella, conversed with him, went to confession, was received, I think, the next day.

He sent for me, maybe a week after ¹¹². He had some passing misgivings. I said to him: « At least the Catholic religion, as Pusey allows, is a safe one to live and die in. We do not know where we are. I wish I saw my way as you do ».

I was received some two years and a half or more after, in the spring of '45. Of course I do not know the time of his ordination.

When I was in Rome in the autumn of '45 he was living with Hamilton in the Palazzo Ruspoli. I do not suppose he was ordained. Being a novice, I believe, he could not have been ¹¹³. Hamilton always spoke of him as St. Edward. I am not sure he did not call on us once.

Yours sincerely,
Thomas Meyrick

¹⁰⁹ The letters and extracts are as copied by Father Livius into his notebook. The originals are no longer extant.

¹¹⁰ Father Livius adds a note saying that he first met Meyrick in the Jesuit presbytery, adding that Meyrick had been at one time a Jesuit. He notes further that this first letter is very confused and contains many errors.

¹¹¹ A note of Father Livius warns that the following story is quite inaccurate. There is a surprising number of errors in a few lines.

¹¹² The incident Meyrick goes on to relate could not have occurred after Douglas's conversion. For one thing he had already left Oxford more than a year before. This is a particularly bad instance of Meyrick's muddled memory, mixing up dates and places.

¹¹³ It is very probable that Douglas was staying with the hospitable abbat Hamilton with whom he went to Palestine in 1845. Needless to say, he could hardly have been a novice at the same time.

2. - Meyrick's second letter to Father Livius

Beaumont, Derby Road, Bournemouth,
April 22nd 1898.

Dear Rev. Father,

It is a pleasure to me to write about Father Douglas. I knew him first as his private coach or tutor. He was then in the quiet Canterbury Quadrangle, Christ Church, very unobtrusive, quiet and I suppose with few companions. Scott Murray was his fellow collegian and friend, and then there was a quiet set of similar characters in Christ Church.

Douglas came to me, then a tutor in Aristotle and Logic for Class men: I did not usually take pupils as Pass men, but Douglas, I think, intended to try for an Honorary Fourth, considered a very good Degree¹¹⁴. He read with me at most two terms, and Sophocles was the Greek book which he took into the Schools. I taught him also some Logic. I had no idea of his being plucked. He was an average Eton scholar, but made blunders which I saw were hardly to be corrected in him, and I did not think he would get a Fourth, but supposed he would take his degree. I was greatly pained as well as surprised at his failure, and I think the Examiners must have been unfit men at the time. It was a great blow to Douglas. I think he returned no more even to visit Oxford.

I think it was a Capuchin who received him at Rome¹¹⁵. He had a great devotion to St. Francis of Assisi and wished to be a Franciscan. I really believe he tried it and that he was as I supposed in his novitiate in some Order of St. Francis at the time I was with Hamilton.

I once when he first became a Catholic was invited by him to stay in London at his mother's house (65 Eaton Place), and we went with Father S...¹¹⁶ of Cadogen Place on a pilgrimage to Canterbury, where we kissed the stone on which the blood of St. Thomas fell. I was not at that time a Catholic, but I think in the following spring I was, 1845.

Douglas was never known as a party man at Oxford. He and Scott Murray may have been held High Church, but I think they were only exemplary young gentlemen. Of course they would be influenced by the questions of the day on religion.

Of course Lady Herbert may have corresponded with Douglas, and I think I heard that he and Scott Murray were disposed to Catholic observances, and I think I more readily took him as a pupil because of this, but I think it was more on account of the irreproachable life which he and Scott Murray led which drew me to him. I was not as a poor

¹¹⁴ Father Livius adds an explanation from his own experience of Oxford. A student might gain his B.A. degree either as a simple pass or with honours, of which there were four classes.

¹¹⁵ No doubt Douglas's Franciscan leanings occasioned the error.

¹¹⁶ The name is illegible.

scholar of Corpus Christi likely to know anything of Lady Herbert or Douglas's aristocratic connections.

If anything else occurs to me I will write again. It was on his account I was hauled up by Old Pusey as a delinquent. He asked me whether I had said to Douglas that he (Pusey) had said the Catholic religion was a safe one to live and die in.

I replied: « Have you not said so »?

To this he did not answer, but said: « You are not in Orders »?

I said: « No », to which he said: « Then perhaps what you said was right ». This is all that passed between us. I thought this poor reasoning for a man of such repute.

Yours most truly,
Thomas Meyrick

3. - Meyrick's third letter to Father Livius

Beaumont, Derby Road, Bournemouth,
May 3rd 1898.

Dear Father Livius,

I was in Rome at the time Father Douglas was received, living in a Palazzo in the Piazza SS. Apostoli with my pupil's family (Henry Danby Seymour)¹¹⁷. The reception caused a sensation. A parson was sent out from England to reconvert him, and made us laugh, that he despaired of arguing with Douglas, as he would not touch a bit of meat, it being a Friday in Lent.

I think my interview with Douglas was in a corridor of a Franciscan convent¹¹⁸.

Abbé Hamilton¹¹⁹ was, I think, of a branch of the Duke of Hamilton¹²⁰ and was ordained Deacon, I think, by Cardinal Fransoni. He was most esteemed by Pope Gregory to whom I was presented by him. He was afterwards priest and died in Paris attended by abbé Rogerson. He was a convert of some standing. He was a friend of Father Grassi, the Assistant of the General of the Jesuits, to whom he and I went to con-

¹¹⁷ Henry Danby Seymour esq. of Knoyle in Wiltshire was soon to become a Member of Parliament. Cf. *Burke's Landed Gentry*, II, 1357.

¹¹⁸ This meeting, previously mentioned in somewhat more muddled fashion, could well have occurred in 1848 after Douglas's ordination.

¹¹⁹ Father Livius notes that he had asked for information about Hamilton.

¹²⁰ It seems unlikely, since it was not possible to find in *Burke's Peerage* a James Hamilton of the family of the Dukes who could have been the elusive *abbate*.

fession¹²¹. He was a man of property and lived in the Palazzo Ruspoli, Piazza SS. Apostoli. He was a noble and generous man.

When I say that Douglas was an average Eton scholar, I do not mean any high grade of classical attainments, but sufficient to pass easily. I did not think he required any assistance to take his degree. He was certainly unfairly treated.

Yours sincerely,
Thomas Meyrick

4. - Part of a letter of Mrs. Carrington Smythe to Father Livius

Stewart's Hotel,
25th April 1898.

The abbate Hamilton was, I believe, the son of the great physician in Edinburgh¹²². He was very well off and used to entertain many of the converts in Rome in 1845. I never heard what became of him, though I am afraid his later life was not satisfactory¹²³.

My husband saw a good deal of Father Douglas in Rome and went with him, Father Furniss and the abbate Hamilton to the Holy Land, but after visiting Jerusalem and the Holy Places Carrington left his companions in order to return and join me at Sorrento.

¹²¹ Giovanni Antonio Grassi S.J. (1775-1848) had seen an extraordinarily varied career. Born in Bergamo, he made his novitiate under the Ven. Giuseppe Pignatelli in the house of Calorno in the Duchy of Parma founded from White Russia during the time of the Society's suppression. He found his way through Russia, Portugal, and England to America, where he became President of Georgetown College. Returning to Europe after 1814, he worked mainly in Turin. He was appointed Rector of the Urban College of Propaganda Fide in 1840 and assistant to his Superior General in 1842.

¹²² The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives more than one eminent physician who could well meet Mrs. Carrington Smythe's identification.

¹²³ Perhaps Meyrick's mention of Hamilton's having been assisted at his death by the mysterious abbé Rogerson is an implicit reference to his «unsatisfactory» later life.

5. - Letter of Mrs. Scott Murray to Father Livius

Bryanstone, Bournemouth,
30th June 1898.

Dear Rev. Father,

Mr. Scott Murray first met Mr. Douglas at Dr. Everard's at Brighton about 1826. Mr. Scott Murray went to Eton in 1832, where he again met his friend, Mr. Douglas. In 1835 Mr. Scott Murray went to Christ Church, Oxford. Mr. Douglas was also there, and their great friendship continued.

In 1841 Mr. Scott Murray and Mr. Douglas travelled together to Rome, where Mr. Scott Murray remained for the feast of St. Peter's Chair, January 18th 1842. As he was Member of Parliament for Bucks he had to return for the opening of Parliament and leave Rome that same night. Mr. Douglas's conversion took place six or seven weeks later and is mainly attributable to the acquaintance made by him with a Carmelite Father, *Padre Angelo Savini*, of the Carmelite convent, S. Maria in Traspontina. This good Father at that time heard confessions in St. Peter's¹²⁴, in the confessional opposite the tomb of Pope Benedict XIV, and in that confessional Mr. Scott Murray had placed his umbrella, having been refused admission to the Papal function on account of it. As Mr. Scott Murray had to leave Rome that night, he requested Mr. Douglas to obtain the umbrella which had been locked up in the confessional during the function. This led to Father Douglas's acquaintance with Padre Savini.

I do not remember who received Father Douglas. I know he joined the Franciscans, somewhere in the north of Italy *I think*, but did not remain long.

He was devotedly attached to his mother. I do not remember when she died. I fancy Lord A. Douglas, his cousin, could tell you many things about him¹²⁵. After this and he had joined the Redemptorists we saw him in Italy at various places.

I wish I could tell you more, but my husband's notes do not mention him except in the above extracts.

Mrs. Carrington Smythe tells me that she has told you all she knows of her husband's journey to Jerusalem with Father Douglas.

¹²⁴ This is not correct, as is clear from Padre Diofebi's letter to Father Mauron, 9 X 1898 in AGR, XLVI, 1.

¹²⁵ Lord Archibald Douglas was born 17 VI 1850, the third son of Lord Archibald, seventh Marquess of Queensberry. He became a Catholic and was ordained priest for a Scottish diocese. In 1906 at the age of fifty-six he entered the Redemptorist novitiate but left in the following year before taking his vows. He was admitted in October 1907 among the Oblates C.S.S.R. One of his sisters, Lady Gertrude Douglas also became a Catholic and entered a convent. Cf. AGR, XL; XLVI, 16; *Burke's Peerage*, 923.

That Padre Savini was the priest who a year later introduced my husband to the Rector of Propaganda¹²⁶, who had him instructed in the Catholic Faith, and at Propaganda he was received by Cardinal Frasoni in February 1844.

I remain yours very truly,
A.C. Scott Murray

6. - Letter of Miss Helen Douglas to Father Livius

52 The Drive, Brighton,
April 23rd 1898.

Dear Father Livius,

You will find Father Edward's residence at Brasted mentioned in Cardinal Manning's Life, though the circumstances mentioned are not correct.

Father Edward's goodness and gentleness live in my memory; but I was then too young to remember details¹²⁷. I saw little of him after 1843, till we visited him in Rome in 1880 and found him the same affectionate creature of old times.

Lady Herbert knew Father Edward in his Oxford days and may probably remember more of those years than I do, as I was not much with my aunt at that time and there was little intercourse with him after his change of religion.

Since 1880 I have written to him generally about twice a year. He loved to hear all family news and seemed to feel the severance of old ties very much.

I hope I may have a copy of the notice you are going to write. I fear I can give no more help towards it; and no other relation who could survives.

Believe me faithfully yours,
H.F. Douglas

7. - Lady Herbert of Lea's Recollections of Father Douglas

My first recollections of Father Douglas were when he was a young Oxford student. His family and mine were on intimate terms and his

¹²⁶ At the time the Rector would have been Hamilton's friend, Grassi.

¹²⁷ Kuntz, *op. cit.*, 11, recalls an anecdote Father Douglas once related of himself. As a very small boy he was once in the garden of his home with a little girl cousin, when they saw a tortoise. After examining the creature closely they decided that a being so ugly could be no other than that dreadful thing they had read about in the Bible and which nobody would explain to them, a fornication.

mother, Mrs. Edward Douglas, had a place in Hampshire called Bursleden where we used to stay. She was then a widow with an only son, Edward, and two nieces named Lateward, one of whom married Mr. Parish, the brother of Sir Woodbine Parish¹²⁸.

It was in 1841 that I went there for a long visit. Edward was at home and keenly interested in the Oxford Movement. Newman's *Tract 90* had appeared that spring and roused the whole Puseyite world. Multitudes of pamphlets, newspaper articles and private letters were circulated amongst us, all tending to the one momentous question of whether we could remain in the Anglican Church or not. It was a matter of absorbing interest to us both, and I can see now the little summer house at Bursleden where Edward and I used to study and discuss one difficulty after another, without being able for a long time to come to any conclusion.

Corporate union was advocated by many of our friends, who deprecated the idea of individual conversions to Rome as likely to deter the masses from joining us. But Edward always stuck to the point of following his conscience, should he at last become convinced that the Church of England was only an offspring of the Reformation. So that summer of 1841 passed away and with it the long vacation, and Edward went back to Oxford¹²⁹.

I cannot remember how soon afterwards he wrote to me that he found his position intolerable and untenable and that he felt he had no alternative but to join the Church of Rome. He went to Rome towards the end of the year with Scott Murray. He was received at Rome in Lent 1842, Cardinal Newman by Father Dominic, the Passionist, on October 8th 1845. He wrote again saying that his only sorrow was in the knowledge of the distress it would cause to his mother to whom he was tenderly attached; but that he had no doubt whatever of the duty which lay before him and that to remain in the Church of England would be for him an act of positive dishonesty.

I had not gone as far as he had done and his announcement was a matter of great distress to me and no little perplexity. I was most anxious to see him again and discuss the matter. But my father, who was an old fashioned Church of England Protestant, had become alarmed at our intimacy and at his Catholic views and absolutely forbade any renewal of intercourse between us. We did not meet again until 1862, when he was already in his monastery.

Another event connected with him occurred in 1865 when I was a Catholic. His cousin, Mrs. Parish, was in Rome with her husband and fell dangerously ill. She had always put off her reception into the Church

¹²⁸ Sir Woodbine Parish (1796-1882) performed distinguished service as a diplomat in South America and in the Kingdom of Naples. Cf. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford, 1917, XV, 213-214. His brother, who married Edward Douglas's cousin, was Henry Headly Parish.

¹²⁹ This is probably mistaken, Meyrick's memory this once being preferable, when he says Douglas did not return after his unsuccessful final examination, which was in 1840.

on account of family difficulties, but when she felt the change of her state, she was miserable and sent for me and for Father Douglas. He came as soon as he possibly could, but she was almost unconscious when he arrived and had been crying out repeatedly: « Too late! Too late! ». Father Douglas gave her conditional baptism and did everything he could, but it was a heartbreaking death bed. It brought about, however, the conversion of her son, a young man of thirty or thirty-one, who was received a couple of months later and became a most edifying Catholic, which was a great consolation to Father Douglas. Unfortunately, he died two or three years later¹³⁰.

There was an endless number of Protestants received into the Catholic Church by Father Douglas, but those I remember principally were in the year that Père Hyacinthe (now the unhappy Loyson) preached the Lent sermons at S. Luigi dei Francesi. I had « *des conférences succursales* » at my house where the men and women whose minds had been unsettled by his arguments came to vent their doubts and difficulties, making me « *l'avocat du diable* », as Father Douglas used laughingly to call me, because I spoke French easily and could explain to Père Hyacinthe what their difficulties were. The French Father generally succeeded in convincing and satisfying them, and then I used to take them to Father Douglas for further instruction and finally to Cardinal Reisach for confirmation¹³¹. But there must be a list at the monastery of the names of those who were received by him. Amongst those he received at that time were Lord Beaumont¹³², Lady Agnes Murray (daughter of the Duke of Montrose)¹³³ and many others.

Mary Elizabeth Herbert,
Rome, 1898¹³⁴

¹³⁰ According to a list compiled by Father Kuntz, from the *Libro delle abiure* Henry Parish, aged thirty-four, was absolved from heresy in England by Father Robert Coffin C.S.S.R. on 8th May 1868. He died on 8th April 1869. He is included among those whose conversions are accredited to Father Douglas. The document attesting his absolution does not mention the name of the one delegated by the Holy Office to receive his abjuration. AGR, XLVI, 7.

¹³¹ Two names only are included in Father Kuntz's list for 1869. Baroness von Schoenberg-Roth Schoenberg was absolved from heresy on 15th May 1869 by Cardinal Reisach after instruction by Father Douglas. Mrs. Joan Cowan Cowan of Cumberland was absolved by Father Douglas on 27th April 1869 and confirmed by Cardinal Reisach on 30th of the same month. Cf. AGR, XLVI, 7. Either Lady Herbert has exaggerated or, as seems more likely, the list is incomplete. Cardinal Karl August von Reisach had been Cardinal Bishop of Sabina since 1855.

¹³² Henry Stapleton Baron Beaumont is included in Father Kuntz's list as having been absolved from heresy at the age of nineteen on 23rd April 1868 by his uncle, Rev. Paul Stapleton O.P. with the further note that he died in 1891.

¹³³ Lady Agnes, daughter of the Duke of Montrose, married Lieutenant Colonel John Murray of the Grenadier Guards and squire of Polnaise, co. Stirling. Cf. *Burke's Peerage*, 786. Her name is not included in Father Kuntz's list.

¹³⁴ It would seem that Lady Herbert's recollections were compiled almost immediately after Father Douglas's death. She indicates as much in a letter written from Rome on 1st April to Dom Oswald Hunter Blair of Fort Augustus. This was a little

8. - Letter of Lady Herbert to Father Livius

Switzerland,
10th July 1898.

Dear Father Livius,

As soon as I return to Town in August I shall be only too glad to tell you anything I can of dear Edward Douglas's youth before he became a Catholic, when we were so intimate. He never forgot those days, and neither did I, though in later years he refrained from any personal allusions. I have the little crucifix which he left to me, and which he held in his dying hand to the last.

Yours sincerely,
M.E. Herbert

more than a week after Father Douglas had died. She expected that her recollections would be used by Father Bridgett. Hunter Blair was himself one of Father Douglas's converts and a familiar correspondent. He became renowned as a writer on various Catholic topics after he became a Benedictine. A copy of Lady Herbert's letter was very kindly shown to me by Rev. F. Douglas of Brisbane.

ALFRED C. RUSH

SAINT JOHN NEUMANN AND
THE AMERICAN COLLEGE IN ROME

It is a fact of history that the American College in Rome has found its historian. In 1955, if one counts the formative years from 1855 to 1859, that institution had a hundred years of history. To commemorate this centenary, Robert F. McNamara published his richly-documented study¹. Prior to that, readers depended on the account published by Henry A. Brann in 1910². Brann's work had its own style and flavor. Cardinal Edward Mooney wrote: « Monsignor Brann's work has served us well for nearly fifty years. Written on the occasion of the Golden Jubilee of the College, it is a rich source book which has preserved many documents of great interest, as well as many delightfully chatty and informal remi-

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, N.Y.
ACUA = Archives of The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C.
APF = Archivio della S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide, Roma.
— Acta = Acta Sacrae Congregationis
— LDB = Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di Monsignor Segretario
— SOCG = Scritture originali riferite nelle Congregazioni Generali
— SRC AC = Scritture riferite nei Congressi. America Centrale, dal Canada all'Istmo di Panama
— Udienze = Udienze di Nostro Signore
CL = *Collectio Lacensis. Acta et decreta conciliorum recentiorum usque ad 1870*, ed. G. Schneeman SJ, 7 vols., Freiburg 1870-1890
KFC = *The Kenrick-Frenaye Correspondence*, ed. Francis Tourcher OSA, Philadelphia 1920
Mansi = *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. Mansi — J. Martin - L. Petit, 53 tomes in 59 vols, Paris 1901-1927

¹ Robert F. McNamara, *The American College in Rome, 1855-1955*, Rochester, N.Y. 1956. This will be referred to as *American College*.

² Henry A. Brann, *History of the American College of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States, Rome, Italy*, New York 1910.

niscences that reflect the tenor of seminary life in earlier days ». He then goes on to speak of the need of McNamara's « thorough historical study », a study that is « set forth » in « uniform style and treatment »³. An important addition was given to American College research in 1960 when James F. Connelly published his study on the visit of Archbishop Gaetano Bedini to the United States and translated this report that played such a large part in making the college a reality⁴. To concentrate on the formative years of the college — with which this article is concerned — it seems that, because of the depth and substance of the research already done, all that one can now do is to shed some light on this or that event, on this or that person. The purpose of these pages is to study the literature, printed sources and archival material to learn a little more about Saint John Neumann, C.S.S.R., Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia, and the American College in Rome.

By way of background — to lead up to Bishop Neumann — some well-known facts must be mentioned. The founder of the American College in Rome is Pope Pius IX. It was he who encouraged the American bishops and made them realize that his wish for the college was much more than wishful thinking⁵. However, the plan to have an American College in Rome came from the Italian archbishop, Gaetano Bedini. He conceived the idea during his visit to America in the latter half of 1853 and the early days of 1854. The idea became a conviction. He outlined his plan to Archbishop John Baptist Purcell of Cincinnati and to other American bishops and prelates. After arriving in Rome in March 1854, he proposed his plan to Pius IX. The Pope listened « with great interest and approbation ». However, protocol demanded that nothing be done until Bedini had submitted his official report on his mission. In the official report, dated July 12, 1854, Bedini gave the reasons for an American College in Rome and then outlined the means to be taken to establish, maintain and administer it⁶. Bedini maintained: « The single most important thing that would satisfy every desire, achieve every purpose and would give the greatest enthusiasm to America would be the erection of an American College in Rome »⁷. One can easily understand why Archbishop Purcell spoke of the college as « the Nuncio's inspiration »⁸. Bedini was convinced of the need for such a college. There is also another reason for his interest, as is learned from Father John Virtue of England, the secretary of the Nuncio during his visit. In a letter to Archbishop John Hughes of New York, he tells him how Bedini looked mainly to two things from his visit, namely, the establishment of a Nuncio or other Representative of the Holy See at Washington and the foundation of an American

³ Edward Cardinal Mooney, *Foreword*, in McNamara, *American College*, XI.

⁴ James F. Connelly, *The Visit of Archbishop Bedini to the United States, June 1853 - February 1854*, Rome 1960. This will be referred to as *Bedini Visit*.

⁵ McNamara, *American College*, 14, 16, 19, 21, 27, 35.

⁶ Connelly, *Bedini Visit*, 171-173, 243-249.

⁷ *Ibid.* 243.

⁸ See McNamara, *American College*, 15, 691, n. 7.

College at Rome. He then adds: « If these can be obtained, the mission will not certainly have been in vain »⁹. The college would be a sign of papal approval upon his mission. The papal approval was Bedini's from the very start. However, it was only after the official report had been submitted and acted upon that the Pope could make the cause his own, contact the American bishops and back their efforts or prod them on. It is only at this stage that we can begin to say something of the part of the Bishop of Philadelphia, Saint John Neumann, C.S.S.R.

I

Of Neumann's years in Philadelphia (1852-1860), the period from the later months of 1854 to the early months of 1855 has been called his « European Interlude »¹⁰. The return to Europe gave Neumann the opportunity to visit with his father, sisters and friends whom he had not seen since he landed in America in 1836¹¹. His presence in Rome offered him the opportunity of making his *ad limina* visit to the Pope. Here he gave his report on the status of the Church of Philadelphia. It was a report of zeal and progress for which he received warm praise from Rome. Pope Pius IX was anxious to meet the Redemptorist to whom he had to give a command of obedience, without any appeal or recourse, to accept the office of bishop¹². The main motivation underlying his trip to Europe at this time was the invitation of Pius IX, sent through Archbishop Francis Kenrick of Baltimore, for the bishops to come to Rome for the solemn definition of the Immaculate Conception¹³. Neumann gladly availed himself of

⁹ AANY, A-14, Virtue to Hughes, May 24, 1854, London; ACUA, HM 16, reel 4.

¹⁰ Michael Curley CSSR, *Venerable John Neumann CSSR, Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia*, Washington, D.C. 1952, 233-246. This will be referred to as *Neumann*.

¹¹ For a homey eyewitness account written by his nephew, see John Berger CSSR — Eugene Grimm CSSR, *Life of Reverend John N. Neumann CSSR*, New York 1884, 294-313. For the visit home in the bishop's letters, see ABPR, N, Rodler Papers, Neumann to his Father and Sisters, April 21, 1852, Philadelphia; Neumann to his Father, November 8, 1854, Paris; Neumann to H. Dichtl, December 17, 1854, Rome; Neumann to his Father, April 10, 1855, Philadelphia. See André Sampers CSSR, *Sechzehn Briefe Johann Nep. Neumanns aus den Jahren 1851-1858, in Budweis 1891 für den Seligsprechungsprozess gesammelt*, in *Studia Neumanniana* (Bibliotheca Historica CSSR 6), Rome 1977, 251-300.

¹² APF, SRC AC, vol. 16 (1852-1854), ff. 852r-857v. See G. Orlandi, *La diocesi di Filadelfia nella relazione di Giovanni Nep. Neumann del 16 dic. 1854*, in *Spic. Hist.* 24 (1976) 31-73.

¹³ KFC, 376. Francis Patrick Kenrick to Peter Richard Kenrick, October 8, 1854, Baltimore. This correspondence will be referred to as Kenrick to Kenrick.

the invitation¹⁴. Besides Neumann, the other American prelates who went to Rome were Archbishops Kenrick, John Hughes of New York, Anthony Blanc of New Orleans, and Bishops John Timon, C. M., of Buffalo, and Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh¹⁵. On November 17th and on four subsequent occasions, these bishops, together with their brother bishops throughout the world, met to discuss the revision and the final wording of the dogmatic constitution, *Ineffabilis Deus*¹⁶.

The presence of American bishops in Rome towards the end of 1854 offered Pope Pius IX the perfect opportunity for bringing up the subject of the American College. Actually, it is the Pope himself who informs us that he spoke to American bishops. His words, and the interpretation put on them, raise difficulties as to their exact meaning. In a letter to a group of bishops — to be discussed shortly — he urges them on to mutual consultation and collaboration to make the American College a reality. In a parenthetical remark he says: « As we already indicated to some from among your members when, to our great joy, they were here in Rome for the dogmatic definition of the Immaculate Conception of the Mother of God »¹⁷. The question is, to whom does the word « some » refer? Did he speak to *all* the American bishops present in Rome and then tell the bishops in his letter that these constituted some from among their members? Or did he only speak to *some* of the American bishops present in Rome?

Speaking of this early private contact of Pius IX with American bishops, R. McNamara writes: « At some time during their stay — certainly before December 11th — the Pope had an informal conversation with these prelates or the majority of them; it was in the course of this conversation that he disclosed his wish to see a North American College installed in Rome »¹⁸. Within the space of a few pages, McNamara speaks of a later « uncertain response » from the

¹⁴ For an interesting account of Neumann's stay with his Redemptorist confreres, see Oreste Gregorio CSSR, *Ricordo del Ven. G. Neumann tra i Redentoristi napoletani*, in *Spic. Hist.* 11 (1963) 233-242.

¹⁵ *Official Documents connected with the Definition of the Immaculate Conception with a Complete List of the Cardinals present in the Basilica of St. Peter*, Baltimore 1855, 153, 156-157; *L'Osservatore Romano*, December 8, 1904.

¹⁶ *KFC*, 377-380, Kenrick to Kenrick, November 21, 1854, Rome; Vincenzo Sardi, *La solenne definizione del dogma dell'Immacolato Concepimento di Maria Santissima*, Rome 1905, II, 199-300.

¹⁷ See below, n. 26.

¹⁸ McNamara, *American College*, 14. On page, 691, n. 15 he says that the Pope spoke to all or a quorum of the bishops.

bishops in America and admits that « they did not react very sympathetically ». He then writes:

This may seem surprising in view of the fact that the American prelates, to whom the Pope first spoke of the matter the previous December, had given His Holiness the impression that they approved. Perhaps he had been led by the demonstrative enthusiasm of Bishop O'Connor to believe that all the bishop's American colleagues shared his fervor. Actually, the bishops present, whom deference to Pius dissuaded from offering objections, were not of one mind on the issue. Archbishop Francis P. Kenrick of Baltimore who, like O'Connor, was a former Roman student, agreed with the proposal. Bishop Timon of Buffalo tended in the same direction. Archbishop Blanc of New Orleans and Bishop Neumann of Philadelphia, even less decided, were inclined to believe with Bishop Timon that the Church in America was too poor at present to carry out the plan, however meritorious¹⁹.

After this he speaks about the early opposition from Archbishop Hughes. The difficulty with this later account is that it takes for granted that all the American bishops were involved. Furthermore, what documentary evidence is there to say with certainty what was the mind of Blanc, Timon and Neumann in December 1854?²⁰ The meeting of Pius IX and American bishops, however, received this careful evaluation in McNamara:

When Pius made this disclosure and invited their comment on it, the American bishops seem to have been caught somewhat off guard. Since the foundation of such a college would imply American cooperation, their first thought seems to have been how could they ever finance it? This thought, however, remained prudently unexpressed. They found little difficulty in giving approval to the idea in general, and at least one of their number, Bishop Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, a former Roman student, reacted with manifest enthusiasm. In any case, His Holiness considered their joint reply as favorable to his wish, although he understood it was an informal answer to an informal question²¹.

¹⁹ *Ibid.* 20.

²⁰ In 1856 Timon confessed that he « always relished the idea so strongly urged by His Holiness ». See AAB, 31-R-26, Timon to Kenrick, December 12, 1856, Buffalo. There is no evidence that the College was brought up in Neumann's *ad limina* audience with the Pope.

²¹ McNamara, *American College*, 14.

II

For these early contacts with American bishops about the American College, the letters of Archbishop Kenrick of Baltimore are a source of help. Writing to his brother, Archbishop Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis, three days after the definition of the Immaculate Conception, he tells him: « The Pope and others seem to favor the founding of a college for the United States in Rome. The Archbishop of New York [Hughes] opposes it strongly. He says that the Propaganda students lack training for the missions. The Bishop of Pittsburgh [O'Connor] favors the design; the others oppose it on the grounds of lack of funds »²². The following month he wrote him: « His Holiness wishes to open a college in Rome for American students. This will, however, depend upon us for financial support. The Archbishop of New York is opposed to the plan. The Bishop of Pittsburgh favors it, as I do. The others hardly declare where they stand »²³. As is evident, there are nuances of expression in the two letters. The first says that the Pope seems to favor the founding of the College; the second emphatically states that he wishes to found it. In the second letter, Kenrick openly states that he favors it; such an avowal is lacking in the first. From both letters, « the others » are either worried about the financial problems or hardly declare where they stand. At this early date, there was one who strongly opposed it (Hughes), one who enthusiastically favored it (O'Connor), one confessed backer (Kenrick) and the others worried about money or not knowing where they stood. Where did Neumann stand? A difficult question, historically, because documents are lacking. Making a psychological judgment, and knowing something still to come, it is safe to say that Neumann was not one who would hardly declare where he stood. His life shows him ready to take stands, stands that cost him dearly. It is a working hypothesis that the seminary-and-university-trained bishop²⁴ would be eager for such a center of education. At the same time he would be conscious of extra financial burdens, burdens that would only add to the almost insupportable burdens he had in Philadelphia. Aside from those who were outrightly

²² *KFC*, 385, Kenrick to Kenrick, December 11, 1854, Rome.

²³ *Ibid.* 362, Kenrick to Kenrick, January 21, 1854[=1855]. As is evident from the chronology and also from AAB, Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, 74, this letter was written in 1855.

²⁴ Curley, *Neumann*, 19-36.

opposed to a « Roman » or « European » institution, the American bishops were apprehensive about the college for financial reasons. In 1854 we have no document on Neumann. It is not known whether Pius IX consulted him. It is only from the following year, 1855, that we have documentary evidence showing how Neumann backed the college and worked hard for the cause.

After the private sounding out of American bishops in December 1854, Pius IX must have judged that the project was ready to be undertaken. It did not take him long to act. The first public, papal announcement of the college took place on New Year's Day, 1855. This is in a letter addressed to Archbishop Hughes and the suffragan bishops of the metropolitan province of New York. Actually, the letter has for its primary purpose the approval of the acts of the First Provincial Council of New York, held in 1854²⁵. Midway in the letter, Pius IX speaks of his desire that there be an American College in Rome, outlines the advantages of it for the Church in the United States, tells them that he spoke to some of their colleagues about this, and urges them to get together and work together on this goal. He then writes: « If you are willing to go along with this project of Our's, which looks only to the spiritual good of your territories, We, to be sure, will by no means neglect to help you with all our backing, as far as in Us lies, that you may be able to establish this college »²⁶. With his Roman tact and diplomacy, Pius IX was not unmindful that his words would reach the ears of one who firmly opposed the college; of one who, as a vigorous leader and as archbishop of the most wealthy archdiocese, was indispensable for the cause. By April, Hughes was won over to the cause and he told Kenrick: « The American College is a favorite project in Rome. I think, in time, it will do well, although at first I thought it impracticable »²⁷. His change of heart — to the delight of Kenrick who referred to it as his conversion — was enthusiastic. Even though he did not always see eye to eye with Kenrick in his plans for promoting the college, he did give the project his energetic backing²⁸.

²⁵ *Concilium Neo-Eboracense Primum habitum anno 1854*; CL III, 259-270; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 81-106.

²⁶ Pius IX, *Venerabilibus Fratribus*, January 1, 1855; CL III, 268; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 92. See also Donald Shearer OFM Cap, *Pontificia Americana, A Documented History of the Catholic Church in the United States, 1784-1884*, New York 1933, 295-297.

²⁷ AAB, 29-I-6, Hughes to Kenrick, April 3, 1855, New York.

²⁸ McNamara, *American College*, 16-17, 21, 28, 31-33. For the relationship between Hughes and Kenrick in the planning of the College, see John P. Marschall CSV, *Francis*

The official announcement came from the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. As still a missionary church, the church in the United States was under the jurisdiction of this Congregation²⁹. The American College began to come up in the Acts of the Congregation. The Prefect, Cardinal Giacomo Frasoni, was told by the Pope to prepare a letter that would urge the bishops to support this institution where « students from various dioceses can be educated in sound and uniform doctrine for the good and benefit of those dioceses »³⁰. This letter is dated February 12, 1855. Actually, it is a circular addressed to the other American archbishops, Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore, John B. Purcell of Cincinnati, Joseph S. Alemany of San Francisco, Francis N. Blanchet of Oregon City, Peter Richard Kenrick of St. Louis, and Anthony Blanc of New Orleans³¹. The same difficulty, noted in the letter of Pius IX, is found in this letter from Propaganda, that is, whether the Pope spoke to all the bishops present in Rome who then manifested a desire for the college, or whether he only spoke to some of them. The letter was sent to the archbishops and they were to take the problem up with their suffragan bishops. For the most part, they waited to do this in forthcoming Provincial Councils. It is here that Neumann will be very much involved.

III

The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore was held in 1855 from May 6 to 13. Present with Archbishop Kenrick were Bishops Vincent Whelan of Wheeling, Michael O'Connor of Pittsburgh, John McGill of Richmond, John Neumann of Philadelphia, Josue Young of Erie. Fathers John Barry and Patrick Lynch also took part as the Administrators of the vacant Sees of Savannah and Charleston³². In the first private congregation, the archbishop read the letter from

Patrick Kenrick, 1851-1863: The Baltimore Years, Washington, D.C. 1965, 275-276, 289-292. This is a typed Ph. D. dissertation to be found in the library of the Catholic University of America. This will be referred to as Marschall, *Kenrick*.

²⁹ R. Hoffman, *Propagation of the Faith, Congregation for the*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* XI (1967) 840-844.

³⁰ APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856), f. 378v. See Connelly, *Bedini Visit*, 174.

³¹ AAB, 32C-I-9, Frasoni to Kenrick, February 12, 1855, Rome; APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856), f. 403. See McNamara *American College*, 692, n. 2.

³² *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale VIII habitum anno 1855*, Baltimore 1857, 4-5; *CL III*, 155-168; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 139-168. See John Gilmary Shea, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, New York 1892, IV, 373.

Propaganda and explained the desire of Pius IX for an American College in Rome³³. The Acts of the Council report that O'Connor, Young and Neumann had many remarkable things to say about the project. The others eagerly expressed their gratitude and all unanimously approved the project. After this, a motion was made that Kenrick appoint a committee of three who would report on a later day what they considered necessary for the inauguration of so great a project. It was then that Kenrick named Bishops O'Connor and Neumann and Father Lynch³⁴. This is the terse account in the official Acts of the Council. It is probable that we shall never know « the many remarkable things » that O'Connor and Neumann said. However, we learn a bit more from the manuscript account of the minutes written by Father James A. Corcoran of Charleston, South Carolina³⁵. Here we are told that after Kenrick spoke of Rome's desire for the College, the motion was made by O'Connor « that we deem it desirable to adopt the aforesaid recommendation of the Holy See ». The second for this motion came from Neumann. After Young suggested that the motion read « highly desirable », it was passed unanimously. It was then that Father Lynch moved and O'Connor seconded the setting up of the committee. That was how there came about Kenrick's committee of O'Connor, Neumann and Lynch³⁶. It is not surprising that Kenrick appointed Neumann to the committee. He had a well-earned reputation for learning. His work in Philadelphia for education at all levels — parish schools, private academies, colleges and seminaries — was a matter of record³⁷. Furthermore, at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1852, Neumann had served on the Committee on Education³⁸.

³³ See above, n. 31.

³⁴ *Conc. Balt. Prov. VIII*, 10-11. For the manuscript copy of the Acts, see AAB, 32B-G-1.

³⁵ AAB, 32-B-G-5, James A. Corcoran to Kenrick, November 14, 1855, Charleston.

³⁶ AAB, 32B-G-6, ff. 4-5.

³⁷ For Neumann and education, see Curley, *Neumann*, 67-68, 128, 133-134, 141-142, 207-212, 263-265. See also the section on Neumann and education written by the present writer in *The History of the Archdiocese of Philadelphia*, ed. James F. Connelly, Philadelphia 1976, 225-231. In that chapter the present writer is responsible solely for the material on Bishop Neumann. He had nothing to do with the material on Archbishop Wood despite the fact that, in the editing, the material on Neumann and Wood was combined to make one chapter.

³⁸ *Concilium totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae Baltimori habitum anno 1852*, Baltimore 1853, 10, 35, 37, 47. See Peter Guilday, *A History of the Councils of Baltimore, 1791-1884*, New York 1932, 179-180. The acts can also be found in *CL III*, 129-154, 1143-1156; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLIV, 655-700.

Four days later, on May 10 in the fourth private congregation, the Committee made its report. One learns in the official *acta* that the Council made its own three proposals: 1) that the Holy See be asked to name three bishops as a committee who would consult together and be in charge of this project; 2) that the archbishops represent the bishops until the setting up of the episcopal committee; 3) that a priest, capable in business affairs, be sent to Rome to represent them and carry out what he deemed necessary for inaugurating the work³⁹. The printed acts indicate that the committee came up with many suggestions when they speak of the three just mentioned as « the principal ones among the many proposed ». They also state that the Fathers « gave thought to these and other proposals one by one ».

The manuscript account of the minutes of the meetings show that O'Connor, Neumann and Lynch made many proposals that were specific and forwardlooking, proposals which, at that early stage in the project, would be a source of apprehension to Rome. To quote the minutes, the Committee proposed:

(1) That a suitable person be appointed to go to Rome to attend to this affair in the name of the Bishops of the United States, who will cooperate in the project, and to do what he can for the establishment of the College. Sending such a person with full authority to act, we consider sufficient to secure the desired end, in view of the known dispositions on the subject on the part of the Holy Father and the Sacred Congregation.

(2) It is recommended that a subscription be entered into by the Bishops to defray his travelling expenses, and his expenses while in Rome. The sum of twenty-five or fifty dollars or any intermediate sum, according to the means of each one would be deemed a proper contribution from each Bishop.

(3) We would think it well, that the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda should name three Bishops in this country, whose duty it would be to select a suitable person for Rector, and attend to the interests of the College in the United States. It would also be their duty to make such suggestions to the Sacred Congregation, as they deem necessary or useful for its government; and to communicate to the other Bishops what they consider necessary or proper to secure their cooperation. Each Bishop so appointed should hold the office for three years, and his place be then filled by another, or the same re-appointed, as the Sacred Congregation would think best, but the office should not be attached permanently to any See.

(4) The Archbishop of Baltimore should be requested by the Bishops of the Province to attend to this affair in their name until a committee, as before provided for, be named by the Sacred Congregation.

³⁹ *Conc. Balt. Prov. VIII, 16-17.*

(5) The President of the College should always be a clergyman belonging to some diocese in the United States, selected by the three Bishops, as provided for above.

(6) The pension for the students shall be fixed at a moderate amount; and until the income from this source shall be sufficient to pay the rector's salary and meet the expenses of the college, the committee of Bishops shall have a right to call upon the Bishops for their subscription annually, or at least in such proportion as may be needed to make up the deficiency.

(7) The foregoing committee of Bishops will make such arrangements, as circumstances will enable them, to equalize the advantages of the Institution amongst all the dioceses of the United States, and let each Bishop know what students he can send and on what terms.

(8) Provision for meeting the expenses of the support, clothing, etc., shall be made by each Bishop or other person sending a student in accordance with the rules that may be made. The students shall attend the schools of the Roman College, the Roman Seminary, Propaganda or the Sapienza.

(9) The Archbishop is requested to communicate our action to the other Archbishops and invite their cooperation and through them that of their suffragans.

It is interesting to note that the report of the committee was not rushed through hurriedly and in a bloc. Each proposal had to be voted on separately. In this voting process, it was Neumann who moved for the acceptance of the fourth, sixth and seventh proposals⁴⁰.

It was from the recommendations of the committee and the discussions on the floor that there emerged the first conciliar decree on the college. Proposed and unanimously approved in the sixth private session on May 12, it reads:

Clearly understanding how much our most holy religion will profit in these regions if a college is established in Rome under the very shadow of the Apostolic See, a college in which young men, destined to exercise the sacred ministry in our provinces, are trained in all doctrine and discipline, as befits ecclesiastical life, so that they may go forth as worthy ministers of the Gospel, the Fathers of this Council strongly decided that such a college should be established, if possible, without delay. Furthermore, they requested that the Most Reverend Archbishop of Baltimore (to whom they had already made known their mind on the better way of carrying out this project), would deign to represent them, in this matter, both with the Holy See and the other archbishops and bishops of the United States⁴¹.

⁴⁰ AAB, 32B-G-6, ff. 13-15; APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856), ff. 432r-433v. See Connelly, *Bedini Visit*, 176.

⁴¹ *Conc. Balt. Prov. VIII*, 19, 24-25. The manuscript copy of the decrees is found in AAB, 32B-G-2.

As is customary, the acts of the council were submitted to Rome for approval. It was not until September 9, 1856, that Propaganda took up the Provincial Councils of 1855⁴². As is readily seen, the decree on the college could easily win approval. The same, however, could not be said for all the American proposals regarding the American College. Rome's answer was as follows: « The eighth decree was approved. However, the Congregation thought an answer should be deferred regarding the deputing of some bishops who would act as a Board for the college and regarding other matters pertaining to the election of the Rector, of which mention is made in the Acts of the Council »⁴³.

The Fathers of the Council sent the customary letter to the Holy Father. Written by Bishop O'Connor and signed by the rest, this letter of May 13, 1855, has this to say of the American College:

Before bringing this letter to a close, Most Holy Father, we cannot refrain from expressing the tremendous gratitude that we have for the latest benefit that You have bestowed upon us and our people. You have made known Your desire that a college be established in Rome, at the very See of Peter, the strongest citadel of the faith, a college in which young men will be reared and who, after completing their studies, will devote themselves to the sacred missions in this country of ours. [You have expressed] Your readiness to promote this work with Your help and authority. After so many great proofs of Your benevolence, Most Holy Father, by which You have proven Your fatherly love for us, this comes as the apex⁴⁴.

As will be pointed out shortly, Rome and Pius IX were pleased with this council. However, in his early reply of August 9, 1855, after pointing out how pleasing the project is to him because it redounds to the good of the American people, the Pope goes out of his way to bring home a point to the American bishops through these bishops of the Province of Baltimore. In his own words: « Wherefore, as far as we can, We shall not fail to help this work most willingly with all our backing, since this college is to be erected in this city of Ours by your efforts, plans and money, along with those of the Venerable Brother Bishops

⁴² APF, Acta, vol. 220 (1856), ff. 389-391. See McNamara, *American College*, 692-693, nn. 2, 16. As will be seen (n. 45), Pius IX acknowledged receipt of the acts in 1855.

⁴³ *Conc. Balt. Prov. VIII*, 38.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* 19-20, 30. For the manuscript copy, see AAB, 32B-G-4.

of the other provinces »⁴⁵. As one looks back at this meeting, one finds that it was here that the American College was first treated in a council. The Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore had the first conciliar committee, the first discussion on the floor, the first conciliar decree, and the first conciliar letter to the Pope. In all of these, right from the start after Kenrick proposed the Pope's plan, Neumann was involved.

IV

In its grateful approval of the Council of Baltimore, and in connection with the modifications to be made, Rome added a very significant remark. Cardinal Barnabò wrote to Kenrick on January 17, 1857, and said:

I would like to add that it came as a surprise that the same harmony was not found among the bishops of the other provinces in such an important matter. Such harmony is especially to be sought because some bishops think that they can scarcely help the work in the same way as others.

The letter written in the name of His Holiness had as its purpose the commendation of the work, about the utility of which there can be no controversy. Although the bishops may give help in different ways, either on their own or through the more wealthy who are opportunely led to take an interest in the matter, some giving more, and some less, and perhaps more in the course of time, nevertheless, the thing that was most desired was that all should join together for the carrying out of the work with a unanimity of will and mutual agreement. The Most Reverend Fathers [of Propaganda] also wished this to be noted in order that Your Excellency may be able to carry out better what the bishops of the Council of Baltimore had decreed about your dealing with the other bishops that they might deal with this matter in the synods of their provinces with a happy result. I shall not fail to explain the meaning of this letter to the Archbishops of Cincinnati, St. Louis and New Orleans, just as I did to the Archbishop of New York, who has recently promised that he was ready to contribute a great deal to the project⁴⁶.

In the language of diplomacy, this extremely heavy paragraph contains much more than meets the eye and refers to a great deal of

⁴⁵ Pius IX, *Maximam quidem Laetitiam*, Breve epistolare ad Patres Concilii Baltimorensis Provincialis Octavi, *Conc. Balt. Prov. VIII*, 31-35.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* 38-39. For the original letter, see AAB, 32C-M-7, Barnabò to Kenrick, February 17, 1853, Rome. See also *CL III*, 155, n. 2.

history that can be summed up here merely to carry on the Neumann story. Briefly, the other provinces were not as enthusiastic as were those of Baltimore and New York. Consultations were held on the West Coast⁴⁷. Provincial Synods were held at Cincinnati (May 1855), at St. Louis (October 1855), and at New Orleans (January 1856)⁴⁸. Some opposed any European institution (Rome and Louvain) and wanted to concentrate on American education. Others feared trouble from outside forces in the then form of Nativism, known as Know-Nothingism⁴⁹. All had their own local problems and the plea of poverty and lack of money was heard on all sides. What Rome looked for was a solid backing of loyalty for a cause. At Rome « the impression seems to have been created that the Pope's project had not been accorded so sympathetic a welcome by the American prelates as it should have been ». Describing this in greater detail, McNamara writes:

This, then, was the mixed reception which the American hierarchy accorded to the Holy Father's proposition. And when the Roman authorities had received replies from all the provinces, they were not pleased. They no doubt valued the indications of relative prosperity of the various American sees; these would give them a key as to how much they could expect each to contribute. They doubtless did not question the sincere interest which the American prelates manifested for their own seminaries. But reasons like these were, to the Propaganda officials, beside the point. They considered the papal plan an order. And since His Holiness had already ordered the founding of the college, the matter was closed, and opinions on it were not being sought. Nor was there any reason for complaining of the inability of one's diocese to contribute. Cardinal Frasoni and Archbishop Barnabò needed only to point out in the circular letter itself the statement that what the American prelates could not give, the Congregation and Pope would supply⁵⁰.

Even as early as 1856 Cardinal Frasoni and Archbishop Barnabò told Father Etienne Rousselon, who was in Rome representing the New Orleans Province, that « it never was the intention of the Holy Father to force on the Bishops of the United States a charge that might prove too heavy for them »⁵¹.

⁴⁷ McNamara, *American College*, 24-26.

⁴⁸ *CL III*, 183-202, 233-248, 303-312; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 167-190, 307-318, 319-336.

⁴⁹ M. Fell, *Know-Nothingism*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia VIII* (1967) 223-234. See also Ray Allen Billington, *The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860*, New York 1938.

⁵⁰ McNamara, *American College*, 26-27.

⁵¹ AANY, A-11, Blanc to Hughes, May 5, 1856, New Orleans; ACUA, HM 16, reel 4.

Many an American bishop thought that Rome was merely asking for his advice. With his Irish-American bluntness, Peter Richard Kenrick told Hughes: « The Cardinal Prefect asked our advice and we gave it to him »⁵². One can now read Fransoni's remarks to Kenrick (n. 46) and understand his statement about explaining matters to the Archbishops of Cincinnati, St. Louis and New Orleans. In the light of all this, it is also easy to understand why Rome singled out the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore of 1855 where the process got rolling with Kenrick's Committee of O'Connor, Neumann and Lynch. In the words of McNamara:

They saw in the Council's plan an understanding approach to the enterprise, and in the Archbishop of Baltimore the man best qualified to secure the joint cooperation of the American Hierarchy. So they ordered the officials of the Sacred Congregation « to write to the Archbishop straightening out the difficulties, and pointing out the real nature of the foundation, and the real sense of the Pope's circular ». This, thought the Cardinals, would help him in the discharge of the duty which his provincial council had imposed upon him⁵³.

V

A published — but little used — Neumann letter⁵⁴ of early 1857 throws a great deal of light on Neumann's own life, on the fortunes of the American College and on Neumann and the college. Bishop Peter Paul Lefevere of Detroit wrote Neumann to ask his backing of the American College at Louvain. This college, the work of Bishops Lefevere, Martin J. Spalding of Louisville, and Father Peter Kindekens of Detroit, opened in March 1857⁵⁵. As is evident, the Church in the United States in the 1850s was concerned with two European projects, namely, Louvain and Rome. It has already been remarked that Neumann was not one who would « hardly declare

⁵² AANY, A-12, Peter Richard Kenrick to Hughes, January 2, 1856, St. Louis. See also AAB, 34-M-3, Peter Richard Kenrick to Spalding, January 3, 1857, St. Louis for the former's opposition to both Louvain and Rome.

⁵³ McNamara, *American College*, 27.

⁵⁴ To my knowledge this letter was used only once in Neumann research. See John D. Sauter, *The American College in Louvain, 1857-1898*, Louvain 1959, 46. I learned about the letter in Maurice de Meulemeester CSSR, *Bibliographie générale des écrivains rédemptoristes*, 3 vols., Louvain 1933-1939, II, 295, n. 12.

⁵⁵ J. Sauter, *op. cit.* 3-59. For the write-up of the College in Neumann's Philadelphia, see *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 14, 1857.

where he stood ». In his letter to Bishop Lefevere we find him giving very honest and forthright answers. Neumann explains his situation in Philadelphia. This was the period in which he was awaiting an answer from Rome. In 1855, in his desire to do justice to his ideals as a bishop, he had suggested that the vast diocese of Philadelphia be divided, that a new See be created at Pottsville and that he give up Philadelphia and take the poorer, smaller diocese⁵⁶. As of Feb. 20, 1857, he had received no definite answer. Actually, three days earlier the official notice had been sent to Kenrick that James Frederick Wood had been named coadjutor to Neumann with the right of succession. It was not until March 30 that the news arrived here⁵⁷.

It is against this background that Neumann tells Lefevere: « In this uncertainty I do not feel free to engage in any measure which will require some time yet to accomplish ». A little later in a statement that gives an insight into his own status, he says: « If I am to remain in Philadelphia, which is at present not improbable, I will certainly take an active part in the projected American College at Louvain. The high reputation for learning and discipline in Belgium is too well known as to allow me to hesitate a moment ». To be true to himself, after making these remarks about the college at Louvain, he admits honestly: « Personally I would be more in favor of an American College in Rome ». It is then that he makes a statement that is significant for the fortunes of the college at Rome. He tells Lefevere that « consultations on its erection seem to have adjourned *sine die* »⁵⁸.

Neumann could well write that. In his own ecclesiastical province, the archbishop was not consulting his suffragans; he knew where they stood. Actually, Kenrick was busy — and frustrated — trying to get the project off the ground. The Council of 1855 decreed that a priest should be sent to Rome on the business of the college. Three attempts were made and ended in failure. Neither Fathers James Frederick Wood and David Whelan of Cincinnati, nor James A. Corcoran of Charleston went to Rome on this mission⁵⁹. In desperation,

⁵⁶ Curley, *Neumann*, 267-305.

⁵⁷ AAB, 32C-M-7, Barnabò to Kenrick, February 17, 1857, Rome; Kenrick's *Literarum Registrum*, March 30, 1857, 120.

⁵⁸ Neumann to Lefevere, February 20, 1857, Philadelphia. Photoduplications of the letter can be found in *The Ecclesiastical Review* 33 (1905) insert at pp. 182-183; 150 (1964) 91-92.

⁵⁹ McNamara, *American College*, 28-29. For the beginning of the process to send Wood, see AAB, 32B-G-6, f. 15.

when in Feb. 1856 Kenrick learned that Father Rousselon had brought the Acts of the New Orleans Provincial Council to Rome, he decided to use him in some capacity « so as not to let it appear that we are taking no interest in the Pope's large-hearted design »⁶⁰. In the summer of 1856, Father Kindekens was in Rome. At the « special request » of Kenrick he was to « look for and secure a suitable location for the projected 'American College' in that city ». Because of the occupation of Rome by the French to protect the Pope, Pius IX informed Kenrick that « he could not say when it would be in his power to assign a suitable building for that purpose »⁶¹.

Kenrick was frustrated not only in getting a priest to take the mission to Rome, but in getting money for his travelling expenses as recommended in the Council of 1855. In September 1855, Kenrick thought that « fifty dollars at least ought to be the contribution of each diocese ». Two months later, he reported that « only seven prelates have sent in subscriptions ». Here it can be reported that Neumann did not let Kenrick down and that he is to be listed among the seven who contributed to the cause⁶². A response from so few is not to be regarded as a mark of stinginess or as a lack of cooperation in the project. Rather, it is a sign of growing concern to have the American hierarchy represented in Rome by a bishop rather than by a priest⁶³.

One of those who refused Kenrick's request for a contribution to defray the expenses for sending a priest to Rome to negotiate the college was Archbishop Hughes. He bluntly informed Kenrick that the mission will be « only a waste of time and money »⁶⁴. He energetically campaigned in his own Province and with his fellow bishops for a more expeditious procedure. As he saw it, a bishop was needed to represent the American hierarchy in Rome. Furthermore, it was

⁶⁰ KFC, Kenrick to Kenrick, February 27, 1856, Baltimore.

⁶¹ AAB, 30-H-1, Kindekens to Kenrick, November 5, 1856, Detroit. See John Tracy Ellis, *Documents of American Catholic History*, 2 ed., Milwaukee 1962, 315-317.

⁶² For the remarks of Kenrick, see KFC, 391, 393, Kenrick to Kenrick, September 29, November 30, 1855. Both McNamara and Sauter list contributors. However, neither gives the complete list. For the contributors, see Archives of the Diocese of Charleston, 9-K-6, Kenrick to Lynch, December 9, 1855, Baltimore; Marschall, *Kenrick*, 275. Specifically, for Neumann's contribution, see AAB, *Literarum Registrum*, November 2, 1855, 94. Other pertinent material is found in AAB, 32A-N-19, Spalding to Kenrick, October 17, 1855, Louisville; 34-J-26, Kenrick to Spalding, October 20, 1855, Baltimore.

⁶³ McNamara, *American College*, 31-34.

⁶⁴ AAB, 29-I-7, Hughes to Kenrick, October 22, 1855, New York.

up to Rome to see that it appointed a special person in Propaganda to deal with the American College. There must be, on the part of the bishops, agreement on these two basic principles, he said in his circular of Dec. 23, 1855⁶⁵. The Roman problem met a successful solution when, after the death of Cardinal Fransoni on April 29, 1856, and the promotion of Cardinal Barnabò to Prefect, Archbishop Bedini, the first to propose the college, was appointed Secretary of Propaganda in June⁶⁶. Meanwhile, the problem at home saw a very happy solution when O'Connor of Pittsburgh was the bishop chosen to carry on the negotiations in Rome. This took place in November 1856, as we know from a letter of Hughes to Bernard Smith in Rome, in which he sings the praises of the one selected⁶⁷. O'Connor was a suffragan bishop of the Province of Baltimore. Although the energies of Hughes were at the root of much of this past activity, it was Kenrick who had to be involved in the mission of O'Connor. He himself tells us that he went at the request of Kenrick⁶⁸. The letters of the period make in clear that it was Kenrick who authorized O'Connor⁶⁹. Rome was happy with the choice of the American bishops. It was O'Connor who encouraged Pius IX in 1854 by his enthusiastic backing of the Pope's proposal. It was O'Connor who was the chairman and spokesman for the first conciliar committee on the American College, the committee of himself, Neumann and Lynch in 1855.

VI

The year 1858 brings us back to Baltimore, to Neumann and the American College. That was the year when the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore was held from May 2 to May 9. The personnel of the Council is practically the same as that of 1855. John Barry and Patrick Lynch were present in their capacity as bishops of Sa-

⁶⁵ AAB, 29-I-8, Hughes to Kenrick, December 23, 1855, New York. See Marschall, *Kenrick*, 275-276.

⁶⁶ Connelly, *Bedini Visit*, 164, 290.

⁶⁷ APF, SRC AC, vol. 17 (1856), f. 752v, Hughes to Smith, November 28, 1856, New York; McNamara, *American College*, 33.

⁶⁸ *Concilium Baltimoreense Provinciale IX habitum anno 1858*, Baltimore 1858, 18. The acts can also be found in *CL III*, 169-182; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 571-596.

⁶⁹ AAB, 30-W-70, O'Connor to Kenrick, January 9, 1857, Dublin; *Literarum Registrum*, January 22, 1857 (wrongly dated 1856), 116. In a letter to Spalding, Kenrick says that he « authorized O'Connor for the mission ». See 34-K-29, Kenrick to Spalding, February 19, 1857, Baltimore.

vannah and Charleston. Bishop Augustine Verot was present as the Vicar Apostolic of Florida. Father David Whelan acted as Procurator for his brother, Bishop Richard Vincent Whelan⁷⁰. At the request of Neumann, arrangements were made for his coadjutor to be present at the Council and have a decisive vote. He was at the meetings from the fourth to the sixth of May when he was given leave to return to Philadelphia « because of urgent business »⁷¹. Neumann also asked that the name of Bishop Wood be added to the letter that the Council addressed to the laity⁷².

The American College came up in the seventh private congregation on May 8. Bishop O'Connor gave the bishops an account of his mission to Rome. He told of Pius IX's desire to give the building that was formerly a Visitation convent, but which he was not yet able to finalize because it was still occupied by French soldiers. The Pope hoped in time to have this building for the college. On hearing this news, the bishops expressed their thanks and noted that their gratitude should be mentioned in the letter to the Pope. There was agreement among the bishops that, as soon as they knew for sure that the promised building, or another one, was ready, they would see to it that the collections would be taken up in all the churches of the Baltimore Province. At this point, the bishops were asked to state how many students they would send over, at the tuition rate of \$ 150.00 per student. They were also to transmit this information to Propaganda. Bishops Whelan and Barry promised to send one each; Bishops O'Connor and Lynch, two each; Archbishop Kenrick, four; Bishop Neumann, six. The Acts then say that the other bishops intend to send some as soon as they can, and that those who indicated a specific number hope to send more⁷³.

In the eighth private congregation on May 9, each of the bishops signed his name to the letter of the Council to the Pope. The last paragraph deals with the college in these words:

Finally — and it would be wrong to omit this — we thank you for your outstanding generosity to our people and our Church, the news

⁷⁰ *Conc. Balt. Prov. IX*, 3, 12. For the manuscript copy, see AAB, 32B-H-1.

⁷¹ AAB, *Literarum Registrum*, April 27, May 1, 1858, 146; *Conc. Prov. Balt. IX*, 12-15. See Giuseppe 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) 337-338; Curley, *Neumann*, 322.

⁷² *Conc. Prov. Balt. IX*, 20. For the letter see *Freeman's Journal*, May 29, 1858.

⁷³ *Conc. Prov. Balt. IX*, 18-19.

of which has just reached us. We have learned that Your Holiness had assigned a very spacious building for the use of a college which is soon to be established in Rome for the sacred missions in this country. For this and the almost innumerable other blessings you have conferred on us, we profess that we will keep the memory of them with grateful hearts until our dying breath⁷⁴.

Rome's answer to this Council came in a letter from Cardinal Barnabò to Archbishop Kenrick, dated Aug. 16, 1858. The officials of Propaganda praised the diligence of the bishops in their work for the college. They then told Kenrick that he would hear of the future decisions and grants of the Pope in a circular letter from Propaganda and especially in the Apostolic Bull that would inaugurate the college⁷⁵. With regard to Rome's answer, it can be said that Propaganda spoke too quickly. There would be no Apostolic Bull to celebrate the college. The uncertainty with regard to the money to be raised caused uncertainty with regard to the stability of the college. In the words of McNamara: « It would be prudent not to celebrate its birth with too much pomp and circumstance »⁷⁶. A word, too, is needed with regard to the Baltimore Council. The earlier Council of 1855, with its detailed recommendations from O'Connor, Neumann and Lynch regarding government and administration, was a bit too fast for Rome's pace. In a similar manner, the Council of 1858 was ahead, not only of the other American provinces, but also of the plans of Rome, especially with regard to the collections and the early choosing of the students. Here, one must find out Rome's plans, America's response, and the response of Neumann.

VII

Rome's plans involved money for the college, its rectorship and the students. Barnabò and Bedini sent their circular to the American Bishops on August 15, 1858. After speaking of the generosity of Pius IX in supplying the Umiltà convent to be used for the college, the letter urges the bishops and laity to generosity, saying:

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* 28.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.* 32. See APF, LDB, vol. 349 (1858), ff. 626-627, Barnabò to Kenrick, August 16, 1858, Rome. The *Conc. Prov. Balt. IX* contains a photo of a handwritten copy of the letter.

⁷⁶ McNamara, *American College*, 39.

Nothing now is more proper than that the prelates of the United States, in fulfillment of repeated promises, exert themselves to the speedy completion of the work, of which the Roman Pontiff has laid the foundation, and which he has undertaken to promote in word and deed. Nor can we doubt of the ready assistance in this matter of the faithful of North America, because of their noble liberality towards every good work and particularly because through this institution the glory of the American name will be advanced, and the Catholic faith and religion increased throughout America. It is left to the prudence and zeal of the Archbishops and Bishops to provide the new seminary with every requisite, so that it can be opened as soon as possible to American youths⁷⁷.

This was the August signal from Rome to begin the work of gathering funds, a work that had previously been legislated by the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in May, in the form of parish collections. Aside from some generous contributions from wealthy individuals, the bulk of the money came from the parish collections in the dioceses in late 1858 and throughout 1859.

Archbishop Kenrick got the process going with his circular of October 10, 1858, that called for the collection to be taken up in the churches of the country on December 12, the Sunday within the octave of the feast of the Immaculate Conception⁷⁸. The *Catholic Mirror* for this period is replete with news about the collections in the archdiocese of Baltimore or receipts from other dioceses⁷⁹. The total amount from the parish collections and private donations was \$ 47,879.00. At least two-thirds of this amount came from the two metropolitan provinces of New York and Baltimore. New York contributed about \$ 19, 000 and Baltimore about \$ 10,000⁸⁰. Included in the latter was the contribution from Philadelphia and the other suffragan Sees. Our problem here is to ascertain some details about the collection in Neumann's Philadelphia and the amount realized.

Philadelphia's contribution must first be approached by way of Pittsburgh and Baltimore. In a January letter of 1859, O'Connor wrote Kenrick and expressed the hope that he was not offended at

⁷⁷ The English translation can be found in the *Catholic Mirror*, October 2, 1858; *Dunigan's Catholic Almanac for 1859*, 341-342; McNamara, *American College*, 35. For the Latin, see APF, LDB, vol. 349 (1858), ff. 625v-626r, Barnabò and Bedini to the American Hierarchy, August 15, 1858, Rome.

⁷⁸ *Catholic Mirror*, October 16, 1858.

⁷⁹ *Catholic Mirror*, October 2, 10; December 11, 18, 25, 1858; January 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, February 6, 12, 19, 26, March 5, April 9, 16, August 13, October 1, December 24, 1859.

⁸⁰ *Catholic Review*, ed. Patrick V. Hickey, Brooklyn and New York 1872-1898, vol. 28, nr. 26, December 20, 1885, 49; McNamara, *American College*, 36-37, 695, n. 41.

the little respect for the generosity of the Maryland Catholics displayed by the editor of the *Pittsburgh Catholic*⁸¹. The first report from Baltimore showed a collection of \$ 1,035.43⁸². Hearing this, the editor wrote a stinging editorial. He started out by saying that the stingy collection did not surprise him because of the reputation of « the old stock of Maryland Catholics » who had « piety for the faith and a lack of spirit in sustaining it ». The collection showed that the 1859 generation of Catholics had the same spirit of piety and penuriousness as their ancestors⁸³. O'Connor explained to Kenrick that the editor did this because it was made to appear that Americans were opposed to the college. The editorial was an occasion to put the cause in its true light. O'Connor then made a strange remark when he said that « unfortunately, Philadelphia has acted almost as badly »⁸⁴. The remark is strange in view of the fact that the editorial itself praised the generosity of New York and Philadelphia. It is also strange in view of the facts.

We have previously seen Neumann's presence at the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in May 1858, where the college was again discussed. There also he heard Kenrick's pastoral that encouraged the people to generosity in their contributions⁸⁵. Neumann had the college brought to the attention of the Philadelphia Catholics early in October by publishing in the diocesan paper the English translation of the Roman circular of the previous August⁸⁶. Shortly after that, he received Kenrick's circular of October 10 that called for collections to be taken up, as previously seen, on December 12, the Sunday within the octave of the Immaculate Conception⁸⁷. This gave the diocese plenty of time to get ready for the drive. Later in December a write-up in the diocesan paper expressed regrets at not being able to publish the full text of a sermon by Archbishop Hughes of New York, in which he defended parochial schools and the American College against current Protestant attacks. It then goes

⁸¹ AAB, 30-Y-16, O'Connor to Kenrick, January 24, 1859, Pittsburgh.

⁸² *Catholic Mirror*, December 25, 1858. For more data, see below n. 90.

⁸³ *Pittsburgh Catholic*, January 1, 1859.

⁸⁴ See above, n. 81.

⁸⁵ For the manuscript copy, see AAB, 32B-H-4. See the printed version published at Baltimore by John Murphy & Company, 1858. See also *CL III*, 169-182; Mansi, *Concilia*, XLVII, 571-578.

⁸⁶ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, October 9, 1858. See above, n. 77.

⁸⁷ See above, n. 78.

on to happily report the generous response of both New York and Philadelphia to the cause of the college⁸⁸.

The collection from Philadelphia amounted to \$ 3,350.00. Included in this is an anonymous donation of \$ 1,000.00⁸⁹. A comparison with other collections shows that Neumann does not have to apologize for Philadelphia's contribution to the American College. Baltimore, like Philadelphia, had one contribution of \$ 1,000. Allowing for this, the collection, in the counting of the writer, amounted to a little more than \$ 2,800.00⁹⁰. Pittsburgh contributed \$ 2,000.00, Brooklyn \$ 2,321.46, Newark \$ 3,342.78 and New York \$ 5,932.88⁹¹. In other words, Philadelphia's collection ranked second out of these six Sees.

In the eyes of Rome, the American collection of \$ 47,879 was disappointingly small. In 1856, before Rome came to the realization that it would have to provide the building for the college, it was thought that \$ 250,000 would not be too much to hope for⁹². After the collection came in, Cardinal Barnabò, aware of the generosity of the Provinces of New York and Baltimore, told Kenrick that « in the other provinces in the United States a greater effort would have been expected by the Sacred Congregation »⁹³. Assessing the collection, Propaganda saw that it would not have an endowed college where the tuition would be gratis. It then informed the bishops that they could only send over students for whom they could provide the annual tuition of \$ 150⁹⁴. Here a word can be said about the Roman and American plan. Rome thought in terms of a vast amount that would result in a fully-endowed, tuition-free college. The American bishops thought in terms of the « pay-as-you-go policy ». Tuition for them was the normal procedure in higher education. It was

⁸⁸ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, December 25, 1858.

⁸⁹ *Catholic Mirror*, February 19, 1859.

⁹⁰ The *Catholic Mirror* (April 16, 1859) says that the Baltimore collection was \$ 2,660.00. The amounts recorded in the issues of December 25, 1858, January 1, 8, 15, 22, 29, February 6, 12, 19, 26, March 5, April 16, 1859, add up to slightly over \$ 2,800.00. This is the more likely final tabulation in view of the fact that the issue of March 5, 1859, lists the amount as \$ 1,842.26. This is the amount collected in the churches and does not include the contribution of \$ 1,000.00 from B. Spalding.

⁹¹ *Catholic Mirror*, February 6, April 9, 16, August 13, 1859.

⁹² AANY, A-11, Blanc to Hughes, May 5, 1856, New Orleans; ACUA, HM 16, reel 4.

⁹³ AAB, 32C-Q-2, Barnabò to Kenrick, April 7, 1859, Rome; APF, LDB, vol. 350 (1859), ff. 230v-231r.

⁹⁴ AAB, 32C-R-2, Barnabò to Kenrick, June 1, 1859, Rome; APF, LDB, vol. 350 (1859), ff. 369v-370v.

no surprise for them to be told that they would have to pay tuition for the students. The Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1858 legislated that the bishops would pay \$ 150.00 per student annually. Furthermore, at the Eighth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1855, the Committee of O'Connor, Neumann and Lynch assumed that the bishops would pay the students' travelling and other expenses⁹⁵. Although Rome's disappointment was keen, in the light of the tuition, yearly contributions and emergency collections, the American collection does not seem to be a major catastrophe.

With a clear picture of the situation in the United States, Rome decided that the college would be opened in the fall of 1859. In a circular, dated June 1, 1859, the bishops were informed that they should begin to choose the students whom they planned to send to the college⁹⁶. It will be recalled that, at the Ninth Provincial Council of Baltimore, Neumann promised to send six students. The first class at the American College saw twelve students from eight dioceses; Philadelphia was not one of them⁹⁷. It was not until the following year that students from Philadelphia were enrolled. These appointments, however, were made by Bishop Wood, Neumann having died less than a month after the formal opening of the college. The promise of students from Philadelphia goes back to Neumann; the fulfilling of the promise is the work of Wood. Actually, it was one of the first things he did. On February 24, 1860, five of the six students promised left for the American College. In the words of the write-up in the *Catholic Herald and Visitor*: « Under the auspices of the Rt. Rev. Bishop, five young gentlemen, Messers Ignatius F. Horstmann, Charles P. O'Connor, James P. Moroney, Cornelius McDermott and James J. Byrne, sailed for Havre in the steamship, Vanderbilt, last Saturday on their way to Rome. All have been students, for some time, at St. Charles Preparatory Seminary, and after their arrival in Rome will enter the American College »⁹⁸.

⁹⁵ See above, nn. 73, 38.

⁹⁶ See above, n. 94.

⁹⁷ McNamara, *American College*, 64.

⁹⁸ *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, March 31, 1860. See Ella Flick, *Bishop Horstman*, in *American Catholic Historical Society Records* 46 (1935) 173; *Catholic Standard and Times*, May 6, 1908.

VIII

Finally, the problem of the rectorship and government of the college had to be settled. In the United States there was some talk that the matter would be treated at a Plenary Council. Curiously, the talk about a Plenary Council centers around Neumann and affairs at Philadelphia. Briefly, the appointment of Bishop Wood as coadjutor to Neumann was a source of tension. Temperamentally and psychologically, the two men were vastly different. Through a misreading or misinterpretation of his appointment document, Wood thought that Neumann was supposed to resign and hand over the government of Philadelphia to him. Although Neumann had previously desired to have Philadelphia divided and had volunteered to go to the smaller diocese to be set up at Pottsville, he never offered to resign the office of bishop; he did not think that he had the canonical reasons to justify such a step. When the relations between Wood and Neumann became strained, Neumann offered to let Wood have Philadelphia and expressed his willingness to go to the new diocese to be created at Easton, Pennsylvania⁹⁹. Rome refused to go along with the proposal to divide the diocese. On November 15, 1858, Barnabò told Neumann to carry on his pastoral duties in Philadelphia, utilizing the expertise of his coadjutor in temporal matters; he also told him that the problem of dividing Philadelphia would be taken up at the next National Council. On the same day he wrote Wood: « But without rejecting the proposal [to divide Philadelphia], the officials of Propaganda decided to refer it to the next National Council which will be held in the United States at the time appointed for it. And so, all that remains for Your Lordship to do is to try and manage what Bishop Neumann cannot perform, since 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 »¹⁰⁰.

In the fall of 1858, « the next National Council which will be held in the United States at the time appointed for it » meant that the idea of a Second Plenary Council of Baltimore was in the air. As archbishop, Kenrick was informed about the decision regarding Phil-

⁹⁹ Curley, *Neumann*, 307-336; G. Orlandi, *Neumann e i vescovi degli U.S.A. nelle lettere dell'Archivio di Propaganda Fide, 1852-1860*, in *Spic. Hist.* 24 (1976) 336-340.

¹⁰⁰ APF, LDB, vol. 349 (1858), ff. 936r-937v, Barnabò to Neumann, Barnabò to Wood, November 15, 1858, Rome.

adelphia, one of his suffragan Sees. In his answer to Barnabò he tells him that his letter does not say when the Council is to take place¹⁰¹. It was Kenrick who associated the American College and the Plenary Council. In January 1859, before he knew that he was not to call the Council, he wrote his brother: « In the meantime I am awaiting an answer of the Cardinal Prefect [on another subject]. He wrote me lately that a plenary council would be held very soon... This Plenary Council will be quite necessary, in order to fix upon the government of the [American] College »¹⁰².

When one considers the time required for setting up a plenary council, holding it and getting it approved, it seems that Kenrick must not have realized with what speed Rome was to finalize the establishment of the college that had been in the planning stage since 1854. In the letters from Rome, dated June 1, 1859, the bishops were told to consult on candidates for the office of rector; the archbishops were to consult with their suffragans and settle upon three names to be proposed to the Pope, who would appoint one of them as rector. The other provinces were to work through the archbishop of Baltimore who would send the data to Rome¹⁰³. The rector was to be an American. This was one of the initial recommendations of O'Connor, Neumann and Lynch in 1855. At that time Rome said that an answer « pertaining to the election of the rector » was a matter that « should be deferred »¹⁰⁴. The decision regarding an American as rector was a delicate matter. In March of 1859 Kenrick wrote his brother: « The Americans will want one of their own as rector and it is hard to find one both willing and fitted for the work ». He also said that he foresaw « jealousies arising if an American is not given the honor of rector »¹⁰⁵.

The choice of the rector is well known. In a letter of November 22, 1859, Rome informed Kenrick that Father William George McCloskey of New York had been elected by Propaganda on November

¹⁰¹ AAB, 32C—P-4, Barnabò to Kenrick, August 16, 1858, Rome; APF, LDB, vol. 349 (1858), ff. 626-627; Kenrick to Barnabò, October 4, 1858, Baltimore, APF, SRC AC, vol. 18 (1858-1860), ff. 339-340. See Orlandi, *Spic. Hist.* 24 (1976) 397-398, 403.

¹⁰² KFC, 417, Kenrick to Kenrick, January 19, 1859, Baltimore. More work needs to be done on the early Roman reports, beginning in 1858, concerning the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore which, *de facto*, was not held until 1866.

¹⁰³ AAB, 32C-R-1-2, Barnabò to Kenrick, June 1, 1859, Rome. For Hughes' dislike of this arrangement regarding the role of Kenrick, see Marschall, *Kenrick*, 289.

¹⁰⁴ See above, nn. 40, 43.

¹⁰⁵ KFC, 419, Kenrick to Kenrick, March 4, 1859, Baltimore.

14 and confirmed by Pope Pius IX on November 20¹⁰⁶. To understand Neumann's part in this phase of the history of the college, we must return to the metropolitan province of Baltimore. In a letter of July 14, 1859, the archbishop of Baltimore wrote his brother: « In accordance with the wishes of the S. Congregation I have recommended the names of three priests from whom the rector of the American College is to be chosen »¹⁰⁷. In accord with the wishes of the same Congregation he had also contacted his suffragans for their nominations. In his reply, Neumann says: « We have no priest in this diocese whom I could freely recommend to [*sic*] the Rectorship of the American College in Rome. I am moreover but very little acquainted with the clergy of the other dioceses and find myself incompetent to judge about their qualifications for the above important office ». After making a recommendation about the Vincentians — to be treated shortly — he adds: « I will be perfectly satisfied with any nomination or appointment, made by others who are more acquainted with American clergy and with the circumstances of Rome »¹⁰⁸.

One of the names submitted was of the Philadelphia priest, William O'Hara, whose name was first on the list of Bishop Lynch of Charleston, South Carolina¹⁰⁹. Neumann did not propose his name; he was trying to keep him for Philadelphia where he was desperately needed. The diocesan seminary there was founded by Kenrick in 1832; beginning in 1841 it was conducted by the Vincentians¹¹⁰. The very year that Neumann entered Philadelphia, 1852, he was faced with the crisis of the loss of the Vincentians. They were suffering from a lack of manpower, with too many of their seminary

¹⁰⁶ AAB, 32C-R-6, Barnabò to Kenrick, November 22, 1859, Rome. See McNamara, *American College*, 61-62, 89-94.

¹⁰⁷ KFC, 422, Kenrick to Kenrick, July 14, 1859, Baltimore. See Kenrick to Barnabò, July 19, 1859, Baltimore, APF, SOCG, vol. 984 (1859), ff. 789rv.; Kenrick to Bailey, August 8, 1859, Baltimore, AAB, 32A-U-4. See Marschall, *Kenrick*, 289; Orlandi, *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 421.

¹⁰⁸ AAB, 30-U-26, Neumann to Kenrick, July 15, 1859, Philadelphia. For similar statements made by other bishops, see Marschall, *Kenrick*, 288. For the writer's edition of the Neumann-Kenrick Letters, see *Spic. hist.* 28 (1980) 47-123. The editing required that the letters be numbered differently. The present letter (26) is listed as 25 in the printed edition.

¹⁰⁹ APF, SOCG, vol. 984 (1859), ff. 803-804v, Lynch to Barnabò, August 10, 1859, Charleston. See McNamara, *American College*, 702, n. 3.

¹¹⁰ Hugh Nolan, *The Most Reverend Francis Patrick Kenrick, Third Bishop of Philadelphia, 1830-1851*, Philadelphia 1948, 148-155. See also George O'Donnell, *St. Charles Seminary, Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1964.

teachers becoming bishops, including Father Thaddeus Amat, the rector of the Philadelphia seminary, whose name was first on the list for the diocese of Monterey and who was named bishop the following year. Neumann's attempt to save Amat was in vain¹¹¹. With his acute lack of priests in the diocese, he was anxious to bring in a religious order but did not succeed¹¹². His appreciation of the diocesan seminary was so great that he decided, despite the shortage of priests, to have the diocesan priests conduct it; it has remained ever since in their care. The man chosen by Neumann to be the rector was Father William O'Hara who gathered a capable faculty and continued in office all the time Neumann was bishop¹¹³. This is the man that Neumann did not want to lose, the man about whom he grew apprehensive when his name began to come up for a bishopric¹¹⁴. In the light of this background it seems that Neumann's answer to Kenrick is a clever answer, one worded with great care. He does not say that he does not have a candidate, but that he does not feel free to name a man. Neumann likewise was not involved in the process whereby the name of his coadjutor, Bishop Wood, surfaced as a possible candidate for the office of rector of the college. This was an affair between Wood and Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati. In a letter to Purcell, Wood refuted the rumor that the locale chosen for the college was unhealthy. He then asked how the rector was to be chosen¹¹⁵. In a letter to Kenrick, Hughes tells him that Purcell had mentioned the name of Wood as a candidate for the rectorship. To this he adds: « I would be pleased with that appointment »¹¹⁶.

Although Neumann made no specific nomination regarding the rector, he had decided convictions regarding the government of the college. After informing Kenrick that he had no specific name to recommend, he goes on to say: « The most easy and expeditious way to settle the affair would be in my opinion to entrust the direction

¹¹¹ APF, SRC AC, vol. 16 (1852-1854), ff. 114r-115r, Neumann to Cardinal Prefect, June 7, 1852, Philadelphia. See André Sampers, *Bischof Johann Nep. Neumanns Briefwechsel aufbewahrt in römischen kirchlichen Archiven, 1852-1859*, in *Spic. Hist.* 24 (1976) 255-258.

¹¹² Curley, *Neumann*, 346-347, 473, n. 44.

¹¹³ O'Donnell, *St. Charles Seminary*, 39-40.

¹¹⁴ Curley, *Neumann*, 347.

¹¹⁵ AUND, Cincinnati Papers, II, 4-0, Wood to Purcell, April 15, 1859, Emmitsburg. Copies of these Wood letters are contained in ABPR, N.

¹¹⁶ AAB, 29-J-4, Hughes to Kenrick, September 17, 1859, New York.

of the college to the direction of the Lazarists — but there appears to be a considerable reluctance against them in several of the bishops as to make them probably unavailable »¹¹⁷.

Although this was Neumann's view, it seems that the move to entrust the institution to the Vincentians was especially the work of Bishop John Timon, C. M., of Buffalo who, in his years as a Vincentian, had spent ten years in seminary administration¹¹⁸. In 1856, when there was difficulty getting a building for the college, Timon suggested that the Vincentians conduct the college in one of their two houses in Rome¹¹⁹. With the problem more to the fore in 1859, twice within a little over a month, Kenrick wrote his brother in St. Louis: « The bishop of Buffalo thinks that it ought to be given into the charge of a religious order or congregation in order to insure success ». The second letter spoke of a « religious order or congregation of clerics »¹²⁰. This refers to the Vincentians as is clear from Timon's recommendations. His diary, which shows us that he was in New York City on August 2, 1859 reads: « Send names of three Lazarists for President of American College: S[tephen] Ryan, J[ohn] Lynch, A[nthony] Penco. Signed by Archbishop, self and Bishop Smith »¹²¹.

Other names were associated with the move to have the college conducted by the Vincentians. After telling his brother in St. Louis about Bishop Timon's proposal, Archbishop Kenrick goes on to say: « I quite agree with him and would not oppose a plan to give it to the priests of the Congregation of the Mission, whom I hold in high esteem ». That was written in January 1859. In March he reaffirms his stand, but points out a difficulty when he writes: « I would not oppose such a plan, though I foresee jealousies arising if an American is not given the honor of Rector. I would willingly give the charge to the priests of the Mission of St. Vincent de Paul »¹²². Even as late

¹¹⁷ AAB, 30-U-26, Neumann to Kenrick, July 15, 1859, Philadelphia.

¹¹⁸ I. F. Mogavero, *Timon, John*, in *New Catholic Encyclopedia*, XIV, 165; J. F. Easterly, *The Vincentian Fathers. A Survey*, in *Thought Patterns* 9 (1961) 120-157.

¹¹⁹ AAB, 31-R-26, Timon to Kenrick, December 12, 1856, Buffalo.

¹²⁰ KFC, 417, 419, Kenrick to Kenrick, January 19, March 4, 1859, Baltimore.

¹²¹ Archives of the Diocese of Buffalo, Timon Diary, August 2, 1859. I am indebted to my confrere, Reverend Joseph Adamec, who sent me a copy of this page of the Diary. The Bishop Smith mentioned here is Timothy Clement Smith OCSO (1810-1865) who was appointed coadjutor bishop of Dubuque with the right of succession in 1857 and who was bishop there from 1858 to 1865. See Joseph Bernard Code, *Directory of the American Hierarchy (1789-1964)*, New York 1964, 274.

¹²² See above, n. 120.

as July, Kenrick could write to Barnabò and tell him that he would be well satisfied if the measure of entrusting it to the Vincentians were adopted¹²³.

That is a statement of theory that must be seen against the existential circumstances. It was made in the letter in which Kenrick forwarded to Rome the names of three American diocesan priests to be considered for the rectorship. Furthermore, he candidly reports a certain amount of prejudice against the American College because some did not regard it as an American institution. One of the roots of the bias was the problem of the designation of an American priest as rector. Although, theoretically, Kenrick could go along with the desire to have the college run by the Vincentians, he proposed the names of three diocesan priests for consideration and candidly admitted his fears that it would not be regarded as an American College if it were confided to a religious order¹²⁴. Kenrick's statement is also made against the background of informing Barnabò that he heard from Timon who suggested that the college be entrusted to the Vincentians and who also reported that the archbishop of New York (Hughes) went along with this. Timon must have read more into Hughes' remarks than Hughes intended. In his letter to Barnabò, Hughes proposed his own three candidates, the first on the list, William McCloskey, becoming the first rector of the American College. In the letter he also gave an assessment of Kenrick's candidates, despite an earlier statement that he would forward no objections. With regard to Timon's *terna* of Ryan of St. Louis, Lynch of Buffalo and Penco of Genoa, Italy, Hughes wrote: « To these names I should have no objection except that it has been understood that the Holy See desired secular clergy to be at the head of the college »¹²⁵. This could allow some probability that, on the theoretical level, Hughes would be willing to go along with the Vincentians, if the actual circumstances were different.

¹²³ APF, SOCG, vol. 984 (1859), ff. 789rv, Kenrick to Barnabò, July 19, 1859, Baltimore.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.* For bias against the College, see McNamara, *American College*, 38-39; Marschall, *Kenrick*, 287-288. Kenrick's candid report was an occasion for Barnabò to rebuke once again the nationalistic spirit associated with the institution. See AAB, 32C-R-4, Barnabò to Kenrick, August 18, 1859, Rome; APF, LDB, vol. 350 (1859), ff. 519v-520r. Barnabò asked Kenrick to do his utmost to refute the accusation against the College. See also *KFC*, 426, Kenrick to Kenrick, Sept. 16, 1859, Baltimore.

¹²⁵ APF, SOCG, vol. 984 (1859), ff. 801rv-803rv, Hughes to Barnabò, September 23, 1859; AANY, A-12; ACUA, HM 16, reel 4. See also AAB, 29-J-3, Hughes to Kenrick, September 3, 1859; Marschall, *Kenrick*, 289-291.

From the above it is evident that Neumann was not alone in the Vincentian project. His view in 1859 is a change of opinion from his stand in 1855 when, as a member of the conciliar committee of three, he agreed that the rector should be a « clergyman belonging to some diocese in the United States ». It is possible that Neumann merely went along with this as a member of the committee. As can be recalled, that committee came up with nine recommendations. When these were brought to the floor and voted on, Neumann moved for the acceptance of the fourth, sixth and seventh proposals; it was not Neumann who moved for the acceptance of the fifth proposal which stipulated that the rector be a diocesan priest¹²⁶. Furthermore, other things could account for the change of stand, viz., time to give the matter more thought, his personal appreciation of the Vincentians in conducting seminaries and his psychological closeness to Timon, to whom Neumann was « the good and holy bishop »¹²⁷. In his personal honesty he recommended that the college be administered by the Vincentians; at the same time, reading the signs of the times, he saw, as already noticed, that there was not much chance of this measure being adopted by the bishops.

CONCLUSION

As previously stated, the purpose of these pages was to study the literature, printed sources and archival material dealing with the American College to find out the role of Neumann in this episode. The study of the literature was necessary for background and continuity. The printed sources and especially the archival material show that Neumann was much more involved than the present literature indicates. This, in its own way, is a contribution. These pages also shed added light on Neumann's life and personality. They show his forthright honesty and courage in expressing his mind, in expressing a view that was not the popular one (the American College and the Vincentians), in giving an opinion which was not all that the questioner would like to hear (telling Lefevere that he preferred Rome to Louvain). In the Gospel sense his yes was yes and his no was no. They also give added confirmation for his interest in education, an

¹²⁶ See above, n. 40.

¹²⁷ For Neumann and Timon in Rome, Germany and in Buffalo where Neumann gave the annual retreat to the diocesan clergy, see Curley, *Neumann*, 229, 233, 245.

interest for which he was especially noted. Clearly to the fore is his appreciation of priestly learning along with holiness; to him, one without the other did not constitute priestly education. These pages evidence his appreciation for priestly vocations in general. Furthermore, in his years as bishop of Philadelphia, this foreign-born, but naturalized American citizen¹²⁸, saw that the answer to the shortage of priests was a native clergy. He worked tirelessly to foster native vocations, insisted that vocations could come from among the poor and it was up to the diocese to foster and finance such vocations¹²⁹. The work of this immigrant bishop for the American College in Rome is another manifestation of his concern for a native clergy, and also for the building up of what we in the twentieth century can now designate as the native Catholic Church in the United States of America.

¹²⁸ For the documentary evidence for his citizenship, see Neumann Center Museum, St. Peter's, Philadelphia, Wilfrid Zielinski to Francis Litz, September 21, 1959, Baltimore; C. Francis Poole to Litz, September 28, 1959, Baltimore. See also *Neumann Newsletter* VI.

¹²⁹ Curley, *Neumann*, 379-381. See the writer's *People's Response to St. John Neumann*, in *Pastoral Life* 27 (May 1978) 38-42.

ANDRÉ SAMPERS

INTEREST OF THE REDEMPTORISTS IN THE CONVENT
OF S. MARIA DELL'UMILTA' IN ROME, 1853

In the preceding article on Saint John Neumann and the American College in Rome it is mentioned that the Visitandine convent in the Via dell'Umiltà was acquired as seat of that College in 1858¹.

It seems worth while to give a short note on the fact that six years earlier the Transalpine Redemptorists seriously had considered the purchase of that same convent.

Since 1815 the Redemptorists had a house in Rome, the former Mercedarian monastery next to the church of Santa Maria in Monterone². It belonged to the Fathers of Naples and served mainly as a residence for the procurator general of the Institute. Since 1847 there resided also the procurator's 'Socius', who looked after the affairs of the Transalpine Redemptorists at the offices of the Holy See³.

As the house was not very roomy and also because the Naples observance followed in the monastery was in some points different

¹ On the purchase by the S. Congregation 'de Propaganda Fide' see R.F. McNAMARA, *The American College in Rome, 1855-1955*, Rochester, N.Y. 1956, 34, and the documentation gathered in the Propaganda Archives, Congregazioni Particolari, vol. 158 (1851-60) and 159 (1857-59).

² A. SAMPERS-J. LOEW, *De initiis hospittii romani S. Mariae in Monterone, 1814-1820*, in *Spic. hist.* 8 (1960) 40-60.

³ By the papal decree *Presbyterorum saecularium* of July 2, 1841, the Transalpine Redemptorists were entitled to send one of their members to Rome as 'Socius' of the procurator general. He had to reside in the same house as the P.G. *Acta integra capitulorum generalium Congregationis SS. Redemptoris, 1749-1894*, Romae 1899, 302, No. VII.

When the Transalpines decided in 1847 to send the German Fr. Markus Andreas Hugues as 'Socius', the Italian superior general and his consultors highly disapproved of the move. M.A. HUGUES, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Congregation des allerh. Erlösers*, pp. 353-354. *Id.*, *Additamenta quae spectant ad historiam Congregationis SS.mi Redemptoris*, pp. 67-68. Both manuscripts are kept in the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome (hereinafter: AGR).

from the Transalpine customs, the Fathers from beyond the Alps considered several times the opportunity of establishing their own house in Rome⁴. During Fr. Victor Dechamps' stay in Rome, October 1851-June 1852, the project seems to have taken a more definitive form, though the remaining documentation on the question dates from about half a year after his return to Belgium⁵.

In December 1852 Cardinal Raffaele Fornari notified Fr. Rudolf von Smetana, since July 1, 1850, vicar general of the Transalpine branch of the Redemptorists, resident in Koblenz, Rhenish Prussia, that it was opportune to establish a house in Rome⁶. Fr. Smetana answered forthwith that he intended to acquire such a house as soon as a good occasion presented itself⁷. He asked also if he could be sure that the Roman authorities would assent to the establishment. After consulting Cardinal Gabriele della Genga, prefect of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, Cardinal Fornari answered in the affirmative on January 10, 1853⁸.

Meanwhile Fr. Smetana had received also several letters from Fr. Brixius Queloz, who handled since 1850 the affairs of the Transalpine Redemptorists in Rome, telling him that the monastery next to the church of Santa Maria in Trivio was for sale at a reasonable

⁴ For instance, in 1839 when several Transalpine Fathers were in Rome for the solemn canonization of St. Alphonsus, and in 1841 when some Fathers of the Transalpine obedience were there negotiating the reorganisation of the Congregation's general government. K. DILGSKRON, *Pater Rudolf von Smetana*, Wien 1902, 89-90. Documentation on this subject in AGR XI 40^b (letter of ven. Fr. Joseph Passerat of January 18, 1841) and 80 (letter of Fr. Pietro Luigi Rispoli of July 24, 1841).

In August 1841 Pope Gregory XVI offered the church and monastery of San Crisogono in Trastevere to the Redemptorists as seat of the central government, but the Naples Fathers declined the generous offer for several reasons; AGR XI C 83-84. DILGSKRON, *op. cit.* 98, in the footnote.

⁵ Fr. Dechamps (1810-1883, 1867 archbishop of Mechlin, 1875 cardinal), then superior of the Belgian province, was sent to Rome mainly to settle a question about poverty risen among the Transalpine Redemptorists. See the instructions given him for his mission on October 4, 1851; AGR XV A 31.

⁶ [R. von SMETANA], *Expositio actorum et factorum ad Congregationem SS. Redemptoris transalpinam spectantium, 1839-1853*, Romae 1854, 30. Fr. von Smetana does not mention the name of the cardinal who sent him the message, but we do not fear to be mistaken, identifying him as Cardinal Fornari who was on very friendly terms with Fr. Dechamps since the time he had been (inter)nuncio in Belgium (1838-1842). Fornari had been very helpful to Dechamps during the latter's stay in Rome 1851-52. He was prefect of the Congregation of Studies and member of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars.

⁷ *Ibid.* 31. Neither the text of Fr. Smetana's nor of Card. Fornari's letter is known.

⁸ The original of this letter is kept in AGR XV C 10. There is also a contemporary copy made by Fr. Queloz.

price⁹. Queloz gave this notice in his letter of December 4, adding that he thought the building would do for the purpose¹⁰. To make sure that he had on hand in due time the purchase price, Fr. Smetana contacted the Belgian provincial, Fr. Dechamps, and the superior of the English mission, Fr. Friedrich von Held¹¹. As soon as he got a positive answer that the money was available, Fr. Smetana entrusted Fr. Queloz to make further enquiries. From the correspondence Smetana-Queloz of December 1852-January 1853 — unfortunately very incompletely preserved¹² — it is clear that Fr. Smetana was inclined to buy the monastery, but that he by no means intended to buy a pig in a poke (*un chat en poche*)¹³. He asked for detailed information: a plan of the building and a description of its present state, this with a view to the necessary adaptation and eventual restoration.

All this took time and in his letter of January 31, 1853, Fr. Smetana urged Fr. Queloz again to inspect the building and to send him the necessary information, so that he could make a final decision¹⁴. When he got the information, Fr. Smetana decided in the affirmative and authorised Fr. Queloz to make the purchase, of course,

⁹ SMETANA, *Expositio* 31.

¹⁰ We do not have Queloz' letter. But from Smetana's letter to him of March 4, 1853, we can deduce that he began writing on the subject on December 4, 1852. Smetana's letter is kept in AGR XV C 11.

¹¹ SMETANA, *Expositio* 31.

¹² AGR XV C 7 and 11. None of Queloz' letters to Smetana of this period has survived. There are three of Smetana's letters to Queloz written in December 1852 and four in January 1853; from the dates mentioned it is clear that some have been lost.

¹³ From the letter of Smetana to Queloz, January 7, 1853: « Quant à S. Maria in Trivio nous [Fr. Smetana and his consultors] nous sommes résolus à entrer dans ce projet. Le motif principal, qui nous a déterminés, c'est que le P. D[echamps] en est informé et que nous craignons de grands inconvénients si nous rejetons ce projet. Mais on n'achète pas un chat en poche; il nous faudra avant tout connaître l'objet et toutes les conditions. Il sera donc à vous de nous en informer exactement et de m'envoyer un plan et une description circonstanciée de la maison et de l'église et de l'état de l'une et de l'autre, pour savoir si elles n'ont pas besoin de réparations ».

¹⁴ In this letter Fr. Smetana says: « Je vous dispense de l'envoi d'un plan de S. Maria in Trivio, si cela ne peut se faire. Mais il faudra pourtant que vous fassiez l'inspection des localités sous quelque prétexte ». Evidently, Fr. Queloz had met with difficulties in getting a reliable description of the building. There is, however, in AGR XV C 12, a very neat floor-plan of the monastery and the church (24.5 x 18.5 cm) in pen-and-ink, and on a large sheet (75 x 52 cm) of drawing paper there is in the middle the same plan on the same scale with above the facade of the building and the church (facing south) and below the eastern side elevation of the church and the adjoining wall of the garden (in Via Poli). The drawings on the large sheet are slightly coloured. All the drawings are executed by a person well-versed in architectural designing.

after having obtained the pope's approval¹⁵. But the authorisation arrived too late¹⁶. A few days before the monastery had been secured for the Missionaries of the Precious Blood by papal intervention¹⁷.

The fact that they missed S. Maria in Trivio at the very moment when they felt sure of getting hold of the monastery was certainly a serious disappointment for Frs. Smetana and Queloz. But once decided on the establishment of the Transalpine Redemptorists in Rome, Fr. Queloz went in search of another suitable building and on February 16, 1853¹⁸, he notified Fr. Smetana that the Visitandine nuns were willing to sell their convent of Santa Maria dell'Umiltà¹⁹. Fr. Smetana wrote again to Frs. Dechamps and von Held about a possible purchase, to which he himself was opposed for several reasons²⁰.

¹⁵ In AGR XV C 9, i.e., between documents of January 1853 (in C 7-8 and C 10-11) is kept a draft of a petition to the Holy Father to give his approval for the foundation of a house of the Transalpine Redemptorists in Rome. Unfortunately, the document has no date.

¹⁶ From the sources at our disposal it is not clear when the authorisation arrived in Rome. Fr. Smetana says in his *Expositio*, p. 31: « Initio mensis Januarii 1853 haec auctoritas [acquiritur praefatum conventum] Romam pervenit ». But this is impossible, as he is still asking for information about the building in his letter of January 31. At its earliest it can have been in the first half of February. Nothing has survived of the correspondence Smetana-Queloz of February 1853. From the letters of March (see below), however, it is clear that the project of acquiring S. Maria in Trivio had been given up. So, we do not know how to explain the following sentence in Smetana's letter to Queloz written in Vienna on May 21, 1853: « Ci-joint l'autorisation pour S. Maria in Trivio. Mais je vous prie de n'en user qu'au cas de nécessité ». AGR XV C. 44.

¹⁷ On September 19, 1981, Fr. Andrew J. Pollack CPPS, general archivist of the Missionaries of the Precious Blood, was kind enough to send me photostats of several documents of his archives. There is a letter of Mgr. Andrea Bizzarri, pro-secretary of the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, dated February 5, 1853, to the superior general, Fr. Giovanni Merlini, in which he gives him an appointment for a conversation on the 7th. The ven. Merlini put the following note at the bottom of the letter: « Mi ha comunicato l'intenzione del Santo Padre Pio IX di darci la chiesa e convento di S. Maria del Trivio a Fontana di Trevi in Roma. Si è risoluto di accettare. Giov. Merlini, Miss. Ap. ». From this document it is clear that S. Maria in Trivio was secured for the Congregation of the Precious Blood in the first week of February 1853. There is also a copy of the official conveyance of the property, dated January 28, 1854. I wish to thank Fr. Pollack for his courtesy.

¹⁸ We do not have Queloz' letter. But from Smetana's letter to him of March 8, 1853, it is clear that he began writing on S. Maria dell'Umiltà on February 16 (« votre première lettre du 16 Février relative à cette affaire »). Smetana's letter is kept in AGR XV C 16.

¹⁹ SMETANA, *Expositio* 55: « Acquisitione conventus ad S. Mariam in Trivio ad irritum redacta, paulo post, eodem mense Februario 1853, certior factus sum, alium conventum Romae venditari, videlicet conventum S. Mariae de Humilitate ».

²⁰ Fr. Smetana seems to have felt somewhat reluctant about the purchase, also

A serious difficulty was, no doubt, the purchase price, much higher than the one asked for S. Maria in Trivio: 48,000 Roman scudi, i.e., about 260,000 French francs, to which were to be added around 20,000 scudi for repairs mostly due to the fact that a French garrison had been quartered in the convent since 1848. Furthermore there was the drawback that there was no secure prospect of when the garrison was going to leave the building²¹.

Fr. Dechamps, who at first was against acquiring this convent, changed his mind as soon as Fr. Edward Douglas²², a member of the English Redemptorist mission, declared himself willing to put 200,000 francs at the disposal of the superiors for the purchase²³. Fr. Dechamps began then pressing Frs. Smetana and Queloz to buy the convent at once, as he feared the unpleasant experience met with S. Maria in Trivio could be repeated²⁴.

As Fr. Smetana remained averse to the purchase²⁵, Fr. Dechamps decided to go and see him, hoping that it would be easier to convince him by word of mouth than by correspondence. Frs. Dechamps and von Held left Brussels for Koblenz in the evening of March 15²⁶ and discussed the question on the 17th²⁷. They scored a partial success, in as much as the vicar general withdrew his prior decision to refrain altogether from buying S. Maria dell'Umiltà. But he could not be induced to give at once his approval for the purchase as Fr. Dechamps had hoped to obtain. He told his visitors that,

because this would entail the transfer of the seat of the Transalpine vicar general from Koblenz to Rome. Though not against this move in principle, he had his doubts about its opportuneness at that precise moment. Several of his Fathers were definitely opposed to it. See Smetana's letter to Queloz of March 12, 1853; AGR XV C 18.

²¹ SMETANA, *Expositio* 55.

²² About Fr. Douglas and his great wealth see S. Boland's article in this issue. A short biographical notice can be found in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 248, No. 51.

²³ SMETANA, *Expositio* 56.

²⁴ See Dechamps' letters to Queloz of March 7, 10, 11 and 15, 1853. AGR XV C 15, 17 and 19.

²⁵ Queloz had informed Dechamps of Smetana's attitude much to the latter's discontent. See Smetana's letter to Queloz of March 12, 1853, in which he reproaches him that he is trying to extort his superior's consent « par une violence morale ». AGR XV C 18.

²⁶ From Dechamps' letter to Queloz of March 15: « Nous partons ce soir avec le R.P. Held pour Coblenz afin d'obtenir le *fiat* du Vicaire Général et de sa consulte, malgré la première décision contraire ». AGR XV C 19.

²⁷ SMETANA, *Expositio* 56-57 says that the Fathers arrived on March 18 and that the discussion was held that same day. From the letters quoted in footnotes 28 and 29 below it is clear that the question was discussed on the 17th.

though not absolutely opposed to acquiring the convent, he felt it necessary to think it over maturely on the basis of more detailed information to be procured by Fr. Queloz. Moreover, he thought it proper to consult the other provincial superiors about the matter, because also their regions had to contribute to the expenses for purchase, repairs and maintenance. Also they had to send Fathers and Brothers to staff the new — and large — house, something not so easy because there was lack of personnel everywhere. Fr. Smetana was also very definite as to when the discussion with the provincial superiors was to be held: he did not intend to treat the matter by correspondence, but was going to put it on the agenda of the triennial consultation of the higher superiors to be held in about six months.

From two letters written from Koblenz to Fr. Queloz — one by Fr. Dechamps, immediately after the discussion²⁸, the other by Fr. Smetana the next day²⁹ — it emerges quite clearly that the latter was not seriously interested in the purchase of S. Maria dell'Umiltà and that he was rather inclined to put it off by delaying the decision. This was certainly the impression of Frs. Dechamps and von Held when they returned crestfallen to Brussels on March 18.

But Fr. Dechamps did not desist from his purpose, as he had the fixed idea that on the acquisition of a house in Rome as residence of the vicar general depended the salvation of the Transalpine branch of the Congregation and even the Institute's complete unification³⁰. He kept in touch with Fr. Queloz assuring him repeatedly that the money could easily be procured and that he relied on his vigilance

²⁸ The letter, written in pencil, gives the impression of having been jotted down in a disturbed state of mind. AGR XV C 19.

²⁹ Smetana's letter to Queloz of March 18 is written in his usual quiet and resolute style. AGR XV C 20.

³⁰ [V. DESCHAMPS], *De la nécessité de fixer à Rome le gouvernement de la Congrégation du T.S. Rédempteur* [...]. Exposé sommaire adressé au Vicaire Général, à ses consultants et aux autorités provinciales [...], Bruxelles 1853. AGR XV C 23 and 52. In AGR XV C 21 there is a Memorandum of von Held about the matter, dated March 27, 1853. Under the same archive number also a copy of von Held's letter to Card. Fornari of March 28 and of Dechamps' letter to the same of March 30.

On Dechamps' attitude in the matter and his opposition to Smetana's almost over-cautious way of proceeding, see M. BECQUE, *Le Cardinal Dechamps*, Louvain 1956, I 190 ff. The deplorable alienation between the two men, who had been close friends and who had acted for a long time along the same line, was never bridged completely; the mutual confidence had definitively been lost. At the bottom there was an incompatibility of temper: Smetana, meticulous and prudent, pondering all pros and cons, therefore somewhat slow in acting; Dechamps, easily impressed by what he saw as good and quick to act accordingly without further delay.

and good offices³¹. But reprimanded by Fr. Smetana for having given confidential information to Fr. Dechamps, Fr. Queloz withdrew from the latter's influence³².

As he became aware of Fr. Queloz' changing attitude, Fr. Dechamps sent Fr. von Held to Rome first of all to get several important questions settled with the ecclesiastical authorities, but also to have a close look at the pending affair of the purchase of S. Maria dell'Umiltà³³. After having informed the vicar general about his going to Rome on April 23, 1853³⁴, Fr. von Held left Brussels on the 26th and arrived in Rome in the beginning of May³⁵. In his audience with Pius IX he told the Pope that the money to buy a house in Rome had been found³⁶, but this was about all he could do in the matter, as he had no authority whatsoever to take decisive steps and Fr. Smetana constantly ignored his presence in Rome, not answering his letters³⁷ nor those of Fr. Dechamps explaining why he had sent Fr. von Held³⁸.

³¹ Dechamps' letter to Queloz of March 25 ends by saying: « L'Angleterre donnera — quand on voudra — autant qu'on voudra. Les 200.000 [francs] sont prêts. Rome consent à nous voir à Rome. Le Cardinal Préfet della Genga l'a dit. Il faut donc y arriver. Tous les enfants de St. Alphonse le désirent. Salve spes mea! » AGR XV C 19. — See also Dechamps' letter to Queloz of April 7-8; AGR XV C 22.

³² [B. QUELOZ], *Contre-exposé et Contre-mémoire pour servir de réfutation au premier, au second Exposé et à leurs suppléments sur le gouvernement et l'observance dans la Congrégation du T.S. Rédempteur par le P. D[echamps]*, Rome 1853.

³³ From Dechamps' letter to Smetana of April 22, 1853: « Le retard de l'acceptation de la fondation de Rome est devenu pour moi un poids pesant et pesant même sur la conscience. [...] Nous devons donc présumer que le Révérendissime Père Vicair Général approuvera une dernière mesure de prudence [...] c'est que le R. P. Held, visiteur en Angleterre, voie de ses yeux ce que les maisons anglaises vont acheter et parte pour Rome de suite, afin que toutes les précautions préalables soient déjà prises, quand l'acte que le Cardinal Préfet [de la Congrégation des Evêques et Réguliers] attend de V. P., y arrivera ». AGR XV C 24.

³⁴ Held's letter is kept in AGR XV C 25. On p. 3 Smetana noted as follows: « Mit diesem Briefe kündigte mir P. Held seine Abreise nach Rom an, nachdem er bereits am 27. März im Verein mit P. Dechamps an Cardinal Fornari geschrieben hatte, um meine Absetzung zu erwirken ».

³⁵ The date of Held's departure from Brussels is given in the *Chronica Provinciae [Belgicae] et Collegiorum* (ms. in AGR) IV 90.

³⁶ Held gives several details about the audience in a paper entitled *Ma Justification*, dated Aachen 1872. Written twenty years *post facta*, there are several inaccuracies in this apologetically coloured narrative in which Held tries to justify his journey to Rome made in 1853 against Smetana's will. The original of this document is kept in the archives of the Cologne Province CSSR, Geistingen (Nordrhein-Westfalen). There is a typewritten copy in the AGR that has some misspellings.

³⁷ Held complained repeatedly about this fact in his letters and in his *Justification*.

³⁸ In AGR XV C 24 there is the following note of Fr. Smetana: « Briefe des

On May 14, 1853, Fr. Smetana himself was called to Rome by Cardinal della Genga³⁹, who informed him that it was His Holiness' will that he should come as soon as possible (*quamprimum*). In the meantime Fr. von Held was to remain in Rome.

Fr. Smetana had first to settle several questions concerning the reestablishment of the Congregation in Austria⁴⁰. But evidently he was by no means in a hurry to undertake the Roman journey. The main reason for his dawdling seems to have been that he wanted to avoid meeting Fr. von Held, who in fact — tired of waiting and achieving nothing — left Rome not long before Fr. Smetana's arrival⁴¹. Meanwhile he prepared himself thoroughly for the questions to be settled with the Roman authorities. These were certainly of far greater importance than the acquisition of a house there for the Transalpine Redemptorists. But also this question had to be faced. Therefore he wrote on May 26 from Vienna to Fr. Douglas, about whose generous donation he was so far only informed by Frs. Dechamps and von Held, asking him for a distinct statement on his intention in making the gift: to whom he intended to give it, for what purpose, at whose disposal it was to be put⁴².

Fr. Douglas answered from Gorey (Ireland) on June 1 adding the required declaration: the donation is not in favour of the Belgian province, nor of the English mission but simply and solely to the Transalpine branch of the Redemptorists in order to establish a

P. Dechamps an mich vom April bis Juli 1853. Bloss auf den ersten vom 15. April antwortete ich von Modena aus, wo ich mich eben befand, mit einigen Zeilen, er wisse ja ohnehin, dass ich bis Ende Sommer eine Triennial-Consulta berufen wolle, wo wir alles gemeinschaftlich berathen wollten. Die übrigen Briefe liess ich unbeantwortet ».

³⁹ Della Genga's letter, also signed by the pro-secretary of the Congregation, Mgr. Andrea Bizzarri, is kept in AGR XV C 35. In AGR XV C 36 there is a letter of the same date, signed by della Genga and Bizzarri, to the superior general of the Redemptorists notifying him that Smetana is being called to Rome and that Held has to remain there for the present.

⁴⁰ By imperial decree of May 7/8, 1848, the Jesuits and the Redemptorists had been suppressed in the Austrian states. By imperial decree of June 23, 1852, the Redemptorists had been readmitted. But much had to be settled before regular life and apostolic work could be resumed in proper form. *Spic. hist.* 7 (1959) 262 ff.; E. Hosp, *Erbe des hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, Wien 1953, 411-421.

⁴¹ Held says in his *Justification* that Smetana put forward several reasons for his delaying the Roman journey, which do not seem very convincing. « Quant à moi, j'étois tenté d'attribuer la cause à ma présence à Rome ». He asked the pope whether he could return to Belgium and this was granted. « Le R. P. Smetana n'avoit pas attendu mon retour pour se mettre en route vers Rome après avoir appris mon départ certain de cette ville ».

⁴² Smetana's letter is kept in AGR XV D 23.

house in Rome; therefore, only the vicar general of the said Congregation, in accord with his consultors, is entitled to dispose of it⁴³.

On June 19 Fr. Smetana left Koblenz for Rome⁴⁴, where he arrived around July 10 and put up at the house of the Lazarists near the Palazzo di Montecitorio⁴⁵. On July 28 he informed Fr. Douglas that he already had begun negotiating for the purchase of S. Maria dell'Umiltà⁴⁶. But the negotiations with Mgr. Domenico Fioramonti⁴⁷, Segretario delle Lettere Latine, who acted as agent of the Visitandine Sisters, dragged on as Fr. Smetana found his conditions unacceptable. On September 25 he wrote to Fr. Douglas that the negotiations — evidently not much to his regret — had been broken off and that he had already his eye on another building⁴⁸. — There

⁴³ Douglas' letter and declaration are kept in AGR XV D 23. In two letters of August 6, written from St. Mary's Clapham (London) — one to Fr. Smetana (in French), the other to Card. della Genga (in Italian) — Douglas enters into some more details about the motives that induced him to make the donation: « Le seul motif qui m'a fait désirer de voir une maison à Rome, longtemps avant qu'il ne fût question de cet achat, ayant été mon désir pour le bien général de la Congrégation. Et comme je croyais que toute Congrégation, dont le supérieur était allemand ou français, et qui en même temps habitait en Allemagne ou en France, serait toujours en danger de devenir allemande ou française, en prenant peu à peu cet esprit national, dont Rome seule est exempte, je désirais ardemment de voir le supérieur fixé à Rome ». In the letter to della Genga Douglas is even more specific as to his fear that a nationalistic spirit could pervade the Transalpine Congregation, « che stava sempre nel pericolo di farsi tutta tedesca, mentre che il vicario generale stava in Germania con quattro consultori, tutti e quattro tedeschi » [Frs. F. Kosmaček, J. Fey, J. Kaltenbach, M. Heilig]. Both letters are kept in AGR XV D 23.

⁴⁴ In a letter of June 20 Fr. Michael Heilig informed Fr. Nicolas Mauron that Fr. Smetana after his return from Austria stayed four days in Koblenz from where he left for Rome on June 19. AGR XV C 56. Heilig passed the same notice to Douglas on June 23; AGR XV D 23.

⁴⁵ The Lazarist house of Montecitorio, founded in 1642, partly suppressed in 1876 (after Rome had become capital of the kingdom of Italy), was definitively closed in 1913. [P. SILVA], *Cenni storici su la Congregazione della Missione in Italia, 1642-1925*, Piacenza 1925, 3-38.

⁴⁶ Smetana's letter to Douglas is kept in AGR XV D 23. There is also Douglas' answer of August 6. Smetana repeated a request made in his letter on August 1, to which Douglas answered on August 9.

⁴⁷ When negotiating in 1854 through an intermediary about the purchase of the Villa Caserta, property of the duke of Sermoneta, Michelangelo Caietani, the Redemptorists met again with Mgr. Fioramonti, who intended to buy the villa for the Visitandine Sisters. They got the better of him by offering a higher purchase price (45,000 Roman scudi, passed on January 31, 1855). *Cronica della casa generalizia del Santissimo Redentore* (ms. in AGR) I 5-6. [A. WALTER], *Villa Caserta, 1855-1905*, Romae 1905, 23-25. — A short note on Mgr. Fioramonti is found in *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome* 50 (1980) 224, n. 26.

⁴⁸ Smetana's letter of September 25, 1853, and Douglas' answer from Strabane (Ireland) of October 19 are kept in AGR XV D 23. Douglas declares himself quite pleased with Sant'Ildefonso, situated as it is in the city quarter where most foreigners live, « where dogs are kept out and where the pavement is a little less dirty than elsewhere ».

follows now an extract from Fr. Smetana's letter, in which he gives the reasons that induced him to give up the purchase of the convent of S. Maria dell'Umiltà.

J.M.J.A.

Mon révérend & très cher Père!

[...]

Quant à S. Maria dell'Umiltà les négociations sont rompues. Mgr Fioramonti, le procureur des Salésiennes, avait fait faire l'estime du couvent par un architecte de son choix, qui l'a évalué à 42000 écus romains. Pour l'église il a demandé une aumône de 3000, par conséquent en tout 45000 écus. Outre cela la maison se trouve dans un fort mauvais état. La dégradation causée par les 400 soldats français qui y logent est énorme. Il nous faudrait, comme Mgr Fioramonti a avoué lui-même, une somme de 18-20000 écus pour les réparations nécessaires, donc en tout une somme de 63000 écus environ, c.-à-d. de 340000 francs.

J'ai fait estimer le couvent de ma part par un architecte de la municipalité, et il l'a évalué au plus à 28000 écus, en ajoutant que ce n'était le prix réel, mais seulement pour une communauté religieuse. J'ai donc offert à Mgr Fioramonti 30000 écus et une récompense pour l'église, mais celui-ci ne voulait pas rabattre un seul bajocco, parce qu'il s'était mis en tête que nous soyons nécessités [= obligés] à acheter ce couvent à tout prix. Cependant ce n'est pas encore la fin. Il demanda de plus que nous payions le prix tout de suite et au moins 35000 écus immédiatement après l'arrêté du contrat, sans nous donner la moindre garantie, *si* ou *quand* le couvent sera évacué des soldats français. Je lui ai offert de payer le prix *pro rata* de l'évacuation, mais il ne voulait s'obliger à rien, ni céder la moindre chose de ses prétentions.

Il était donc évident que je ne saurais accepter telles conditions injustes et irraisonnables à la fois. J'ai communiqué à Sa Sainteté l'état des choses, et le Saint-Père a trouvé lui-même ces conditions inacceptables, mais il a eu au [= en] même temps la grâce de me rendre attentif à un autre établissement, c.-à-d. à S. Ildefonso (Alfonso) dans la Via Felice⁴⁹, la rue par laquelle on passe de la Piazza del Tritone⁵⁰ à la Trinità dei Monti. Vous vous en souviendrez sans doute.

L'église et la maison appartiennent aux Augustins espagnols, qui depuis longtemps n'y ont qu'un seul frère laïque, c'est pourquoi le Saint-Père les a engagés de vendre leur propriété à une autre communauté religieuse, qui pourrait administrer l'église. Ils y sont très disposés, et j'ai

⁴⁹ Nowadays: Via Sistina.

⁵⁰ Piazza Barberini.

déjà parlé à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne qui m'a promis d'écrire tout de suite à Madrid pour obtenir le consentement du gouvernement espagnol et pour engager à la fois les Augustins à nommer un procureur qui entre avec nous en négociation.

Je suis enchanté de ce projet et j'espère que nous y réussirons sous peu. La situation est excellente. Non seulement qu'il y a là l'air le plus salubre de Rome, mais c'est aussi le quartier le plus habité par les étrangers, et excepté les Capucins⁵¹ et quelques églises de religieuses presque toujours fermées il n'y a d'autres églises dans le voisinage. L'église est petite, mais beaucoup plus grande que celle de l'Umiltà et très jolie et dans un très bon état. La maison est également petite, mais on pourra l'agrandir aisément de trois côtés et sans trop grands frais, surtout parce qu'il y a aussi un petit jardin⁵².

Vous comprendrez maintenant, pourquoi je n'ai pas pu consentir, et mes consultants non plus, à acheter rapidement et à tout prix l'Umiltà sans commettre la plus grande étourderie. Abstraction faite du prix exorbitant, il faudrait être fou pour acheter une propriété sans la moindre assurance d'en pouvoir prendre possession en dix ans. Je viens d'apprendre que les Salésiennes, qui s'étaient adressées au ministère de [la] guerre à Paris pour obtenir l'évacuation du [corps] militaire français, ont reçu le refus, parce que la position stratégique était trop importante pour pouvoir la quitter.

Je remercie le bon Dieu et St Alphonse de nous avoir débarrassés de cet établissement dont je me suis hautement déplu aussi sous d'autres rapports. La maison étant entourée de rues étroites et sales, l'air y est très pesant et la chaleur excessive. De plus on n'y trouve que des cellules petites et basses (la maison était primitivement un couvent de Dominicaines) et des grandes salles avec 4 ou 5 fenêtres qui nous auraient été tout à fait inutiles.

Vous n'avez pas besoin de faire tout de suite des arrangements auprès de votre banquier, car les négociations dureront encore quelque temps. En tout cas je vous informerai préalablement, si le temps sera arrivé de faire les préparatifs.

[...] En me recommandant à vos prières je suis dans les SS. Coeurs de Jésus et de Marie

Votre très affectionné confrère
R. Smetana CSSR

Rome, le 25 Sept. 1853

⁵¹ The church of S. Maria della Concezione, situated in what is now called the Via Vittorio Veneto.

⁵² The plan to acquire S. Ildefonso had to be abandoned in 1854, when it became evident that it was impossible to buy at a reasonable price the adjacent house and garden. *Cronica della casa generalizia* I 4-5. WALTER, *Villa Caserta* 19.



IGNACE DEKKERS

ESQUISSE DE LA SPIRITUALITE DU BIENHEUREUX PETER DONDERS

Il n'est pas très facile de décrire la spiritualité du Père Donders, et cela pour plusieurs motifs. D'abord, le mot même de spiritualité n'est pas tellement clair. Il vient de spiritus = esprit. On parle de l'esprit de quelqu'un, de son visage intérieur, de sa physionomie spirituelle avec ses caractéristiques propres. Dans la littérature religieuse, il signifie la manière personnelle dont quelqu'un vit l'Évangile. Dans ce sens on distingue la spiritualité franciscaine. Comme tout chrétien sérieux, François d'Assise a voulu vivre l'Évangile mais il l'a fait dans un style bien à lui. Ce qui l'avait avant tout séduit et fasciné, c'est un aspect précis de l'Évangile: le Christ pauvre, « le pauvre de Dieu ». Du coup, toute la vie de François sera marquée, imprégnée, colorée par cette idée fondamentale. François a vraiment eu une spiritualité propre, une façon à lui de vivre l'Évangile et de mettre ses pas dans les pas du Christ pauvre. Nous avons à nous poser une question semblable à propos du Père Donders: Quelle est sa spiritualité? Question qui en suppose une autre: Le P. Donders a-t-il eu une façon particulière de vivre l'Évangile, de suivre le Christ et d'aimer le Seigneur?

Cette étude comprendra deux parties:

- 1) Nous parlerons d'abord de la spiritualité du P. Donders, en général.
- 2) Nous approfondirons ensuite certains points¹.

¹ Nous avons surtout utilisé J. KRONENBURG, *De Eerbiedwaardige Dienaar Gods Petrus Donders C.S.S.R.*, Tilburg 1925, que nous citerons = K. Nous avons aussi consulté M. VAN GRINSVEN, *Overige geschriften van de Eerbiedwaardige Petrus Donders*, in *Peerke Dondersreeks*, n. 12, Tilburg 1947, 90-101. On y trouve la première (1874) et la deuxième autobiographie (1879), que nous citerons = A I et A II. Puis Luc. VERSCHUEREN, *Peerke Donders*, in *Ned. Kath. Stemmen* 41 (1941) 153-161. Il existe d'autres biographies du P. Donders, par exemple celle de N. Govers, Heerlen 1946. Mais, bien qu'elle donne un certain nombre de détails nouveaux, elle n'ajoute rien de substantiel sur la spiritualité du Père Donders.

Pour bien comprendre la personnalité du P. Donders, il faut évidemment le situer dans le cadre de son temps. Il a vécu au 19^{ème} siècle (1809-1887). Et nous retrouvons chez lui les traits caractéristiques de son époque. Ne nous étonnons pas, par exemple, que sa spiritualité ne soit pas typiquement biblique, liturgique, ecclésiale, oecuménique. Cette spiritualité-là est celle d'aujourd'hui. A dire vrai, la sienne était traditionnelle, dans le bon sens du terme, profondément et solidement chrétienne et apostolique.

Donders est sans nul doute un homme d'une foi profonde, très sincèrement religieux. De nombreux traits de sa vie nous le prouvent. On en est frappé, même à ne feuilleter que rapidement sa biographie. On a dit de Jean XXIII qu'il conversait avec les Saints de Dieu aussi familièrement qu'avec les petites gens de son village natal, Sotto il Monte. Donders n'avait pas le genre rond, jovial et expansif du bon Pape Jean, mais sa familiarité avec le monde de Dieu et de ses Saints était bien pareille à la sienne, aussi intime et habituelle.

Il n'est certes pas un grand théologien. Il a étudié la théologie comme on le faisait de son temps, dans les manuels d'alors. Il n'était pas un grand intellectuel et sa science avait certainement bien des limites. D'ailleurs, quand aurait-il trouvé le temps de se plonger dans des études théologiques spécialisées, alors que le travail missionnaire et le souci des âmes le dévoreraient chaque jour tout entier? Il n'a pas élaboré ni mis par écrit un système spirituel. Mais il a su de ce qu'il lisait extraire la moelle et le suc, sans doute beaucoup moins avec son intellect qu'avec son coeur et toute sa personnalité.

« Peerke » — ainsi l'appelait-on — a vécu en chrétien. La formule peut paraître simple et presque banale. Mais, à parcourir sa vie, on ne rencontre pas beaucoup d'événements marquants ou qui font choc. Nous sommes loin des aventures d'un François-Xavier. Peerke a mené une vie ordinaire. Mais que l'on ne se trompe pas sur le sens de ce mot! Ordinaire, oui, c'est-à-dire humble, modeste, discrète, effacée, mais de quelle densité! Plus on lit tout ce qu'il a fait et plus on en est convaincu. Il a vécu l'Evangile de Jésus-Christ d'une manière singulièrement cohérente et logique, jusqu'à l'héroïsme. Et chez lui ce n'était pas une fois de temps en temps, à l'occasion d'une situation particulièrement urgente, mais chaque jour, à chaque moment, durant toute une vie. Dès lors, rien d'étonnant que de son vivant déjà on l'ait appelé « saint ». Dès le séminaire, ses camarades lui donnaient déjà ce titre, sans voir, bien sûr, toute la portée du

mot. Mais, quand il fut plus tard dans le ministère, si on l'appelait « saint » c'est que l'on découvrait en lui une manière de vivre éminemment chrétienne, celle d'un vrai disciple du Christ.

Dieu sait s'il s'est dépensé pour les gens qui lui étaient confiés! Mais il ne suffit pas de dire qu'il fut un missionnaire extrêmement dévoué. Il faut indiquer la source de ce zèle missionnaire: tout son être était profondément uni à Dieu.

L'intérieur et l'extérieur ne sont chez lui qu'une seule et même chose. Qu'est-ce à dire? Saint Thomas parle de trois états de vie: vie contemplative, vie active, vie mixte ou apostolique. En cette dernière, contemplation et action forment un tout organique: la contemplation conduit à l'action, l'action ramène à la contemplation. C'est absolument le cas pour Pierre Donders. En affirmant que tout son être était profondément uni à Dieu, on ne veut pas parler d'une vie mystique qui l'aurait enfermé dans un monde intérieur. D'ailleurs une telle vie mystique est-elle pensable? Pour lui, être uni à Dieu et se consacrer totalement à la proclamation de la Bonne Nouvelle ne font qu'un. Peerke est cent pour cent missionnaire. Nous pouvons bien affirmer sans exagération que le « zèle de la maison de Dieu » le brûle et le consume (Ps. 68/10). Ce qu'il a fait pour les « âmes » comme il dit, pour ses frères et soeurs, est difficile à raconter. Nous qui vivons à la fin du 20^{ème} siècle, et qui n'avons pas idée du milieu primitif et éprouvant dans lequel il a vécu et travaillé, nous ne pouvons pas bien nous l'imaginer. S'il n'avait pas eu une santé robuste, on aurait bien vite trouvé sa tombe parmi celles des autres jeunes missionnaires enterrés autour de la cathédrale de Paramaribo.

Il arrive que le feu apostolique qui dévore un missionnaire amène celui-ci à s'isoler, à mener une vie à part et à devenir un « saint solitaire ». Or, pendant ses vingt dernières années, c'est dans une Congrégation religieuse que Peerke va vivre sa vie de chrétien, l'Évangile de Jésus-Christ, son engagement apostolique, tout ce qui fait son être missionnaire. C'est un fait digne d'être noté. Pendant de longues années, il a été prêtre séculier, il a travaillé en solitaire dans la léproserie de Batavia, et puis il est entré dans la Congrégation des Rédemptoristes. A partir de ce moment-là, il a mené la vie religieuse communautaire, dans un don total de lui-même, comme s'il l'avait toujours fait depuis sa jeunesse.

Nous avons essayé de tracer à grands traits le portrait de la spiritualité de Peerke. On y chercherait en vain beaucoup d'éléments extraordinaires. Pour ceux qui ne connaissent le Père Donders qu'à travers ce qu'ils en lisent, sa vie doit sembler bien monotone. On

est tenté de se demander: n'est-ce vraiment que cela? Mais, à mesure qu'on l'approche et que l'on essaie de vivre avec cet homme tel qu'il était, avec ses dons et ses limites, de se déplacer avec lui et de le suivre en ses activités, au fur et à mesure qu'on voit se dérouler le fil de son histoire, on est proprement fasciné. Fasciné par ce que je voudrais appeler la calme fermeté et tranquille opiniâtreté avec lesquelles ce pauvre et simple fils de tisserand s'est donné passionnément à son idéal. Peerke est quelqu'un qui va jusqu'au bout de lui-même, de son devoir et de l'amour qui brûle en son coeur. Ce n'est pas un fanatique car le Seigneur, pour qui il vit et s'engage, est Bonté et Paix. C'est cette Bonté et cette Paix qui le soutiennent, au point qu'il veut les communiquer à d'autres, spécialement à ceux que l'on oublie si facilement, les petits et les pauvres. Il y en avait par milliers au Surinam. Ne peut-on pas dire, dans ces conditions, qu'il était un vrai Rédemptoriste selon l'esprit, bien avant d'entrer officiellement dans la Congrégation de Saint Alphonse? Porter l'Evangile aux pauvres — l'idéal d'Alphonse — de quelle façon merveilleuse Peerke ne l'a-t-il pas réalisé! Par son travail missionnaire, bien sûr, mais plus profondément encore par la manière exemplaire dont il a essayé d'incarner en tout lui-même l'esprit de Jésus.

II - QUELQUES FACETTES DE LA SPIRITUALITE DU PERE DONDERS

Nous avons déjà souligné que Peerke ne se situe pas dans le domaine de l'extraordinaire, encore moins de l'original. Sa spiritualité est celle du juste milieu, de la vie chrétienne toute simple mais vécue en plénitude. Elle n'est ni plus ni moins que l'Evangile vécu. Nous allons en relever quelques aspects plus marquants, en notant bien toutefois qu'ils font partie de l'essence même de la vie chrétienne et évangélique. Au fond, être un saint comme l'a été Pierre Donders ne demande pas de dons particuliers, de faveurs spéciales ni de talents extraordinaires. Il y faut, par contre, une générosité sans mesure!

1. - *Peerke, disciple de Jésus*

Beaucoup ont connu Jésus. Beaucoup l'ont vu et ont de quelque manière partagé sa vie, mais il y en a eu relativement peu à devenir ses disciples. Pourquoi? parce que très peu ont découvert ce qu'il voulait être: présence de Dieu parmi les hommes. Ceux qui l'ont

découvert ont commencé alors à croire en lui. Ceci s'applique absolument à Peerke: c'est un croyant, un homme qui croit, un homme de foi. Notons bien qu'il ne s'agit pas là d'une facette parmi beaucoup d'autres, non, sa foi c'est le coeur qui bat en lui, c'est l'air qu'il respire, l'oxygène qui tonifie son organisme, la lumière de ses yeux, la force de ses mains et de tout son être, le sang qui circule et bouillonne en tout lui-même. Mais d'où vient sa foi? Que signifie-t-elle pour lui? Comment agit-elle en lui?

Sa foi s'enracine dans son passé. Il est né à Tilburg en 1809, dans un milieu profondément religieux où la déchristianisation n'avait pas encore pénétré. Il y respira, dès son enfance, un air catholique. Il a pour ainsi dire trouvé la foi dans son berceau. Chez un certain nombre de Saints il est parlé de soudaine conversion, de retournement intérieur, d'illumination spirituelle, d'invasion irrésistible de la grâce de Dieu. Saint Augustin en est l'exemple classique. Chez Peerke, rien de tel. On ne voit nulle part que sa foi soit passée par des crises, ait connu des éclipses ou des fléchissements. Pour lui il est évident — c'est l'évidence même — que cette vie a ses racines dans une autre vie vers laquelle elle est orientée, à l'origine et à l'achèvement de laquelle se trouve Dieu. Cette conviction le soutient à chaque instant de la journée. La Lettre aux Hébreux nous dit de Moïse (11/27) qu'il demeurerait inébranlable parce qu'il voyait en quelque sorte l'Invisible. Par bien des côtés, la vie de Peerke diffère, bien sûr, de celle de Moïse. Et pourtant, d'une manière tranquille et cachée au regard des autres, ne voyait-il pas lui aussi l'Invisible? Une force secrète et mystérieuse le poussait à se consacrer totalement à cet Invisible et à vouloir révéler à ses frères, les hommes, cet Invisible qui s'est manifesté en Jésus-Christ. Nous savons que dès l'âge de 5 ou 6 ans il voulait déjà devenir prêtre (A I, 90).

Celui qui a vraiment découvert le Dieu Vivant, et qui voit en lui son Père, voudra tout naturellement s'entretenir avec lui. Rien d'étonnant que Peerke soit un homme de prière et qu'il aime à prolonger celle-ci dans un profond coeur-à-coeur avec Dieu. On a dit de François d'Assise que non seulement il priait beaucoup mais qu'il était devenu prière. C'est évidemment moins spectaculaire chez Peerke, mais tous ceux qui l'ont connu ne pouvaient manquer d'être frappés par son attitude intérieure permanente de prière: revenir encore et toujours à la prière! Le Père Kronenburg écrit de lui, alors qu'il était encore tisserand: « Dieu attirait le garçon de manière irrésistible et remplissait son esprit et son coeur tout au long de la journée » (K. 18). Il en restera marqué pour toujours. Parlant de son temps

de séminaire, un étudiant a noté à son sujet: « Je crois qu'il vivait toujours dans la présence de Dieu » (K. 39). A l'époque où il travaillait à Batavia, à 6 heures du matin on le trouvait déjà en prière. Sa journée était faite de prières, de visites des malades, de travail dans le jardin (K. 121-123). « Après une journée aussi débordante d'activités, sa nuit n'était pas toujours consacrée au repos nécessaire. Souvent il prolongeait sa prière pendant de longues heures, tantôt dans l'église, tantôt dans sa chambre. On l'a même vu plusieurs fois en prière, en pleine nuit, à genoux devant la grande croix du cimetière » (K. 123-124). Le Père Startz témoigne: « La prière était sa nourriture, la respiration de son âme; il pria sans cesse » (K. 197). Il ne considérait pas la prière comme un devoir mais comme un besoin, comme un moment de respiration profonde. Il y retrouvait le meilleur de lui-même, et son esprit y puisait des forces neuves.

Le Saint Sacrement tient une place toute spéciale dans sa vie spirituelle. Il passe à l'église de nombreuses heures. Son cœur s'y élève plus facilement vers Dieu. Il y ressent plus intensément la présence du Seigneur qui ne le quitte jamais. Des contemporains disent de lui: « On peut difficilement avoir idée de sa dévotion au Saint Sacrement. Il nous a appris par son exemple à avoir nous aussi une grande vénération pour le Saint Sacrement; il passait presque tout son temps libre devant le tabernacle » (K. 90). Avec la permission de ses supérieurs, il se levait chaque nuit pour aller passer de longs moments devant le Saint Sacrement (K. 194). Il dit lui-même des visites au Saint Sacrement: « C'est une bonne chose que de rester devant le Saint Sacrement, de prier, de remercier, de supplier dans tous nos besoins spirituels et corporels » (K. 212).

Le cœur de sa dévotion au Saint Sacrement était le Sacrifice de la Messe, bien que ce fût d'une manière un peu différente de la nôtre. Son époque était moins liturgique. On vivait la messe davantage comme un acte de piété que comme une célébration communautaire, mais l'ardeur intérieure n'était pas inférieure à la nôtre. « Quand il s'approchait de l'autel pour dire la messe — ainsi parle Norbertus Donders, concitoyen de Peerke — j'étais profondément frappé par l'expression de son visage. Il rayonnait d'un mélange indicible de sérieux, de vénération, de désir et de joie. Remarquable était aussi son recueillement pendant la messe » (K. 57).

« Auprès de la croix de son Fils se trouvait sa Mère » (Jean 19/25). Qui pense au Fils ne peut oublier la Mère. Les chrétiens de tous les temps l'ont compris, et leur piété en a été marquée, tout comme celle de Peerke. « Dans ses sermons il n'omettait jamais de

dire quelque chose sur la Sainte Vierge » (K. 95). On signale qu'au temps de son séminaire déjà il avait une grande dévotion envers la Vierge (K. 48). C'est à elle qu'il attribue, après Dieu, sa vocation au sacerdoce et plus tard à la vie religieuse (K. 16).

Quand nous appelons Peerke un contemplatif — « *contemplativus in actione* » — ce n'est pas de l'exagération. Il n'est pas seulement quelqu'un qui prie beaucoup. La prière fait partie de lui-même, elle est soudée à lui au plus profond de son être. Comme Jésus lui-même, comme Marie qui « conservait toutes ces choses en son coeur » (Luc 2/19), Peerke vit en permanence « devant la face du Seigneur ».

Il ne se contente pas de croire que Dieu est son Père. Cette conviction influence sa vie quotidienne et donne une coloration particulière à sa manière de penser, de sentir, d'agir et d'être. Pour beaucoup de gens, ce qui compte surtout et d'abord c'est ce que l'on voit, ce que l'on peut voir et toucher; tout le reste, y compris la réalité de Dieu, est pâle en comparaison de la réalité que l'on voit et devient plus ou moins irréel. Il en va tout autrement chez Peerke. Les choses de ce monde visible sont pour lui une image, un reflet, de cette réalité plus profonde et supérieure à laquelle il a conscience d'appartenir. On en trouve d'innombrables exemples dans sa vie. Citons-en l'un ou l'autre. Il veut devenir prêtre, il se rend chez les franciscains et y est refusé. « Je retourne à pied chez moi, écrit-il, je me recommande à la Providence divine: Seigneur, que voulez-vous que je fasse? Ensuite, je me sens parfaitement consolé par le Bon Dieu, comme si tout s'était très bien passé » (A I, 92). En tout ce qui lui arrive, il reconnaît et voit la main de Dieu. Il raconte que lors de son voyage au Surinam il a pu « sentir combien Dieu est bon et comme il prend soin de ceux qui ont confiance en lui et qui quittent tout pour lui. Oui, Dieu sait rendre cent fois ce tout que l'on a quitté pour lui, parce que même sur le bateau et au Surinam j'ai été soigné par tant de pères et de mères » (A I, 94).

Sa confiance en Dieu ne fait qu'un avec sa foi. Parlant des difficultés qu'il rencontre dans sa mission parmi les Indiens, il dit: « L'ivrognerie et l'immoralité sont des obstacles à leur conversion, mais Dieu est tout puissant... Prier et faire confiance à Dieu! » (A II, 101). Il a pleine confiance en Dieu qui a ses plans sur lui. Il s'abandonne complètement à lui, même s'il ne sait pas où ça va le porter: « La Sainte Volonté de Dieu soit faite en tout! La Sainte Volonté de Dieu et l'obéissance totale m'ont consolé toujours et en tout » (*ibidem*). Quoi qu'il arrivât, sa réaction était: « Il a plu ainsi à la divine Bonté! » (K. 308). Cette attitude l'a accompagné jusqu'à la fin

de sa vie. En 1885, il revient à la léproserie de Batavia. Et c'est encore et toujours « la même foi vitale et fervente en la Providence divine qui l'anime en tout, cette foi qui l'a illuminé depuis sa jeunesse ». Il écrit à son Provincial: « Votre Révérence aura appris depuis longtemps que je suis retourné à mon ancien poste de Batavia. Le Bon Dieu le veut ainsi. Que sa Sainte Volonté soit faite! » (K. 319).

Jusqu'ici nous avons montré où la spiritualité de Peerke prend sa source: sa vie de prière et de contemplation, tout son être enraciné en Dieu, sa profonde union à Dieu. C'est là qu'il puise comme à une source invisible de lumière et de force. Mais être proche de Dieu ne signifie nullement pour lui se replier sur soi-même dans un monde clos. Au contraire, il veut communiquer, partager, proclamer la bonté de Dieu. La bouche ne parle-t-elle pas de l'abondance du coeur? C'est pour cela qu'il veut devenir prêtre et qu'il part pour le Surinam. Oh! ce ne fut pas sans de grosses difficultés mais il ne recule pas devant les problèmes. Au-delà de son calme tranquille et de sa douceur, c'est un fort au sens plénier du mot, pas d'abord au sens de la force physique mais de la force morale. Il ne se dérobe jamais devant les sacrifices de la vie missionnaire mais il poursuit sa route avec ténacité, opiniâtreté, persévérance. Le 18 juillet 1880, Monseigneur Schaap écrivait: « Dès l'année 1856, Peerke a servi les pauvres lépreux à Batavia, se faisant vraiment tout à tous. A partir de ce poste, il entreprend de véritables expéditions pour rencontrer les habitants de toutes les plantations des environs, et il pénètre jusque dans les forêts les plus inaccessibles. Même les refus obstinés des Indiens n'ont pu décourager cet homme vraiment fort » (K. 167).

2. - *Peerke missionnaire au Surinam*

Bien peu se sont engagés autant que lui pour le Seigneur et son Royaume. Le Père Romme, son compagnon, écrit le 30 octobre 1884: « Lundi dernier, nous avons célébré tout tranquillement les 75 ans de notre saint Père Donders. Sa Révérence reste toujours le même homme de Dieu, débordant de zèle. Aucune fatigue n'est trop grande, aucune privation trop pénible, quand il voit la possibilité de faire quelque chose pour la gloire de Dieu ou le salut des âmes... Aussi aucun jour ne se passe sans qu'il aille visiter dans les environs les malades et les handicapés » (K. 315). Ce zèle pour le Seigneur et pour les âmes remontait très loin: jeune garçon, il enseignait le catéchisme aux enfants de son quartier (K. 21).

Monseigneur Schepers disait, à propos de son zèle apostolique: « Si j'avais ici deux prêtres comme le Père Donders, je pourrais me passer des autres » (K. 99). A une époque où le Père Donders était en ville, le Père van Coll disait à son sujet: « Notre maison a été assiégée toute la journée par des pauvres et des malades. A d'autres moments, même aux heures les plus chaudes, il allait jusque dans les quartiers les plus éloignés porter aide et consolation » (K. 303). On pourrait ajouter ici beaucoup d'autres témoignages. Nous n'en donnons qu'un, extrait du journal *De Tijd*: « De manière infatigable il peinait et trimait avec les malades, à l'hôpital et partout où il pouvait rendre service. Son zèle ardent et charitable suscitait l'estime et l'admiration de toute la colonie, non seulement des catholiques mais aussi des adeptes des autres religions » (K. 101).

La Bonne Nouvelle doit sauver l'homme tout entier, corps et âme. C'est à cet homme tout entier que Peerke va consacrer ses soins et donner son amour. Les longues années qu'il a passées parmi les lépreux en sont le témoignage silencieux mais combien éloquent. Ce qu'il a vécu avec eux, Dieu seul le sait. Kronenburg raconte: « Le Père Donders a donc vécu et travaillé parmi les lépreux pendant 26 ans: dix ans d'abord comme prêtre séculier, puis seize ans comme Rédemptoriste. 26 ans: c'est vite dit et rapidement lu! ... Et de toute cette période il devait passer seul, sans aucun compagnon, les dix premières années » (K. 131-132). Il s'y est fait vraiment tout à tous. Un ancien militaire, qui fut au Surinam jusqu'en 1870 environ, dit ceci: « Quelqu'un qui ait fait pour les lépreux ce qu'a fait le Père Donders, on n'en trouverait pas deux dans le monde! » (K. 137).

Il a connu de très près une autre misère, l'esclavage. A une époque où ces paroles n'étaient pas du tout bien accueillies, il n'a pas hésité à protester: « Oh! si l'on s'occupait ici de la santé et du bien-être des esclaves autant que des bêtes de somme en Europe, ça irait déjà mieux... Malheur à toi, Surinam, au jour du grand jugement! Mille fois malheur aux Européens, propriétaires des esclaves des plantations, aux administrateurs, aux directeurs, aux officiers blancs, qui tous écrasent les esclaves! Malheur à ceux qui s'enrichissent avec la sueur et le sang de ces malheureux qui n'ont pas d'autres défenseurs que Dieu! » (K. 163).

Son style de vie apostolique. Un trait qui, dans ce contexte, caractérise Peerke très particulièrement, c'est sa simplicité, son humilité, sans aucune affectation car toute ostentation lui est bien étrangère. Il suit son chemin avec calme et conviction, très conscient de son devoir et de ses responsabilités. Il fait ce qu'il a à faire avec

courage et dévouement, comme si c'était la chose la plus normale du monde. C'était déjà comme cela durant son séminaire à St Michielsgestel (K. 41). Un compagnon de chambre témoigne: « Il était extrêmement humble et toujours prêt à m'aider. De plus, il avait une âme reconnaissante » (K. 49). « Sa piété n'avait rien d'extravagant ou de singulier; il ne se montrait nullement étrange ou bizarre » (*ibidem*). Pendant quelque temps, il fut vicaire à Warmond. Voici ce que l'on dit de lui: « Il était un pasteur sans prétention et il ne faisait pas de bruit » (K. 62).

Cette humilité et simplicité vont de pair chez lui avec la joie et la gaieté. Il était gai, riait de bon coeur avec les autres. Ses paroles étaient pleines de gentillesse et de bienveillance. Tout son extérieur respirait la tranquillité d'âme et la joie. Tel est le jugement de ses compagnons d'études. Un autre déclare: « Je peux témoigner que je n'ai jamais connu quelqu'un... qui fût plus aimable et exceptionnellement doux » (K. 49). Le Préfet Apostolique, Monseigneur Grooff, fait cette remarque: « Monsieur Donders est toujours content et enjoué » (K. 81). Lorsqu'il fut devenu Rédemptoriste, ses confrères furent frappés par son commerce plein de charité. Il les aimait de coeur et d'âme. Modeste et gentil, gai et familier durant les récréations, riant franchement de leur humour et de leurs plaisanteries, sachant accepter les taquineries: voilà comment on le décrit. Le Père Startz de Maastricht a noté: « Le Père Donders était très dur pour lui-même, mais avec les autres il se montrait très sympathique et affable, plein de charité et de bonté, la charité même » (K. 184).

3. - *Peerke Rédemptoriste*

Peerke a passé les 20 dernières années de sa vie dans la Congrégation des Rédemptoristes. Beaucoup de ce qui précède vaut également pour cette période. Nous allons pourtant nous y arrêter un peu plus explicitement. Il a 57 ans quand il entre chez les Rédemptoristes. Et il est frappant de constater comme il se sent tout de suite chez lui, très à l'aise avec ses nouveaux confrères, comme s'il était fait pour ça depuis toujours. Saint Alphonse avait fondé sa Congrégation pour « porter la Bonne Nouvelle aux pauvres ». C'est précisément ce que Peerke a toujours voulu faire, tout au long des années qui ont précédé son entrée dans la Congrégation. Le feu apostolique qui brûlait dans le coeur d'Alphonse brûle aussi dans le coeur de Peerke. Alphonse est sans doute, sous certains aspects, une figure de plus

grande envergure que Peerke, mais leurs coeurs sont bien les mêmes. Tous les deux sont des hommes d'une foi très profonde et personnelle. Ils ont tous les deux été saisis et fascinés par le Christ. Alors ils sont entraînés, poussés vers un engagement total et absolu pour le Royaume de Dieu. Et ils sont allés jusqu'au bout. On peut vraiment dire d'eux, comme de Jésus, qu'ils ont donné leur vie pour ceux qu'ils aimaient (Jean 15/13).

Nous avons déjà parlé de la grande foi de Peerke, de sa vie de prière, de son style de vie évangélique, de son ardeur apostolique et de son dévouement concret et efficace. A partir de son entrée chez les Rédemptoristes, c'est de tout son coeur et de toute son âme qu'il a partagé la vie et le travail de sa nouvelle communauté missionnaire.

On parle souvent, dans sa vie, de l'obéissance religieuse. Ce mot veut dire pour lui: écouter les autres, écouter Dieu. Comme religieux, les appels de Dieu lui parviennent spécialement par sa communauté religieuse et par les supérieurs chargés de la guider. C'est bien ainsi que Peerke l'entend et le vit. Cette obéissance, cette disponibilité fondamentale à écouter, nous la trouvons chez lui à un très haut niveau. C'est devenu pour lui la manière concrète de chercher la Volonté de Dieu, de la trouver et de l'accomplir.

Depuis longtemps déjà, la Volonté de Dieu était le pôle magnétique de sa vie. Maintenant qu'il est religieux, c'est dans l'obéissance qu'il est sûr de la trouver. Il cherchait Dieu en tout. Aussi mettait-il son bonheur à obéir. Son Provincial, le Père Oomen, déclare: « C'est toujours là où l'obéissance l'envoyait qu'il était le plus heureux » (K. 178). Pour nous qui lisons de telles phrases à la fin du 20ème siècle, il nous faut dépasser les mots pour aller jusqu'au noyau. Peerke est un homme qui veut servir le Royaume de Dieu et y consacrer toutes ses forces. Pour le faire de façon sûre et le mieux possible, il ne veut pas se fier à ses seules impressions et points de vue, et il va se joindre à une communauté religieuse. Il remet ainsi entre les mains de celle-ci son destin, son avenir et sa façon concrète de travailler pour le Royaume de Dieu. Telle est l'obéissance de Peerke: « La Sainte Volonté de Dieu et l'obéissance parfaite m'ont consolé toujours et en tout, et j'espère que ce sera aussi ma consolation à l'heure de ma mort » (A II, 101).

Ces précisions sur son obéissance nous font toucher au point le plus fondamental de sa vie et de sa participation concrète à la vie de sa famille religieuse. C'est d'autant plus remarquable qu'il avait longtemps vécu de façon moins dépendante. Former ensemble une communauté religieuse c'est partager ce que l'on est et ce que l'on a.

Ce qu'il était, Peerke le partageait par son obéissance religieuse, en portant les charges et activités de la communauté, dans le couvent comme au dehors. Ce qu'il avait, il le partageait par la pauvreté et l'usage modéré des biens de la communauté. Il était en tout un homme parfaitement apostolique. Ce qui l'intéressait, c'était de se consacrer au service du Royaume de Dieu. Le reste était subordonné à cet objectif. Il utilisait les biens matériels « tantum quantum », selon l'expression ignatienne, c'est-à-dire « pour autant que » ils étaient nécessaires ou utiles au Royaume de Dieu.

Peerke se contente de peu pour lui-même et il sait porter très vaillamment les privations et sacrifices de la vie missionnaire. Peut-être serait-il plus exact de dire que le feu intérieur était en lui tellement vif et vivant que beaucoup, la plupart même de toutes ces difficultés perdaient de leur pesanteur et lui semblaient légères. « L'amour aide à tout porter » (1 Cor. 13/7). Cette parole de Paul semble bien lui convenir.

Peut-on dire qu'il se singularisait? Pas du tout. Sa vie est extraordinaire mais ne comporte rien d'extravagant ni de bizarre. Il sait que personne n'est seul au monde, que nul n'est une île, que nous avons besoin les uns des autres, que nous avons à nous offrir mutuellement et à nous partager quelque chose. Aussi n'est-il pas l'homme de l'aventure solitaire ni le grand pionnier qui fuit les sentiers battus. Là où il se trouve le mieux, c'est là où d'autres sont avec lui, bien qu'il ait passé de nombreuses années tout seul dans la léproserie de Batavia. Avec ses confrères, nous l'avons vu, il était sympathique et agréable à fréquenter. On disait de lui qu'il était un homme doux, mais il faut y voir beaucoup plus qu'un heureux caractère. Il était heureux quand il pouvait faire plaisir à quelqu'un. Il était capable de beaucoup « encaisser », bien que pour lui comme pour d'autres ça n'allât pas de soi (K. 186-187). Ses exercices personnels de piété n'étaient pas un fardeau qu'il imposait aux autres. Son recueillement ne créait nullement une atmosphère pesante; son exactitude n'était une gêne pour personne; sa mortification le rendait indulgent et accessible aux autres; il évitait absolument tout ce qui aurait pu étonner ou choquer (K. 187). On a donc raison d'affirmer: Nous ne trouvons rien d'extraordinaire en lui, à condition d'ajouter: il a fait le bien supérieurement bien. Son engagement missionnaire est plus que bon, il est supérieurement bon, il est même héroïque, quand on pense à la force d'âme et de caractère qu'il fallait pour supporter tout cela, sans oublier le climat tropical du pays.

Peerke sait qu'il n'y a pas de vie chrétienne sans échecs et

sans souffrances. Il y dit oui, non pas comme à une chose inévitable mais parce qu'il y découvre les signes et les appels de son Père du ciel. Il suit le Christ, même quand le chemin passe par Gethsémani et le Calvaire. Il a continuellement ces mots à la bouche: « Il a plu au Bon Dieu! » (K. 308). Même quand son travail parmi les Indiens persiste à ne pas réussir, que la Sainte Volonté de Dieu soit faite en tout!

Un dernier trait dont on peut dire qu'il est comme le fil majeur qui relie tout l'ensemble: sa fidélité. Il n'est pas l'homme du spectaculaire, du grandiose ou du merveilleux. On a vite fait de raconter sa vie et on risque très vite de se répéter. « Celui qui persévère jusqu'à la fin, dit Jésus, sera sauvé » (Matthieu 24/13). Tout comme la vie humaine, la vie chrétienne ne se réalise pas d'un coup. L'une comme l'autre sont un enchaînement de petites choses. La vie de Peerke nous en fournit une preuve éloquente: 77 longues années, dont 45 dans la mission du Surinam, 26 chez les lépreux. Années de dévouement total, de patience, de disponibilité, de prière. Une telle fidélité dans la simplicité et l'amour des pauvres est bien celle d'un saint!

CONCLUSION

Nous avons essayé de donner un aperçu de la spiritualité de Peerke. Oh! c'est sans doute un bien grand mot pour un homme simple qui a mené, dans un certain sens, une vie toute simple. Nous ne pouvons pas dire qu'il ait eu un système spirituel particulier et original, bien qu'il ait eu sa physionomie spirituelle personnelle. Et pour arriver à dégager cette physionomie, ce visage du Père Donders, d'une façon qui soit parlante et interpellante pour l'homme d'aujourd'hui, il faut dépasser le genre littéraire et le langage du 19ème siècle. Ce langage tout simple, manié par Peerke lui-même et ses contemporains, qui étaient des apôtres plus que de grands littéraires, ce langage nous paraît souvent un peu pauvre, presque banal, comme préfabriqué et sans nerf, mal maîtrisé au point de tomber parfois dans l'exagération. Mais c'est pourtant derrière cette écorce, derrière ces apparences un peu pâles, que se dessine le visage de l'homme, du chrétien, du prêtre, du religieux, que fut le Père Donders. Au lecteur de juger si nous avons réussi à éclairer un peu ce visage.

Après tout ce que nous venons d'écrire, comment résumer cette vie dans une formule? Je n'en vois pas de meilleure que la « *vita apostolica* », la vie apostolique au sens plénier du mot: pas seulement une vie où abondent les activités apostoliques mais une vie dans

laquelle se déroule tout le processus qui fait les apôtres: être fasciné par le Christ au point de se donner totalement à lui et d'en témoigner jusqu'à la mort. Un feu qui brûle et qui rayonne et qui trouve sans cesse une nouvelle chaleur dans un contact profond et personnel avec Dieu, foyer d'amour.

La spiritualité de Peerke n'est rien d'autre qu'une vie dans le Christ à partir de l'Évangile pleinement vécu. On trouve chez lui tous les éléments de la vie évangélique: appel de Dieu notre Père en Jésus-Christ, réponse à cet appel dans la foi, vie spirituelle centrée sur l'Eucharistie et alimentée par la prière, disponibilité et fidélité à la Sainte Volonté de Dieu et à son plan d'amour.

Dans ce portrait, quelques traits se dégagent plus nettement:

- a) sa confiance illimitée en Dieu. Il peut se passer beaucoup de choses dans sa vie. Le chemin vers le sacerdoce peut sembler un moment complètement bouché. Peerke sait que Dieu va quand même le mener où il veut.
- b) cette confiance concerne sa vie personnelle et ses entreprises apostoliques.
- c) elle a sa source dans une foi inébranlable et ne fait qu'un avec elle. Dieu est son Père et il ne saurait se dédire.
- d) Dieu a des plans sur lui, plans de bonté et de sagesse. Il lui faut entrer dans ces plans, être à l'écoute de la « Sainte Volonté de Dieu ».
- e) il en fera le thème de sa prière, de son dialogue ininterrompu avec le Seigneur. Et voilà que s'éclaire son chemin: il voit mieux ce que Dieu attend de lui, en même temps qu'il perçoit mieux tout ce que ça va lui demander d'abnégation, de générosité, de peines et de souffrances, et surtout d'amour.

Un schéma rapide pour finir. La spiritualité de Peerke est celle d'un homme d'une foi profonde et d'une grande simplicité, que le Seigneur a appelé à l'apostolat. La phrase de Saint Paul: « Je vis, en fait ce n'est plus moi qui vis, c'est le Christ qui vit en moi! » (Gal. 2/20) résume bien tout ce qu'a fait le Père Donders du point de départ à l'arrivée, tout au long d'un apostolat missionnaire modeste et quasiment inaperçu, mais qui peut sans doute, par sa simplicité même, interpeller, attirer et inspirer des hommes d'aujourd'hui.

COMMUNICATIONES

ANDRÉ SAMPERS

ALCUNI 'HOFBAUERIANA' INEDITI

INTRODUZIONE

Quando alcuni anni fa feci una ricerca circa una lettera inedita di san Clemente M. Hofbauer del 1802¹, dovetti scorrere diversi volumi dell'Archivio della Nunziatura di Vienna (d'ora in poi abbrev.: ANV), incorporati dal 1921 nell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano (d'ora in poi abbrev.: ASV). Nel vol. 211 di questo fondo sono riuniti molti documenti ricevuti dal nunzio Antonio Severoli², tra i quali una trentina concernenti i Redentoristi³. Questi ultimi riguardano una decina di anni, cioè 1801-1810⁴.

Per lo studio su s. Clemente e sulle vicende dei Redentoristi in Polonia-Austria-Svizzera nei primi decenni dell'Ottocento lo storico dispone della pregevolissima opera intitolata *Monumenta Hofbaueriana* (d'ora in poi abbrev.: MH), edita in 15 vol. negli anni 1915-1951, nei quali si trovano raccolti migliaia di documenti in merito⁵. Era naturale quindi verificare se i documenti raccolti nell'ASV, ANV, vol. 211 sono editi nei MH⁶.

¹ Il risultato di questa ricerca è stato pubblicato in *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 257-277.

² Su Antonio Gabriele Severoli (1757-1824), nunzio presso la corte di Vienna (1801-1816), creato cardinale l'8 marzo 1816, si trova una breve nota biografica *ibid.* 260, n. 9. Il contatto tra s. Clemente e Severoli data dal 1802; *ibid.* 260-261.

³ Sui fogli 192-238 (numerazione a timbro; i ff. 192-196 sono numerati originariamente a mano 191-196; dal fo 197 la numerazione a timbro coincide con quella fatta a mano). A fo 198 è stata inserita erroneamente una lettera del card. Consalvi al vescovo di Trento del 3 dicembre 1803.

⁴ Un solo documento appartiene al periodo anteriore. A fo 228 si trova una lettera del 22 settembre 1797 dell'allora nunzio di Lucerna, Pietro Gravina, al nunzio di Vienna, Luigi Ruffo Scilla. Questa lettera è edita in MH VI 66, n. 51.

⁵ Un prospetto dei MH è stato dato dal p. Josef Löw in *Spic. hist.* 1 (1953) 272-273.

⁶ La difficoltà di una tale verifica proviene dal fatto che i MH sono sprovvisti di un indice cronologico dei documenti pubblicati. Tale indice sarebbe di somma utilità, come già notato tempo fa; *Spic. hist.* 20 (1972) 391, n. 21.

Da questo confronto risultò che due lettere non sono state pubblicate nei MH né altrove, mentre un'altra lettera è stata edita, ma soltanto parzialmente⁷. Benché questi tre documenti non siano di primaria importanza, crediamo utile trascriverli qui come supplemento ai MH, come del resto è già stato fatto diverse altre volte in questa rivista⁸.

Non è fuori luogo la domanda se sia giustificata davvero l'edizione integrale di tali documenti⁹. Crediamo poter dare con buon diritto una risposta affermativa. E specialmente perché sembra che sia ormai venuta l'ora di pensare seriamente a una nuova biografia scientifica di s. Clemente. Quella del padre Johann Hofer¹⁰, un'opera eccellente¹¹ e che ritiene tuttora il suo valore, può essere completata e precisata in diversi punti grazie a tanti documenti venuti alla luce negli ultimi sessant'anni. L'edizione completa dei documenti agevolerà non poco il lavoro del futuro biografo¹², che — almeno così speriamo — non si farà attendere troppo.

⁷ Anche la lettera del card. Litta a Severoli del 14 novembre 1801 a fo 237 è stata abbreviata in MH III 88, omettendo però soltanto poche righe. Vedi *Spic. hist.* 27 (1979) 263, n. 26.

⁸ Per complementare la raccolta dei MH sono stati editi documenti in *Spic. hist.* 5 (1957) 419-421; 7 (1959) 28-67, 75-86, 88-109; 8 (1960) 71-74; 9 (1961) 131-144; 10 (1962) 272-273; 13 (1965) 162-165; 15 (1967) 139; 18 (1970) 86-91, 257-312; 20 (1972) 387-391; 23 (1975) 237-238; 27 (1979) 271-277; 28 (1980) 220-223, 261.

⁹ Una questione analoga è stata sollevata già diversi anni fa sul pro e contro dell'edizione integrale o in forma di regesto dei documenti delle nunziature. Vedi lo studio assai informativo sul problema di E. SAURER, *Zum Thema Nuntiaturberichte. Aus Erfahrungen mit Nuntiaturberichten des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in *Römische historische Mitteilungen* (Rom-Wien) 14 (1972) 111-121.

¹⁰ J. HOFER, *Der hl. Klemens Maria Hofbauer. Ein Lebensbild*, Freiburg/Brsg. (Herder) 1921; ed. 2-3, ivi 1923. Versione olandese da J. de Bont, Rotterdam 1923. Versione inglese da J. Haas, New York 1926. Versione francese da R. Kremer, Louvain 1933.

¹¹ Il noto storiografo dei papi Ludwig von Pastor avrebbe detto che il libro di Hofer era un modello di agiografia critico-storica. Molto positivo anche il giudizio del Bollandista Robert Lechat in *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923) 238-241. Meno favorevole il parere di alcuni confratelli che avrebbero voluto trovare meno storia e più materia edificante, come si rileva dalla lettera del superiore generale Patrick Murray al superiore della provincia austriaca Bruno Marx; Roma, 31 marzo 1938. La minuta della lettera si conserva nell'archivio generale dei Redentoristi a Roma (d'ora in poi abbrev.: AGR), Provincia Austriaca, Epistulae inter sup. generalem et sup. provinciale, 1938.

¹² Lo storiografo resta molte volte incerto, se non perplesso nella retta valutazione di un documento incompleto ed anche di un regesto a meno che questo non sia redatto da un esperto in materia.

DOCUMENTI

1. - Lettera del padre Vincenzantonio Giattini all'arcivescovo Antonio Severoli, nunzio di Vienna; Roma, 21 gennaio 1808. — Originale in ASV, ANV, vol. 211, f° 197 rv.

Viva G[esù], M[aria], G[iuseppe]

Eccellenza R.ma

Sento dalla gentilissima dell'E. V. R.ma trovarsi nella medesima situazione in cui mi ritrovo io, perché avendo scritto nell'epoca medesima al P. Vic° Gen.le Hoffbaver, e rimessole il decreto approvativo delle virtù del Venerabile nostro Fondatore Mons. Liguori, e replicatale la seconda lettera è rimasta senza risposta. Questo è per me un nuovo argomento che mi conferma di non avere neppure l'E. V. R.ma ricevute le susseguenti mie, giacché posteriormente a quella in cui Le acchiusi quel decreto, Le feci dal suo [agente] Abbate Adorno acchiudere una mia al sud° P. Vic° per disingannarlo di alcune sue prevenzioni, e sentendo dall'E.mo Litta l'istesse lagnanze, feci dal soprannominato Adorni acchiuderle una copia autentica stampata di un Breve, ultimamente da me ottenuto, di conferma e spiega de' nostri privilegj, de' quali il P. Hoffbaver mi credea contrario, e certi decreti pure in stampa, e pregava l'E. V. R.ma di mandarceli per levarle quelle sue idee mal concepite; così di accordo rimasi col soprannominato E.mo Litta, a cui Hoffbaver scrisse e fece per canale dell'E. V. R.ma capitar la sua.

Mi dispiacerebbe perciò il credere che quella mia seconda lettera e queste carte non fossero capitate né a V. E. R.ma, né per conseguenza a detto Padre, e che perciò restasse nelle prime impressioni concepite e ne' suoi scrupoli di non potersi servire de' privilegj che desidera e sono necessarissimi in quelle parti specialmente.

La prego impertanto per mia quiete a darmene avviso, giacché in caso diverso sarò costretto ad incomodar V. E. R.ma col mandarvi quelle carte per la seconda volta, premendomi molto che capi-

tassero sicure in mano di quel buon Padre. Sicuro di tanta grazia, pieno di gratitudine e del più profondo rispetto e divozione Le b[acio] le m[ani] e passo a sottoscrivermi

Di V. E. R.ma

Divotis.mo Obb.mo Servidore vero
Vincenzant° Giattini del SS. Red.

S. Agostino di Roma, 21 del 1808

P.S. Il P. Rettore Marini rinnova a V. E. R.ma le preghiere datele dalla nostra Casa di Spello per informarsi degli eredi del sac.te D. Diodato Caraccioni, morto in quella casa, ove trovavasi di passaggio. Aspetto la risposta diretta qua nel convento di S. Agostino ove dimoro.

Grazie al fatto che molti documenti degli anni 1807-1808 sono stati editi nei MH, non è difficile inquadrare questa lettera nel suo contesto storico.

Il 7 maggio 1807 venne dichiarata ufficialmente l'eroicità delle virtù del ven. Servo di Dio Alfonso M. de Liguori, poco meno di vent'anni dopo la sua morte¹. Un avvenimento di gran rilievo per i Redentoristi, certamente anche per s. Clemente che aveva una grande venerazione per il fondatore e si era prodigato per contribuire al processo². Intorno al 20 maggio il postulatore Vincenzantonio Giattini³ mandò una copia del decreto al nunzio di Vienna con la domanda di inoltrarla a s. Clemente; questo risulta da una lettera del 2 giugno di Giattini al rettore della casa di Varsavia⁴. In una lettera del 18 giugno al superiore generale Pietro Paolo Blasucci Giattini dice che il nunzio aveva già fatto sapere di aver ricevuto il decreto⁵. Il 24 giugno il nunzio mandò il documento a Varsavia⁶. Dato che s. Clemente non diede riscontro, Severoli e Giattini cominciarono a preoccuparsi che il decreto non fosse arrivato a destinazione. Il 3 ottobre Severoli domandò a s. Clemente se avesse ricevuto il

¹ I processi diocesani ebbero inizio a Nocera e a Sant'Agata dei Goti nel 1788, l'anno dopo la morte di Alfonso (1 VIII 1787). La causa fu introdotta a Roma il 4 maggio 1796.

² Vedi Ed. Hosp, *Sankt Klemens und der heilige Stifter*, in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 432-450.

³ Il primo postulatore della causa, negli anni 1788-1799, era stato il p. Giuseppe Cardone; Giattini gli succedette il 31 dicembre 1799 e rimase postulatore fino alla sua morte, il 1° aprile 1827. Vedi *Spic. hist.* 26 (1978) 212-213.

⁴ Una traduzione francese di questa lettera è edita in MH VIII 260, n. 171.

⁵ MH XIV 109, n. 194.

⁶ MH V 101, n. 95; MH XIV 109, n. 195.

decreto⁷ e il 26 dicembre fece sapere a Giattini di essere ancora in dubbio⁸. Dopo aver ricevuta questa lettera e una di s. Clemente del 14 novembre, nella quale non si accenna al decreto⁹, Giattini indirizzò il 21 gennaio 1808 al nunzio la lettera sopra pubblicata. Il 29 gennaio Severoli scrisse a s. Clemente domandandogli di scrivere al più presto a Giattini, « ut quidquid sollicitudinis ipse cepit, id plane abstergatur »¹⁰. Con lettera del 9 marzo seg. s. Clemente comunicava finalmente a Giattini di aver ricevuto il decreto dal nunzio Severoli, ma senza indicare la data della ricezione¹¹.

Nella stessa lettera s. Clemente parla anche di un altro documento, per il quale però mostra poco interesse. Nella lettera sopra pubblicata Giattini menziona questo documento e opina che il contenuto è di grande valore per i padri transalpini. Si tratta senza dubbio del Breve di Pio VII del 9 gennaio 1807, con il quale il pontefice conferma la comunicazione dei privilegi di altri istituti religiosi ai Redentoristi¹².

Nel poscritto viene menzionato il padre Francescantonio Maria Marino¹³ (1766-1812), rettore in quel tempo della casa redentorista di Spello¹⁴, e corrispondente di s. Clemente¹⁵, che domanda informazioni sugli eredi del sacerdote ungherese don Diodato Caraccioni (Káráthoni). Questi nel viaggio di ritorno da Roma in Ungheria si era sentito male a Foligno e si era fatto portare alla casa dei Redentoristi a Spello, ove poco dopo morì il 26 settembre 1807¹⁶.

⁷ MH V 102, n. 96.

⁸ MH V 103, n. 98. Nell'ultima parte della lettera dell'11 novembre di s. Clemente a Severoli non si fa cenno al decreto. MH V 102, n. 97. In ASV, ANV, vol. 211, fo 193 si trova soltanto questa parte della lettera, con l'indirizzo a tergo.

⁹ MH VIII 134, n. 84.

¹⁰ MH V 103, n. 99.

¹¹ MH VIII 137, n. 86. — Giattini aveva mandato una copia del decreto anche a Passerat, che il 30 settembre 1807 da Coira comunicava di averlo ricevuto. *Spic. hist.* 7 (1959) 45, n. 20.

¹² Il testo del Breve è pubblicato in *Documenta authentica facultatum et gratiarum spiritualium quas Congregationi SS. Redemptoris S. Sedis concessit*, [curante G. SCHÖBER], Ratisbonae 1903, 71-74. Una copia manoscritta del documento si trova in ASV, ANV, vol. 211, fo 205r-206r. Nello stesso vol. è inserito a fo 207r-208r un documento intitolato *Decreti della Sacra Congregazione de' Vescovi e Regolari per la Congregazione del SS.mo Redentore*. Copie stampate di questo documento si trovano in AGR V A 12, B 29, C 38, D 39. I decreti sono degli anni 1804-1806.

¹³ Notizia biografica in Fr. MINERVINO, *Catalogo dei Redentoristi d'Italia, 1732-1841, e dei Redentoristi delle Province meridionali d'Italia, 1841-1869* (Biblioteca Historica CSSR VIII), Roma 1978, 110, e in MH VIII 162, n. 2. Sembra che a Spello il padre fosse conosciuto sotto il nome di Antonio Maria Marini; AGR XX K 6.

¹⁴ I Redentoristi hanno avuto una casa a Spello negli anni 1781-1820. Un giudizio molto favorevole sul comportamento del padre Marino come rettore, dato il 28 settembre 1806 dal padre Sosio Lupoli, si conserva in AGR XIX E 38, pp. 21-22.

¹⁵ Due lettere di Marino a s. Clemente sono edite in versione francese in MH VIII 162-163 (lettera del 16 IX 1807) e in *Spic. hist.* 7 (1959) 42 (lettera del 6 XII 1806). Non si conoscono lettere di s. Clemente a Marino, ma qualche volta vengono menzionate da Giattini, p. es. nella sua lettera dell'11 marzo 1808 a Blasucci; MH XIV 109-110.

¹⁶ In AGR XX K 6 si trova un nutrito plico di documenti su certi debiti a carico dell'eredità Caraccioni in favore del padre Marino.

2. - Lettera del padre Josef Hofbauer a s. Clemente; Leuk, 4 aprile 1810.
— Originale in ASV, ANV, vol. 211, f° 196v (incollato).

Charissime ac Reverendissime Pater S. V. G.

Paternitatem Suam Reverendissimam adhuc vivere et de Congregatione sua charissima semper sollicitam, meique filii sui infimi ac indignissimi memorem esse, summopere gaudeo. Desiderans desidero Paternitatem Suam vedere. O, si solummodo per unius horae spatium adhucdum cum illa loqui possem! Nam, quamvis absens corpore, tamen semper praesens sum spiritu Patri meo charissimo, eumque jugiter in corde meo porto, ac pro ipsius animae et corporis incolumitate Jesum Redemptorem nostrum Sanctissimum quotidie oro. Ah, faxit Deus Optimus Maximus ut multos adhuc annos supervivat Dominatio Sua; et ut in unum omnes congregati sub regimine ipsius dulcissimo ac prudentissimo ad finem usque vitae suae permaneamus. Quod spero et quidem, ut mihi videtur, contra spem spero fore ut Paternitatem Suam mihi charissimam et desideratissimam adhuc videam, cujus me precibus commendando, pedesque ejus in spiritu deosculando, veneratione perquam profunda ac obedientia perfectissima emorior

Filius addictissimus
humillimus et indignissimus
P. Joseph Hofbauer S[acerdos] CSSR
Ludimagister Leucanus

Leucaae, 4^a Aprilis 1810

P.S. Saluto millies meum charissimum Martinum [Stark].

Il contenuto di questa lettera è senz'alcun particolare interesse storico; manifesta soltanto la stragrande devozione dello scrivente per s. Clemente. Lo stile è talmente gonfio che ci si domanda spontaneamente cosa avrà pensato s. Clemente leggendo questo saggio di retorica. Il punto interessante è che Josef Hofbauer nella firma si qualifica come maestro di scuola a Leuk (Vallese, Svizzera). E questo significa che vi è una correzione importante da fare in un nostro articolo pubblicato alcuni anni fa. Per tale rettifica vedi l'appendice (*Anhang*) al seguente articolo.

Il biglietto fu incluso da Passerat nella sua lettera a s. Clemente dell'8 aprile 1810, nella quale elogia il padre, « qui vere dignior et longe me est ». MH XIV 181.

3. - Lettera del padre Joseph Passerat all'arcivescovo Antonio Severoli, nunzio di Vienna; Visp, 5 aprile 1810. — Originale in ASV, ANV, vol. 211, f° 233r-234v. Il 2° e 3° capoverso della lettera sono editi in MH XIV 180.

J.M.J.

Monseigneur!

Je n'aurois jamais pris la liberté d'interrompre Son Excellence parmi ses saintes occupations et surtout d'une manière si indécente, je veux dire en osant lui adresser une si simple feuille de papier, mais l'affabilité admirable avec laquelle elle a toujours daigné me recevoir lors de mon séjour à Vienne et toutes les bontés, qu'elle a bien voulu avoir pour moi, me sont un gage qu'elle m'excusera cette incivilité que causent les circonstances, et m'inspirent la confiance de lui adresser ces lignes pour la prier de m'assister de ses sages conseils.

J'en ai presque aucune espérance à présent pour l'exécution du projet formé quant à la principauté de Liechtenstein; les circonstances sont trop changées. Je ne vois plus aucun pays sur lequel nous puissions jeter les yeux, si non le grand-duché de Würzbourg. Je ne vois point, à la vérité, dans le Valais de péril prochain. Nous n'avons avec le secours de Dieu rien à craindre du pays, puisque toutes les deux Puissances nous sont dévouées. Mais si la République perd son indépendance, comme on le craint toujours, pour lors nous ne subsisterons plus longtems. Et alors il seroit trop tard de prendre nos précautions. D'ailleurs nous nous augmentons toujours en nombre et nous aurions besoin d'une autre maison.

J'ai donc l'honneur de supplier Son Excellence de vouloir prendre la peine de me dire, si un projet sur le grand-duché de Würzbourg seroit solide et pourroit être mis à exécution, et à qui je devrois m'adresser. Je recevrai ses avis comme la volonté du ciel et m'y conformerai avec toute l'obéissance possible.

Je vous prierois bien aussi, Monseigneur, de daigner me donner quelques renseignemens sur la somme d'argent que Son Excellence a envoyé[e] de la part du très Révérend Père Vicaire Général < au > R. P. Giattini, procureur général de notre Congrégation < à Rome > pour satisfaire à une dette contractée de ma part < envers > lui. Le R. P. Giattini m'a bien dit, dans le tems, qu'il < savait? > que cette somme étoit parvenue à Son Eminence le Cardinal Litta, mais cependant il me dit en conclusion ne l'avoir jamais reçu[e].

Veillez bien, Monseigneur, recevoir mes excuses et les hom-

mages respectueux, auxquels sont unis les sentimens de la reconnoissance la plus vive, dans lesquels j'ose me dire en demandant sa ste bénédiction

De Son Excellence

le très humble et très obéissant serviteur
Joseph Passerat Recteur
de la Congrégation du Très St. Rédempteur

Viège en Valais, ce 5 Avril 1810

Nel dicembre 1808 — febbraio 1809 il padre Passerat era stato a Vienna per consultarsi con s. Clemente su una nuova fondazione, perché si prevedeva ormai una annessione del Vallese all'impero francese, e questo avrebbe certamente portato con sé la soppressione della Congregazione in quella regione¹. Dalla lettera risulta che anche Severoli era stato avvicinato per consiglio, cosa del resto naturale dato lo stretto rapporto del santo con il nunzio. Nella lettera Passerat dice che non c'è più speranza di fondazione nel principato di Liechtenstein e domanda al nunzio di comunicargli il suo parere su una eventuale fondazione nel granducato di Würzburg. Il 4 giugno Severoli rispose di non vedere la possibilità di fondazione nei stati tedeschi dove l'influsso francese era dominante, e consigliava di rimanere piuttosto nella Svizzera².

In fine Passerat domanda qualche informazione su una somma di danaro che Severoli aveva trasmesso per conto di s. Clemente al padre Giattini a Roma. Non conosciamo la risposta di Severoli a questa domanda, né sappiamo in che modo l'affare si sia concluso³.

¹ Sul viaggio di Passerat a Vienna nell'inverno 1808-09 vedi J. HOFER, *Der hl. Klemens Maria Hofbauer*, Freiburg/Brsg. 1923, 234; H. GIROUILLE, *Vie du vén. Père Joseph Passerat*, Paris 1924, 158-159. Sul sostituto superiore a Visp durante l'assenza di Passerat vedi l'articolo seguente, pag. 394.

² A p. 4 dell'originale, accanto all'indirizzo, un funzionario della nunziatura di Vienna ha notato: « Risp[osto] 4 Giug[no]. Pel trasporto della sua Congregazione a Würzburg ». La risposta è stata edita in MH XIV 184, n. 310 dal Registro delle lettere mandate dal nunzio. L'originale sembra sia andato perduto.

³ Nelle lettere di Passerat a Giattini, scritte da Visp negli anni 1808-10, l'argomento principale è l'invio di denaro, che si effettuava per via di diversi intermediari. Una decina di queste lettere sono state editate in *Spic. hist.* 7 (1959) 46-55. Nella lettera del 9 aprile 1809 Passerat parla proprio della contraddizione che aveva avvertito nelle lettere di Giattini circa il ricevimento di una somma trasmessa da s. Clemente al card. Lorenzo Litta; *ibid.* 51. Le risposte di Giattini non sono conosciute. Il dis-servizio postale e la complessità delle transazioni causavano diverse incertezze e malintesi che non poco affliggevano il p. Passerat.

Un altro argomento che ricorre più volte in queste lettere è la dispensa sull'età che Passerat domanda per i suoi ordinandi: per Martin Schoellhorn (p. 45), Johann Schulski (pp. 46 e 47), Michael Baumgartner (pp. 54 e 55).

ANDRÉ SAMPERS

PATER JOHANN APPENZELLER (1766-1830)

Einige Notizen über den ersten Schweizer Redemptoristen

Als wir vor einigen Jahren Dokumente und Notizen über die apostolische Arbeit der Redemptoristen im Oberwallis sammelten, begegneten wir auch Pater Johann Appenzeller. In dem Artikel, worin das Resultat der diesbezüglichen Untersuchung vorgelegt wurde, wird er nur kurz erwähnt, da wir seine Tätigkeit im Wallis nirgendwo verzeichnet fanden¹.

Da Johann Appenzeller sicher der erste Schweizer ist, der in die Redemptoristenkongregation eingetreten ist, und zwar schon am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts unter dem hl. Klemens Hofbauer in Warschau, scheint es sich zu lohnen, seinen Lebenslauf etwas genauer zu verfolgen. Von vornherein soll aber deutlich herausgestellt werden, dass — wenn auch die Hauptdaten festliegen — verschiedenes einer weiteren Klärung bedarf. Unsere Absicht ist denn auch nicht, hier eine endgültige Lebensskizze vorzulegen, sondern vielmehr ein Arbeitspapier, in dem neben den sicheren Daten auch die Lücken aufgezeigt werden.

Wir hoffen, dass dieser Aufsatz — gerade weil er aufweist, wie mangelhaft unsere Kenntnis von Appenzellers Leben und Wirken, Charakter und Persönlichkeit noch ist — für historisch Interessierte eine Anregung sein möge, in weiterer Forschung neues Material über ihn beizubringen.

In einem Fall wie diesem, wo die in Frage kommenden Archive sehr weit voneinander entfernt liegen (Schweiz, Polen, Italien, Elsass) und ein jedes vermutlich nur wenig einschlägiges Material enthält, kann nur in der Zusammenarbeit von mehreren eine gewisse Vollständigkeit in der Forschung erreicht werden. Ein Einzelner wird diese Untersuchung nicht gut durchführen können, da sie ein solches Uebermass an Zeit und Auslagen erfordern würde, das kaum zu verantworten wäre.

¹ A. SAMPERS, *Redemptoristen in Oberwalliser Pfarreien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 216-234; Appenzeller ist erwähnt auf den SS. 218-219.

Laut einer ziemlich ausführlichen biographischen Notiz von 1828, die nur auf seine eigene Aussage zurückgehen kann, wurde Johann Appenzeller am 24. Juni 1766 in Zürich geboren². Dieses Datum wird auch in mehreren älteren handschriftlichen Personalkatalogen im AGR angegeben³.

Der Familienname weist nach Höngg und Wipkingen (beide mit noch anderen Aussengemeinden am 1. Januar 1893 in Zürich eingemeindet), wo das Geschlecht der Appenzeller seit Beginn des 15. Jahrhunderts nachweisbar ist⁴. Vor etwa 30 Jahren wurden im Zürcher Stadtarchiv Nachforschungen angestellt, die aber ihren Ausgangspunkt hatten in der Annahme, Pater Appenzeller sei im Jahre 1768 geboren. Dabei wurde im Register der reformierten Gemeinde von Höngg ein Johann Appenzeller gefunden, der am 25. September 1768 dort getauft worden ist⁵. Die zwei Daten, von Geburt und Taufe, liegen gut zwei Jahre auseinander. Somit wäre man zunächst geneigt, den am 25. September 1768 getauften Johann Appenzeller als einen Namensvetter unseres Paters zu betrachten. Aber so einfach kann die Sache doch nicht abgetan werden. Zwar wird in keiner uns bekannten Quelle 1768 als sein Geburtsjahr angegeben, aber es gibt doch einige Indizien für dieses Jahr.

In zwei im Jahre 1800 bei den Warschauer Diözesanbehörden eingereichten Verzeichnissen der Insassen des Klosters Sankt Benno

² Im Generalarchiv der Redemptoristen in Rom (im folgenden: AGR), unter der Signatur X A 77, befindet sich ein Verzeichnis aller Redemptoristen (Patres, Studenten, Brüder, Novizen und Kandidaten), die Anfang 1828 dem Kloster Bischenberg im Elsass angehörten. Am 6. Januar d.J. hatte der Generaloberer ein solches Verzeichnis angefordert; am 24. Januar wurde es ihm vom Hausoberen zugesandt. Der Briefwechsel zwischen den Patres Cocle und Schöllhorn 1825-1828 ist herausgegeben in *Spic. hist.* 23 (1975) 246-283. Ueber das Verzeichnis auf den SS. 278 u. 281.

³ *Catalogus X (Professi Choristae et Servientes Provinciae Gallico-Helveticae)*, p. 2, n. 2; *Catalogus XIII (Catalogus Patrum Congregationis SS.mi Redemptoris transalpinae, 1785-1870)*, p. 3, n. 33; *Index chronologicus Choristarum et Fratrum, qui... usque ad mensem Maium 1855 dispensati vel expulsi sunt*, in *Chronica abbreviata Provinciae Gallico-Helveticae, 1841-1866*, p. 581, n. 10. Merkwürdigerweise geben diese Kataloge Appenzeller als 'Badensis', d.h. als gebürtig aus dem Grossherzogtum Baden an.

⁴ Vgl. *Historisch-biographisches Lexikon der Schweiz* I (1921) 403: Appenzeller, im Kanton Zürich; IV (1927) 259: Höngg; VII (1934) 564: Wipkingen.

⁵ Das Resultat dieser Nachforschungen ist veröffentlicht im *Kirchenanzeiger der Liebfrauenkirche in Zürich* 56 (1952), Nr. 3 (März), S. 1. Der Aufsatz ist unterzeichnet mit den Initialen: R. H. Nach freundlicher Mitteilung von P. Josef Heinzmann vom 4. November 1981 ist der vollständige Name des in Zürich wohnhaften Verfassers: Rudolf Herzog. — Auch Pater Landtwing erwähnt das Taufdatum vom 25. Sept. 1768, gibt aber kein Geburtsdatum an. Th. LANDTWING, *Die Redemptoristen in Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1811-1847*, Rom 1955, 60, Anm. 4. Das Taufdatum wird ebenfalls erwähnt von Ch. Dangler in der Zeitschrift *Maria Immerhilf* 47 (1979) 27.

steht bei Appenzeller erwähnt, er sei 32 Jahre alt⁶. Dies würde also bedeuten, dass er im Jahre 1768 geboren wurde⁷. Es gibt noch andere derartige Verzeichnisse, aber diese sind nicht datiert⁸.

Um völlige Sicherheit über das Geburtsdatum von Pater Appenzeller zu erlangen, ist es darum notwendig, nochmals in Geburts- und Taufregistern im Zürcher Stadtarchiv nachzusehen, ob da ein Johann Appenzeller, geboren am 24. Juni 1766, eingetragen ist. Da bei diesen amtlichen Eintragungen für gewöhnlich der Vorname des Vaters erwähnt wird, ist es gut zu wissen, dass dieser im oben erwähnten Verzeichnis vom Januar 1828 angedeutet ist als: Omnes Sancti⁹. In der Umgangssprache mag dies vielleicht Toussaint (franz.) oder Sante (ital.) gewesen sein. Auch soll berücksichtigt werden, dass Pater Appenzeller aus einer protestantischen Familie, vielleicht aus einer Mischehe stammt; jedenfalls wurde das Kind in eine protestantische Kirche aufgenommen¹⁰.

Ueber die Familie, die Kindheit und Jugendzeit fehlen uns einstweilen zuverlässige Angaben¹¹. Wir wissen nur aus dem Verzeichnis von 1800, dass er in Zürich die klassischen Studien machte¹², und aus dem von 1828, dass er am 10. Oktober 1780 konfirmiert wurde¹³.

Besonders interessant wäre es zu wissen, wann und unter welchen Umständen er in die katholische Kirche aufgenommen worden ist (als Kind, vielleicht mit der Familie; oder in mehr vorgerücktem

⁶ Die Dokumente sind veröffentlicht in den *Monumenta Hofbaueriana* (im folgenden: MH) II, Toruń 1929, 37 und IV, Toruń 1931, 142-152 (Appenzeller auf S. 149).

⁷ In mehreren Biographien des hl. Klemens Hofbauer wird Pater Appenzeller erwähnt, aber sein Geburtsjahr fanden wir nicht angegeben. A. INNERKOFER, *Der hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, 2. Aufl., Regensburg-Rom (Pustet) 1913, 343 sagt aber, dass bei der Aufhebung des Klosters in Warschau, also im Juni 1808, «der Schweizer Joh. Appenzeller eben 40 Jahre alt» war.

⁸ MH III 73. Das Verzeichnis scheint aus den Jahren 1806-1807 zu stammen. Appenzellers Alter wird mit 38 Jahren angegeben.

⁹ AGR X A 77.

¹⁰ Im AGR X A 5/2 wird ein Verzeichnis der Kongregationsmitglieder, die sich 1823 in der Schweiz und im Elsass befanden, aufbewahrt. Es ist von Pater Johann Sabelli aus der Erinnerung niedergeschrieben worden, kurz nachdem er aus der Schweiz kommend am 22. November 1822 im Generalatshaus in Pagani (Salerno) eingetroffen war. Von Appenzeller heisst es unter anderem: «Ex Protestantismo conversus». Dieses Dokument ist der einzige uns bekannte Quellenbeleg, dass Appenzeller ursprünglich Protestant war.

¹¹ Einige Notizen über die Familie und die frühen Jahre des am 25. September 1768 getauften Johann Appenzeller, dem Högger Pfarrbuch entnommen, finden sich im *Kirchenanzeiger* von Zürich; siehe oben, Anm. 5.

¹² MH IV 149: «Tyguri in Helvetia natus, ibidem humaniora didicit».

¹³ AGR X A 77. Man ist geneigt, das «confirmatus» — wie bei den anderen Kongregationsmitgliedern — als den Empfang des Sakraments der Firmung zu verstehen. Dies würde aber bedeuten, dass Appenzeller mit 14 Jahren bereits katholisch war.

Alter ¹⁴, aus freien Stücken). Mehr noch, wie er dazu kam, nach Polen zu gehen ¹⁵, und welches seine Motive waren, als er schon 32 (30?) Jahre alt am 16. Juni 1798 in Warschau bei den Redemptoristen eintrat ¹⁶. Am 15. August 1801 legte er dort die Klostersgelübde ab ¹⁷.

An der Richtigkeit dieser beiden Daten kann nicht gezweifelt werden. Dies bedeutet aber, dass zwischen Einkleidung und Profess ein Zeitraum von mehr als drei Jahren liegt. Eine ungewöhnlich lange Zeit, wofür wir zunächst keine triftige Erklärung haben. Mag sein, dass das Noviziat aus besonderen Gründen über die übliche Jahresfrist hinaus verlängert worden ist, aber doch sicher nicht bis auf drei Jahre. Es muss wohl so gewesen sein, dass er längere Zeit brauchte, um zu genügender Klarheit über seinen Beruf zu kommen und den endgültigen Schritt zu tun.

Vor der Profess, vielleicht schon während des Noviziats, hat er mit den philosophischen und theologischen Studien angefangen, denn in zwei Verzeichnissen des Jahres 1800 wird er aufgeführt als Student ¹⁸. Nach der Profess studierte er weiter ¹⁹. Wie und wo er die höheren Studien gemacht hat ²⁰ und mit welchem Erfolg ²¹, fanden wir nirgends erwähnt.

Am 4. September 1802 erteilte das Warschauer Ordinariat die

¹⁴ Der Zeitpunkt von Appenzellers Uebertritt ist auch deshalb von Bedeutung, da nur aufgrund dessen geklärt werden kann, inwiefern man berechtigt ist, von einer protestantischen Erziehung zu sprechen.

¹⁵ Vielleicht wäre in Warschauer Archiven etwas über die Ankunft von Appenzeller ebenda und über eine eventuelle Tätigkeit, bevor er bei den Redemptoristen eintrat (1798), zu finden. In den Jahren 1795-1807, d.h. seit der dritten Teilung Polens bis zur Errichtung des selbständigen Herzogtums Warschau, gehörte die Stadt zu Preussen. Siehe *Spic. hist.* 23 (1975) 233.

¹⁶ Das genaue Datum des Eintritts fanden wir nur in einem einzigen Dokument erwähnt; AGR X A 77. Das Jahr ist auch im Verzeichnis von 1800 angegeben: « Warsaviae in Congregationem ingressus est an. 1798 »; MH IV 149.

¹⁷ Das Datum der Profess steht im Verzeichnis von 1828; AGR X A 77. Auch in den Personalkatalogen im AGR; siehe oben, Anm. 3.

¹⁸ MH II 37; MH IV 149 u. 152.

¹⁹ In einem Verzeichnis vom 15. Februar 1802 heisst Appenzeller « alumnus studens »; MH II 41.

²⁰ INNERKOFLE, a.a.O. 158 sagt, dass Appenzeller bei seinem Eintritt schon Theologie studiert hatte, und der gleichen Meinung ist R. H. im *Kirchenanzeiger* von Zürich (siehe oben, Anm. 5). Beide gründen ihre Ansicht auf die Tatsache, dass zwischen der Gelübdeablegung (1801) und der Priesterweihe (1802) eine Zeitspanne von nur 14 Monaten liegt. Es war ihnen aber das Datum des Eintritts (1798) nicht bekannt. Wir halten es durchaus für möglich, dass Appenzeller das ganze curriculum der philosophischen und theologischen Studien nach seinem Eintritt in Sankt Benno gemacht hat (1798-1802/3).

²¹ Im Verzeichnis von 1823 schreibt Pater Sabelli in der Spalte des Wissens (*scientiis pollet*) bei Appenzeller: « mediocriter ». Seine geistige Begabung (*ingenium*) wird dort als schwach (*debile*) angegeben. Das Dokument im AGR X A 5/2.

Genehmigung zu den hl. Weihen²², die Appenzeller dann bald darauf alle in einer 'Rekordzeit' von fünf Tagen erhielt: die niederen Weihen am 20. Oktober 1802, das Subdiakonat am 22., das Diakonat am 23., die Priesterweihe am 24²³.

Ueber Appenzellers apostolische Tätigkeit in Warschau sind wir nicht näher informiert. Im Jahre 1800, noch bevor er die Profess ablegte, urteilte der hl. Klemens, er sei geeignet für das Predigtamt²⁴. In einem Verzeichnis, das vermutlich aus den Jahren 1806-1807 stammt, wird er erwähnt als deutscher Prediger²⁵, und sein Name findet sich auch in einem Dokument vom 19. Juni 1808, worin die offiziell anerkannten Beichtväter von Sankt Benno aufgeführt werden²⁶. Auch in den Lehrbetrieb von Sankt Benno war er eingeschaltet: ein Stundenplan der dritten Klasse der Elementarschule vom 17. Oktober 1807 erwähnt ihn für das Fach « giftige Pflanzen »²⁷.

Im Juni 1808 wurde das Kloster Sankt Benno von den Franzosen gewaltsam aufgelöst, und nach einer kurzen Haft in der Festung Küstrin wurden die Ausländer des Landes verwiesen²⁸. Zusammen mit Pater Johann Egle²⁹ begab Appenzeller sich in die Schweiz, in das einzige damals ausserhalb Italiens bestehende Redemptoristenkloster in Visp (Wallis). Ueber die Reise sind keine Besonderheiten bekannt. Wahrscheinlich machten sie wenigstens ein Stück Wegs zusammen mit dem hl. Klemens, der sich mit einigen Gefährten nach Wien begab³⁰. Auch ist nicht genau bekannt, wann Appenzeller und Egle in Visp eintrafen³¹.

²² MH VIII 269.

²³ Die Weihedaten sind alle dem Verzeichnis von 1828 entnommen. AGR X A 77.

²⁴ « Aptus est pro concionibus », MH IV 152.

²⁵ MH III 73.

²⁶ MH VII 69.

²⁷ MH II 72.

²⁸ Ueber die Aufhebung des Klosters und die Auflösung der Gemeinde siehe *Spic. hist.* 7 (1959) 120-121, wo auf die wichtigsten Quellen verwiesen wird.

²⁹ Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Joh. Egle in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 228.

³⁰ In einem 1823 verfassten Bericht schreibt Pater Sabelli, dass zwei Schweizer Priester, offenbar Mitbrüder, mit dem hl. Klemens nach Wien reisten und dann von dort in die Schweiz gingen. Es werden keine Namen genannt. MH V 146. Der 1823 aus der Erinnerung geschriebene Bericht enthält ziemlich viele Ungenauigkeiten. Ueber Appenzeller und Egle als mögliche Reisegefährten des hl. Klemens, siehe INNERKOFER, a.a.O. 355-356; J. HOFER, *Der hl. Klemens M. Hofbauer*, 2.-3. Aufl., Freiburg im Brsg. (Herder) 1923, 229.

³¹ « Hoc circiter mense [Septembri] Vespam venerunt RR.PP. Joannes Egle et Joannes Appenzeller »; MH XV 88. Aus einem Brief von Passerat an Pater Giattini vom 25. August 1808 scheint hervorzugehen, dass die beiden damals schon in Visp

Während Egle schon bald darauf mit der Seelsorge in der Pfarrei Zeneggen betreut wurde³², blieb Appenzeller zunächst in Visp, wo er vermutlich zuweilen in der Pfarrei ausgeholfen hat³³. Als Pater Passerat im Winter 1808-1809 nach Wien ging, um mit dem hl. Klemens über eine neue Gründung zu verhandeln³⁴, da man wegen der drohenden Annexion des Kantons durch Frankreich für das Fortbestehen der Kongregation im Wallis fürchtete, wurde Appenzeller die geistliche Betreuung der Klostersgemeinde anvertraut, während Pater Franz Hofbauer die Verwaltung besorgte oder vielmehr überwachte³⁵. Wie man diese Verteilung der Aufgaben genau zu verstehen hat, kommt in den Quellen nicht klar zum Ausdruck, aber es scheint, dass Hofbauer, der nicht im Kloster wohnte³⁶, etwa die Stelle eines Vizerektors innehatte, während Appenzeller die tägliche Führung im Hause besorgte, was natürlich vor allem bedeutete, dass er die klösterliche Observanz aufrecht zu erhalten hatte.

In dieser Zeit des Interregnums ereignete sich ein sehr unangenehmer Vorfall, anscheinend wegen des unklugen Verhaltens von Appenzeller, der ihn in schroffen Gegensatz zu seinem Vorgesetzten Hofbauer brachte³⁷. Der häusliche Friede und das brüderliche Einvernehmen wurden gestört, aber glücklicherweise kam Passerat rechtzeitig zurück³⁸ und beschwichtigte die erhitzten Gemüter. Eine sei-

waren. « Varsaviensis domus, ut optime forsan nosti, totaliter est destructa. Habeo et expecto adhuc aliquos confratres istius domus. Rogo, dicat mihi, an possem aliquos in Italiam mittere ». Der Brief ist veröffentlicht in *Spic. hist.* 7 (1959) 48-49.

³² Siehe *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 226 u. 228.

³³ Obwohl wir für eine Aushilfe in Visp oder in Nachbarpfarreien keine Belege haben, halten wir sie unter den damals obwaltenden Umständen trotzdem für wahrscheinlich.

³⁴ Ueber Passerats Reise nach Wien und das Motiv derselben vgl. HOFER, a.a.O. 234; auch H. GIROUILLE, *Vie du vén. Père Joseph Passerat*, Paris (Téqui) 1924, 158-159. Man dachte zunächst an eine Niederlassung im Fürstentum Liechtenstein, die aber nicht zustande kam; *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 219, Anm. 15.

³⁵ MH XV 89.

³⁶ Franz Hofbauer war 1808-1810 Pfarrverweser in Inden; *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 223 u. 229. Siehe aber auch weiter unten im Anhang dieses Artikels.

³⁷ Bei der Herausgabe der Chronik des Redemptoristenklosters von Freiburg (Schweiz) in den MH wurde der diesbezügliche Passus ausgelassen, vermutlich weil er den Herausgebern als nicht erbaulich erschien. Da er aber für Appenzeller von Bedeutung ist, geben wir den ausgelassenen Passus weiter unten als Dokument 1. — Eine Notiz über die Freiburger Chronik und deren Herausgabe findet sich in *Spic. hist.* 23 (1975) 236, Anm. 9. Wir danken dem Archivar der Lyoner Redemptoristenprovinz, Pater Gilbert Humbert, der uns das Original der Chronik freundlichst zur Verfügung gestellt hat.

³⁸ Im Februar 1809 befand sich Passerat bereits auf dem Rückweg ins Wallis; Hofer, a.a.O. 234 und GIROUILLE, a.a.O. 159. Anfang April traf er wieder in Visp ein,

ner Massnahmen, um die Ruhe wieder herzustellen, war wohl, dass er Appenzeller in den deutschsprachigen Teil der Diözese Novara, jenseits des Simplons³⁹, schickte⁴⁰.

An welchem Ort — vielleicht waren es mehrere — Appenzeller gewirkt hat, wissen wir nicht. Aus einem Brief von Passerat an den hl. Klemens vom 8. April 1810⁴¹ geht hervor, dass er damals eine feste Anstellung irgendwo hatte, denn es wird gesagt, er habe ein Benefizium⁴².

Dieser Brief ist auch sonst noch von Bedeutung, weil darin von einigen Schweizer Kandidaten gesprochen wird, die daran dachten, als Studenten oder als Brüder in die Kongregation einzutreten. Von einem dieser Studenten, Amadeus Zimmermann aus Visp, werden ein paar Einzelheiten mehr berichtet⁴³. Da die Namen in keinem Verzeichnis der Kongregationsmitglieder bzw. Novizen vorkommen, muss wohl angenommen werden, dass sie von ihrem ursprünglichen Vorhaben abgekommen sind. Passerat fügte seinem Schreiben einen kurzen Brief von Pater Josef Hofbauer an den hl. Klemens vom 4. April bei⁴⁴. Hofbauer unterschreibt sich darin als Schulmeister in Leuk, womit seine Schultätigkeit im Wallis, die bisher unbekannt war, belegt ist⁴⁵.

wie aus seinem Brief vom 9. April 1809 an Pater Giattini hervorgeht; *Spic. hist.* 7 (1959) 51; siehe auch GIROUILLE, a.a.O.

³⁹ Das Grenzdorf Gondo (Ruden) mit der zugehörigen Talschaft Zwischbergen, obwohl politisch zum Wallis gehörig, gehörte von alters her kirchlich zur Diözese Novara, wurde aber dann 1822 der Diözese Sitten angeschlossen. Es gab damals auch noch einige Ortschaften jenseits der italienischen Grenze, wo eine Art deutscher Dialekt die Umgangssprache war. In Gondo war 1815-1825 ein Redemptorist, Thomas Nosalewski, als Pfarrer tätig; *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 223 u. 230.

⁴⁰ MH XV 89.

⁴¹ Dieser Brief ist veröffentlicht in MH XIV 180-183, allerdings ohne Datum und mit verschiedenen Ungenauigkeiten. Das Datum haben wir dem Original (Vatikanisches Geheimarchiv, Archiv der Wiener Nuntiatur, vol. 211, fo 192r-194v [ursprüngliche Numerierung fo 191r-193v] entnommen. — Im folgenden werden einige Stellen aus diesem Brief Passerats wörtlich zitiert. Wir folgen dabei genau dem Originaltext, dessen Fotokopie uns vorliegt.

⁴² Aus Passerats Brief vom 8. April 1810: « P. Appenzeller habet beneficium in dioecesi Navarrae [= Novariensi], id est in Italia, statim a montibus nostris, ubi lingua germanica adhuc viget. Debui cedere repetitis precibus postulantium ».

⁴³ « Quidam Vespianensis, Amadaeus Zimmerman[n] nomi[ni]bus, optimus moribus et talentis et ex magnatibus hujus Burgesiae, vult ad nos intrare, sed nescio adhuc quomodo res ibit, nam aliquantulum parentes ejus, quamvis amici nostri, obstant ». In MH XIV 182 ist das Wort 'Burgesiae' im Text als 'Aurgau' wiedergegeben, in einer Anmerkung erklärt als 'Aargau'. — Ob vielleicht die Visper Patrizierin, von deren Grosszügigkeit Pater Sebastian Heberle in seinen nicht immer zuverlässigen 'Erinnerungen' berichtet, die Mutter von Amadeus ist? MH XV 67.

⁴⁴ Hofbauers Brief ist veröffentlicht im vorhergehenden Artikel, Dokument 2.

⁴⁵ Siehe den Exkurs über Josef Hofbauers Tätigkeit in Oberwalliser Pfarreien 1808-1811 weiter unten im Anhang.

Wie bereits gesagt, wir wissen nicht, wo genau Appenzeller im Südosten vom Wallis oder in Italien tätig gewesen ist. Einzelheiten über seine apostolische Wirksamkeit dort sind überhaupt nicht bekannt⁴⁶. Einem Brief von Passerat an P. Alois Czech⁴⁷ vom 9. Juli 1823 können wir aber entnehmen, dass nicht alle mit seinem Lebensstil ganz einverstanden waren⁴⁸.

Im Herbst 1810 kam Appenzeller nach Visp zurück und ging dann — vermutlich schon bald — nach Weisstannen⁴⁹ (Sankt Gallen). In den Jahren 1812-1814 verblieb bei ihm als Novize und Student der Kleriker Johann Bapt. Kaltenbach⁵⁰, der sich dort auf den Empfang der hl. Weihen vorbereitete und wahrscheinlich auch wohl in der Pfarrei ausgeholfen hat, soweit er konnte⁵¹. Nach etwa 12jähriger Tätigkeit in Weisstannen verliess Appenzeller den Ort. Am 30. Mai 1821 kam er in Freiburg an und ging am 4. Juni mit Pater Josef Srna⁵² von dort weiter zum Kloster La Valsainte, «um dort zu bleiben»⁵³.

Dieser Aufenthalt dauerte allerdings nur ein halbes Jahr, denn auf derselben Seite der Freiburger Chronik steht unterm 18. Dezember 1821 notiert, dass Appenzeller nach Schmitten (Kanton Freiburg) ging, um den Pater Bonaventura Stoll⁵⁴ als Kaplan zu ersetzen. Die-

⁴⁶ Man möchte meinen, dass Notizen darüber im bischöflichen Archiv von Novara vorhanden sein sollten, da Appenzeller die Jurisdiktion vom dortigen Ordinarius zu seiner Arbeit brauchte.

⁴⁷ Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Czech (1790-1868) in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 244, Nr. 32.

⁴⁸ [P. Appenzeller] «debet omnino recedere in monasterium. Jam rumores de illo spargebantur, dum in Italia esset». Das Original des Briefes befindet sich im Archiv der Redemptoristenprovinz von Lyon; eine Abschrift im AGR IX M, p. 199.

⁴⁹ MH XV 90. Hier wird gesagt, dass Appenzeller bei Biedrzycki wohnte. Es scheint uns fraglich, ob dieser damals wirklich in Weisstannen tätig war. Wenn schon, dann doch nur vorübergehend; denn in den Jahren 1808-1811 war er Hilfspriester in Visp. Siehe *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 226-227.

⁵⁰ Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Kaltenbach (1791-1875), der am 21. Mai 1812 das Noviziat angefangen hatte (AGR X A 77), in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 253, Nr. 76.

⁵¹ MH XV 91-92. Es scheint, dass Kaltenbach mitunter auch in Amden bei Biedrzycki verblieb, der dort 1812 P. Johann Sabelli ersetzt hatte.

⁵² Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Srna (1796-1870) in *Spic. hist.* 4 (1956) 286, Anm. 18.

⁵³ Chronik des Redemptoristenklosters in Freiburg, S. 40, unterm 30. Mai 1821: «Tandem Friburgum advenit R.P. Appenzeller, qui jam a duodecim circiter annis in Weisstannen in Cantone San-Gallensi beneficium administraverat»; unterm 4. Juni: «R.P. Appenzeller una cum R.P. Srna [...] Friburgo in Vallem Sanctam profecti sunt, ibidem mansuri»

⁵⁴ Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Stoll (1781-1838) in *Spic. hist.* 8 (1960) 355, Anm. 33.

ser kam am 3. Januar 1822 in die Valsainte zurück. In Schmitten blieb Appenzeller fast zwei Jahre⁵⁵. Ueber seine Tätigkeit ebenda, wie auch über seine Wirksamkeit in Weisstannen 1810-1821, sind keine Einzelheiten bekannt, aber etwas wird sicher in den Pfarr- und Gemeindearchiven zu finden sein, vielleicht auch im Ordinariatsarchiv. Schon 1822 und noch inständiger 1823 schrieb Passerat dem Rektor der Valsainte, Pater Alois Czech, Appenzeller ins Kloster zurückzurufen, anscheinend weil wieder Gerüchte über seine nicht sehr erbauliche Lebensweise herumgingen⁵⁶. Im Herbst 1823 wurde er dann « aus schwerwiegenden Gründen » zurückgerufen, und Stoll ging wieder nach Schmitten⁵⁷.

Gerade in dieser Zeit fand ein Obernwechsel in der Valsainte statt. Im September 1823 wurde Biedrzycki gegen seinen Willen vom Generalobern, P. Nicola Mansione, zum Rektor des Klosters ernannt, als Amtsnachfolger von Pater Czech⁵⁸. Biedrzycki, der damals in der Schule in Stäffis (Estavayer) tätig war, hatte es nicht eilig, sein neues Amt anzutreten, und als er endlich Ende Dezember in der Valsainte auftauchte, ging er sehr bald wieder nach Stäffis zurück, nachdem er Appenzeller zum Vizerektor ernannt hatte⁵⁹. Da Biedrzycki auch weiterhin ständig in Stäffis blieb, war Appenzeller faktisch der Hausobere. Von seiner Verwaltung ist kaum etwas bekannt, nur dass er mit Pater Sebastian Heberle⁶⁰ die Gegend um Freiburg herum kreuz

⁵⁵ Als im Sommer 1822 der Rektor von Bischenberg daran dachte, ein Noviziat im Elsass einzurichten, scheint er Appenzeller als Novizenmeister in Aussicht genommen zu haben. Chronik von Freiburg, S. 41.

⁵⁶ Passerat an Czech, 28. September 1822; Abschrift im AGR IX M, p. 181: « Vous avez mal fait de ne pas faire retourner le P. Appenzeller en communauté, comme je vous l'avais dit. Ne vous laissez arrêter en ce point par aucune considération ou promesse ». Passerat an Czech, 9. Juli 1823, ebd., p. 199: « Cave ne relinquoas P. Appenzeller expositum. Debet omnino recedere in monasterium. Jam rumores de illo spargebantur, dum in Italia esset [an. 1809-1810]. Tentatio redibit si maneant expositus, et relabitur, videbis. In monasterio Vallis Sanctae maneant et nunquam solus exeant ».

⁵⁷ Chronik von Freiburg, S. 42: « Unde [Schmitten] revocatus est ob graves rationes R.P. Appenzeller, qui brevi post in Vallem Sanctam rediit ».

⁵⁸ Ueber die Hintergründe der Ernennung eines neuen Rektors als Nachfolger von Czech und das Verhalten Biedrzyckis in dieser Angelegenheit vgl. *Spic. hist.* 9 (1961) 178-188, 192-194.

⁵⁹ Chronik von Freiburg, S. 42, letzter Absatz (ohne Tagesdatum): « Exeunte quoque Decembri R.P. Biedrzycki in Vallem Sanctam pervenit, sed post aliquot dies inde Staviacum profectus est ibique permansit usque ad finem anni 1824, ut postea dicitur. Vice-Rectorem constituit R.P. Appenzeller ».

⁶⁰ Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Heberle (1781-1862) in *Spic. hist.* 8 (1960) 351, Anm. 24.

und quer durchzog, um ein geeignetes Haus zu finden, da man vorhatte, die Valsainte aufzugeben. Man fand eines in Tschupru und entschloss sich, es zu kaufen⁶¹. Es verging aber noch über ein Jahr, bis die Redemptoristen sich in Tschupru niederlassen konnten⁶².

Im September 1824 schickte Passerat aus Wien die Patres Martin Stark⁶³ und Eduard von Unkhrechtsberg⁶⁴ ins Elsass und in die Schweiz, um eine kanonische Visitation vorzunehmen⁶⁵. Diese kamen bald zur Ansicht, es wäre besser, die Schweiz ganz aufzugeben und alle Mitglieder ins Elsass zu versetzen, um das seit 1820 bestehende Kloster in Bischenberg⁶⁶ und die geplante Gründung in Trois-Epis⁶⁷ besser zu besetzen. Schon im Herbst desselben Jahres gingen der Rektor der Valsainte, Biedrzycki, und der Vizerektor, Appenzeller, mit den Brüdern Anton Metzler und Franz Scherer ins Elsass; bald folgten andere. Es blieben jedoch einige in der Schweiz zurück, was sich nicht lange nachher als providentiell erweisen sollte, als die zunächst günstige Lage im Elsass sich radikal änderte⁶⁸.

Appenzeller wurde bald zum Minister auf dem Bischenberg ernannt⁶⁹. Ueber seine apostolische Tätigkeit dort haben wir keine

⁶¹ Von Appenzellers Suchaktion und ihrem Ergebnis berichtet kurz die Freiburger Chronik, S. 43.

⁶² Einige Daten über die Redemptoristenniederlassung in Tschupru 1824-1828, von Pater Josef Löw gesammelt, in *Spic. hist.* 4 (1956) 485-486.

⁶³ Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Stark (1787-1852) in *Spic. hist.* 2 (1954) 273, Nr. 157.

⁶⁴ Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Unkhrechtsberg (1797-1870) a.a.O. 276, Nr. 172.

⁶⁵ Chronik von Freiburg, S. 47. In den Monaten Oktober und Dezember berichtete Passerat an den Generalobern Cöle über die im Elsass und in der Schweiz gehaltene Visitation. *Spic. hist.* 10 (1962) 358-360.

⁶⁶ Ueber den Anfang des Redemptoristenklosters in Bischenberg siehe *Spic. hist.* 23 (1975) 247, Anm. 6. Weitere Literatur ebd. 248, Anm. 9.

⁶⁷ Im August 1823 hatten die Verhandlungen mit den Redemptoristen wegen der Uebernahme der Wallfahrtsseelsorge in Trois-Epis angefangen. Am 24. Oktober 1824 kam die Gründung faktisch zustande, indem drei Patres dort ihren festen Wohnsitz nahmen. E. COLLET, *Notre-Dame des Trois-Epis en Alsace, 1491-1925*, Paris 1926, 116-118.

⁶⁸ LANDTWING, a.a.O. 28-29.

⁶⁹ Chronik des Redemptoristenklosters in Bischenberg, S. 12. Das Original dieser Chronik befindet sich im Archiv des Klosters in Bischenberg; eine Fotokopie im AGR. Eine Notiz über die Bischenberger Chronik, die für die Anfangsjahre erst später von Pater Martin Schmitt zusammengestellt wurde, findet sich in *Spic. hist.* 23 (1975) 247. — Das Ministeramt enthielt zwei Aufgaben: er hatte die wirtschaftlichen Belange des Klosters wahrzunehmen und war stellvertretender Hausoberer während der Abwesenheit des Rektors. Es war also ein Vertrauensposten.

Notizen gefunden. Es scheint aber, dass sein Leben auch hier nicht in jeder Weise glücklich verlief, und 1826 wurde er « um seines Seelenheiles willen » nach Trois-Epis versetzt⁷⁰. Im Jahre 1828 dachte Passerat daran, Appenzeller nach Wien zu rufen. Da dieser sich anscheinend scheute, wegen seines vorgerückten Alters, die Reise zu unternehmen, erklärte Passerat, er könne weiterhin in der Schweiz bleiben⁷¹.

Aber Appenzeller ging weder nach Wien noch nach Freiburg. 1828⁷² ging er nach dem unweit von Trois-Epis gelegenen Städtchen Kaysersberg, wo einflussreiche Freunde ihm eine Seelsorgestelle vermittelten. Aber bald ergaben sich auch hier Schwierigkeiten, und die Kaplanei wurde ihm vom Bischof wieder entzogen⁷³.

Inzwischen war es leider soweit gekommen, dass man Appenzeller nicht weiter in der Kongregation belassen wollte. Am 24. Januar 1829 schrieb Passerat an den Generalobern Cocle, er habe Appenzeller aus dem Institut entlassen⁷⁴; die Gründe der Massnahme werden nicht angegeben⁷⁵. Das genaue Datum der Entlassung ist nicht bekannt; in den Personalkatalogen wird nur das Jahr 1828 erwähnt⁷⁶.

Wenn wir einem Bericht von Pater Michael Neubert⁷⁷ an Sa-

⁷⁰ Chronik von Bischofenberg, S. 18: « R.P. Appenzeller vero, qui, licet sexagenarius, liberioris vitae specimina dederat, pro salute animae suae, ad Tres Spicas Marianas missus est ».

⁷¹ Passerat an Czech, 29. Juli-7. August 1828; Abschrift im AGR IX M, pp. 299-300: « Si le R.P. Appenzeller craint le voyage à cause de son âge, il peut rester en Suisse. [...] Le P. Appenzeller peut rester chez vous ».

⁷² Im wiederholt erwähnten Verzeichnis der Redemptoristen, die Anfang 1828 im Elsass tätig waren, steht bei Appenzellers Namen vermerkt, er sei im Hospiz in Trois-Epis, AGR X A 77.

⁷³ Die Chronik von Bischofenberg, S. 18, notiert, dass Appenzeller, nach einem kurzen Aufenthalt in Trois-Epis, « sponte, ut videtur, dimissa Congregatione, Kaisersbergam concessit ibique munus ecclesiasticum exercuit. Puella, quam optime jam pridem noverat, rem ejus familiarem administrabat ». Die einzige weitere uns einstweilen bekannte Quelle über Appenzellers weiteres Geschick in Kayserberg ist ein Brief von P. Neubert; siehe weiter unten, Anm. 78.

⁷⁴ Der Brief ist veröffentlicht in *Spic. hist.* 13 (1965) 222-223.

⁷⁵ Den Grund der Entlassung fanden wir in keinem uns zur Verfügung stehenden Dokument deutlich ausgedrückt. Der emsige Chronist des Instituts, Pater Friedrich Kuntz, sagt in seinen *Commentaria de hominibus et rebus Congregationis SS. Redemptoris XX* 13: « Erat igitur [Appenzeller] aetate jam provectus, cum ab Instituto resiliit; quam vero ob causam, nullibi hucusque adnotatum reperi ». — Band XX, über die Jahre 1828-1834, ist der letzte Band der *Commentaria*, und hat als Schlussdatum den 21. Dezember 1901. Kuntz starb im Generalatshaus in Rom am 8. August 1905.

⁷⁶ Diese Kataloge sind erwähnt in Anm. 3.

⁷⁷ Eine kurze biographische Notiz über Neubert (1805-1882) in *Spic. hist.* 4 (1956) 491, Anm. 10.

belli vom 3. Dezember 1830 Glauben schenken dürfen, muss Appenzellers Lebensabend recht elend gewesen sein ⁷⁸. Der diesbezügliche Absatz im Brief beginnt mit der Nachricht, dass Appenzeller « vor einem Monat » gestorben sei. Vermutlich gründet sich darauf die Notiz in einem Personalkatalog der Kongregation, Appenzeller sei am 3. November 1830 gestorben ⁷⁹. Ueber seine letzten Lebensjahre und seinen Tod wird bestimmt Näheres im Gemeindearchiv von Kaysersberg und im Diözesanarchiv in Strasbourg zu finden sein.

DOKUMENT

Auszug aus der Chronik des Redemptoristenklosters von Freiburg (Schweiz), SS. 23-24.

Hoc tempore factum contigit quod apprime inservit ad explicanda posteriora R. Patris Appenzeller fata. Puellam Trimontanam, nomine Martham Winterhalter, in domum suscepit, ubi per aliquod tempus coquae munia gerebat. Cum autem morbo eadem correpta esset, clericique nostri ipsam deberent curare, isti indecens hoc esse rati et dein nimiam amicitiam et affectionem erga eam animadvertentes R. di Patris Appenzeller erga eam, secreto inter se coacto consilio deliberare coeperunt, quo modo incommodis istis finis fieri posset. Decreverunt igitur serio invitare R. mum P. Hoffbauer, qui non in ipsa domo habitare consueverat, ut puellam istam e domo nostra dimitteret. R. P. Hoffbauer justitiam petitionis illico

⁷⁸ Zweiter Absatz des Briefes von Neubert an Sabelli. Original im AGR X A 42, ebd. eine italienische Uebersetzung des Briefes, die von Sabelli für den Generalobern angefertigt wurde. « Auch ist vor einem Monath der Ex-Redemptorist J. Appenzeller in die furchtbare Ewigkeit geschieden. Der Armselige hat seine Freyheit nicht lange genossen. Vor zwey Jahren erst erhielt er sein *Exeat*, war darauf einige Monathe Vicar in einem Städtchen im Elsass, machte sich aber in kurzer Zeit selbst bey denen, welche ihm zur Freyheit verholfen hatten, so verhasst, dass sie den Bischof bewogen, ihm seine Vicar-Stelle und alle Einkünfte wieder wegzunehmen. Er lebte danach schon viele Monathe lang nur vom Bettel guter Leute, bey denen er aber nur Verachtung selbst im Mitleid fand. — Für ihn sind keine Obsequien zu halten, weil er selber nicht mehr obsequierte! Bethen wir jedoch für ihn! Unter dem Absatz schrieb Czech noch: « NB. Er ist unversehen vom Schlag gerührt verschieden. Merken es die Apostaten ».

⁷⁹ Catalogus X (*Professi Choristae et Servientes Provinciae Gallico-Helveticae*), p. 2, n. 2: « Obiit repentine [die] 3 Novembris 1830 ».

prospiciens petentibus annuit, et jam altera die in pace dimissa est, eaque postea habitavit cum R. P. Egle in beneficio quod ipse occupabat⁸⁰.

Sed nondum finis. — R. P. Appenzeller potestati suae injuriam factam esse ratus, R. mo P. Hoffbauer absque ullo modo hanc agendi rationem exprobravit, et post agre [= acre] jurgium et rixas et injurias vespere omnia domus subjecta congregavit summaque vehementia, ne dicam furore, de eventu disseruit, ita ut satis ejus propensio desumi potuerit, cum ceteroquin malam causam pessime dicere non erubuerit.

Inde miserae inter nostros turbae exortae sunt quae || 24 || infelicem forsam plurium discessum post se trahere potuissent, nisi divina Providentia, quae tantis jam rerum nostrarum adversitatibus medelam attulit, etiam domestico vulnere lenimen apposuerit. Dum enim miseriae tales pacem domesticam et unionem turbarent fraternam, commune gaudium et omnium amor, rediit Vienna R. P. Passerat, Rector, sed quin ejus pro nova domo constituenda profuerint tentamina.

⁸⁰ Martha Winterhalter ist uns nicht näher bekannt. Es könnte aber sehr wohl sein, dass Notizen über diese Person in den Gemeindearchiven von Visp und von Zeneggen, wo Egle 1808-1813 Pfarrer war, vorhanden sind. Im Text wird sie als 'Trimontana', d.h. als von Triberg stammend erwähnt. Während der Zeit, als die Redemptoristen in Triberg im Schwarzwald arbeiteten, 1805-1807, hat ein Kaufmann, namens Michael Winterhalter, ihnen verschiedene Dienste erwiesen. Siehe MH XV 203 (Namensverzeichnis).

Anhang

Pater Josef Hofbauers Tätigkeit in Oberwalliser Pfarreien, 1808-1811

In einem 1976 in dieser Zeitschrift veröffentlichten Aufsatz ist Pater Josef Hofbauer nicht erwähnt unter den Redemptoristen, die in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrh. in Oberwalliser Pfarreien tätig gewesen sind¹. Aus der Unterschrift seines Briefes an den hl. Klemens vom 4. April 1810 geht aber hervor, dass er damals Schulmeister (*Ludimagister*) in Leuk war²; und eine von Pater Josef Srna 1865 geschriebene Lebensskizze von Josef Hofbauer, die grösstenteils auf Aussagen von Pater Alois Czech zurückgeht³, macht es möglich, seine Tätigkeit in Oberwalliser Pfarreien etwas genauer darzulegen.

A peine arrivé à Viège, il fut envoyé à Loèche (les-Bains) pour y occuper une place de professeur, qu'il a changé au bout de quelques années contre l'administration de la petite paroisse d'Inden, très peu éloignée de la ville de Loèche, où il eut pour compagnon un scolastique, Sébastien Héberlé⁴. Ainsi Hoffbauer fut l'administrateur de cette paroisse et lecteur de ce dit scolastique. Il y resta jusqu'à l'année 1811, où le R.P. Passerat l'appelait dans le Canton de Fribourg.

¹ A. SAMPERS, *Redemptoristen in Oberwalliser Pfarreien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, in *Spic. hist.* 24 (1976) 216-234.

² Der auf Latein geschriebene Brief ist veröffentlicht im vorhergehenden Artikel, Dokument 2.

³ *Quelques détails sur la vie de Hoffbauer Joseph de notre Congrégation*. [Notice] tracée par le R.P. Czech, complétée par le P. Jos. Srna, 1865. Das Manuskript von 8 Seiten, von Srna geschrieben, befindet sich im AGR, Pr. GH XI 41. Die beiden Patres hatten Hofbauer sehr gut gekannt.

⁴ Heberle (1781-1862) legte am 25. April 1812 die Profess ab und wurde am 4. Juli 1813 in Freiburg zum Priester geweiht; MH XV 91 u. 98. In seinen 'Erinnerun-

Es zeigt sich damit, dass im erwähnten Artikel von 1976 eine teilweise Verwechslung von Josef Hofbauer mit dem Neffen des hl. Klemens, Franz Hofbauer, unterlaufen ist, und zwar auf S. 223 (Inden), S. 224 (Leuk-Stadt). Unklar bleibt jedoch die genaue Abgrenzung der Zeit der Tätigkeit Josef Hofbauers in beiden Gemeinden. Auch ist es nicht ausgeschlossen, dass die zwei Namensvettern zeitweise zusammen am selben Ort tätig gewesen sind.

Josef Hofbauer wurde geboren in Bockenheim, im deutschsprachigen Teil von Lothringen, Frankreich, am 15. Juli 1765, und wurde zum Priester geweiht in Metz am 19. September 1789⁵. Von der Polizei gesucht wegen seiner heimlichen priesterlichen Tätigkeit während der Zeit der Verfolgung wich er nach Deutschland aus und trat am 22. August 1803 bei den Redemptoristen in Jestetten (Berg Tabor) ein, wo er am 25. Februar 1804 die Gelübde ablegte⁶. Ende 1807 oder Anfang 1808 kam er von Chur nach Visp⁷, und war dann als Schulmeister in Leuk und nachher als Pfarrverweser in Inden tätig. Schon bald nach seiner Ankunft in Visp wird er seine Tätigkeit in Oberwalliser Pfarreien aufgenommen haben, jedenfalls sicher vor Mitte März 1808⁸.

Im Sommer 1811 ging er in den Kanton Freiburg⁹, wo er nacheinander in verschiedenen Pfarreien tätig war¹⁰. Sein letzter Standort war Sankt Silvester, wo er neben der Besorgung des Kirchendienstes auch einige talentierte Schüler im Latein unterrichtete¹¹. Am

gen' spricht er von der Tätigkeit der Patres in Oberwalliser Pfarreien, erwähnt aber nicht seinen Aufenthalt bei Pater Jos. Hofbauer in Inden; MH VII 196-199.

⁵ Die Daten der Geburt und Priesterweihe werden in den Chroniken und Personalkatalogen immer wie oben angegeben. Der Geburtsort ist öfters nicht erwähnt, mitunter aber die Region und zwar als Lotharingia (Germanica); MH XII 244 u. XIII 250, *Spic. hist.* 9 (1961) 139, Catalogus X 2, n. 6. Bockenheim in MH VI 35 u. 161, Catalogus XIII 3, n. 37. In einem älteren Nekrologium wird als Geburtsort Saarunion (Sarre-Union) angegeben; *Chronica abbreviata Provinciae Gallico-Helveticae CSSR, 1841-1866*, p. 548; dieser Chronik entnommen ist die gleiche Angabe in [J.-B. LORTHOIT], *Mémorial alphonisien*, Tourcoing 1929, 629.

⁶ MH VI 161 u. XV 98.

⁷ MH VI 174-175. Ende September 1807 war er noch in Chur.

⁸ Im Brief vom Visper Pfarrer Adrian de Courten an den hl. Klemens vom 17. März 1808 heisst es: « Les Pères Joseph [Hofbauer] et François [Hofbauer] ont été appelés, le seul Père Jean [Biedrzycki] est resté auprès de moi ». MH VIII 264.

⁹ MH XV 90.

¹⁰ LANDTWING, a.a.O. 140.

¹¹ Pater Srna nennt in seiner 'Notice' (siehe oben, Anm. 3) zwei Namen: Nicolas Mauron (1818-1893), der am 2. Mai 1855 zum Generalobern der Redemptoristen

22. November 1831 kam er von dort « ob ingravescentem morbum » ins Kloster nach Freiburg¹². Die Wassersucht, woran er seit 1829 litt, verschlimmerte sich aber rasch, und er verschied unversehens am 16. Dezember 1831¹³.

gewählt wurde, und Christophe Cosandey (1818-1882), der am 19. Dezember 1879 zum Bischof von Lausanne und Genf ernannt wurde.

¹² Die Chronik von Freiburg, S. 90.

¹³ Die 'Notice' von Pater Srna, der damals im Kloster von Freiburg verblieb, enthält folgendes über die letzte Krankheit und den Tod von Pater Josef Hofbauer auf den SS. 6-7:

« N'ayant pu garder le lit à cause des suffocations, il était jour et nuit comme cloué sur une chaise tenant les pieds excessivement enflés sur un baignolet pour recevoir les eaux et les matières qui en découlaient sans cesse. [...]

Notre médecin, Mr Ducret, vint le voir le 16 décembre immédiatement après son petit dîner. A la demande, combien de temps il croyait que le malade pourrait encore vivre, il lui donna à peu près trois semaines.

O altitudo [Rom XI 33]. A peine avait-il quitté sa chambre et la maison, que le père Joseph entre en agonie et rend son dernier soupir; de sorte que, pour lui administrer le sacrement de l'extrême onction on a eu à peine le temps de faire une seule onction sur la main. Nous nous trouvâmes encore à table avec toute la communauté, mais par bonheur le préfet des malades se trouva là (le Père [Philippe] Werling). Et fort heureusement il avait reçu le St Viatique dans la matinée de ce jour même.

[...] Il fut très tourmenté par des scrupules, et dans cet état la crainte le poursuivit sans cesse jour et nuit. Combien de fois ne m'a-t-il pas dit et répété, déjà à la Valsainte: « Peccantem me quotidie et non me paenitentem timor mortis conturbat me ».

ANDRÉ SAMPERS

A CHRONOLOGICAL LIST OF THE PUBLISHED LETTERS
OF FATHER JOSEPH PASSERAT

Since Father Joseph¹ Passerat's virtue was officially declared heroic on April 29, 1980², a renewed interest in his life and work, in his personality and particularly in his spirituality has arisen in the Redemptorist Congregation, of which he is certainly one of the outstanding figures. An unmistakable sign of this interest is several requests that recently came to the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome (hereinafter: AGR) for information about Passerat's spiritual doctrine, its characteristic points and fundamental ideas, its implantation into and its lasting influence in the Congregation³. More significant and certainly encouraging is the fact that a few confreres asked us to give some information as to how to study the subject: what has been written about it and what sort of documentation for a thorough study is available and where can this be found?

The only published study of any scope on the subject is a French work: *L'âme du vén. Père Passerat... Doctrine spirituelle et vertus*, by Fr. Edouard Gautron, Paris (Téqui) 1929, X-363 pp.⁴. A

¹ Fr. Passerat has four Christian names which in the writings about him usually are not all given, or when given, are not always put in the right sequence. In the certificate of his baptism, extracted from the parish register of St. Mary's church in his native town Joinville, on January 10, 1893, the full name is given as: Joseph Amand Fidèle Constantin.

² The Latin decree is published in *Spic. hist.* 28 (1980) 232-235. Also in *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 72 (1980) 969-973.

³ The last point requires, of course, a special (and somewhat complicated!) study. Owing to several factors — to be checked carefully — Passerat's influence is more noticeable in the French and Dutch speaking sections of the Congregation than elsewhere.

⁴ The author says in the preface that he will have Fr. Passerat himself speak-

few years later a Spanish translation came out under a somewhat different title⁵. There exist a few shorter but excellent publications as well on the subject, in Dutch and in German⁶. Obviously, notes on Passerat's personality and spirituality can be found in his biographies of which we mention here only the more scholarly ones by Frs. Girouille (Paris 1924; English translation, London 1928) and Debongnie (Paris 1938)⁷.

Though it is advantageous to begin a study on a given subject by reading and critically evaluating what others have written, the study itself has to be based on sources, that is in the present case, on what contemporaries said about the matter and, above all, on the sayings and writings of the man himself.

As to the former group of sources, we are very fortunate in Passerat's case, in as much as many contemporaries have given their opinions about him and his doings, mostly in letters and memoirs, and a good many of these documents have been preserved⁸. Moreover, during the beatification processes (1892-1910)⁹ many contemporaries were officially called to give evidence of his life and work, his way of living and of governing the community he had in his care. All this testimony deposited on oath and recorded by a notary is gathered in the handwritten court records¹⁰ and in part printed in the so-called *Positiones*¹¹. These *Positiones* have some sort of an

ing as much as possible, and indeed we find quotations — sometimes very long ones — from his conferences and his letters on nearly every page. The book was well received by the confreres; See *Analecta CSSR* 8 (1929) 402-403.

⁵ E. GAUTRON, *R. P. Passerat. Su fisonomía espiritual; El hombre interior*, Madrid 1935, 384 pp. The translator's name is not mentioned in the book, but from elsewhere we know that the translation was done by Fr. Braulio Gómez López.

⁶ H. van der Meulen, in *Monumenta Historica. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Provincie der Redemptoristen* 2 (1950) 83-94. O. Weiss, in *Die Redemptoristen in Bayern, 1790-1909*, München 1977, 241-262.

⁷ Full titles in M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie générale des écrivains rédemptoristes*, vol. II, Louvain 1935, 163 (Girouille, n. 10), and vol. III, Louvain 1939, 281 (Debongnie, n. 30). Other books on Passerat are listed in this bibliography II 304 and III 362. To be added: M. PELISSIER, *Le Père Passerat*, [Saint-Etienne 1949], 84 pp.

⁸ Most of this material is kept in the AGR and in the office of the postulator general for Redemptorist causes, housed in the same building in Rome.

⁹ Some short notes on the history of Passerat's beatification process are found in *Spic. hist.* 7 (1959) 394, n. 10 and 28 (1980) 231-232.

¹⁰ A handwritten copy of the entire process, made on purpose for the use of the postulator general — the so-called *copia publica* — is kept in his office.

¹¹ A list of these *Positiones* (1901-1959) can be found in *Spic. hist.* 10 (1962) 293-294. To be added: *Nova positio super virtutibus; Romae, Guerra et Belli*, 1973 (*Novae*

introduction (*Informatio*) in which the cause's lawyer outlines the spiritual features of the person in question¹².

As to Passerat's own writings we are in a more difficult situation, as he did not write anything with a view to publication and very little of his writings were published during his lifetime: three sermons delivered on special occasions, and one short, not very significant, spiritual treatise¹³. This last, under the title *Horloge de la Passion*¹⁴, was published under his name, but without his knowledge and, it seems, against his will, by his confreres in 1852. When Passerat saw the publication, he protested, asking that his name be suppressed because he had extracted the text from the Jesuit author Croiset¹⁵.

Comparing Passerat's *Horloge*¹⁶ with the *Horloge* inserted in Croiset's 'Practical Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus'¹⁷, it is

animadversiones Promotoris generalis fidei, 38 pp; *Responsio Patroni*, 160 pp). *Relatio et vota Congressus peculiaris super virtutibus, die 15 maii an. 1979 habiti, Romae 1979*, 65 pp.

¹² The *Positiones* are not available through the regular book trade, because they were privately printed for exclusive use in connection with the process. For other serious purposes copies may be had on request from the postulator general, until the limited stocks are exhausted.

¹³ All four are listed by DE MEULEMEESTER, *op. cit.* II 304.

¹⁴ The indications on the editions of this booklet as given by De MEULEMEESTER, *ibid.*, n. 4 are somewhat confusing. We know of two French editions: Bruges (Daveluy) 1852 and Paris-Tournai (Casterman) 1859. The last one published after the author's death, under the title: *Petite Horloge de la Passion*. A German translation was published twice by Fr. Franz Ratte under the title: *Kleine Passions-Stunden-Uhr* in his booklet *Zum Andenken an Joseph Constantin Passerat*, Dülmen n. d., pp. 89-109, and in its 2nd edition, under the title *Grundsätze für inneres Leben und Seelenleitung, zum Andenken an Joseph Constantin Passerat*, 2. Aufl., Dülmen 1881, pp. 91-110. A Dutch translation came out in 1899 and another one was distributed about seventy years later in hectographed typewritten copies. The last one has a preface signed by the Rev. J. Van Brabant dated July 16, 1964. At present only these 6 editions of Passerat's *Horloge* (2 in French, 2 in German, 2 in Dutch) are known to us, but further research may bring others to light.

¹⁵ About this incident see H. GIROUILLE, *Vie du vén. Père Joseph Passerat*, Paris 1924, 638. In the English translation, London 1928, 545.

¹⁶ Our comparison was based on the 1859 edition. Full title of the booklet: *Petite Horloge de la Passion, ou manière de méditer dévotement et avec fruit la Passion de notre Seigneur Jésus-Christ à toutes les heures du jour et de la nuit*, par le R. P. J. Passerat, ex-vicaire général de la Congrégation du très-saint Rédempteur. Nouvelle édition, précédée d'une Notice sur le pieux Auteur et de ses Maximes spirituelles; Paris-Tournai, H. Casterman, 1859; 160 (12 x 8 cm), 63 pp. The *Petite Horloge* on pp. 23-48.

¹⁷ *Dévotion pratique au Sacré Coeur de Jésus, suivie d'exercices en l'honneur du très-saint Coeur de Marie*, par le Père Jean Croiset...; Paris, V. Palmé, 1873; 160 (13 x 8 cm), 484 pp. The *Horloge de la Passion* on pp. 303-322.

clear that Passerat modelled himself on Croiset¹⁸. But, though a few short sentences are lifted verbatim, the whole is different in composition; Passerat is more concise and simpler in style. Then, it is noteworthy that only twice (in the 8th and the 10th « Hour » p.m.) does he mention the Sacred Heart of Jesus, whereas the expression occurs constantly (on an average twice in each « Hour ») in Croiset's text. The space of time in both Croiset's and Passerat's 'Clocks' runs from 6 p.m. till 5 p.m.¹⁹.

Fortunately, however, there are many sources for Passerat's spirituality not published during his lifetime but in part (as indicated below) afterwards: hundreds of letters, several conferences²⁰ and instructions, and a number of spiritual notes. Most of this very valuable and for the greater part unexplored material is kept in the AGR, including many original documents, but also photostats of originals and handwritten copies²¹. It may be useful to give here the general classification of the Passerat file as indexed in the AGR under number IX D-O.

- IX D Personalia. Documenta et notitiae circa Patrem Passerat
- IX E-O Scripta Patris Passerat
- IX E Orationes sacrae. Conferentiae et notitiae spirituales
- IX F Acta superioratus. Mandata et nominationes
- IX G-O Epistulae Patris Passerat
- IX G Epistulae ad Superiorem generalem et Procuratorem generalem
- IX H Epistulae circulares
- IX K Epistulae ad varios Patres
- IX M Photocopiae epistularum quae in archivo Provinciae CSSR de Lyon asservantur
- IX N Epistulae ad Moniales OSSR
- IX O Epistulae ad exteros(as)

There follows now a chronologically arranged list of all the hitherto published letters of Father Passerat, with a reference to where they are published. It is our intention to give the reader interested in

¹⁸ I wish to thank Fr. Théodule Rey-Mermet of the Paris Redemptorist community who kindly sent me photostats of Croiset's *Horloge* from the book mentioned in the previous footnote.

¹⁹ It seems of some interest to note that Passerat is not mentioned among the many authors of 'Clocks' in the article *Horloges spirituelles* in the *Dictionnaire de spiritualité* VII 1 (1969) 745-763. Croiset is mentioned on col. 759-760.

²⁰ A conference held at the close of the canonical visitation of the Vienna community in 1831 is edited in *Spic. hist.* 18 (1970) 432-441.

²¹ In a particular case photocopies of some of the original documents may be obtained on request.

doing some personal research on Passerat's spirituality an instrument by means of which he can easily find a good number of published sources. Needless to say, not all these letters have equal value as sources of information for the study of Passerat's personality and spirituality. Some are mainly ascetical exhortations, whereas others are mere office notes²².

²² We prefer to make the following list as complete as possible, also to give it more value as a contribution to Passerat's bibliography. A few of his published letters are listed in DE MEULEMEESTER, *op. cit.* II 304 and III 362. — On the whole, extracts of letters and manipulated texts are not inserted in our list.

Chronological list
of Venerable Joseph Passerat's published letters

List of Abbreviations

- APA = J. WUEST, *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris Provinciae Americanae*, Ilchester 1888 ff.
 DCPB = *Digesta Chronica collegiorum Provinciae Belgicae CSSR*, vol. I: *Tornacum*, Bruges 1894.
 DM = *Documenta miscellanea ad regulam et spiritum Congregationis nostrae illustrandum*, Roma 1904.
 MH = *Monumenta Hofbaueriana*, Kraków 1915 ff.
 MHPN = *Monumenta historica Provinciae Neerlandicae CSSR*, Amsterdam 1949 ff.
 NPVR = *Nova Positio super Virtutibus servi Dei Iosephi Amandi Passerat*, pars II: *Responsio ad novas animadversiones Promotoris generalis fidei*, Roma 1973.
 SH = *Spicilegium historicum CSSR*, Roma 1953 ff.

1803-1819

- 1803, November 24, Jestetten. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 30-31 (in French).
- [1803, December, Jestetten]. To the parish priest in Engen. — Ed. in MH 5 (1933) 38, n. 30 (in German).
- 1805, January 18, Lucerne. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 35 (in French).
- 1805, February 12, Jestetten. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 36-37 (in French).
- 1805, August 3, Jestetten. To Mr. von Spenner, in Thiengen. — Ed. in MH 5 (1933) 53, n. 47 (in German).
- [1806?]. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 38 (in French).
- 1806, August 18, Babenhausen. To Fr. V. Woyciechowicz, in Warsaw. — Ed. in MH 8 (1936) 225-226 (in French).
- [1806, September 16-17, Babenhausen]. To St. Clement Hofbauer, in Warsaw. — Ed. in MH 8 (1936) 158-160 (in French translation).
- 1806, October 6, Babenhausen. To Mgr. Ant. Nigg, in Augsburg. — Ed. in MH 6 (1932) 31, n. 30 (in Latin).

- [1806, autumn, Babenhausen]. To Mgr. Carl von Buol-Schauenstein, in Chur. — Ed. in MH 6 (1932) 67, n. 52 (in Latin).
- 1806, November 17, Babenhausen. To the Rev. Joh. Baal, in Chur. — Ed. in MH 6 (1932) 72, n. 59 (in German).
- [1807, January, Chur]. To St. Clement Hofbauer, in Warsaw. — Ed. in MH 6 (1932) 82-85 (in French translation).
- 1807, April 12, Chur. To Mr. Ben. Brenzinger, in Thiengen. — Ed. in MH 5 (1933) 73-74 (in Latin).
- 1807, June 20, Chur. To St. Clement Hofbauer, in Warsaw. — Ed. in MH 6 (1932) 138-139 (in French translation).
- 1807, July 28, Chur. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 44 (in Latin).
- 1807, August 12, Chur. To St. Clement Hofbauer, in Warsaw. — Ed. in MH 8 (1936) 160-162 (in French translation).
- 1807, August 12, Chur. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 44-45 (in Latin).
- 1807, September 30, Chur. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 45-46 (in Latin).
- [1807, October, Chur]. To Abbot Thad. Aigler, in Roggenburg. — Ed. in MH 6 (1932) 60-61 (in Latin; text is incomplete).
- 1807, October 7, Chur. To the community in Warsaw. — Ed. in MH 6 (1932) 142-143 (in French translation).
- 1807, October 27, Chur. To Mr. Ant. Schoch, in Lindau. — Ed. in MH 6 (1932) 61 (in German).
- 1808, January 4, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 46-47 (in Latin).
- 1808, February 11, Visp. To Mr. Ben. Brenzinger, in Thiengen. — Ed. in MH 5 (1933) 89, n. 79 (in Latin).
- 1808, March 10, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 47-48 (in Latin).
- 1808, March 18, Visp. To St. Clement Hofbauer, in Warsaw. — Ed. in MH 8 (1936) 163-165 (in French translation).
- 1808, June 24, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 48 (in Latin).
- 1808, July 11, Visp. To Mr. Ben. Brenzinger, in Thiengen. — Ed. in MH 5 (1933) 93-94 (in Latin; text is incomplete).

- 1808, August 25, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 48-49 (in Latin).
- 1808, October 20, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 50 (in Latin).
- 1809, April 9, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 51-52 (in Latin).
- 1809, May 18, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 53 (in Latin).
- 1809, August 6, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 53 (in Latin).
- 1809, October 15, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 54-55 (in Latin).
- 1810, March 29, Visp. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 7 (1959) 55 (in Latin).
- 1810, April 5, Visp. To Mgr. Ant. Severoli, in Vienna. — Ed. in SH 29 (1981) 387-388 (in French).
- 1810, April 8, Visp. To St. Clement Hofbauer, in Vienna. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 180-183 (in Latin).
- [1811]. To the cantonal government of Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 188-189 (in French).
- 1811, September 20, Fribourg. To the cantonal government of Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 190 (in French).
- 1817, February 7, Farvagny. To the Prefect in Altkirch. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 243 (in French).
- [1817, July]. To the police Council in Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 202-203 (in French).
- 1817, August 9, Farvagny. To the Prefect in Farvagny. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 204-205 (in French).
- 1817, September 2, Fribourg. To the Council of education in Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 210-211 (in French).
- 1817, October 16, Farvagny. To the Council of education in Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 214-215 (in French).
- 1818, March 28, Cerniat. To the cantonal government of Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 15 (1951) 133-134 (in French).
- 1818, May 20, Valsainte. To Mgr. Aug. Zen-Ruffinen, in Sion. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 224-226 (in French).

- 1819, July 19, Valsainte. To Fr. A. Czech, in Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 78-79 (in French).
- 1819, September 25, Valsainte. To Mr. Jos. de Montenach, in Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 15 (1951) 138, n. 17 (in French).
- 1819, November 18, Valsainte. To Mgr. P. T. Yenni, in Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 14 (1951) 228, n. 361 (in French).

1820-1829

- 1820, April 12, Valsainte. To Fr. N. Mansione, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 131-133 (in Latin); also in MH 13 (1939) 209-211 and in NPVR 107-109.
- 1820, July 25, Valsainte. To Fr. N. Mansione, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 138-144 (in Latin); also in MH 13 (1939) 249-253.
- 1820, October 28, Vienna, To Fr. A. Czech, in Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 13 (1939) 260-261 (in French).
- 1820, November 10, Vienna. To Fr. A. Czech, in Fribourg. — Ed. in MH 13 (1939) 265, n. 170 (in French; text is incomplete).
- 1820, December 18, Vienna. To Fr. V. Giattini, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 144-145 (in Latin).
- 1821, February 5, Vienna. To the government of Lower Austria. — Ed. in MH 9 (1937) 358 (in German).
- 1821, November 18, Vienna. To Fr. N. Mansione, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 145-150 (in Latin); excerpts in MH 9 (1937) 353.
- 1822, March 29, Vienna. To Fr. N. Mansione, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 153-154 (in Italian).
- 1822, December 18, Vienna. To Fr. Mansione, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 165-166 (in Italian).
- 1823, April 15, Vienna. To Fr. N. Mansione, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 2 (1954) 346 and 9 (1961) 166-167 (in Italian).
- 1823, July 3, Vienna. To Fr. N. Mansione, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 172 (in Italian).
- 1823, July 3, Vienna. To Fr. F. Springer, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 172-173 (in Italian translation).
- 1823, November 24, Vienna. To Fr. N. Mansione, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 187-188 (in Italian); excerpt in MH 9 (1937) 353-354.
- 1824, January 4, Vienna. To Fr. F. Springer, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 190-191 (in German).

- 1824, January 20, Vienna. To Fr. G. Di Paola, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 196 (in Italian).
- 1824, March 2, Vienna. To Fr. G. Di Paola, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 9 (1961) 198-199 (in Italian).
- 1824, August 9, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 352-355 (in Italian).
- 1824, October 19, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 358-359 (in Italian).
- 1824, October 20, Vienna. To Fr. G. Mautone, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 358, in the footnote (in Italian).
- 1824, December 14, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 360 (in Italian).
- 1825, March 31, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 362-365 (in Italian).
- 1825, August 7, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 370-373 (in Italian).
- [1825, December, Vienna]. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 376-378 (in Italian, postscript in Latin).
- 1826, February 20, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 382-384 (in Italian, postscript in Latin).
- 1826, April, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 384-387 (in Italian).
- 1826, May 21, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 10 (1962) 389-391 (in Italian, postscript in Latin).
- 1826, August 26, Tschupru. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 37-38 (in Latin).
- 1826, November 13, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 40-42 (in Italian).
- 1827, January 23, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 44-47 (in Italian).
- 1827, April 18, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 51-54 (in Italian).
- 1827, June 6, Vienna. Postscript on a letter to the Redemptoristines in Sant'Agata dei Goti. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 289 (in Italian).
- 1827, July 26, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 54-56 (in Italian).

- 1827, August 27, Vienna. To Fr. G. Mautone, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 56-57 (in Italian).
- 1827, September c. 20, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 61-62 (in Italian).
- 1827, October 1, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 62-64 (in Italian).
- 1827, December 1, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 68-69 (in Italian).
- 1828, February 28, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 69-71 (in Italian).
- 1828, November 24, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 75-78 (in Italian).
- 1829, January 24, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 222-223 (in Italian).
- 1829, March 8, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 227-230 (in Italian).
- 1829, May 2, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 233-234 (in Italian).
- 1829, July 27, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 234-238 (in Italian).
- 1829, July 27, Vienna. To Fr. G. Mautone, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 238-240 (in Italian).
- [1829, August-September, Vienna]. To Fr. G. Mautone, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 240-241 (in Italian).
- 1829, November 10, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 242-243 (in Italian).
- 1829, December 5, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 13 (1965) 245-248 (in Italian).

1830-1839

- 1830, January 12, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 126-127 (in Italian).
- 1830, March 23, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 127-128 (in Italian).
- 1830, May 21, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 130-137 (in Italian, addition in Latin).

- 1830, May 21, Vienna. To Fr. G. Mautone, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 138 (in Italian).
- 1830, June 17, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 140-141 (in Italian).
- 1830, August 5, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 141-144 (in French).
- 1830, September 22, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 148-150 (in Italian, addition in Latin and French).
- 1830, October 11, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 150-152 (in Italian).
- 1830, November 18, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 243-245 (in Italian).
- [1830, November c. 20, Vienna]. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 246-248 (in Latin).
- 1831, January 23, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 264-266 (in Italian, addition in Latin).
- 1831, March 11, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 273-275 (in Italian).
- 1831, May 25, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 14 (1966) 276-278 (in Italian).
- 1831, July 16, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 4-6 (in Italian).
- 1831, August 2, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 6-8 (in Italian).
- 1831, August 11, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 9-10 (in Italian).
- 1831, September 15, Vienna. To the Rev. Jos. Hannecart, in Rumillies. — Ed. in DCPB 1 (1894) 4-5 (in French).
- 1831, October 12, Vienna. To Fr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 15-18 (in Italian).
- 1831, November 18, Vienna. To Fr. B. Panzuti, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 31-32 (in Italian).
- [1831, November 18, Vienna]. To Mgr. C. Cocle, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 32-33 (in Latin).
- 1831, November 23, Vienna. To the Rev. Jos. Hannecart, in Rumillies. — Ed. in DCPB 1 (1894) 6-7 (in French).

- 1831, December 30, Vienna. To Fr. B. Panzuti, in Naples. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 33-35 (in Latin).
- 1832, January 10, Vienna. To the Rev. Jos. Hannecart, in Rumillies. — Ed. in DCPB 1 (1894) 7 (in French; text is incomplete).
- 1832, March 5, Vienna. To Mgr. F. Resé, in Cincinnati. — Ed. in SH 17 (1969) 155 (in French).
- 1832, June 2, Vienna. To the Rev. B. Hafkenscheid, in Amsterdam. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 120 (in French).
- 1832, October 11, Vienna. To Fr. G. Ripoli, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 28 (1980) 251-253 (in Latin).
- 1832, November 16, Vienna. To Fr. G. Ripoli, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 28 (1980) 253-254 (in Italian).
- 1833, January 1, Vienna. To Fr. G. Ripoli, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 28 (1980) 254-256 (in Latin).
- 1833, January 31, Vienna. To Fr. G. Mautone, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 28 (1980) 256-258 (in Italian).
- [1833, February, Vienna]. To the Rev. Jos. Hannecart, in Rumillies. — Ed. in DCPB 1 (1894) 8 (in French; text is incomplete).
- 1835, December 29, Vienna. To the students and novices in Saint-Trond. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 121-122 (in French); also in DM 325-326 (in Latin translation).
- 1835, December 30, Vienna. To Frs. Pilat, Czvitkovicz and Dobisch, in Saint-Trond. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 123 (in Latin).
- 1836, March 18, Vienna. To the members of the Transalpine Congregation. Ed. in DM 326-328 (in Latin).
- 1838, January 18, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 124-126 (in French); also in DM 329-331 (in Latin translation).
- 1838, March 28, Vienna. To the students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 127 (in Latin).
- 1838, July 23, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 143-145 (in French); also in DM 331-333 (in Latin translation).
- 1838, September 18, Vienna. To Fr. A. Czvitkovicz, in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 147-148 (in Latin and French).
- 1839, September 10, Vienna. To Fr. V. Dechamps, in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 150 (in Latin).

1840-1850

- 1840, January 15, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 151-153 (in French); also in DM 333-336 (in Latin translation).
- 1840, April 10, Vienna. To Fr. P. Rispoli, in Pagani. — Ed. in NPVR 119-120 (in Latin).
- 1841, January 6, Vienna. To the members of the Transalpine Congregation. — Ed. in DM 336-339 (in Latin).
- 1841, February 4, Vienna. To Fr. M. Heilig, in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 155-156 (in French).
- 1841, April 30, Vienna. To Fr. M. Heilig, in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 185-186 (in French).
- 1841, August 18, Vienna. To the superiors of the Transalpine Congregation. — Ed. in DM 339-340 (in Latin).
- 1842, January 6, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 2 (1950) 187-189 (in French); also in DM 340-343 (in Latin translation).
- 1843, January 5, Vienna. to the members of the Transalpine Congregation. — Ed. in DM 343-345 (in Latin).
- 1844, January 18, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 27-29 (in French); also in DM 345-347 (in Latin translation).
- 1844, March 22, Vienna. To Fr. G. Ripoli, in Pagani. — Ed. in NPVR 120-121 (in Latin).
- 1844, October 14, Vienna. To the members of the Congregation in America. — Ed. in APA, Suppl. 1 (1903) 464-467 (in German).
- 1845, January 10, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 52-53 (in French); also in DM 348-349 (in Latin translation).
- 1845, October 28, Vienna. To Fr. B. Hafkenschaid, in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 55 (in French).
- 1846, January 15, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 56-57 (in French); also in DM 350-351 (in Latin translation).
- 1846, April 9, Vienna. To Fr. T. Lelouchier, in Wittem. — Ed. in MHNP 3 (1951) 93 (in French).
- 1846, August 7, Vienna. To Fr. G. Ripoli, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 487-489 (in Latin).

- 1847, January 6, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 94 (in French); also in DM 352 (in Latin translation).
- 1847, January 6, Vienna. To Fr. A. Konings, in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 95 (in French).
- 1847, January 21, Vienna. To Fr. G. Ripoli, in Pagani. — Ed. in NPVR 121-123 (in Latin).
- 1847, April 26, Vienna. To the members of the Transalpine Congregation. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 96 (in Latin); also in DM 353-354.
- 1847, December 2, Vienna. To the members of the Congregation in America. — Ed. in APA 1 (1888) 367-368 (in Latin).
- 1848, January, Vienna. To the Fathers and novices in Saint-Trond. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 123-124 (in Latin).
- 1848, January 8, Vienna. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 121-122 (in French).
- 1848, January 14, Vienna. To St. John Neumann, in Baltimore. — Ed. in APA 1 (1888) 381-382 (in Latin).
- 1848, February 11. Petition to the Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, in Rome. — Ed. in APA 1 (1888) 408 (in Latin).
- 1848, February 15, Vienna. To the Fathers of the second novitiate, in Liège. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 126-127.
- 1848, April 10, Maria-Enzersdorf (near Vienna). To Fr. J. Reyners, in Gräfenberg. — Ed. in SH 12 (1964) 24 (in French); also in NPVR 124.
- 1848, April 10, Maria-Enzersdorf (near Vienna). To Fr. L. Ottmann, in Bischenberg. — Ed. in SH 12 (1964) 25 (in French).
- 1848, April 17, Altötting. To Fr. M. Hugues, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 346-347 (in German).
- 1848, April 23, Altötting. To Fr. W. Zyka, in Frohnleiten. — Ed. in SH 15 (1967) 349-350 (in German, postscript in Latin).
- 1848, May 14, Liège. To the members of the Transalpine Congregation. — Ed. in DM 354-359 (in Latin).
- 1848, May 18, Bruges. To Fr. F. Bruchmann, in Altötting. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 360-362 (in French); also in NPVR 127-129.
- 1848, June 7, Liège. To Fr. F. Bruchmann, in Altötting. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 366-367 (in French); also in NPVR 130-131.
- 1848, June 7, Liège. To Fr. M. Hugues, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 367 (in French).

- 1848, June 8, Liège. To Fr. G. Ripoli, in Pagani. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 368 (in Latin); also in NPVR 131-132.
- 1848, June 9, Liège. To the members of the Transalpine Congregation. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 368-369 (in Latin); also in DM 360 and in APA 1 (1888) 408-409.
- 1848, June 16, Liège. To St. John Neumann, in Baltimore. — Ed. in APA 1 (1888) 393-394 (in German).
- 1848, June 28, Wittem. To Fr. M. Hugues, in Rome. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 375-376 (in French).
- 1848, August 19, Bruges. To Fr. F. Doll, in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 5 (1953) 18 (in French).
- 1848, October 23, Liège. To Fr. A. Czech, in La Roche. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 401 (in French).
- 1848, November 6, Bruges. To Fr. V. Dechamps, in Tournai. — Ed. in SH 6 (1958) 401-402 (in French).
- 1848, November 8, Bruges. To the Fathers and students in Wittem. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 158-159 (in Latin).
- 1848, November 9, Bruges. To the Redemptorist community in Liège. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 159-160 (in French).
- 1848, December 10, Wittem. Spirituel note for Fr. P. Sassen. — Ed. in MHPN 4 (1952) 31 (in French).
- 1850, January 18, Bruges. To the Redemptorist communities of the Belgian province. — Ed. in MHPN 3 (1951) 186-187 (in French); also in APA 2 (1893) 437-438 (with a postscript of April 2).

First Publication of the Commission on Redemptorist Charism and Spirituality

Heart Calls to Heart: An Alphonsian Anthology. Selected and Edited by Carl Hoegerl, C.S.S.R. Rome: Sant'Alfonso, 1981. (12 x 19), xxvi-329.

In the section on formation, the *Instructiones seu Orientationes* (October 4, 1979) of the recent General Chapter wished the General Council to establish a commission on the spirit of the CSSR, *De Spiritu CSSR*. Among its specific responsibilities, this Commission was « to see to the publication of the sources of our spirit in the vernaculars, especially the works of St. Alphonsus and our confreres, and the lives of our saints and beati » (*Acta Integra Capituli Generalis XIX CSSR*, p. 370). With the publication of this book in English, *Heart Calls to Heart: An Alphonsian Anthology*, a beginning has been made in fulfilling this request of the Chapter. (A French translation has been made by the Province of Ste-Anne-de-Beaupre, though it has not yet been published, and, it is hoped, others in Spanish and Portuguese will soon follow suit.)

While fulfilling the intent of the Chapter in establishing the Commission, by a happy circumstance, the book is able to fulfill another function: to serve as a commemoration of the jubilee year of the Congregation. The purpose of the jubilee, as expressed by Father General in the Foreword, has a close connection with the work of the Commission and the reason for the book. Thus Father Pfab: « The 250th Jubilee of the founding of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer should be for each of the confreres an occasion for returning to the sources and to the precious spiritual and pastoral legacy St. Alphonsus has left behind ». The jubilee is to be an occasion, and *Heart Calls to Heart* is to be one of the instruments, of a renewal of Redemptorist life through a deeper acquaintanceship with the spirituality of our Founder. Such a return to Alphonsus would be facilitated, it was argued, by placing in the hands of the confreres a book of selections from his spiritual writings that would not be too bulky and cumbersome, and yet would contain in a small scope the quintessence of his doctrine.

A number of things must be borne in mind if one is to understand more fully the book's contribution as a vehicle for grasping the charism Alphonsus has handed over to his confreres. First, a notable part of his charism is his spirituality, his unique synthesis of the truths of Revelation resulting from his graced understanding of the demands of the Gospel upon himself personally, and from his unique response to those demands. Hence, an integral part of the Congregation's charism today, as it always was in the past, is the Redemptorist's personal living of the

Alphonsian spiritual doctrine and the preaching and teaching of it to others. Then, one has also to keep in mind that Alphonsus's spiritual writings are truly the complement, the continuation, the perfecting of his moral theology. He knew well that no one on the way to salvation can stop at a minimum, but each must go on to develop to the full the spiritual gifts received from the Redeemer. His spiritual books are the second half of his moral teaching, whose purpose is to help all to come to an ever-increasing fulness of the Christian life and to a deeper and more personal union with the Redeemer in love.

The contents of the book are as follows. Introductory material: Foreword by Father General (ix-xi); Preface by Father Carl Hoegerl (xiii-xxvi). Then eight chapters of selections from the writings of St. Alphonsus in eight areas in which he wrote extensively and which contain, so to speak, the essence of his spiritual teaching: chapter 1: Love of Jesus Christ: the Heart of the Spiritual Doctrine of St. Alphonsus (1-41); chapter 2: The Birth of Jesus Christ: God's Love Made Visible (43-77); chapter 3: The Passion and Death of Jesus: the Excess of Love on the Cross (79-111); chapter 4: The Eucharist: Jesus Makes Us Sharers of His Passion, Death, and Resurrection in the Sacrament (112-151); chapter 5: Mary: Jesus Gives Us His Mother As Our Model and As the Mother of Grace (153-191); chapter 6: Prayer: the Great and Indispensable Means of Salvation (193-233); chapter 7: Zeal: Chosen to Share in the Work of the Lord (235-265); chapter 8: The Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer: Beloved Sons of St. Alphonsus (267-329). Each of the eight chapters is prefaced with a four-page introduction which briefly explains the special Alphonsian emphases in these themes and shows also the place that each has in his spirituality. Every introduction ends with a reference to the source of the English texts.

The somewhat lengthy Preface (fourteen pages), which — to use words of Alphonsus himself — should be read, purports to develop, sketchily at best, two themes. The first is the conviction that a renewal of the Redemptorist charism must begin with a renewal of Alphonsian spirituality, which spirituality is best learned from his writings. The second theme is rather a cluster of hints on how best to read St. Alphonsus. This was thought indispensable for modern readers who, so used to reading for information and knowledge, may well have lost the ability to read for reflection and meditation — the purpose of Alphonsus.

The selections themselves were made with an eye to include the chief areas in which he wrote and which contain the seminal elements of his spirituality and charism. Admittedly, neither all the themes treated by him could be included; nor could those that were included be treated with that nuanced fullness of development that would rather find their way into a longer and more bulky presentation. Some might wonder why there is no section on the Eternal Truths, a theme dear to the heart of Alphonsus. An explanation may be found in two considerations: first, the themes of the Eternal Truths are present in everything Alphonsus wrote, accepting that phrase to mean thoughts that resolve around the reality of salvation; then, the dimension of eternity, the eschatological dimension, is contained for Alphonsus in the two realities that occur on every page he ever wrote: « sin » and « love ». Sin is the reality that projects into eternity; its consequences are not so much here and now as in what they portend for the future. Love for Alphonsus is always eschatological because it is never complete in this life, it is capable of endless growth; it looks for its fulfillment in the possession of and the being-possessed by God in eternity.

Then, one can argue about the specific selections in each chapter, pointing to others that might have done better. There is no room for argument here; however, an attempt was made to give a number of selections (while touching on these eight themes themselves) that also tended to point out some slight variety of style; as for example, in the two Discourses in the chapter on the Nativity; in the first four selections in the chapter on the Eucharist where the style is explanatory and discursive; in the Circular Letters in which the direct and poignant manner of Alphonsus is most clearly visible; in the prayers, where he is at his best.

Heart to Heart is not a new translation from the Italian of Alphonsus, and this for two basic reasons: the one of time; the other, a bit more involved. The imminence of the jubilee did not leave time to make an entirely new translation. However, the quotations from Scripture were updated by using the version of the New American Bible (except for the quotations from Ecclesiasticus — Alphonsus uses this very much in the section on Mary — which has undergone extensive revision by modern scripture scholars). The second reason for leaving the text somewhat alone, using previous translations, is that the difference of their style from modern journalistic English is not a hindrance when one recalls the purpose of these writings: not to inform the mind, and not to be read discursively; but to inflame the will, to get to the personality of the reader, and to stir up a response. Up-to-date English is not necessary for that, and meditative reading might rather be hindered than helped by a too prosy and prosaic a style. In this regard, it is better to have to pause than to be urged to move on, something that a somewhat older style can do.

A few points about the format of the book. The title is not taken from the motto of Cardinal Newman, *Cor ad cor loquitur*, as some might suppose, but from Alphonsus's Novena of the Sacred Heart, where we read in the Italian « *Il cuore dimanda il cuore* », literally, « The heart demands the heart, » or, somewhat loosely, « Heart Calls to Heart ». The cover picture is that of Casimiro Fryzel, a confrere from the Warsaw Province studying at the Schola Major in Rome, who is standing before the section of the works of St. Alphonsus in the library of Sant'Alfonso, Rome. (Picture credit to John Ruef, C.S.S.R.) A confrere from the Polish Province was selected because the English speaking Redemptorists for whom this particular printing is intended are all direct descendants of our first house north of the Alps, St. Benno in Warsaw, founded by St. Clement in 1787. The book is for private circulation and is not intended for sale.

CARL HOEGERL

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