

SPICILEGIUM HISTORICUM

Congregationis SSmi Redemptoris

Annus XLII

1994

Fasc. 2

STUDIA

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DIE REDEMPTORISTENGEMEINDE VON ST.BENNO IN WARSCHAU (1787-1808)

SUMMARY

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I. PERSONELLE ZUSAMMENSETZUNG - DIE OBERN

Die Gründungsreise "nach Norden" traten 1785 nur zwei Redemptoristen an, Klemens Hofbauer und Thaddäus Hübl. Unterwegs, in Wien, schloß sich ihnen Emanuel Kunzmann an. Noch während des Aufenthaltes in Wien teilte ihnen Pater General Francesco de Paola (1780-1793) mit, daß am 20. Juli 1785 zwei weitere Ausländer das Noviziat angetreten hatten. Einer davon war Johann Weichert, ein Priester der Diözese Bamberg in Deutschland. Der andere Kandidat, Franz Egkher, war Student und stammte aus Zellerndorf in Niederösterreich. Beide sollten sich nach Abschluß ihrer Ausbildung Hofbauer und Hübl

anschließen.¹

Johann Weichert, der am 19. Oktober 1785 seine Gelübde ablegte, kam im Mai 1786 nach Wien. Allerdings verließ er noch im gleichen Monat seine Mitbrüder aus unbekanntem Gründen und begab sich nach Deutschland.² Zu Beginn des Jahres 1789 kehrte er unerwartet nach Rom zurück. Pater de Paola nahm ihn wieder in die Kongregation auf und beabsichtigte weiterhin, ihn nach Warschau zu schicken. Leider verließ Weichert nach einigen Monaten die Redemptoristen.³

Der andere Kandidat, Franz Egkher, der die Warschauer Gemeinde von St. Benno verstärken sollte, bot während seines Noviziats die besten Hoffnungen für die Zukunft.⁴ Leider begann er als Theologiestudent immer mehr Schwierigkeiten zu machen. Seine theologische Ausbildung war mangelhaft. Deshalb wurde seine Priesterweihe hinausgeschoben. Außerdem hatte er familiäre Schwierigkeiten; sein Vater war mit seinem Aufenthalt bei den Redemptoristen nicht einverstanden. Pater de Paola schrieb an Hofbauer, er möge mit dem Vater in Verbindung treten, um zu erfahren, was dieser mit dem Sohn für eine Absicht habe.⁵ Im Sommer 1788 erhielt er die Erlaubnis, zum Begräbnis seiner Mutter nach Hause zu fahren. Von dort kehrte er nicht wieder nach Rom zurück, sondern reiste eigenmächtig nach Warschau.⁶ Hofbauer schickte ihn jedoch nach Rom, wo er sein Studium abschließen und die Priesterweihe empfangen sollte.⁷ 1790 wurde er schließlich geweiht und nach Warschau geschickt. Pater de Paola bat die Klostersgemeinde von St. Benno bei dieser Gelegenheit, ihn mit Güte, Liebe und Freundlichkeit aufzunehmen.⁸ Leider zeigte sich bald, daß Egkher psychisch krank war.

¹ F. de Paola an K. Hofbauer, Rom, 7. Februar 1786, «MH» VIII (1) 9; E. HOSP, *St. Klemens und das Generalat*, in *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 153 f.

² F. de Paola an K. Hofbauer, Rom, 10. Juni 1786, «MH» VIII (2) 9-11; I. Leggio an K. Hofbauer, Rom, 26. Februar 1786, «MH» VIII (26) 25.

³ F. de Paola an K. Hofbauer, Rom, 7. Februar 1786, «MH» VIII (1) 9; Frosinone, 20. Januar 1789, «MH» VIII (9) 14.

⁴ I. Leggio an K. Hofbauer, Rom, 26. Februar 1786, «MH» VIII (26) 25; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 153.

⁵ F. de Paola an K. Hofbauer, Rom, 10. Juni 1786, «MH» VIII (2) 9-11; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 154.

⁶ F. de Paola an K. Hofbauer, Frosinone, 30. Juli 1788, «MH» VIII (7) 13; 20. August 1788, «MH» VIII (8) 14; 20. Januar 1789, «MH» VIII (9) 14; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 156 f.

⁷ HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 158.

⁸ F. de Paola an K. Hofbauer, Frosinone, 16. September 1790, «MH» VIII (10) 15; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 159.

Deshalb konnte er nicht wie die anderen arbeiten. Er las lediglich die Messe.⁹ Allerdings machte er immer größere Schwierigkeiten. Man beabsichtigte, ihn im Spital der Bamherzigen Brüder unterzubringen.¹⁰ Pater de Paola schrieb am 11. Januar 1793 an Hofbauer, daß Papst Pius VI. die Bitte um Lösung von den Gelübden abgelehnt habe. Pater General war bereit, Egkher wieder in Rom aufzunehmen: "In mir wird er einen guten Vater finden. Wir sind schließlich alle den Versuchungen des Teufels ausgesetzt".¹¹ 1798 besuchte Hofbauer Zellerndorf in Niederösterreich, den Heimatort von Egkher. Er erzählte dem Vater damals nichts von der Krankheit des Sohnes.¹² Franz Egkher starb am 20. März 1801 in Warschau.¹³

Bald jedoch wurde die Warschauer Kommunität durch weitere Mitglieder vermehrt. Aus Sachsen kam 1788 Karl Jestershein, aus dem Herzogtum Gladz ebenfalls 1788 Johann Nepomuk Rudolph,¹⁴ aus Österreich 1789 Matthias Widhalm,¹⁵ aus dem Ermland 1790 Wojciech Schroetter,¹⁶ aus Thüringen 1792 Franz Xaver Rheinlaender.¹⁷ Als erster Pole trat 1793 Jan Podgórski in die Gemeinschaft ein.¹⁸ 1796 kamen die Franzosen Nicola Lenoir, François Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Jacob Vannelet,¹⁹ 1798 der Schweizer Johann Appenzeller.²⁰ Im Jahre 1799 zählte die Warschauer Gemeinschaft bereits 25 Mitglieder. Hofbauer schrieb damals an P. Blasucci:

"Unsere Kommunität besteht aus 25 Personen; darunter neun Priester, zwei Diakone, zwei Subdiakone, drei

⁹ K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 11. April 1795, «MH» VIII (44) 47; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 163.

¹⁰ K. Jestershein an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 2. März 1798, «MH» I (17) 24.

¹¹ «MH» VIII (24) 24; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 163 f.

¹² Bei dieser Gelegenheit schrieb der Vater einen Brief an seinen Sohn Franz. «MH» I (18) 28.

¹³ «MH» IV 13 9.

¹⁴ «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 147; «MH» VIII (44) 46.

¹⁵ «MH» XI 56, 276.

¹⁶ «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 147; «MH» VIII (39) 38; M. Brudzisz, *W diasporze i w tajnym klasztorze w Piotrkowicach 1808-1834 (1841). Karta z dziejów redemptorystów-benonitów w Polsce (In der Diaspora und im geheimen Kloster in Piotkowice 1808-1834 (1841). Ein Blatt aus der Geschichte der Redemptoristen-Bennoniten in Polen)*, Kraków 1994, 19.

¹⁷ «MH» III (51) 86; «MH» VIII (38) 37-39; (42) 41; (47) 52.

¹⁸ «MH» I 19.

¹⁹ «MH» IV 147 f.

²⁰ «MH» II (46) 37, (49) 41; «MH» III (42) 72 f.

Klerikerstudenten, zwei Novizen und sieben Brüder. Zum Trost für Eure Paternität und zu meiner eigenen Freude kann ich berichten, daß diese Kommunität mit der Gnade Gottes viele Fortschritte auf dem Weg der Vollkommenheit macht".²¹

Der gesamte Personalstand derer, die in Warschau in die St.Bennogemeinde eingetreten waren, stellte sich in den Jahren von 1788 bis 1808, wie folgt, dar:

1788: Karl Jestershein, Johann Nepomuk Rudolph²²

1789: Matthias Widhalm²³

1790: Wojciech Schroetter²⁴

1792: Franz Xaver Bressler(?), Franz Xaver Rheinlaender²⁵

1793: Tomasz Stefan Allander, Jan Podgórski, Joseph Johann Wichert²⁶

1794: Jan Kamiński(?), Johann Kraus, Jan Linck²⁷

1795: Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Jan Błażej Darewski, Wojciech Domański, Walenty Langanki, Michał Sadowski, Szymon Schroetter, Jan Trojanowski, Alojzy Truczka, Anton Simon Waldherr²⁸

1796: Franz Hofbauer, Józef Kopsch (Kophs)(?), Mikołaj Koziński, Kazimierz Langanki, Nicola Lenoir, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Anton Priesching, Jacob Vannelet, Jan Wyszyński(?)²⁹

²¹ «MH» VIII (53) 65.

²² «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 147; «MH» VIII (44) 46.

²³ «MH» XI 56, 276.

²⁴ «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 147; «MH» VIII (39) 38.

²⁵ «MH» III (51) 86; «MH» VIII (38) 37; (39) 38; (40) 39; *Catalogus Congregationis Sanctissimi Redemptoris Transalpinae ineunte anno 1785, pars prima, Ruraemunde 1881, 18.*

²⁶ «MH» I (15) 19; «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 147; «MH» VIII (38) 37; (39) 38; (40) 39 f.; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 18.

²⁷ «MH» I 13 f.; «MH» VIII (47) 53; 269; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

²⁸ «MH» I (1) 1 f.; (15) 18; «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 147-149; «MH» VIII (47) 52; (51) 61; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

²⁹ «MH» I (21) 34; (37) 63; (40) 65; (54) 76 f.; «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 147 f.; «MH» VI 54; «MH» VIII (51) 61; (103) 164; «MH» XIV (314) 187; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20.

- 1797: Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński), Józef Wincenty Sowiński³⁰
- 1798: Johann Appenzeller, Johann Egle, Anton (Johann) Kaus (Kuss)(?)³¹
- 1799: Johann Gerhard, Ignacy Kędlarski, Szymon Majewski³²
- 1802: Jan Biedrzycki, Joseph Goebel, Stanisław Hausner, Jan Kazimierz Kerzlański(?), Grzegorz Pauczyński(?), Johann Sabelli, Jakub Schulz(?), Jan Szaciłowski(?), Antoni Szawłowski(?), Teodor Walenty Woyciechowicz³³
- 1803: Mikołaj Pieczenowski(?), Ignacy Sobociński³⁴
- 1804: Alois Czech, Tomasz Nossalewski, Jan Szulski (Schulski)³⁵
- 1806: Józef Langanki³⁶
- 1807: Leon Bloch, Marcin Dembicki, Filip Greuber, Andrzej Heck, Józef Jeźbicki(?), Józef Kowalski(?), Wojciech Kurkiewicz(?), Martin Stark, Norbert Spitznagel, Alfons Studziński(?)³⁷
Stark und Spitznagel sind in der Schweiz in die Kongregation eingetreten. Im Jahr 1807 kamen die beiden nach Warschau.³⁸
- 1808: Jan Czerny, Leopold Grausgruber, Jakub Moneta, Karol Moneta, Jan Niedźwiedzki, Wojciech Stechliński, Piotr Raczkowski³⁹

Die ersten Bennonitenpriester in Warschau wurden 1791 durch Nuntius Saluzzo geweiht. Es handelte sich um Karl Jestershein und Johann Nepomuk Rudolph.⁴⁰ Jedoch war das zu

³⁰ «MH» I (1) 1; «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 149; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 21.

³¹ «MH» II (49) 42; «MH» IV 148 f.; «MH» V (35) 44 f.; «MH» XIV (314) 187; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 21.

³² «MH» I 86; «MH» IV 149; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 22.

³³ «MH» II (35) 28; (49) 41 f.; «MH» III (31) 58; «MH» IV (26) 28; «MH» V 118; «MH» VIII (71) 110; (99) 156; (103) 164; (159) 238; (160) 240; «MH» XIV (314) 187; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 24.

³⁴ «MH» VII (51) 74; (99) 156; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 26.

³⁵ «MH» VI (37) 45; «MH» VIII (103) 164; «MH» VIII 270; «MH» XI 68; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 126.

³⁶ «MH» VIII (159) 238; (160) 240.

³⁷ «MH» I 86; «MH» III (41) 73; «MH» VII (51) 74.

³⁸ «MH» VI 51, 57, 61, 153, 166.

³⁹ «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28. Karol Moneta reiste noch in demselben Jahr nach Lutkówka.

⁴⁰ «MH» VIII (14) 17.

wenig im Verhältnis zu den Bedürfnissen, da der Tätigkeitsbereich der Redemptoristen im Laufe der Zeit immer breiter wurde. Darum schrieb Hofbauer 1794 nach Rom, daß den Bennoniten in der Kirche Diözesanpriester helfen, weil es so viel Arbeit gebe.⁴¹ Mit den Jahren entwickelte sich die Warschauer Gemeinde immer mehr und konnte allmählich alle Seelsorgstätigkeiten ohne fremde Hilfe durchführen.

In den Jahren von 1787 bis 1808 befanden sich folgende Priester in der Warschauer Gemeinde von St. Benno:

- 1787: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl
- 1788: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl
- 1789: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl
- 1790: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Franz Xaver Egkher
- 1791: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Franz Xaver Egkher, Karl Jestershein, Johann Nepomuk Rudolph
- 1792: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Franz Xaver Egkher, Karl Jestershein, Johann Nepomuk Rudolph
- 1793: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Franz Xaver Egkher, Karl Jestershein, Johann Nepomuk Rudolph
- 1794: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Franz Xaver Bressler, Franz Xaver Egkher, Franz Xaver Rheinlaender, Johann Nepomuk Rudolph⁴²
- 1795: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Franz Xaver Bressler, Franz Xaver Egkher, Johann Kraus, Franz Xaver Rheinlaender, Johann Nepomuk Rudolph, Johann Joseph Wichert⁴³
Zwei von ihnen, Rudolph und Wichert, nahmen jedoch in diesem Jahr in Mitau in Kurland ihre Seelsorgsarbeit auf.
- 1796: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Franz Xaver Bressler, Franz Xaver Egkher, Johann Kraus, Franz Xaver Rheinlaender⁴⁴
Leider starben im gleichen Jahr drei Patres: Bressler am 30. Juli, Kraus am 2. August, Rheinlaender am 30. Juli.

⁴¹ K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 11. Februar 1794, «MH» VIII (40) 39. Vgl. auch J. Sabelli, *Relazioni...*, MH V 123.

⁴² «MH» III (51) 86; «MH» VIII (42) 41.

⁴³ «MH» VIII (47) 52; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

⁴⁴ «MH» VIII (50) 60; (51) 61; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20.

- 1797: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Franz Xaver Egkher, Nicola Lenoir, Jan Linck, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Jan Podgórski, Wojciech Schroetter, Jacob Vannelet⁴⁵
- 1798: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Franz Xaver Egkher, Nicola Lenoir, Jan Linck, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Jan Podgórski, Wojciech Schroetter, Jacob Vannelet
- 1799: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Franz Xaver Egkher, Nicola Lenoir, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Jan Podgórski, Wojciech Schroetter, Jacob Vannelet⁴⁶
- 1800: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Franz Xaver Egkher, Walenty Langanki, Nicola Lenoir, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Jan Podgórski, Michał Sadowski, Wojciech Schroetter, Jacob Vannelet⁴⁷
- 1801: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Franz Xaver Egkher, Walenty Langanki, Nicola Lenoir, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Jan Podgórski, Michał Sadowski, Wojciech Schroetter, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Jacob Vannelet⁴⁸
In diesem Jahr starben zwei Patres: Egkher am 20. März, Lenoir am 22. März.
- 1802: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Johann Appenzeller, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński), Walenty Langanki, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Jan Podgórski, Michał Sadowski, Szymon Schroetter, Wojciech Schroetter, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Jacob Vannelet⁴⁹
- 1803: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Johann Appenzeller, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński), Walenty Langank, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph Amand Passerat, Jan Podgórski,

⁴⁵ «MH» I 19; «MH» VIII 269; «MH» VIII (51) 61; «MH» XIV (261) 141.

⁴⁶ «MH» IV 148; «MH» VIII (53) 65; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 21.

⁴⁷ «MH» I 85; «MH» II (46) 37; «MH» IV 146-149; «MH» XI 78; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 23.

⁴⁸ «MH» I 85.

⁴⁹ «MH» I 86; «MH» II (49) 41 f.; «MH» VIII 269; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 24.

Michał Sadowski, Szymon Schroetter, Wojciech Schroetter, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Jacob Vannelet⁵⁰

Zwei von ihnen, Michał Sadowski und Wojciech Schroetter, begaben sich in diesem Jahr in die Pfarrei Lutkówka bei Warschau; einer, Joseph Amand Passerat, in die Schweiz.

1804: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Johann Appenzeller, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Jan Błażej Darewski, Johann Egle, Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński), Walenty Langanki, François Pierre Mercier, Jan Podgórski, Szymon Schroetter, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Jacob Vannelet⁵¹

Am 12. Februar dieses Jahres starb Pater Mercier.

1805: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Johann Appenzeller, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Jan Błażej Darewski, Johann Egle, Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński), Walenty Langanki, Jan Podgórski, Szymon Schroetter, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Jacob Vannelet⁵²

1806: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Johann Appenzeller, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Jan Błażej Darewski, Johann Egle, Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński), Walenty Langanki, Jan Podgórski, Szymon Schroetter, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Jakob Vannelet, Teodor Walenty Woyciechowicz⁵³

1807: Klemens Hofbauer, Thaddäus Hübl, Karl Jestershein, Johann Appenzeller, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Jan Błażej Darewski, Johann Egle, Joseph Goebel, Stanisław Hausner, Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński), Kazimierz Langanki, Walenty Langanki, Szymon Majewski, Jan Podgórski, Szymon Schroetter, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Jacob Vannelet, Teodor Walenty Woyciechowicz⁵⁴

Drei Patres starben in diesem Jahr, Hausner am 25. Juni, Vannelet am 26. Juni, Hübl am 4. Juli.

1808: Klemens Hofbauer, Karl Jestershein, Johann Appenzeller, Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Jan Błażej Darewski, Johann Egle, Joseph Goebel, Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński

⁵⁰ «MH» VIII (71) 110.

⁵¹ «MH» VIII 270; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 26.

⁵² «MH» VIII (47) 52 f.

⁵³ «MH» VIII (147) 225.

⁵⁴ «MH» II (35) 28; «MH» III (31) 58; (42) 73; «MH» V 139; «MH» VIII (101) 160; (159) 238; (160) 240.

(Kulisiński), Kazimierz Langanki, Walenty Langanki, Szymon Majewski, Jan Podgórski, Szymon Schroetter, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Teodor Walenty Woyciechowicz⁵⁵

Neben den Patres gab es in der Warschauer Gemeinde auch die Ordensbrüder. Der erste war Emanuel Kunzmann, der 1787 mit Hofbauer und Hübl nach Warschau kam.⁵⁶ In den darauffolgenden Jahren stellte sich der Personalstand der Ordensbrüder in der St. Bennogemeinde, wie folgt, dar:

1788-1789: Emanuel Kunzmann

1790-1795: Emanuel Kunzmann, Matthias Widhalm⁵⁷

1796-1797: Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Matthias Widhalm⁵⁸

1798: Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Anton (Johann) Kaus (Kuss), Matthias Widhalm⁵⁹

1799: Johann Gerhard, Anton (Johann) Kaus (Kuss), Ignacy Kędlarski, Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Szymon Majewski, Matthias Widhalm⁶⁰

1800-1801: Johann Gerhard, Anton (Johann) Kaus (Kuss), Ignacy Kędlarski, Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Szymon Majewski, Matthias Widhalm⁶¹

In diesen Jahren waren in Warschau bereits acht Brüder. Aber nur von sieben derselben sind die Namen bekannt.

1802-1803: Johann Gerhard, Anton (Johann) Kaus (Kuss), Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Szymon Majewski, Jakub Schulz, Jan Szaciłowski, Antoni Szawłowski, Matthias Widhalm⁶²

1804: Johann Gerhard, Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Anton (Johann) Kaus (Kuss), Antoni Szawłowski, Matthias Widhalm⁶³

⁵⁵ «MH» VII (51) 73 f.

⁵⁶ «MH» VIII (91) 142 f.; (92) 146 f.; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 17.

⁵⁷ «MH» XI 56, 276; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 17.

⁵⁸ «MH» I 89.

⁵⁹ «MH» V (35) 44 f.

⁶⁰ «MH» IV 149; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 22.

⁶¹ «MH» IV 149, 151; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 23.

⁶² «MH» II (49) 42.

⁶³ «MH» VIII 270; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 26.

1805: Johann Gerhard, Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Antoni Szawłowski, Matthias Widhalm

1806: Johann Gerhard, Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Matthias Widhalm

1807-1808: Marcin Dembicki, Johann Gerhard, Józef Jeźbicki, Józef Kowalski, Mikołaj Koziński, Emanuel Kunzmann, Wojciech Kurkiewicz, Alfons Studziński, Matthias Widhalm⁶⁴

Die Brüder übten die verschiedenen Funktionen aus, die für eine entsprechende Entwicklung der Gemeinschaft unerlässlich waren. Im Jahre 1800 waren drei von ihnen Köche, zwei Schneider, zwei Schuster und einer Weber. Nach dem Zeugnis Hofbauers waren alle von ihnen "arbeitsam, observant, demütig und fromm".⁶⁵ Direktor der Ordensbrüder war Pater Franz Xaver Bressler.⁶⁶ Hübl bat den Generalprokurator, Pater Giattini, um Zusendung einer *Regel* für die Ordensbrüder.⁶⁷

Nach ihrer Herkunft war die St.Bennogemeinde sehr differenziert. Es gab in ihr 39 aus Polen stammende Mitbrüder. Sieben kamen aus dem Ermland, sechs aus Deutschland, fünf aus Böhmen, vier aus Mähren, vier aus Frankreich, drei aus der Schweiz, zwei aus Österreich, zwei aus Schlesien, einer aus Ungarn, einer aus Litauen. Die Herkunft von Jakub Schulz und Anton Waldherr konnte man nicht feststellen.

Bennoniten aus Polen: Tomasz Stefan Allander, Jan Biedrzycki, Leon Bloch, Jan Błażej Darewski, Marcin Dembicki, Wojciech Domański, Filip Greuber (Greyber), Stanisław Hausner, Józef Jeźbicki, Jan Kamiński, Jan Kazimierz Kerzłański, Ignacy Kędlarski, Józef Kopsch (Kophs), Józef Kowalski, Mikołaj Koziński, Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński), Wojciech Kurkiewicz, Jan Linck, Szymon Majewski, Jakub Moneta, Karol Moneta, Tomasz Nossalewski, Grzegorz Pauczyński, Mikołaj Pieczenowski, Jan Podgórski, Piotr Raczkowski, Michał Sadowski, Jakub Schulz, Ignacy Sobociński, Wincenty Józef Sowiński, Wojciech Stechliński, Alfons Studziński (Studzyński), Jan Szaciłowski, Antoni Szawłowski, Jan

⁶⁴ «MH» III (42) 73; «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 30.

⁶⁵ K. Hofbauer an das Bischöfliche Konsistorium in Warschau, Warschau, 25. April 1800, «MH» IV 152.

⁶⁶ «MH» VIII (47) 52.

⁶⁷ «MH» VIII (146) 225.

Szulski (Schulski), Jan Trojanowski, Jan Józef Wichert,
Teodor Walenty Woyciechowicz, Jan Wyszyński

Aus dem Ermland: Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski, Andrzej Heck,
Józef Langanki, Kazimierz Langanki, Wincenty Langanki,
Wojciech Schroettr, Szymon Schroetter

Aus Deutschland: Johann Gerhard, Karl Jestershein, Johann Egle,
Emanuel Kunzmann, Franz Xaver Rheinlaender, Johann
Nepomuk Rudolph

Aus Böhmen: Franz Xaver Bressler, Alois Czech, Johann Czerny,
Thaddäus Hübl, Johann Kraus

Aus Mähren: Franz Hofbauer, Klemens Hofbauer, Anton
Priesching, Alois Truczka

Aus Frankreich: Nicola Lenoir, François Pierre Mercier, Joseph
Amand Passerat, Jacob Vannelet

Aus der Schweiz: Johann Appenzeller, Anton (Johann) Kaus (Kuss),
Martin Stark

Aus Österreich: Franz Xaver Egkher, Matthias Widhalm

Aus Schlesien: Joseph Goebel, Johann Sabelli

Aus Ungarn: Leopold Grausgruber

Aus Litauen: Józef Niedźwiedzki

Erster Rektor des Klosters von St. Benno war in den Jahren 1787-1796 Klemens Hofbauer.⁶⁸ Wegen dessen zahlreicher Gründungsreisen und häufiger Abwesenheit vom Hause übernahm Thaddäus Hübl dieses Amt, das er in den Jahren 1796 bis 1807, also bis zu seinem Tode, ausübte.⁶⁹ Der letzte Rektor von St. Benno war 1807-1808 Karl Jestershein.⁷⁰ Gleichzeitig war er Ökonom der Gemeinschaft, also verantwortlich für ihre materiellen Angelegenheiten. Dieses Amt übte er fast während der ganzen Zeit seines Aufenthaltes in Warschau aus, nämlich von 1793 bis 1808.⁷¹

⁶⁸ «MH» IV 147; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 17.

⁶⁹ «MH» IV 147; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20.

⁷⁰ «MH» I (14) 14; «MH» III (42) 73; «MH» V 148.

⁷¹ «MH» I (16) 20; «MH» IV 147; «MH» V 148; «MH» VII (42) 64; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

*Die Redemptoristengemeinde von St. Benno
in Warschau (1787-1808)
Lebensdaten*

1. *Tomasz Stefan Allander*, geb. 1773 in Gdańsk (Danzig) in Polen. 1793 war er im Noviziat, 1794 legte er die Ordengelübde ab, nach dem 16. Juli 1795 empfing er die Diakonsweihe. Er war Lehrer an der Bennonitenschule. Er starb als Diakon am 30. Juli 1796 an einer Lebensmittelvergiftung.⁷²

2. *Johann Appenzeller*, geb. am 25. September 1766 in Zürich. 1798 trat er in die Kongregation ein. 1800 war er im Noviziat und legte wahrscheinlich in demselben Jahr die Ordensgelübde ab. Am 24. Oktober 1802 wurde er zum Priester geweiht. Er war deutscher Prediger und Biologielehrer. 1828 trat er aus der Kongregation aus und starb am 3. November 1830 in der Schweiz.⁷³

3. *Jan Biedrzycki*, geb. am 24. Juni 1780 in Biedrzyce Kozięgłowy bei Pułtusk (Polen). In die Kongregation trat er im Jahre 1802 ein und wurde gleich darauf in die Schweiz geschickt. Die Ordensgelübde legte er am 1. Januar 1805 in Jestetten ab, die Priesterweihe empfing er am 27. Januar desselben Jahres in Luzern. 1826 wurde er aus der Kongregation entlassen und wurde Diözesanpriester. Er starb am 16. Mai 1847 in Pawłów in der Diözese Płock (Polen).⁷⁴

4. *Leon Bloch*, geb. um 1788 in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1807 ein. Wahrscheinlich noch vor 1808 verließ er die Warschauer Gemeinschaft.⁷⁵

5. *Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski*, geb. 1776 in Wielbark (Willenburg) im Ermland. Seit seiner Kindheit weilte er in Warschau. Dort besuchte er die Bennonitenschule. 1795 trat er ins Noviziat ein, 1796 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. Zum Priester wurde er 1799 geweiht. Er war polnischer Prediger. Er starb als Pfarrer in Nowe Miaste an der Pilica in der Warschauer Diözese am 22. August 1837.⁷⁶

⁷² «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 18.

⁷³ «MH» I-XV passim; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 17; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 21; A. SAMPERS, *Pater Johann Appenzeller (1766-1830)*, in *Spic. Hist.* 29 (1981) 389-400; TH. LANDTWING, *Die Redemptoristen in der Schweiz 1811-1847. Ein Beitrag zur engeren Landes- und Kirchengeschichte*, Freiburg/Schweiz 1955, 39f., 60, 126.

⁷⁴ «MH» I-XV; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 126 f.; A. SAMPERS, *Epistularum commercium inter Patres CSSR in Italia et trans Alpes a morte S. Clementis, 15 III 1820 usque ad electionem RM Cocale, 11 VI 1824*, in *Spic. Hist.* 9 (1961) 139, 179, 184-188, 193; LANDTWING (wie Anm. 73), 8, 10, 23, 60f., 92-95, 120, 126, 136-40.

⁷⁵ «MH» III (42) 73.

⁷⁶ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19; K. SZRANT, *Redemptoristae in*

6. *Franz Xaver Bressler*, geb. 1766 in Böhmen. Ins Noviziat trat er wahrscheinlich 1792 ein. Am 1. August 1793 legte er die Profeß ab. Am 19. Juni 1794 empfing er von Nuntius Litta die Priesterweihe. 1794(?)–1796 war er Novizenmeister, Hausspiritual, Beichvater in zwei Sprachen (Polnisch und Deutsch) und Direktor der Brüder. Er starb am 30. Juli 1796 an einer Lebensmittelvergiftung.⁷⁷

7. *Alois Czech*, geb. 1790 in Böhmen. 1804–1806 weilte er im Warschauer Kloster. 1806 reiste er in die Schweiz, wo er das Noviziat beendete und am 2. April 1808 die Ordensgelübde ablegte. 1812 wurde er Priester. Er starb am 8. Dezember 1868 in der Schweiz.⁷⁸

8. *Johann Czerny*, geb. um 1787 in Böhmen. 1808 trat er ins Noviziat ein.⁷⁹

9. *Jan Błażej Darewski*, geb. am 6. Februar 1780 in Warschau. 1795 trat er ins Noviziat ein und legte 1796 die Ordensgelübde ab. Die Priesterweihe empfing er nach dem 28. Mai 1804. Er war polnischer Prediger und Religionslehrer. Er starb am 2. Mai 1860 als Pfarrer in Worów und Ehrenkanonikus von Opatów (Polen).⁸⁰

10. *Marcin Dembicki*, geb. um 1781 in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1807 ein. Er war Ordensbruder.⁸¹

11. *Wojciech Domański*, geb.? in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er 1795 ein, die Ordensgelübde legte er 1796 ab. Später verließ er die Kongregation.⁸²

12. *Franz Xaver Egkher*, geb. am 5. Oktober 1763 in Zellerndorf in Niederösterreich. Ins Noviziat trat er am 20. Juli 1785 in Rom ein und empfing dort 1790 die Priesterweihe. Gleich danach wurde er nach Warschau geschickt. Er war leider psychisch krank. Er starb am 20. März 1801 in Warschau.⁸³

13. *Johann Egle*, geb. 1778/79 in Urach in Württemberg (auch Schweizer genannt). 1798 trat er in die Kongregation ein und beendete 1800 das

Polonia dispersi post suppressionem conventus S. Bennonis an 1808, in *Spic. Hist.* 7 (1959) 124 f.

⁷⁷ «MH» III (51) 86, 88; «MH» VIII (38) 37; (40) 39; (42) 41; (47) 52; (50) 60.

⁷⁸ «MH» I–XV passim.

⁷⁹ «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

⁸⁰ «MH» I–XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

⁸¹ «MH» III (42) 73; «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

⁸² «MH» VIII (51) 61; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

⁸³ «MH» I–XV passim.

Noviziat. Die Profeß legte er wahrscheinlich 1800 ab. Die Priesterweihe empfing er nach dem 28. Mai 1804. In Warschau arbeitete er einige Zeit in der Sakristei. Seit 1808 weilte er in der Schweiz.⁸⁴

14. *Johann Gerhard*, geb. um 1771 in Württemberg. In die Kongregation trat er 1799 ein. Die Ordensgelübde legte er wahrscheinlich 1802 ab. Er war Ordensbruder. Nach der Aufhebung des Klosters kam er nach Visp in der Schweiz, wo er am 29. März 1811 starb.⁸⁵

15. *Joseph Goebel*, geb. am 20. Juli 1778 in Bożęcín in der Pfarrei Żmigród in Schlesien. Ins Noviziat trat er 1802 ein, aber wegen der Schwierigkeiten seitens der preußischen Behörden konnte er wahrscheinlich erst 1806 oder 1807 die Ordensgelübde ablegen. Zum Priester wurde er 1807 geweiht. In der St.Benno-Schule unterrichtete er Mathematik, sowie Polnisch, Deutsch und Lateinisch. Er starb am 23. April 1828 als Pfarrer in Zbarzewo in der Posener Diözese.⁸⁶

16. *Leopold Grausgruber*, geb. um 1787 in Ungarn. Ins Noviziat trat er 1808 ein.⁸⁷

17. *Filip Greuber (Greyber)*, geb. um 1786 in Warschau. Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1807 ein. In der St.Benno-Schule unterrichtete er Mathematik, sowie Polnisch und Lateinisch.⁸⁸

18. *Stanisław Hausner*, geb. ? in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er 1802 ein. Wegen der Schwierigkeiten seitens der preußischen Behörden konnte er wahrscheinlich erst 1806 die Ordensgelübde ablegen. Die Priesterweihe empfing er 1807. Er starb am 25. Juni 1807 infolge einer Ansteckung mit Typhus durch kranke Soldaten, die er während der Zeit des Herzogtums Warschau im Lazarett betreute.⁸⁹

19. *Andrzej Heck*, geb. am 10. November 1790 in Jeziorany (Seeburg) im Ermland. In die Kongregation trat er vor 1807 ein. Nach der Aufhebung des St.Benno-Klosters trat er ins Priesterseminar der Warschauer

⁸⁴ «MH» I-XV passim; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 17; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 21; LANDTWING (wie Anm. 73), 55.

⁸⁵ «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 22.

⁸⁶ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19-21, 24; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76),

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⁸⁷ «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

⁸⁸ «MH» III (42) 71, 73; «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

⁸⁹ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 24.

Diözese ein. Nach der Priesterweihe kehrte er ins Ermland zurück und wurde dort Pfarrer, zuerst in Purden (1835-1843), dann in Suessentahl (1843-1852), wo er starb.⁹⁰

20. *Franz Hofbauer*, geb. am 15. April 1778 in Mähren. Er war der Sohn von Lorenz Hofbauer, des Bruders des hl. Klemens. Nach Warschau kam er 1796. Die Ordensgelübde legte er am 15. Oktober 1802 ab. Am 11. November 1802 reiste er ins Ausland. Die Priesterweihe empfing er am 23. Oktober 1803 in Foligno in Italien. Er starb am 20. September 1845 in Altötting (Bayern).⁹¹

21. *Klemens Maria Hofbauer*, geb. am 26. Dezember 1751 in Taßwitz in Mähren. In die Kongregation trat er 1794 in Rom ein, am 19. März 1785 legte die Ordensgelübde ab. Am 29. März empfing er die Priesterweihe. Er war 1787-1796 Rektor des Klosters und 1787-1794(?) Novizenmeister und Studentenpräfekt. Im Bennoniten-Priesterseminar unterrichtete er Dogmatische Theologie, Kirchen- und Allgemeingeschichte und Gesang. Er starb am 15. März 1820 in Wien.⁹²

22. *Thaddäus Hübl*, geb. am 27. Oktober 1761 in Czerwna in Böhmen. In die Kongregation trat er 1794 in Rom ein. Am 19. März 1785 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. Am 29. März empfing er die Priesterweihe. Er war 1796-1807 Rektor des St. Benno-Klosters. Im Priesterseminar unterrichtete er Dogmatische Theologie, Moraltheologie und Naturgeschichte. Er starb am 4. Juli 1807 infolge einer Ansteckung mit Typhus durch kranke Soldaten zur Zeit des Herzogtums Warschau.⁹³

23. *Karl Jestershein*, geb. um 1765 in Gera in Sachsen. In Breslau studierte er Architektur und Musik. Ins Noviziat trat er 1788 ein. 1789 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. Die Priesterweihe empfing er am 27. Februar 1791 von Nuntius Saluzzo. Er war deutscher Prediger, 1807-1808 Rektor, 1793-1808 Minister (Ökonom) des St. Benno-Klosters. Jahrelang war er Chorleiter und Organist. Nach der Aufhebung von St. Benno ließ er sich in Prusznyn bei Siedlce nieder. Er übte dort viele verschiedene Funktionen aus. Er war Schulvisitator, Gemeindevorsteher von Prusznyn, Provisor

⁹⁰ «MH» III (42) 73; «MH» VII (51) 74; «MH» X 258; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 131.

⁹¹ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 24.

⁹² «MH» I-XV passim. Vgl. E. DUDEL, *Klemens Hofbauer. Ein Zeitbild*, Bonn 1970 passim; J. HEINZMANN, *Das Evangelium neu verkünden. Klemens Maria Hofbauer*, Freiburg im Br. 1986 passim; E. HOSP, *Der heilige Klemens Maria Hofbauer*, Wien 1951 passim.

⁹³ «MH» I-XV passim; M. BRUDZISZ, *Hübl Tadeusz CSSR*, «Encyklopedia Katolicka» («Katholische Enzyklopädie») VI 1273.

(Verwalter) des Warschauer Priesterseminars. Er starb am 24. Juni 1844 in Koźłówka (Polen).⁹⁴

24. *Józef Jeźbicki*, geb. um 1779 in Warschau. In die Kongregation trat er vor 1807 ein. Er war Ordensbruder.⁹⁵

25. *Jan Kamiński*, geb. am 13. Januar 1777 in Warschau. Ins Noviziat trat er wahrscheinlich 1794 ein. 1795 reiste er nach Mitau in Kurland (heute Jelgava in Lettland) Am 22. Juni 1799 entband ihn der Wilnaer Bischof Jan Nepomucen Kossakowski (1798-1808) von den Ordensgelübden. Er trat ins Priesterseminar der Wilnaer Diözese ein.⁹⁷ 1802 wurde er Priester. Er starb am 14. Februar 1830 als Pfarrer in Goldingen in Kurland.⁹⁷

26. *Anton (Johann) Kaus (Kuss)*, geb. ? in der Schweiz. Ins Noviziat trat er wahrscheinlich 1798 ein. Er war Ordensbruder. 1804 verließ er die Kongregation und kehrte in die Schweiz zurück.⁹⁸

27. *Jan Kazimierz Kerzlański*, geb. ? in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er wahrscheinlich 1802 ein. Später verließ er die Kongregation.⁹⁹

28. *Ignacy Kędlarski*, geb. 1774 in Kleinpolen. 1799 trat er ins Noviziat als Ordensbruder ein. Später verließ er die Warschauer Gemeinde.¹⁰⁰

29. *Józef Kopsch (Kophs)*, geb. um 1778 in Warschau. Sein Vater war Kaufmann. Zuerst besuchte er die Piaristenschule. Bei den Redemptoristen trat er wahrscheinlich 1796 ein. 1797 bis 1798 begleitete er Hofbauer auf der Reise in die Schweiz. Später verließ er wahrscheinlich die Kongregation.¹⁰¹

30. *Józef Kowalski*, geb. um 1778 bei Częstochowa (Polen). Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1807 ein. Er war Ordensbruder.¹⁰²

⁹⁴ «MH» I-XV passim; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 20 f.; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 121 f.

⁹⁵ «MH» III (42) 73; «MH» VII (51) 74, 81; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

⁹⁶ Auf Grund des Dekrets *Pro comissa a Christo Domino* vom 8. August 1798 schloß Papst Pius VI. Kurland der Wilnaer Diözese an. B. KUMOR, *Granice meproplii i diecezji polskich 968-1939. (Die Grenzen der polonischen Kirchenprovinzen und Diözesen 968-1939)*, «Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne» («Die kirchlichen Archive, Bibliotheken und Museen»), 20 (1970) 301.

⁹⁷ «MH» I 13 f.; «MH» VIII (108) 169 f.; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 29.

⁹⁸ «MH» II (49) 42; «MH» V (35) 44.

⁹⁹ «MH» II (49) 41.

¹⁰⁰ «MH» IV 149; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 22.

¹⁰¹ «MH» I (7) 7; (10) 10; (12) 11; (20) 30 f.; (21) 34; (23) 47-49; «MH» III (21) 42.

¹⁰² «MH» III (42) 73; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

31. *Mikolaj Koziński*, geb. am 9. Dezember 1775 in Bąków bei Łowicz (Polen). Er besuchte die Piaristenschule in Łowicz. Ins Noviziat trat er 1796 als Ordensbruder ein. Die Ordensgelübde legte er entweder am 9. Mai 1796 oder am 18. August 1806 ab. In der Warschauer Gemeinschaft war er Schneider. Nach der Aufhebung des Klosters trat er zuerst bei den Augustinern in Warschau ein. Später begab er sich in die Schweiz. Dort absolvierte er das Theologiestudium und empfing am 9. Dezember 1814 in Freiburg in der Schweiz die Priesterweihe. 1824 kehrte er nach Polen zurück und arbeitete u.a. in Piotrkowice. Er starb am 3. Mai 1859 in Krakau.¹⁰³

32. *Johann Kraus*, geb. 1750 in Böhmen. Ins Noviziat trat er 1794 ein. In demselben Jahr legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. 1795 wurde er Priester. Er war Stellvertreter des Novizenmeisters. Er starb am 2. August 1796 in Warschau an einer Lebensmittelvergiftung.¹⁰⁴

33. *Franciszek Salezy Kulesiński (Kulisiński)*, geb. am 21. Januar 1779 in Chelmno (Culm). In die Kongregation trat er 1797 ein. Wahrscheinlich 1800 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab und wurde 1802 Priester. Er war Religionslehrer. Er starb am 12. Dezember 1828 als Pfarrer in Grodziczyn in der Diözese Culm.¹⁰⁵

34. *Peter Emanuel Kunzmann*, geb. 1749 in Franken. 1786 schloß er sich in Wien Hofbauer und Hübl an. Am 23. Januar 1788 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. Er war der erste Ordensbruder der Kongregation jenseits der Alpen. Er starb am 15. Januar 1825 in Baden bei Wien.¹⁰⁶

35. *Wojciech Kurkiewicz (Kurkowski)*, geb. um 1782 in Warschau. Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1807 ein. Er war Ordensbruder.¹⁰⁷

36. *Józef Langanki*, geb. um 1789 in Joźiorany (Seeburg) im Ermland. In die Kongregation trat er 1806 ein und im Noviziat war 1808. In der Schule unterrichtete er Deutsch. Zum Priester wurde er 1812 in der Diözese Ermland geweiht. Er starb am 17. Dezember 1838 als Pfarrer in Braşwald (Braunswald) im Ermland.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 25; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 49, 118 f.; LANDTWING (wie Anm. 73), 8, 93, 138.

¹⁰⁴ «MH» VIII (44) 47; (47) 52; (50) 60; 269; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

¹⁰⁵ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 21; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 128 f.

¹⁰⁶ «MH» I-XII passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 17.

¹⁰⁷ «MH» III (42) 73; «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

¹⁰⁸ «MH» I 85; «MH» III (42) 71, 73; «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 14; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 125.

37. *Kazimierz Langanki*, geb. am 9. Februar 1781 in Jeziorany (Seeburg) im Ermland. Ins Noviziat trat er 1796 ein, aber wegen der Schwierigkeiten seitens der preußischen Behörden konnte er nicht die Ordensgelübde ablegen. 1803 reiste er in die Schweiz und legte wahrscheinlich erst dort seine Profeß ab. Am 23. Oktober 1803 empfing er in Foligno in Italien die Priesterweihe. 1807 kehrte er nach Warschau zurück. Er starb als Pfarrer in Bisztynek (Bischofstein) im Ermland am 9. Februar 1847 am Schlagfluß.¹⁰⁹

38. *Walenty Langanki*, geb. 1777 in Jeziorany (Seeburg) im Ermland. Ins Noviziat trat er 1795 ein, 1796 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab und wurde 1800 zum Priester geweiht. In der Schule unterrichtete er Geographie und Deutsch. 1823 wurde er Pfarrer in Kawków (Neukokendorf) im Ermland. Er starb am 14. Juli 1853 am Schlagfluß in Landratsamt zu Olsztyn (Allenstein), wo er sich gerade befand.¹¹⁰

39. *Nicola Lenoir*, geb. 1773 in Amiens in Frankreich. Er absolvierte seine Studien im Adeligen-Kolleg in Amiens. Ins Noviziat trat er 1796 ein. Im gleichen Jahr legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. Die Priesterweihe empfing er am 10. Juni 1797. Im Bennoniten-Priesterseminar unterrichtete er Griechisch und Hebräisch. Er starb am 22. März 1801.¹¹¹

40. *Jan Linck*, geb. ?. in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er 1794 ein und legte wahrscheinlich im folgenden Jahr die Ordensgelübde ab. 1795 war er Akolyth, polnischer und deutscher Katechet und versah das Amt des Sakristans. Die Priesterweihe empfing er wahrscheinlich 1797.¹¹²

41. *Szymon Majewski*, geb. am 20. Oktober 1778 in Bodzanów in der Diözese Płock (Polen). In die Kongregation trat er 1799 ein. Die Ordensgelübde legte er wahrscheinlich 1800 ab. Am Anfang war er Ordensbruder. Später absolvierte er das Theologiestudium. Am 10. August 1807 wurde er zum Priester geweiht. Nach der Aufhebung des Klosters arbeitete er u.a. in Piotrkowice (Polen), wo er am 4. März 1826 an einer Kohlenmonoxydvergiftung starb.¹¹³

42. *François Pierre Mercier*, geb. 1771 in Ambiani in Frankreich. Ins Noviziat trat er 1796 ein. Im gleichen Jahr legte er die Ordensgelübde ab

¹⁰⁹ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 13; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 125 f.

¹¹⁰ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 13; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 125.

¹¹¹ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20.

¹¹² «MH» VIII (47) 52; (51) 61; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

¹¹³ «MH» I-XV passim; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 18, 49, 51.

und wurde 1797 Priester. Im Bennoniten-Priesterseminar unterrichtete er Mathematik. Er starb am 12. Februar 1804.¹¹⁴

43. *Jakub Moneta*, geb. ? in Warschau . Bei den Redemptoristen trat er 1808 ein. Vom Beruf war er Apotheker. Einige Wochen vor der Aufhebung des Klosters wurde er durch Franzosen zum Austritt gezwungen, um in den französischen Lazaretten die kranken und verwundeten Soldaten zu betreuen.¹¹⁵

44. *Karol Moneta*, geb. um 1785 in Warschau. Der Bruder von Jakob Moneta. In die Kongregation trat er vor 1808 ein. Nach der Aufhebung des Klosters absolvierte er das Theologiestudium im Priesterseminar der Warschauer Diözese und wurde 1809 Priester.¹¹⁶

45. *Józef Niedźwiedzki*, geb. um 1780 in Litauen. Er war Karmeliter in Wilno. Vor 1808 verließ er die Karmeliten und trat ins Noviziat der Bennoniten ein.¹¹⁷

46. *Tomasz Nossalewski*, geb. 1783 in Przedbórz in Kleinpolen. Ins Noviziat trat er 1804 ein. Im nächsten Jahr reiste er in die Schweiz und legte wahrscheinlich dort die Ordensgelübde ab. Am 24. Januar 1808 empfing er die Priesterweihe. Später verließ er die Kongregation.¹¹⁸

47. *Joseph Amand Passerat*, geb. am 30. April 1772 in Joinville in Frankreich. Ins Noviziat trat er 1796 ein, am 13. November legte er die Ordensgelübde ab, am 15. April 1797 wurde er Priester. 1797-1803 war er Novizenmeister. Im Bennoniten-Priesterseminar unterrichtete er Dogmatik und Moraltheologie, sowie Kirchengeschichte. 1803 reiste er in die Schweiz. Er starb am 30. Oktober 1858 in Tournai.¹¹⁹

48. *Grzegorz Pauczyński*, geb. ? in Polen. 1802 war er im Noviziat. Später trat er wahrscheinlich aus der Kongregation aus.¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20 f.

¹¹⁵ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (Zentralarchiv für Alte Akten in Warschau); Komisja Rządowa Spraw Wewnętrznych (Staatskommission für innere Angelegenheiten), Nr. 6165, 46 A.

¹¹⁶ «MH» VII (51) 74, 81; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 16.

¹¹⁷ «MH» VII (51) 74; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

¹¹⁸ «MH» VI-XV passim.

¹¹⁹ «MH» I-XV passim; H. GIROUILLE, *Vie du vénérable P. Joseph Passerat*, Paris 1924 passim.

¹²⁰ «MH» II (49) 41.

49. *Mikołaj Pieczenowski*, geb. ? in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1803 ein. Später verließ er die Bennoniten.¹²¹

50. *Jan Podgórski*, geb. am 11. Juli 1775 in Brewki in der Diözese Płock. Er war der erste Pole in der Kongregation. Ins Noviziat trat er 1793 ein, am 23. Januar 1794 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. Am 10. Juni 1797 wurde er Priester. Er war polnischer Prediger. 1803-1808 war er Präfekt des Bennoniten-Priesterseminars und 1807-1808 Novizenmeister. Nach der Aufhebung des Klosters arbeitete er u.a. in Piotrkowice. Er starb am 6. März 1847 in Krakau.¹²²

51. *Anton Priesching*, geb. am 17. April 1780 in Taßwitz in Mähren. Ins Noviziat trat er 1796 ein. Er war der Sohn von Barbara Priesching, der Schwester des hl. Klemens. 1798 verlangte die österreichische Behörde von Hofbauer, daß sein Neffe nach Hause geschickt werde.¹²³

52. *Piotr Raczkowski*, geb. um 1788 in Polen. In die Kongregation trat er vor 1808 ein. Nach der Aufhebung des Klosters absolvierte er das weitere Theologiestudium im Priesterseminar der Warschauer Diözese.¹²⁴

53. *Franz Xaver Rheinlaender*, geb. 1768 in Thüringen. 1792 trat er ins Noviziat ein, am 1. August 1793 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab, am 19. Juni 1794 empfing er die Priesterweihe von Nuntius Litta. Er war Hauszelator und deutscher Prediger. Er starb am 30. Juli 1796 an einer Lebensmittelvergiftung.¹²⁵

54. *Johann Nepomuk Rudolph*, geb. am 7. Februar 1766 im Hausdorf in Herzogtum Gladz in Schlesien. Er entstammte dem deutschen Adel. Ins Noviziat trat er 1788 ein und legte wahrscheinlich im folgenden Jahr die Ordensgelübde ab. Die Priesterweihe empfing er am 27. Februar 1791 von Nuntius Saluzzo. Er beherrschte die deutsche, die polnische und die lateinische Sprache. 1795 ging er nach Mitau in Kurland (heute Jelgava in Lettland). Am 22. Juni 1799 entband ihn der Wilnaer Bischof Jan Nepomucen Kossakowski (1798-1808) von den Ordensgelübden. Rudolph

¹²¹ «MH» VIII (99) 156.

¹²² «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 18; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 25-107; B. ŁUBIEŃSKI, *O. Jan Podgórski, redemptorysta, towarzysz św. Klemensa (ur. 1775 - um. 1847)*, Kraków 1913 passim; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 131-151.

¹²³ «MH» I (22) 43; (34) 60; (35) 61; (37) 63; (40) 65; «MH» VIII (51) 61; «MH» XI 340; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20.

¹²⁴ «MH» VII (51) 74, 81; (52) 84; (53) 90; «MH» IX 51; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

¹²⁵ «MH» VIII (38) 37; (40) 39; (42) 41; (47) 52; (50) 60; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 18.

wurde Priester der Diözese Wilna.¹²⁶ Er starb am 5. Oktober 1847 als Pfarrer in Mitau.¹²⁷

55. *Johann Sabelli*, geb. am 14. September 1780 in Cieszyn in Schlesien. In die Kongregation trat er 1802 ein. Im gleichen Jahr ging er in die Schweiz. Die Ordensgelübde legte er am 22. August 1803 in Italien ab. Am 23. Oktober wurde er Priester. Er starb am 24. Februar 1863 in Rom.¹²⁸

56. *Michał Sadowski*, geb. 1777 in Cieszkowy in der Pfarrei Probołowice bei Kielce (Polen). Ins Noviziat trat er 1795 ein, die Ordensgelübde legte er 1797 ab, 1800 wurde er Priester. Er war ein guter Prediger. Er beherrschte die polnische, die deutsche und die lateinische Sprachen. 1803-1808 wirkte er in der Pfarrei Lutkówka bei Warschau. Er starb am 28. Dezember 1829 als Pfarrer in Pruszyń bei Siedlce (Polen).¹²⁹

57. *Szymon Schroetter*, geb. 1777 in Robawy (Robaven) bei Reszel (Roessel) im Ermland. Ins Noviziat trat er 1795 ein, 1796 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab und wurde 1802 Priester. Er war Leiter des Waisenhauses. Er starb am 12. Januar 1839 als Pfarrer in Legienien bei Bartoszyce im Ermland.¹³⁰

58. *Wojciech Schroetter*, geb. 1772/3 in Robawy (Robaven) oder in Reszel (Roessel) im Ermland. Bruder von Szymon Schroetter. Ins Kloster trat er 1790 als Kandidat ein, aber das Noviziat begann er erst 1792. Die Ordensgelübde legte er am 15. September 1793 ab. Die Priesterweihe empfing er 1797. Er war Lehrer der Rhetorik und Schulleiter. 1803-1808 wirkte er in der Pfarrei Lutkówka bei Warschau. Er starb am 12. Mai 1839 als Pfarrer in Wierzbołów in der Diözese Wigry (Polen).¹³¹

59. *Jakub Schulz*, geb. ? Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1802 ein. Er war Ordensbruder. Später trat er wahrscheinlich aus der Kongregation aus.¹³²

¹²⁶ Vgl. Anm. 96.

¹²⁷ «MH» I 12 f.; «MH» VIII (11) 15; (14) 17; (44) 46; (108) 169; (109) 171; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 17.

¹²⁸ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 25.

¹²⁹ «MH» II-XIII passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19 f.; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 19 f.; A. SAMPERS; *Epistularum commercium inter RM Cocle et VG Passerat, jan.-oct. 1830*, in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 128, 135 f.; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 127.

¹³⁰ «MH» I-XIII passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19 f.; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 14; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 128.

¹³¹ «MH» I -XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 18; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 18; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 128.

¹³² «MH» II (49) 42.

60. *Ignacy Sobociński*, geb. 1787 in Warschau. Ins Noviziat trat er 1803 ein. Die Ordensgelübde legte er wahrscheinlich erst 1806 ab. Er war Schulleiter und Lehrer der Naturgeschichte, der Mathematik, der Physik und der lateinischen Sprache. Nach Aufhebung des Klosters wurde er ins Warschauer Diözesanseminar aufgenommen. 1810 wurde er zum Priester geweiht. Er starb am 1. August 1841 in Zegrz in der Diözese Płock (Polen).¹³³

61. *Wincenty Józef Sowiński*, geb. am 25. August 1778 in Chełmno (Culm). In die Kongregation trat er 1797 ein, die Ordensgelübde legte er 1800 ab und wurde 1801 zum Priester geweiht. In der Schule unterrichtete er Religion und Biblische Geschichte. Er wirkte in mehreren Pfarreien. Er starb am 29. Dezember 1829 als Pfarrer in Wąbrzeźno (Polen).¹³⁴

62. *Norbert Spitznagel*, geb. am 6. Juni 1774 in Griessen bei Jestetten. In die Kongregation trat er in der Schweiz ein, am 2. August 1805 legte er in Babenhausen die Ordensgelübde ab. 1807 kam er mit Pater Józef Langanki nach Warschau. Nach Aufhebung des Klosters kehrte er in die Schweiz zurück. Er starb am 16. Dezember 1857 in Landser in Belgien.¹³⁵

63. *Martin Stark*, geb. am 11. September 1787 in Lotstetten in der Schweiz. In die Kongregation trat er in Jestetten ein, am 28. November 1806 legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. 1807 kam er nach Warschau. Zum Priester wurde er am 14. Oktober 1810 geweiht. Er starb am 14. Juli 1852 in Baden bei Wien.¹³⁶

64. *Wojciech Stechliński*, geb. um 1780 in Kęty in Kleinpolen. Er war Benediktiner in Sieciechów. Vor 1808 verließ er die Benediktiner und trat bei den Bennoniten ein.¹³⁷

65. *Alfons Studziński*, geb. ? in der Nähe von Warschau. Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1807 ein. Er war Ordensbruder.¹³⁸

66. *Jan Szacitowski*, geb. ? in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1802 ein. Er war Ordensbruder. Später verließ er wahrscheinlich die Kongregation.¹³⁹

¹³³ «MH» I 86; «MH» III (42) 71 f; «MH» VII (51) 74; «MH» VIII (157) 236; (160) 240; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 26.

¹³⁴ «MH» I-XIII passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 21; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 130.

¹³⁵ «MH» VI-XV passim.

¹³⁶ «MH» I-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 27.

¹³⁷ «MH» VII (51) 74; «MH» VIII (86) 137; (87) 138; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

¹³⁸ «MH» III (42) 73; «MH» VII (51) 73; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 28.

¹³⁹ «MH» II (49) 42.

67. *Antoni Szawłowski*, geb. ? in Polen. Ins Noviziat trat er vor 1802 ein. Er war Ordensbruder. Vermutlich 1805 verließ er die Bennoniten.¹⁴⁰

68. *Jan Szulski (Schulski)*, geb. am 9. Januar 1785 in Gąsewo in der Wojewodschaft Ostrołęka (Polen). 1804 trat er ins Kloster ein. 1805 begab er sich in die Schweiz. Das Noviziat beendete er in Jestetten. Die Ordensgelübde legte er am 18. August 1806 in Babenhausen ab. Am 3. April 1808 wurde er Priester. 1822 verließ er die Kongregation und wurde Diözesanpriester. Er starb am 23. Dezember 1848 in St. Niklaus in der Schweiz.¹⁴¹

69. *Jan Trojanowski*, 1795 trat er ins Noviziat ein und legte 1796 die Ordensgelübde ab. Später verließ er die Kongregation.¹⁴²

70. *Alois Truczka*, geb. 1779 in Znaim in Mähren. 1795 war er im Noviziat. 1798 verlangte österreichische Behörde von den Bennoniten, daß er nach Hause zurückkehre.¹⁴³

71. *Jacob Vannelet*, geb. 1769 in Reims in Frankreich. Seine Studien absolvierte er im Priesterseminar von Reims. Bei den Bennoniten trat er 1796 ein. Im gleichen Jahr legte er die Ordensgelübde ab. 1797 wurde er Priester. 1803-1807 war er Novizenmeister. Im Bennoniten-Priesterseminar unterrichtete er Metaphysik und Logik. Er starb am 26. Juni 1807 infolge einer Ansteckung mit Typhus durch kranke Soldaten zur Zeit des Herzogtums Warschau.¹⁴⁴

72. *Simon Anton Waldherr*, geb. ?. Im Noviziat war er 1795. Die Ordensgelübde legte er 1796 ab. Später trat er wahrscheinlich aus der Kongregation aus.¹⁴⁵

73. *Joseph Johann Wichert*, geb. am 18. Oktober 1771 in Bisztynek (Bischofstein) im Ermland. Ins Noviziat trat er 1793 ein und legte am 15. September 1793 die Ordensgelübde ab. Die Priesterweihe empfing er am 25. Januar 1795 von Nuntius Litta. Im Mai 1795 reiste er nach Mitau in Kurland (heute Jelgava in Lettland). Am 22. Juni 1799 entband ihn der Wilnaer Bischof Jan Nepomucen Kossakowski (1798-1808) von den

¹⁴⁰ «MH» II (49) 42; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 26.

¹⁴¹ «MH» I-XV passim; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 126; A. SAMPERS, *Ist Pater Johann Schulski (1785-1848) als Redemptorist gestorben?*, in *Spic. Hist.* 23 (1975) 221-238.

¹⁴² «MH» I (15) 18; (17) 24; «MH» VIII (51) 61; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

¹⁴³ «MH» I (1) 1f.; (22) 43; (36) 62; (37) 63; (40) 65; «MH» VIII (47) 52; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

¹⁴⁴ «MH» I-XIV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20.

¹⁴⁵ «MH» VIII (47) 52; (51) 61; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 19.

Ordensgelübden. Er wurde Priester der Wilnaer Diözese.¹⁴⁶ Er starb am 14. September 1842 als Pfarrer in Alschwangen in Kurland.¹⁴⁷

74. *Matthias Widhalm*, geb. 1753 in Österreich. Ins Noviziat trat er 1789 ein und legte am 25. August 1790 die Ordensgelübde ab. Er war Ordensbruder. Er starb am 28. Mai 1826 in Weinhaus bei Wien.¹⁴⁸

75. *Teodor Walenty Woyciechowicz*, geb. am 11. Februar 1784 in Chełmno (Culm). Dort absolvierte er die Akademie. Ins Noviziat trat er 1802 ein, aber wegen der Schwierigkeiten von Seiten der preußischen Behörden konnte er die Ordensgelübde wahrscheinlich erst 1806 ablegen. Im gleichen Jahr wurde er Priester. In der Schule unterrichtete er Geschichte, Mathematik und Physik; im Bennoniten-Priesterseminar Philosophie und Theologie. Er starb am 10. April 1817 als Sekretär des Culmer Domkapitels und Administrator der Pfarrei Chełmża (Culmsee).¹⁴⁹

76. *Jan Wyszyński*, geb. ? in Polen. Im Noviziat befand er sich 1796. Dann verließ er wahrscheinlich die Kongregation.¹⁵⁰

Die Redemptoristengemeinde von St. Benno in Warschau (1787-1808)
Personelle Zusammensetzung

Die Jahre	1787	1788	1789	1790	1791	1792
Patres	2	2	2	3	5	5
Brüder	1	1	1	2	2	2
Kandidaten, Nov., Stud.	—	2	2	3	1	3 (?)
Summe	3	5	5	8	8	10

¹⁴⁶ Vgl. Anm. 96.

¹⁴⁷ «MH» I 12 f.; «MH» VIII (39) 38; (40) 39; (42) 41; (44) 46; 169; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 18.

¹⁴⁸ «MH» II-XV passim; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 18.

¹⁴⁹ «MH» I-XIV; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 26; BRUDZISZ (wie Anm. 16), 15 f.; SZRANT (wie Anm. 76), 130.

¹⁵⁰ «MH» VIII (51) 61; *Catalogus* (wie Anm. 25), 20.

Die Jahre	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798
Patres	5	7	9	7	11	11
Brüder	2	2	2	3	3	4
Kandidaten, Nov., Stud.	6	7	14	22 (?)	12 (?)	13
Summe	13	16	25	32	26	28

Die Jahre	1799	1800	1801	1802	1803
Patres	11	13	14	15	15
Brüder	7	8	8 (?)	9	9 (?)
Kandidaten, Nov., Stud.	10	8	7	11	8
Summe	28	29	29	35	32

Die Jahre	1804	1805	1806	1807	1808
Patres	14	13	14	18	15
Brüder	6	5	4	9	9
Kandidaten, Nov., Stud.	7	7	6	9	14
Summe	27	25	24	36	38

II. DAS TÄGLICHE LEBEN DER WARSCHAUER GEMEINDE

Als sich die ersten Redemptoristen auf den Weg "nach Norden" machten, nahmen sie den Text der 1782 in Rom publizierten *Regel* mit. Aber schon 1789, also zwei Jahre nach ihrer Ankunft in Polen, gaben sie eine neue Regel heraus, die sogenannte "Warschauer Regel" *Constitutiones sive Statuta et Regole Congregationis Praesbyterorum Sub Titulo S.S. Redemptoris Aprobatae a Benedicto Papa XIV, Warsaviae M.DCC.LXXXIX.*¹⁵¹ Gestützt auf diese Ordensregel organisierten sie ihr gemeinschaftliches Leben und ihre apostolische Tätigkeit. Die Tagesordnung im Kloster sah folgendermaßen aus:¹⁵²

- 4.30 Uhr: Aufstehen.
- 5.00 - 6.00 Uhr: Morgengebet und Meditation.
- 7.30 Uhr: Frühstück.
- 12.00 Uhr: Mittagessen.
- 12.45 - 13.45 Uhr: Erholungsstunde.
- 15.00 - 16.00 Uhr: Geistliche Lesung.
- 18.30 Uhr: Abendessen.
- 19.00 - 20.00 Uhr: Erholungsstunde.
- 21.45 Uhr: Nachtruhe.

Außerdem sollte jeder täglich noch zwei halbstündige Meditation, zwei fünfzehnminütige Gewissenserforschungen vor dem Mittagessen und am Abend vor der nächtliche Ruhe -, das Breviergebet, die Besuchung des Heiligsten Sakramentes, sowie den Rosenkranz absolvieren. Dreimal in der Woche fand die Disziplin statt. Jeden Monat wurde ein Rekolektionstag durchgeführt, einmal im Jahr zehntägige Exerzitien. Die aszetischen, theologischen und liturgischen Akademien wurden in jeder Woche des Monats abgehalten, ebenso das Schuldkapitel und die Samstagskonferenz mit der Mahnung zum "Wandel auf dem Weg der Tugend". Es herrschte eine vollkommene Gleichförmigkeit in Nahrung und Kleidung, sowie in der Einrichtung der Zimmer.¹⁵³ Das Haus

¹⁵¹ E. HOSP, *Geschichte der Redemptoristenregel*, Wien 1939, 195-216. Am 7. Juli 1790 stellte Hofbauer dem Nuntius Saluzzo den Text der neuen *Regel* vor. «MH» IV 137.

¹⁵² Die preußische Kammer in Warschau an den König Friedrich Wilhelm III., Warschau, 27. Oktober 1799, «MH» III (1) 2. Vgl. auch den Brief K. Hofbauers an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 1. Oktober 1801, «MH» VIII (59) 87 f.

¹⁵³ K. Hofbauer an das Bischöfliche Konsistorium in Warschau, Warschau, 25. April 1800, «MH» IV 145; K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 1. Oktober 1801, «MH» VIII (59) 87; «MH» V 131.

verließ man in der Regel nicht allein, außer mit Genehmigung des Obern.¹⁵⁴

Besonders geachtet wurde auf die Einhaltung des Schweigens und der Armut.¹⁵⁵ Die Armut begleitete die Redemptoristen vom ersten Augenblick ihrer Ankunft in Warschau an. Ihr ganzer Besitz betrug gerade ein paar Taler, und der Raum, in dem sie wohnten, war so feucht, daß das Wasser an den Wänden herunterlief. Im Zimmer gab es nur einen Tisch und ein paar Stühle. In der ersten Nacht mußten zwei von ihnen auf dem Tische und einer auf dem Stuhl schlafen. Sogar das Küchengeschirr mußte von Leuten ausgeliehen werden. Die Löffel schnitzte Bruder Kunzmann aus Holz.¹⁵⁶

Nach dem Umzug ins Kloster von St. Benno im Sommer 1788 verbesserte sich die Wohnsituation ein wenig. Aber auch jetzt noch mußten die Redemptoristen wegen der wenigen Räume zu mehreren in einem Zimmer wohnen.¹⁵⁷ Sogar Hofbauer und Hübl machten für sich keine Ausnahme und bewohnten gemeinsam eine Zelle.¹⁵⁸ Täglich mußte die große Klosterfamilie von 60 und mehr Personen ernährt werden.¹⁵⁹ So schrieb P. Hofbauer am 23. Mai 1793 an P. Blasucci über diese schwierige Lage:

“Wenn ich nun den Stand unseres Missionshauses hier im Norden erklären soll, so kann ich nichts anders sagen, als daß es nur durch eine wunderbare göttliche Vorsehung erhalten wird. Es ist fast kein Kapital für die Gründung da, und was wir erhalten ist so gering, daß es kaum für Kerzen, Öl und Wein in der Kirche reicht”.¹⁶⁰

Als 1797/1798 Hofbauer auf einer Gründungsreise war, wollte ihm Hübl zu Hilfe kommen und nach Augsburg etwas Geld überweisen. Er konnte das aber nicht tun, denn es gab damals nur sieben Dukaten in der Kasse.¹⁶¹ Einmal war die Not so groß, daß

¹⁵⁴ K. Hofbauer an das Bischöfliche Konsistorium in Warschau, Warschau, 25. April 1800, «MH» IV 145; J. Sabelli, Relazioni..., «MH» V 131.

¹⁵⁵ J. Sabelli, Relazioni..., «MH» V 131.

¹⁵⁶ «MH» XI 290; «MH» XII 235.

¹⁵⁷ «MH» XIV (261) 141.

¹⁵⁸ «MH» XI 76.

¹⁵⁹ K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 9. Januar 1808, «MH» VIII (74) 116.

¹⁶⁰ «MH» VIII (37) 35.

¹⁶¹ T. Hübl an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 20. Januar 1798, «MH» I (15) 17 f.

sogar einige von den Möbeln verkauft werden mußten.¹⁶² Oft mußte Hofbauer für seine Waisenkinder betteln.¹⁶³ Bekannt sind auch Fälle, wo Hofbauer keine Mittel zur Erhaltung des Waisenhauses, der Schule und des ganzen Klosters aufbringen konnte. Dann begab er sich in die Kirche, kniete dort vor dem Altar nieder, klopfte an die Tabernakeltür und flehte: "Herr, hilf! Es ist Zeit".¹⁶⁴

Die Zeugen von Hofbauer Leben stellten einmütig fest, daß er in allem die Ordensregel beachtete und nichts ohne die Erlaubnis seiner Obern oder des Apostolischen Nuntius unternahm.¹⁶⁵ Dasselbe verlangte er von seinen Untergebenen.¹⁶⁶ Sich selbst gegenüber war er streng, was die Armut betraf. Auch bei seinen Mitbrüdern litt er nicht die geringste Abweichung auf diesem Gebiet.¹⁶⁷

Obwohl sie selbst arm waren, versagten die Bennoniten niemandem ihre Hilfe, wenn sie darum gebeten wurden: "Ihre Pforte verließ kein Habenichts ohne Gaben und Trost".¹⁶⁸ Als Pater Jestershein, der sich um die materiellen Dinge in der Gemeinschaft zu kümmern hatte, seine Beunruhigung über die übermäßige Verteilung von Almosen an der Pforte zum Ausdruck brachte und darlegte, wie arm das Kloster aus diesem Grunde würde, gab ihm Hofbauer zur Antwort: "Gebt, und es wird euch gegeben werden". Dabei äußerte er, daß ein Priester, wenn er seine Pflichten erfülle, sich um seine materielle Existenz nicht zu sorgen brauche, "denn selbst wenn sich auf der ganzen Welt nur *ein* Laib Brot finden würde, schickte der Herrgott ihm davon doch die Hälfte".¹⁶⁹

Die Redemptoristen waren sich bewußt, daß in Warschau sowohl in materieller wie in politischer Hinsicht schwierige Bedingungen herrschten, aber bald überzeugten sie sich davon,

¹⁶² «MH» VIII 275.

¹⁶³ «MH» XI 103, 165, 239.

¹⁶⁴ «MH» XI 77.

¹⁶⁵ "Ich weiß aus dem Munde des P. Passerat, daß P. Hofbauer sehr streng auf die wesentlichen Punkte der Regel hielt, und daß er niemals etwas tat ohne Zustimmung seines Ordensobern und des Päpstlichen Nuntius". Testis P. Johannes Pilat CSSR «MH» XII 23.

¹⁶⁶ «MH» XII 106.

¹⁶⁷ J. Sabelli, Relazioni..., «MH» V 131.

¹⁶⁸ Z. BARTKIEWICZ, *OO. Redemptoryści w Polsce (Die Redemptoristen in Polen)* "Przegląd Powszechny" («Allgemeine Rundschau»), 18 (1888) 78.

¹⁶⁹ Ebd.

daß die Situation der Kirche in den anderen europäischen Ländern nicht viel besser aussah. Als Hofbauer sich auf eine seiner zahlreichen Gründungsreisen nach Westeuropa begeben hatte, schrieb ihm Jestershein, er solle nach Warschau zurückkehren, weil das polnische Elend leichter zu ertragen sei als das deutsche.¹⁷⁰

Mit großer Beunruhigung nahmen die Bennoniten die Beschlüsse des Generalkapitels von 1802 auf, in denen unter anderem verfügt worden war, daß die Redemptoristen zwar keinerlei Geld bei sich tragen dürften, es jedoch in der Hauskasse hinterlegen und mit Genehmigung des Rektors darüber verfügen könnten. Der Obere dürfte es nicht ohne das Einverständnis des betreffenden Ordensmannes verwenden. Der damalige Rektor von St. Benno, Thaddäus Hübl, schrieb am 7. März 1807 in dieser Angelegenheit an Pater Blasucci und brachte dabei seine Besorgnis um die Zukunft des ganzen Ordens zum Ausdruck, falls diese Anordnungen des Kapitels verwirklicht würden:

„Dieses Statut ist bis jetzt in unserer Kongregation, wenigstens im Kirchenstaat und hier außerhalb Italiens unerhört. Das ist ein schwerer Schaden für das Gelübde der Armut, verursacht Trauer über Trauer, denn es ist ein fataler Schlag, der seinerzeit das ganze Institut in der Ruin stürzen wird. Das ist eine Pforte, die unzähligen Mißbräuchen und Störungen der guten Ordnung den Eingang öffnet“.¹⁷¹

Diese Veränderungen wurden vom Apostolischen Stuhl nicht gutgeheißen, wovon der Generalprokurator, Pater Giattini, den Rektor von St. Benno in Kenntnis setzte. In seinem Brief vom 2. Juni 1807 schrieb er, daß in Bezug auf das Gelübde der Armut die von Papst Benedikt XIV. bestätigte *Regel* und die Beschlüsse des Generalkapitels von 1797 zu beobachten seien.¹⁷²

Trotz der schwierigen Lebens- und Arbeitsbedingungen gab die ganze Gemeinschaft ihren Obern viel Grund zur Freude. In sei-

¹⁷⁰ Warschau, 20. Januar 1798, «MH» I (16) 21.

¹⁷¹ «MH» VIII (169) 255.

¹⁷² „Im Brief vom 24. Mai habt Ihr geschrieben, daß Ihr und alle anderen Patres sehr beunruhigt seid wegen der Neuerungen in Bezug auf das Gelübde der Armut, daß Ihr protestiert hättet, daß Ihr dem Dekret des letzten Generalkapitels nicht gehorchen wolltet, daß Ihr die *Regel* beobachten wolltet, auf die Ihr die Profeß gemacht habt“. «MH» VIII (171) 260 f. Vgl. E.HOSP, *Erbe des hl. Klemens Maria Hofbauer*, Wien 1953, 234; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 183.

nen Berichten nach Rom äußerte sich Hofbauer sehr oft lobend über seine Untergebenen. In einem seiner zahlreichen Briefe lesen wir:

“Ich kann mit Freude versichern, daß ich bei meinen Mitbrüdern eine große Anhänglichkeit an das Institut beobachte. Denn so, wie ich selbst nichts in solcher Weise liebe wie die Kongregation, so bin ich bemüht, nichts mehr in die Herzen meiner Brüder einzuflößen als die Liebe zur Kongregation und die Hochschätzung des Berufes. So finde ich mit der Gnade Gottes alle, mit Ausnahme eines einzigen, bereit, lieber das Opfer des Lebens zu bringen als etwas zuzulassen, was zum Schaden der Kongregation gereiche. Ich kann der Güte Gottes gar nicht genug danken, daß mir erlaubt wurde, so viele gute Mitbrüder zu sammeln, deren Eifer ständig gedämpft werden muß”.¹⁷³

Besonders anerkennenswert ist, daß fast alle Patres mindestens drei Sprachen beherrschten, auf jeden Fall Polnisch und Deutsch, dann Latein oder Französisch.¹⁷⁴ Pater Hübl konnte sogar vier Sprachen.¹⁷⁵

Die außerhalb der Gemeinschaft weilenden Redemptoristen hielten engen Kontakt zu St. Benno. Besonders Hofbauer, der zahlreiche Reisen unternehmen mußte, dachte unaufhörlich an die Warschauer Gemeinde:

“Wie wäre ich glücklich”, schrieb er 1806 aus Weinried oder Babenhausen, “wenn ich Euch einmal für einen Monat hier haben könnte! Ich würde Euch als meine Kinder betrachten und würde selbst die Köchin machen”.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷³ K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 12. Juni 1800, «MH» VIII (55) 70. Vgl. auch seine Briefe vom 29. Oktober 1793, «MH» VIII (39) 38; 22. Juli 1799, «MH» VIII (53) 65 und Bericht an das Bischöfliche Konsistorium in Warschau, Warschau, 25. April 1800, «MH» IV 146-152.

¹⁷⁴ K. Hofbauer an das Bischöfliche Konsistorium in Warschau, Warschau, 25. April 1800, «MH» IV 151 f. K. Hofbauer an L. Litta, Wien, 29. März 1815, MH XIV (20) 9.

¹⁷⁵ K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 18. Dezember 1795, «MH» VIII (47) 52.

¹⁷⁶ «MH» VIII (89) 140. Ebenso schrieb er am 24. Dezember 1806 aus Pruszyń: “Unser lieber P. Rektor [P. Hübl] hat Euch alle meine Gedanken geschrieben. Ich brauche nichts hinzufügen, als daß ich ein großes Verlangen habe, Euch zu umarmen. Ich werde meine Gebete verdoppeln bei Gelegenheit des neuen Jahres, um Euch dem guten Jesus zu Füßen zu legen. Er möge sich würdigen, Euch in seinem Herzen zu festigen und fürbitten beim Vater im Himmel. Meine Grüße bei Gelegenheit an die Priester und alle, die uns gut sind vor Gott. Betet auch für mich; ich brauche das Gebet notwendig. Gott schütze uns vor

Immer hatte er einen guten Rat für sie und war besorgt um ihre seelsorgliche Tätigkeit.¹⁷⁷ Während der schweren Zeit der preußischen Besatzung wollte er seine Mitbrüder in Warschau immer wieder ermutigen:

“Nur Mut! Gott lenkt alles zu seiner Ehre und zu unserem Besten und niemand kann ihm widerstehen. Alle Pläne der Menschen und seien sie noch so gut ausgedacht, dienen nur dazu, seinen Willen zu erfüllen. Ich habe mich in diesen Umständen ganz seinem Willen ergeben. Ich sehe, daß alles, was uns entgegen zu sein scheint, uns dorthin führt, wo Gott will. So wurde auch Paulus als Gefangener nach Rom geführt, die ersten Gläubigen in Jerusalem wurden verfolgt, damit das Reich Jesu Christi sich ausdehne. Lassen wie also Gott handeln und lenken. Das ist das Beste”.¹⁷⁸

Auch der langjährige Rektor von St. Benno, Thaddäus Hübl, der 1806 zunächst in Wien weilte,¹⁷⁹ danach ein ganzes Jahr lang in Pruszyń bei Siedlce, unterhielt einen engen brieflichen Kontakt zu den Mitbrüdern in Warschau.¹⁸⁰ Ein Beweis dafür, daß die Obern an die Mitbrüder dachten, waren die Glückwunschsreiben zum Namenstag, zum Neujahr oder zu anderen Anlässen, die sie ihnen zusandten, wenn sie nicht persönlich in Warschau anwesend sein konnten.¹⁸¹

Besondere Fürsorge erfuhren in der Gemeinschaft die kranken Mitbrüder. Seit 1794 hatten die Redemptoristen einen eigenen Arzt. Dies war zuerst Jerzy Arnold (1747-1827), der die

allem Übel”. «MH» VIII (162) 245.

¹⁷⁷ “Ich weiß, daß Ihr sehr viel zu tun habt... Das ist ja immer eine Schwierigkeit in der Welt, daß man zu viel zu tun hat. Noch gebe ich Euch den Rat, Euch weniger den Beichten zu widmen und mehr auf Eure Geschäfte zu verlegen”. K. Hofbauer an T. Hübl, Babenhausen, 7. August 1806, «MH» VI (28) 27.

¹⁷⁸ K. Hofbauer an die Kommunität von St. Benno, Babenhausen, 6. August 1806, «MH» VI (27) 27.

¹⁷⁹ T. Hübl an K. Jestershein, Wien, 7. Oktober 1806, «MH» VIII (152) 229 f.; Wien, 11. Oktober 1806, «MH» VIII (153) 230 f.; Brün, 14. November 1806, «MH» VIII (156) 234 f.

¹⁸⁰ T. Hübl an K. Jestershein, Pruszyń, 3. Dezember 1806, «MH» VIII (157) 235 f.; 5. Dezember 1806, «MH» VIII (159) 237-239; 6. Januar 1807, «MH» VIII (163) 245-248; 10. Februar 1807, «MH» VIII (164) 248 f.; 14. Februar 1807, «MH» VIII (166) 251; 5. März 1807, «MH» VIII (167) 251 f. Vgl. auch seine Briefe an die Kommunität von St. Benno: 12. Dezember 1806, «MH» VIII (160) 239 f.; 24. Dezember 1806, «MH» VIII (161) 241-245.

¹⁸¹ Vgl. die Briefe T. Hübls an K. Jestershein, Wien, 28. Oktober 1806, «MH» VIII (155) 233; Pruszyń, 14. Februar 1807, «MH» VIII (166) 251 und auch den Brief K. Jestersheins an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 30. Dezember 1797, «MH» I (14) 14 f.

Redemptoristen bis 1800 betreute. Danach übernahm Maciej Baranowski die ärztliche Betreuung der Gemeinde. Er erfüllte diese Pflicht bis zur Aufhebung des Klosters.¹⁸²

An Kranken fehlte es, wie in jeder menschlichen Gemeinde, leider nicht. Jacob Vannelet litt an einer Nervenkrankheit, an Neurasthenie. Er eignete sich eher zum Einsiedlerleben als zur apostolischen Tätigkeit. Jestershein war der Meinung, er lebe "mehr für sich als für die Gemeinde".¹⁸³

Pater Mercier war sieben Monate lang bettlägerig; er ertrug sein Leiden und alle Operationen mit Geduld, ehe er schließlich am 12. Februar 1804 starb.¹⁸⁴ Krank war auch Franciszek Kulesiński.¹⁸⁵ Karol Blumenau-Kwiatkowski hatte Probleme mit dem Blutdruck und litt noch an weiteren Krankheiten.¹⁸⁶ Hübl war 6 Monate lang krank und zwar um die Jahreswende 1805/1806. Die ganze Zeit über mußte er im Bett liegen.¹⁸⁷

Im Jahre 1803 waren sechs oder sieben Personen an Blutrühr erkrankt. Hofbauer und Hübl, die damals in der Schweiz weilten, wurden sehr besorgt, als sie diese Nachricht erhielten. Vor allem Hofbauer war darüber erschüttert. Deshalb schrieb Hübl am 3. Februar 1803 an Jestershein:

"Die Nachricht von der Erkrankung war für ihn [Hofbauer] ein großer Schmerz. Habt Ihr keinen guten Arzt in Warschau? Sorgt für Eure Gesundheit, wir beschwören Euch. Ihr seid im Gewissen dazu verpflichtet".¹⁸⁸

Zum Glück starb damals im Kloster niemand, ganz im Gegenteil zur Stadt, in der viele Bewohner starben.¹⁸⁹ Aber nicht immer endeten die verschiedenen Krankheiten, Epidemien und

¹⁸² Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (Zentralarchiv für Alte Akten in Warschau); Komisja Rządowa Spraw Wewnętrznych (Staatskommission für innere Angelegenheiten), Nr. 6165, 43-45; «MH» IX (70) 49 (Anm. 2).

¹⁸³ K. Jestershein an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 2. März 1798, «MH» I (17) 24.

¹⁸⁴ «MH» II (60) 63; J. Sabelli, Relazioni..., «MH» V 149; K. Hofbauer an W. Giattini, Warschau, 26. Februar 1804, «MH» VIII (81) 130; K. Jestershein an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 14. September 1803, «MH» VIII (99) 156.

¹⁸⁵ K. Jestershein an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 14. September 1803, «MH» VIII (99) 156 f.

¹⁸⁶ K. Jestershein an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 2. März 1798, «MH» I (17) 24.

¹⁸⁷ T. Hübl an W. Giattini, Warschau, 12. März 1806, «MH» VIII (146) 221.

¹⁸⁸ «MH» V (15) 19.

¹⁸⁹ K. Jestershein an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 14. September 1803, «MH» VIII (99) 156 f.

Seuchen für das Kloster so glücklich. Im Jahre 1796 starben vier Redemptoristen an einer Lebensmittelvergiftung. Am 30. Juli starben Franz Xaver Bressler, Franz Xaver Rheinlaender und Diakon Tomasz Stefan Allander,¹⁹⁰ am 2. August starb Johann Kraus. "Unsere Kommunität hat einen ungeheueren Schaden erlitten", schrieb damals Hofbauer, "doch es geschehe der Wille Gottes. Aber der Schmerz erdrückt uns fast".¹⁹¹ Todesopfer forderte auch die Arbeit in den Militärspitälern (Lazaretten) des Herzogtums Warschau. Innerhalb weniger Tage starben drei Patres infolge einer Ansteckung mit Typhus durch kranke Soldaten. Dies waren: Stanislaw Hausner, gest. am 25. Juni, Jacob Vannelet, gest. am 26. Juni, Thaddäus Hübl, gest. am 4. Juli 1807.¹⁹² Der Tod dieser Mitbrüder erfüllte Hofbauer und die ganze Klostersgemeinschaft mit großer Trauer. Besonders schmerzlich wurde Hofbauer vom Tod seines besten Freundes und Lebensbegleiters Thaddäus Hübl getroffen. In seinem Schreiben vom 16. Oktober 1807 an General Vikar Schlechtleutner lesen wir: "Der Todesfall meines ersten Gefährten nach Norden, P.Hübl, hat mich aus der Fassung gebracht".¹⁹³ Lange Zeit hindurch kam er dann in seinen Briefen auf dieses traurige Ereignis zu sprechen. In einem Schreiben vom 14. November 1807 an den bekannten Kaufmann Chiodetti klagte er wieder bewegt darüber:

"Ich bin überzeugt, daß unser P.Hübl schon im Himmel ist und mit Christus triumphiert. Aber mit all dem kann ich nun einmal den großen Schmerz nicht überwinden, der auf mir lastet. Ich ergebe mich in den Willen Gottes; ich beteuere, nur zu wollen, was Gott will, und dennoch muß ich gestehen, daß ich seit seinem Tode keine glückliche Stunde mehr hatte".¹⁹⁴

So groß und tief war diese brüderliche Freundschaft. Je größer seine Liebe zu seinen Mitbrüdern war, um so länger dauerte es, bis die Wunden heilten.

Ebenso wurden durch diesen Todesfall die damals in der Schweiz weilenden Redemptoristen getroffen. Pater Passerat schrieb am 12. August an Hofbauer:

¹⁹⁰ F.X. Bressler an das Bischöfliche Konsistorium in Warschau, Warschau ?, «MH» III (51) 86; K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 26. Juli 1796, «MH» VIII (50) 60.

¹⁹¹ K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 26. Juli 1796, «MH» VIII (50) 60.

¹⁹² J. Sabelli, Relazioni..., «MH» V 136 f.

¹⁹³ «MH» VI 59.

¹⁹⁴ «MH» VIII (94) 149 f.

“Der letzte Brief hat uns eine tiefe Wunde geschlagen. Ich erwartete den Tod des P.Jacob [Vannelet] und des P.Stanislaus [Hausner], aber nicht den Tod des P.Hübls. Er hat unsere Familie allzu früh verlassen. Um diese tiefe und schmerzliche Wunde zu lindern, haben wir schon die Suffragien gehalten und werden sie halten mit heiligen Messen und Gebeten, damit ihnen auch von den Auswärtigen geholfen werde. Ich hatte schon gewisse Vorahnungen dieses unglücklichen Ereignisses. Denn durch zwei Tage war ich von einer Traurigkeit niedergedrückt, deren Ursache ich nicht kannte. Ich kann mit Wahrheit versichern, daß mir das Leben eine Last ist und daß ich keinen anderen Wunsch habe, als möglichst bald mit den verstorbenen Mitbrüdern vereint zu werden. Es ist Wahrheit: der Mensch lebt kurze Zeit und wird viel geprüft von Leid”.¹⁹⁵

III. INNERE SCHWIERIGKEITEN

Nicht immer verlief das Gemeinschaftsleben problemlos. Wie jede menschliche Gemeinde hatten auch die Redemptoristen ihre Sorgen und Probleme, für die es unterschiedliche Ursachen gab. Sicher liebte Hofbauer seine Mitbrüder väterlich. Sicher ist, daß er gut zu ihnen war. Zudem war er ein Mensch, der Geselligkeit und Mitmenschlichkeit liebte und darauf angewiesen war. Er fühlte sich wohl, wenn er für Menschen dasein konnte. Ein Beweis dafür sind seine Briefe an die italienische Ordensleitung.¹⁹⁶ Andererseits aber hatte er einen lebhaften Charakter und ein hitziges Temperament. Als Generalvikar und langjähriger Rektor von St.Benno (1787-1796) war er ein Mensch, der hohe Anforderungen stellte und die Ordensobservanz streng beachtete. Deswegen kam es sogar dazu, daß Bruder Emanuel Kunzmann 1791 eigenmächtig die Warschauer Kommunität verließ und zum Generalobern nach Rom floh. Er schrieb jedoch einen Brief an Pater General de Paola, in dem er um Verzeihung für sein eigenwilliges Verlassen von St.Benno bat. Pater General war einverstanden, ihn in eines der italienischen Häuser aufzunehmen. Falls er wolle, könne er jedoch auch nach Warschau zurückkehren. An Hofbauer richtete Pater de

¹⁹⁵ «MH» VIII (101) 160.

¹⁹⁶ Vgl. seine Briefe an P.Blasucci: Warschau, 22. Juli 1799, «MH» VIII (53) 65; Warschau, 12. Juni 1800, «MH» VIII (55) 70.

Paola am 22. Juni 1791 eine Reihe scharfer Ermahnungen.¹⁹⁷ Als Oberer einer Ordensgemeinde solle er sich durch Sanftmut, Menschlichkeit und Klugheit auszeichnen. Seine Pflicht sei es, in der Gemeinschaft auftretende Streitigkeiten und Mißverständnisse zu beheben. Alle seine Untergebenen habe er mit Güte und Liebe zu behandeln. Er solle sie nicht durch zu große Strenge erschrecken. Falls jedoch die Last des Obernamtes für ihn allzu schwer sei, sei er, Pater de Paola, bereit, an seiner Stelle Pater Hübl als Obern einzusetzen.¹⁹⁸ Nach einiger Zeit kehrte Kunzmann freiwillig nach Warschau zurück. Vielleicht hielt sich Hofbauer für schuldig an diesem peinlichen Vorkommnis. Jedenfalls hatte er die Absicht, möglicherweise auch im Zusammenhang mit dieser Angelegenheit, Warschau zu verlassen und nach Italien zurückzukehren. Pater de Paola stimmte einem solchen Abschluß der Ereignisse jedoch nicht zu:

“Auf keinen Fall kann ich Deine Absicht gutheißen, nach Rom zurückzukehren. Dies würde zum völligen Ruin des Werkes führen, das Ihr zur Ehre Gottes und für das Heil der Seelen begonnen habt”.¹⁹⁹

Nach diesem Vorfall hatte Hofbauer einige Monate lang keine Kontakte mit Rom. Die Ursache dafür waren wahrscheinlich die schwierigen Postverhältnisse. Aber Pater de Paola vermutete, daß die Redemptoristen in Warschau sich trennen wollten. Im Zusammenhang damit sandte er am 26. Oktober 1791 einen Brief nach Warschau, in dem er Hofbauer fragte, was dieses lange Schweigen bedeuten solle:

“Ich will doch nicht glauben, daß die Bande der Unterordnung und des Gehorsams zerrissen worden sind oder der Beschluß gefaßt wurde, unabhängig zu werden”.²⁰⁰

Er fügte hinzu, er erwarte Nachricht aus Warschau; falls keine käme, würde er durch den Nuntius die Rückkehr aller nach Italien anordnen.²⁰¹

¹⁹⁷ «MH» VIII (16) 19; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 161.

¹⁹⁸ «MH» VIII (16) 20.

¹⁹⁹ «MH» VIII (16) 19.

²⁰⁰ «MH» VIII (17) 20.

²⁰¹ «MH» VIII (17) 20; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 161 f.

Zum Glück kam es jedoch nicht zu einem so drastischen Abschluß der ganzen Angelegenheit. Doch damit waren die Schwierigkeiten und Mißverständnisse in der Gemeinschaft noch nicht beendet. Davon unterrichtete Jestershein Hofbauer, als dieser 1798 in der Schweiz weilte. Am meisten beklagte er sich über die Mitbrüder, welche die Hinweise und Rügen der Vorgesetzten nicht annehmen wollten und nicht verstehen konnten, daß dies nur zu ihrem Guten geschehe.²⁰²

1797/98 war Hofbauer auf der Gründungsreise in der Schweiz. Er hoffte, in Wollerau am Zürchersee eine Schule und ein Waisenhaus errichten zu können. Die Verhandlungen über diese Niederlassung zogen sich lange hin und schließlich wurde nichts daraus.²⁰³ Als damals ein Brief aus Warschau kam, in dem Hübl die Hoffnung aussprach, es möge in der Schweiz zu einer Gründung kommen, verstand Hofbauer diese Äußerung so, als ob man es gern sähe, daß er nicht mehr nach Warschau zurückkäme. Es ist eine Tatsache, daß sich Hofbauer diese Undankbarkeit, wie ihm damals schien, von Seiten der Warschauer Mitbrüder sehr zu Herzen nahm. Hübl versicherte ihm jedoch, daß er im Irrtum sei:

“Mein Gott, wie kannst Du Dir denn einbilden, daß ich oder jemand anderer von uns nicht gerne sehen sollte, daß Ihr wieder zurückkömmt? Würde sich denn so ein abscheuliches Betragen mit jener Dankbarkeit und Liebe vertragen können, die ich und wir alle dir so heilig schuldig sind? ... Alle guten Freunde, die diese Umstände wissen, verlangen eben so sehnlich wie wir Dich bald möglichst wieder hier zu sehen, wie ich schon in meinem letzten Briefe gemeldet habe... Mein Herz blutet, wenn ich an Eure Lage denke, aber wir haben gegenwärtig selbst nichts, als sieben Dukaten in unserem ganzen Vermögen”.²⁰⁴

In einem ähnlichen Ton waren die Briefe von Jestershein gehalten, den Hofbauer gefragt hatte, ob er nach Warschau zurückkehren könne:²⁰⁵

²⁰² Warschau, 2. März 1798, «MH» I (17) 24.

²⁰³ K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Warschau, 26. Juli 1796, «MH» VIII (50) 58; T. Hübl an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 20. Januar 1798, «MH» I (15) 15; (20) 29-34; (21) 34-42; (22) 42

²⁰⁴ Warschau, 20. Januar 1798, «MH» I (15) 17 f.

²⁰⁵ K. Jestershein an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 2. März 1798, «MH» I (17) 25.

“Glauben Sie nur, daß Sie als ein vielgeliebter Vater, von Ihrem im Norden ersten gebildeten Sohne, bey Ihrer Zurückkunft mit zärtlichster kindlicher Liebe werden aufgenommen und immer geliebt werden”.²⁰⁶

Sein langes Schweigen erklärte er damit, daß die Briefe im Namen der ganzen Gemeinschaft von ihrem damaligen Rektor, Pater Hübl, geschrieben wurden und er sich deshalb von dieser Pflicht befreit gefühlt habe. Außerdem habe es infolge der Abwesenheit des Generalvikars so viel Arbeit im Kloster und in der Kirche gegeben, daß er selbst nicht wüßte, “woran er denken und was er tun sollte”. Seinen Brief beschloß er mit einem Appell an Hofbauer, nach Warschau zurückzukehren:

“Kommen Sie nur, alles erwartet Sie mit Freuden, und alle Ihre Kinder werden [Ihnen] mit offenen Armen entgegen eilen, um Sie als ihren so lang entfernten und auch nie gesehenen Vater zu umarmen. Hier, wo wir mehrere sind, wird es leichter seyn, das Kreuz zu tragen, da einer dem anderen helfen kann. Kommen Sie also, noch haben wir Brod. Helfen Sie unserem guten Vater [Hübl] seine Last erleichtern, denn er fühlt sie viel mehr als Sie. Kehren Sie unter der Aufsicht Ihres heil. Schutzengels gesund wieder zurück, damit wir als Brüder im Herrn beysammen wohnen, bis uns einstens der Ruf des Ewigen zu einer neuen Handanlegung auffordert”.²⁰⁷

Der Lebensstil der Warschauer Kommunität, die sehr stark in verschiedenen Formen des Apostolats engagiert war, gefiel nicht immer allen Mitbrüdern. Das Zusammenwohnen auf engem Raum mit so vielen Novizen und Theologiestudenten mußte manche belasten. Sie begannen, zweifellos von großer Liebe zur Kongregation geleitet, einige Aspekte des Gemeinschaftslebens besonders zu betonen. Sie waren der Meinung, die Ordensgemeinschaft solle größeren Nachdruck auf das innere Leben und die Kontemplation legen und das äußere Wirken einschränken.

Einer der Gegner so vieler aktiver apostolischer Tätigkeit war Pater Joseph Amand Passerat. Hofbauer schätzte ihn außerordentlich und stellte ihn als Musterbeispiel aller Tugenden hin:

²⁰⁶ Warschau, 20. Januar 1798, «MH» I (16) 21.

²⁰⁷ «MH» I (16) 20, 22.

“Er [Passerat] ist ein Mann von ausgezeichnete Klugheit und Frömmigkeit. Er verlangt von allen die genaueste Observanz der Regel und Konstitutionen. Er scheint die Geduld selbst zu sein. Er werweigert keine Arbeit und fürchtet keine Gefahr. Er besitzt sehr großen Eifer... Mit einem Wort, die Kongregation hat an ihm ein Beispiel der Tugenden”.²⁰⁸

Aber ihre Charaktere waren grundverschieden. Als Novizenmeister und kontemplative Seele war Passerat mit Hofbauer nicht einverstanden, was das, nach seiner Meinung, zu starke Engagement der Gemeinschaft von St. Benno im Wirken nach außen anlangte. Er hatte auch andere Ansichten über die Heiligkeit und den Gemeinschaftscharakter des Ordenslebens.²⁰⁹ Er wollte sogar in eines der italienischen Klöster versetzt werden, wo er die ersehnte Ruhe und mehr Zeit zur Vertiefung des inneren Lebens zu finden hoffte. Passerat wandte sich mit dieser Angelegenheit einige Male an Pater Blasucci und warf Hofbauer die Nichteinhaltung der Regel, sowie Mißbräuche in der Gemeinschaft vor.²¹⁰ Darüber sprach er auch mit Kardinal Litta, der im April 1799 auf der Reise von Petersburg nach Warschau kam. Passerat klagte damals über die Inobservanz, welche, seiner Meinung nach, in St. Benno herrschte, sowie über das zu lebhaftes und strenge Wesen Hofbauers.²¹¹ Kardinal Litta, der 1794-1796 als Apostolischer Nuntius in Warschau weilte, kannte die positiven Wirkungen der Redemptoristen auf die Warschauer Gesellschaft und war daher sehr vorsichtig, was die Einschätzung dieser Vorwürfe Passerats betraf. In seinem Brief an Pater Blasucci vom 11. Januar 1800 stellte er Hofbauer und der apostolischen Tätigkeit der Redemptoristen in Warschau ein gutes Zeugnis aus. Hofbauer sei ein wahrhaft apostolischer Mann, ganz ausgerichtet

²⁰⁸ K. Hofbauer an P. Blasucci, Wien, 25. September 1811, «MH» XIII 321. Ähnlich schrieb er am 22. Juli 1799, «MH» VIII (53) 65.

²⁰⁹ W. Giattini an P. Blasucci, Rom, 14. Oktober 1806, «MH» XIV (192) 107.

²¹⁰ Er schrieb mindestens viermal an Blasucci: im Frühling 1799; am 20. Januar 1801; am 5. Dezember 1801 und am 25. Februar 1803; L. Litta an P. Blasucci, Venedig, 1. Januar 1800, «MH» VIII (129) 203; *Lettere Oltramontane*, «MH» XV 143. A. SAMPERS, *Epistularum commercium inter patres CSSR in Italia et Trans Alpes tempore S.I. Clementis, 1786-1820*, in *Spic. Hist.* 7 (1959) 23. O. WEISS, *Die Redemptoristen in Bayern (1790-1909)*, München 1977, 224 f.

²¹¹ “Mi aprì [Passerat] il suo cuore su la pena che provava, specialmente come Maestro de Novizj, per l'inconoscenza che mi asserì nella casa di S. Bennone, per la dissipazione del raccoglimento interiore e per il carattere troppo vivo ed austero del P. Hofbauer”. «MH» VIII (129) 203; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 171 f.

auf apostolische Arbeiten und ein aktives Leben:

“Er ist besetzt von einem großen Eifer und von einer großen Liebe. Er nimmt jede Mühe und Arbeit auf sich, die sich ihm darbietet. Ich muß in Wahrheit sagen, daß er nach meinem Urteil mit der Hilfe Gottes wunderbar wirkt”.²¹²

Er habe Hofbauer ernsthaft eingeschärft, recht für die Observanz zu sorgen. Seiner Meinung nach sollte die Wohnung für die Novizen und Theologiestudenten allerdings getrennt sein von der Wohnung der Missionare. Nur so wären Zurückgezogenheit und Ruhe garantiert. Er würde es aber nicht wagen, die Bennoniten von irgend etwas abzuhalten, was sie zum Heil des Volkes in Warschau wirken. Litta meinte, Passerat sei zwar ein Mann von Eifer und Frömmigkeit, aber er kritisierte ihn recht scharf wegen seiner Unfähigkeit, sich neuen Arbeitsbedingungen anzupassen:

“Er ist aber doch ein Franzose; man weiß ja, daß die Geistlichen dieser Nation verlangen, alles müsse so gehalten werden wie in Frankreich; sie verstehen es nicht, sich anderen anzupassen”.²¹³

Die Briefe Passerats blieben nicht ohne Antwort. In einem Schreiben vom 15. Februar 1800 an Hofbauer geht Pater General Blasucci auf die Vorwürfe Passerats ein. Er könne nicht begreifen, wie in einem so kleinem Haus Patres, Brüder, Studenten, Novizen und Schüler zusammen leben können. Wo könnten die Theologiestudenten sich ihren Studien widmen und die Novizen die nötige innere Sammlung finden? Warum werden jeden Tag so viele Gottesdienste mit Musik und Gesang gefeiert? Warum wird täglich so oft gepredigt?²¹⁴ Im Brief vom 12. Juni 1800 mußte sich Hofbauer gegen die Vorwürfe des Pater Generals rechtfertigen.²¹⁵

Ähnlicher Meinung wie Passerat war auch Jacob Vannelet, der leider psychisch labil war und dem das Einsiedlerleben näher

²¹² «MH» VIII (129) 205.

²¹³ «MH» VIII (129) 203.

²¹⁴ «MH» VIII (54) 67-69; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 172.

²¹⁵ «MH» VIII (55) 69-76; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 173-175.

lag als die apostolische Tätigkeit in der Ordensgemeinschaft.²¹⁶ Am 18. April 1801 sandte er ein Schreiben an Pater Blasucci, in dem er einige Einwände gegen Hofbauer und das Wirken der Warschauer Gemeinschaft vorbrachte.²¹⁷ Dabei handelte es sich um folgende Vorwürfe an die Adresse des Obern von St. Benno:

- 1) Er ist sehr hartnäckig und läßt sich von niemandem überzeugen, sein Verhalten zu ändern.
- 2) Er hält nicht die Regel der Kongregation.²¹⁸
- 3) Er bevorzugt manche Mitbrüder, insbesondere die faulen und bequemen.²¹⁹

Dieses Verhalten Hofbauers führte, nach der Ansicht Vannelets, zu einer Reihe von Gefahren für die ganze Gemeinschaft. Zu den größten Mängeln des Gemeinschaftsleben zählte er:

- 1) Ein ständiges Durcheinander, Unruhe, Mangel an Eingezogenheit, mangelndes Schweigen und mangelnde brüderliche Gemeinschaft.
- 2) Unablässige Ströme von Gläubigen in der Kirche, wodurch das gemeinsame Leben zerstört würde.²²⁰
- 3) Allzu große apostolische Aktivität der Redemptoristen, was eine übermäßige Arbeitsbelastung für die ganze Gemeinschaft mit sich brächte.²²¹

Seiner Meinung nach waren die Folgen des Übertretens der Regel und der übermäßigen apostolischen Tätigkeit.

- 1) Die Tagesordnung wird ständig gebrochen, angefangen vom Aufstehen über die Essenszeiten, während deren Gespräche

²¹⁶ Jestershein wollte ihn irgendwie beschäftigen. Deshalb war er der Meinung, Vannelet solle Französisch unterrichten. K. Jestershein an K. Hofbauer, Warschau, 2. März 1798, «MH» I (17) 24.

²¹⁷ «MH» XIV (181) 94-97; HOSP (wie Anm. 1), 175 f.

²¹⁸ "Nullam habemus regulam aliam, quam eius voluntatem". «MH» XIV (181) 94.

²¹⁹ "Nunc R.P.V.G. fiduciam omnem habet in duos Sacerdotes laxos et irregulares". «MH» XIV (181) 95.

²²⁰ "Vivimus in mundo inter mulieres, nam diebus dominicis et festivis ecclesia, chorus, sacristia, refectorium, hortus, et caemeterium muliebri sexu repleta sunt. Difficile esset huic defectui remedium afferre; nam concursus populi solet esse magnus". «MH» XIV (181) 95.

²²¹ «MH» XIV (181) 95.

- über Politik oder gleichgültige Dinge geführt werden, bis hin zur Nichteinhaltung der Nachtruhe.
- 2) Von den in der *Regel* vorgeschriebenen geistlichen Übungen werden nur die morgendlichen Meditationen durchgeführt. Die übrigen frommen Übungen und Gebete werden entweder übergangen oder nur nachlässig durchgeführt.²²²
 - 3) Die Theologiestudenten werden nicht hinreichend ausgebildet und sind auf die Pflichten, die sie erwarten, schlecht vorbereitet.²²³
 - 4) Gegen alle guten Sitten wohnen die Novizen mit den übrigen Mitgliedern der Gemeinschaft zusammen, was sich auf ihre Erziehung und geistige Prägung negativ auswirkt.
 - 5) Es kommt zu Ärgernissen und zum Verlassen der Kongregation durch einige Mitbrüder, ja sogar zum Verlust des Glaubens.²²⁴

Vannelet wollte auch in eines der Klöster in Italien versetzt werden, wo er den wahren Geist des ehrwürdigen Alfons kennenzulernen hoffte. Im Mai 1807, also kurz vor seinem Tode (er starb am 26. Juni 1807), wandte er sich sogar an den Wiener Nuntius Antonius Severoli. Dieser durchschaute jedoch Vannelets Charakter recht schnell. Er schätzte seinen Eifer, aber zugleich erteilte er ihm eine Reihe von Ermahnungen und Belehrungen hinsichtlich des Ordenslebens überhaupt und seines persönlichen Verhaltens in der Ordensgemeinschaft.²²⁵

Am 14. Juni 1801 schickte Pater Blasucci einen Mahnbrief an die Warschauer Kommunität.²²⁶ Hofbauer mußte sich wieder rechtfertigen. In seiner Antwort vom 1. Oktober 1801 auf das Schreiben des Generals schilderte er die genaue Tagesordnung in Warschau und die ganze apostolische Tätigkeit der Redemptoristen, die der *Regel* entsprachen.²²⁷

Sicher entsprach das von Passerat und Vannelet gezeichnete Bild der Gemeinde von St. Benno nicht der Wirklichkeit. Es stimmt allerdings, daß das starke apostolische Engagement der

²²² "Culparum capitula sunt valde rara, et accusatio fit saepe de rebus, quae risum movere possunt". «MH» XIV (181) 96.

²²³ "Unus diaconus debuit addiscere latine legere; hodie adhuc male legit, et est tamen praedicator et confessarius". «MH» XIV (181) 95.

²²⁴ "...ante tres annos, tres professi a religione defecerunt". «MH» XIV (181) 97.

²²⁵ A. Severoli an J. Vannelet, Wien, 20. Mai 1807, «MH» XIV (193) 108; Hosp, (wie Anm. 1), 176.

²²⁶ «MH» VIII (58) 82-87; Hosp (wie Anm. 1), 176 f.

²²⁷ «MH» VIII (59) 87-90; Hosp (wie Anm. 1), 177.

Gemeinschaft auch negative Auswirkungen hatte und für diejenigen Mitbrüder, die mehr für das kontemplative Leben als für das Wirken nach außen disponiert waren, eine starke Belastung darstellte. Die Bennoniten hatten und hielten in Warschau ihre feste Tagesordnung. Klemens vergaß nie die kontemplative Dimension des Ordenslebens. "Mit dem aktiven Leben verbinden wir das kontemplative. Dem äußeren Leben suchen wir Feuer und Geist einzugießen. Ohne die Salbung des heiligen Geistes kreischen die Wagen der apostolischen Arbeiter".²²⁸ Aber Hofbauer war in erster Linie Missionar und seelsorglicher Praktiker, deshalb war der Lebensstil der Warschauer Gemeinschaft ihrer missionarischen Aufgabe angepaßt. Die seelsorgerliche Arbeit war ihm wichtiger als stundenlange kontemplative Versenkung. Auf keinem Fall wollte Hofbauer ein geschlossenes Kloster bilden. Davon aber unterschieden sich die Erwartungen mancher seiner Mitbrüder.

²²⁸ K. Hofbauer an A. Severoli, Warschau, 16. Oktober 1802, «MH» II (54) 48.

SAMUEL J. BOLAND

THE PASSERAT REGIME:
A WATERSHED IN REDEMPTORIST HISTORY

SUMMARY

I. «THE HOFBAUER TRADITION»:

1. *Dynamism.* - 2. *Spirituality.* - 3. *St. Clement and St Alphonsus.*

II. «THE PASSERAT TRADITION»:

1. *Departures.* - 2. *The Superior.* - 3. *The Spirituality of Father Passerat*
- 4. *Redemptorists after Passerat.*

When, towards the end of 1820, Father Joseph Passerat came to Vienna as Vicar General of the Redemptorists beyond the Alps, they immediately presented a new image. It was inevitable, of course, that a new major superior should have an effect on the Institute. In this case, however, the change was particularly marked. After the vigorous regime of St. Clement Hofbauer had ended in the tragic frustration of his many apostolic ventures, his successor, now at last under a more benign emperor, was able to make a completely fresh beginning. In effect, Father Passerat was a new founder. The fresh start was at once evident in the rapid growth both in numbers and extent. That was on the surface and visible; but more fundamentally there was a change of spirit from the Hofbauer regime. At first that occasioned some tension before the Passerat direction prevailed; and after 1869 the northern regime was accepted even by the Neapolitan Redemptorists, in spite of their closer contact with the authentic Alphonsian tradition. It is this Passerat direction, which extended well beyond the middle of the present century, that we now wish to examine.

The difference between what some have called the "Hofbauer tradition" and the "Passerat tradition" has been well discussed by

Otto Weiss.¹ The author has shown how both superiors have been affected by their times and current thinking in ecclesiastical and lay circles, Romantic or emerging Ultramontanism. We wish to look now at the effect of the change on the members of the Institute, their ways of acting and thinking. It was the "Passerat tradition", if it is right to speak that way, that has come to set the tone of the whole Congregation. Since the 1960's Redemptorist life has been subjected to a very radical rethinking, thanks most of all to directions of the Holy See. Perhaps the present situation will be better appreciated in the light of the older tradition to which a newer one is succeeding. In any case, it is inevitable that much of the older ways should have survived in individuals. Those older ways did not lend themselves easily to change.

Investigating the change that came with Passerat it is necessary to focus attention especially on the two earliest leaders of the Transalpines. If comparison of persons is always odious, it is doubly so when one is a saint and the other a venerable; and it is the latter who attracts the closer scrutiny. It is only fair to keep in mind two considerations. The first has been well made by Otto Weiss.² Both St. Clement and Father Passerat together with their companions were men of their times. They were far from being alone in matters one might find occasion to criticise. The second point is that we should not overlook the very considerable achievements of the Passerat regime. It was a fresh start, and credit for its great success must certainly go to the superior.

I. «THE HOFBAUER TRADITION»

It is at least convenient, and not without justification, to speak of two traditions affecting the Redemptorists outside Italy. That which stemmed from St. Clement Hofbauer had a very uneven course. In May 1788 the Superior General De Paola appointed him Vicar General "for all possible cases".³ These generous faculties were exercised during the turbulent years about the end of the

¹ O. WEISS, *Die Transalpinen Redemptoristen und der Zeitgeist* in *Spic. Hist.* 35 (1987) 155-174.

² *Ibid.*, 173.

³ *Monumenta Hofbaueriana*, VIII, Torun, 1936, 13. The *Monumenta* (quoted MH) appeared in fifteen sections (*fasciculi*) between 1915 and 1951, published in Cracow, Torun and Rome.

eighteenth century, the years that saw the final dismemberment of Poland, the wars of the French Revolution and Napoleon, years that caused an exasperated English Prime Minister to exclaim: "Roll up the map of Europe." Clement acted as Vicar General at first from an insecure foothold in Warsaw. He persisted despite his repeatedly frustrated efforts in trying to find a more permanent home in Germany and Switzerland. Finally, after St. Benno's in Warsaw was suppressed, he guided his widely scattered subjects from Vienna, where he was conducting a fruitful but demanding apostolate.

The busy superior was responsible for a large number of Redemptorists. The three men who came to Warsaw in 1787 had increased at an amazing rate. Statistics for these earliest years of the Transalpines are unsatisfactory, as the lists given in the catalogues of the time⁴ are incomplete, as are also the relations of the industrious Father Kuntz.⁵ There is, however, evidence enough of quite considerable growth of the Redemptorists in spite of the difficulties of their situation in Poland; and that was certainly due in large measure to the character of the Vicar. Clement was of a strong and attractive personality. Of that we have the testimony of a man who was his friend and admirer, that extraordinarily peripatetic Irishman who assisted Louis XVI at the end and continued as spiritual guide to the surviving Bourbons in Poland, the Abbé Edgeworth. Writing about Hofbauer to Lord Douglas in London, he said: "I am certain that the few minutes interview that you will grant him, will suffice for you to discover all the precious treasures God has heaped up in the heart of this angelic man, and will make you just as enthusiastic over him as I am."⁶ That was the character that left its mark on those of his disciples who passed under the authority of his successor. That is most of all what constituted his "tradition," which it should be helpful to examine more closely.

⁴ Cf. S. J. BOLAND, *A General Catalogue of the Redemptorists in Spic. Hist.* 38 (1990) 450.

⁵ Father FRIEDRICH KUNTZ, general archivist of the Redemptorists at the end of the nineteenth century, compiled a work in 21 manuscript volumes which remains in the archives under the title, *Commentaria de vita S. Alphonsi et de rebus Cong. SS. R., futuro eiusdem Cong.nis Annalium scriptori diligenter preparata.*

⁶ Quoted by J. HOFER in his *Life of St. Clement. ET* by J.B. HAAS, *St. Clement Maria Hofbauer*, New York, 1926, vii.

1. - Dynamism

Clement Hofbauer was first and foremost a man of action. Those who lived with him in St. Benno's had reason to know that, and when the community was disbanded in 1808, its members could hardly have failed to carry with them the memory of intense pastoral activity. In a letter to the Nuncio Severoli in Vienna in 1802 Clement described the schedule of services in the church.⁷ The round of masses, devotions, sermons, instructions and confessions appear at first reading to have been uninterrupted. Father Hofer concludes his account of the services in St. Benno's by remarking that the programme far exceeds what is ordinarily provided for the faithful in Catholic churches.⁸ In fact, he concludes: "A multiplicity of divine services, such as can hardly be crowded into the space of an ordinary mission nowadays, formed the regular daily order at St. Benno's for ten years." This is what he so aptly called "the Perpetual Mission," and it represents truly "the Hofbauer tradition."

Father Maurice De Meulemeester has drawn attention to a significant factor in the religious rule that the Transalpines followed in their earliest years.⁹ It was slightly different from the Pontifical Rule of 1749, still used by the Redemptorists in the Kingdom of Naples. The text had been slightly changed by the men of the Papal States in a general chapter held in Scifelli in 1785. This Scifelli chapter added to the brief mention of preaching in Redemptorist churches further mention of exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, and notes on the text spoke of sermons, exhortations and instructions as well as the erection of pious societies and retreats preached to the people in the church. It is quite reasonable to see such legislation as providing a man like St. Clement with justification for his "Perpetual Mission."

In addition to the intense activity in the church, Clement had been moved by the depressed condition of Warsaw to undertake works to relieve the prevailing ignorance and poverty. As early as 1788 he had commenced a school for orphans and others in the

⁷ MH, II, Torn, 1929, 44-46.

⁸ HOFER - HAAS, 100.

⁹ M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Outline History of the Redemptorists*, Louvain, 1956, 123. The rule as followed outside Italy has been studied by F. HOSP, *Geschichte der Redemptoristenregel*, Vienna, 1939. The text quoted is on p. 123.

cramped quarters of St. Benno's.¹⁰ Before the community was summarily suppressed in 1808 this small beginning had grown to schools for boys and girls, an orphanage and an industrial school. The Vicar was a man who got things done. He organised the zealous group of Oblates to assist his ventures with the approval of the Holy See.¹¹ His companions in St. Benno's could not have failed to retain memories of untiring zeal.

It was no easy task for the man responsible for establishing the Redemptorists in northern Europe to find a base for the increasing number of his companions. Father Hofer has described St. Clement's travels in Germany and Switzerland and his repeated frustration at seeing promising foundations overthrown by hostile or timid authorities.¹² The shadow of Napoleon loomed over most of the Vicar's attempted foundations, and it was discouraging even for a man of Hofbauer's hardy spirit. Father Hofer was justified in his judgement that "his (St. Clement's) greatest adversary was Napoleon".¹³ He added that when Napoleon was finally defeated and exiled and Europe was again at peace, "the energies of our saint were spent." Even St. Clement had his limits; and long before Waterloo he had begun to look outside Europe, to Canada, as offering opportunities denied him closer to home. For this purpose he seems to have enlisted the aid of the Abbé Edgeworth with his wide range of powerful friends.¹⁴

Even the abrupt closure of St. Benno's and the exile of the Vicar to Vienna and the suspicious vigilance of the Josephist police did not restrict his zeal. In addition to his enduring contribution to the good of religion through what came to be called "the Hofbauer Circle" his principal concern was still his responsibility for his own Congregation. He continued to guide the homeless Redemptorists in Switzerland as they continued their vagrant existence under their heroically obedient superior, Father Passerat. He was at first cautious about the mission to Romania proposed by Propaganda, because it entailed uncertain collaboration with other religious

¹⁰ The educational and charitable works of the early Redemptorists in Warsaw have been studied by LÉONARD GROCHOWSKI, *L'œuvre d'éducation et de bienfaisance des Pères Rédemptoristes à Varsovie (1787 - 1808)* in *Spic. Hist.* 34 (1986) 297-317.

¹¹ The statutes of the Oblates are to be seen in MH, II, Torun, 1929, 54-60. The decree of the S. Cong. de Prop.Fide (now pro Gentium Evangelizatione) dated 29th July 1804 is in MH, VIII, Torun, 1936, 272-273.

¹² See HOFER - HAAS, 189-272.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 107.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 252.

Institutes.¹⁵ But when a small community was established in Bucharest, he was all enthusiasm, helping with advice and encouragement and pleading for relief for their extreme poverty. He even showed a wish to join them in their labours. One may be sure that the three pioneers, Fathers Forthuber, Libotzky and Haetscher, retained the memory of their dynamic superior when they passed to the authority of his successor.

But those who knew him well did not remember him as a man who was compulsively busy. They would have known that their Vicar was a man of prayer. Clement himself insisted on prayer in Redemptorist life, writing to the Nuncio Severoli in his rustic Latin style, "We join a contemplative life to the active ... because without the unction of the Holy Spirit the workmen's carts creak".¹⁶ He was a saint, after all, and his holiness of life certainly belongs to the "Hofbauer tradition."

2. - Spirituality

To many who study the life of Clement Hofbauer he must appear a very untypical saint. The picture that emerges is that of a battler. Even as a child he had to struggle to help support his family; and in pursuit of his goal of the priesthood he had to overcome his poverty and then the unorthodoxy his infallible "Catholic nose" detected in his teachers of theology. Ordained eventually as a Redemptorist, he was at once plunged into the task of transplanting the Neapolitan Congregation into the unfriendly northern lands. That work, in which "his greatest adversary was Napoleon," was left incomplete at his death. In this seemingly incessant activity special significance must be given to his attraction for the eremitical life.¹⁷ It is hints like this that give the clue to what made him the saint he is, since he had no leisure to be a writer, and too few of his letters have survived.

The spirituality of St. Clement, however, has been ably studied by Father Louis Vereecke.¹⁸ The unifying element was his

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 372-379.

¹⁶ *Activae contemplativam addimus vitam ... sine Spiritus Sancti unctione, enim, plaustra operariorum strident.* Letter of 6th October 1802 in MH, II, Torun, 1929, 48.

¹⁷ F. FERRERO, *La vida eremítica de San Clemente María Hofbauer* in *Spic. Hist.* 18 (1970) 330-370.

¹⁸ L. VEREECKE, *La spiritualité de Saint Clément Marie Hofbauer* in *Spic. Hist.* 31

faith, "the starting point of his spirituality".¹⁹ It was so very characteristic of the man. He confidently, and proudly one would have to say, declared: "I have no reason to expect from God a reward for my faith, for I have never experienced the slightest temptation against it".²⁰ Faith so clear and unwavering was altogether distinctive. It gave to the man a wonderful singleness of purpose in seeking the Will of God and carrying it out in the face of all odds. The "Hofbauer tradition" was of a life dominated by the thought of God in Whose cause one could never rest.

It is not surprising, as Otto Weiss justly remarks, that a man so clear-sighted should have been misunderstood by both his subjects and his superiors.²¹ That is what happened, of course, when Passerat and Vannelet complained to the Rector Major Blasucci about what they saw as the excessive activity in St. Benno's.²² Clement's policy was vindicated, as was to be expected; and nothing can be taken away from the picture presented by Father Hofer. "His whole life was one continual, restless, onward striving, a glowing, unquenchable ardour, to do great things for the glory of God and the salvation of men. 'The charity of Christ presses us' is the most comprehensive expression of his inner as well as of his external life".²³

3. - *St. Clement and St Alphonsus*

The first biographer of St. Alphonsus, Tannoia, thrilled at the news of the two Germans coming to the Redemptorists in Rome, declared that they had been influenced by the good example of the religious and "the great renown which the founder, Monsignor Liguori, enjoyed in Germany on account of his great sanctity and learning".²⁴ That was an immediate reaction to exciting news, but it was not without justification. One may possibly even be justified in claiming that "St. Clement is not conceivable without St.

(1983) 103-123.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 123. See also WEISS, art. cit., 164.

²⁰ HOFER - HAAS, 31.

²¹ WEISS, art. cit., 165.

²² See HOFER - HAAS, 169-176.

²³ *Ibid.*, XVI.

²⁴ Quoted by HOFER-HAAS, 44.

Alphonsus".²⁵ The connection has been investigated by enthusiastic admirers of both men.²⁶ It must be said, though, that the comparison for the most part remains on very broad lines. Certainly, Clement was eager to obtain information about the life and writings of the founder and repeatedly pestered Blasucci for books; but it is not possible to point to particular instances where there was a discernible influence.

There were, instead, similarities between the two men.²⁷ Perhaps they were most alike in their singlemindedness in God's cause founded on a sincere faith. While Alphonsus by his learning was able to share his knowledge through his vast literary output, Clement communicated his own serene convictions even with the Romantics among his friends, and they were intellectually by far his superiors. If it is right to compare the two men in that way, then it is so much the more possible to agree with Adam Müller in praising the man he admired so greatly.

"Posterity will reap the fruits of his active and truly apostolic life amongst us. The great and lowly, the learned and unlearned, mourn the irreplaceable loss of their father and guide, and even strangers, who knew him by name only, on hearing of his death, realised that a strong support of faith and of religion, and therefore of the Fatherland had passed away. Only the thought that he still lives in the good seed that he has sowed can temper our sorrow at his loss".²⁸

Clearly, it could not be easy to succeed to the "Hofbauer tradition."

II. «THE PASSERAT TRADITION»

The death of St. Clement threw his disciples into an alarm, which showed itself in almost frenzied activity. The young men, excited at the prospect of being able to embrace the life they had

²⁵ VEREECKE, art. cit., 103.

²⁶ E. HOSP, *Sankt Klemens und der heilige Stifter* in *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 432-450; O. GREGORIO, *Lo spirito alfonsiano di San Clemente* in *Spic. Hist.* 18 (1970) 313-329.

²⁷ Cf. L. VEREECKE, art. cit., 123.

²⁸ Quoted by HOFER - HAAS, 542.

admired in him, no longer had his serene assurance that all would be well. It was young Father Martin Stark,²⁹ the companion of the saint's last days, who found himself responsible for seeing to the transition. After promptly communicating the sad news to Father Passerat, Superior in Valsainte, he wrote again just a week after Hofbauer's death.³⁰ Among other things he described how diligently Dornaut, the Court Chaplain, and other members of the "Hofbauer Circle" were espousing the cause of establishing the Congregation in the church of Maria am Gestade. He went on to say that "the usual meetings to discuss a successor to Father Hofbauer will be held in the house of this pious and zealous gentleman".³¹ It is probable that those discussions were concerned with satisfying the Josephists, still sensitive about religious.

Provision for the Congregation and for the candidates was the subject of a further letter from Stark to Passerat that soon followed.³² What the young men wanted, he said, was that some member of the Congregation should come to Vienna to take charge of their training. He made an interesting point. "Since Father Hofbauer had let it be known that it was his wish that Father Podgorski be summoned, I have been urged by many, among them the archbishop himself, to write to him".³³ It would seem that St. Clement really wished that Podgorski succeed to the office of Vicar General. That, at any rate, is how he was understood by the Nuncio Leardi, who wrote to Cardinal Consalvi, Papal Secretary of State: "Before his (Hofbauer's) death a Liguorian Father, at present in Poland, was designated to take his place".³⁴ Stark was more concerned with the immediate needs of the candidates, and wrote to Passerat: "I would prefer that your reverence come here and stay for a year or so in order to attend to the candidates and their profession".³⁵

Stark's letters after St. Clement's death show clearly his high regard for Passerat. In fact, Father Henri Girouille says that he urged the Fathers in Switzerland to organise a general petition to

²⁹ On Stark cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 573.

³⁰ Stark to Passerat, 27th March 1820 in MH, XIII, Cracow, 1939, 204-207.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 206.

³² Stark to Passerat, 22nd April 1820 in MH, XIII, Cracow, 1939, 212-214.

³³ On Podgorski see BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 295; C. SZRANT, *Redemptoristae in Polonia dispersi in Spic. Hist.* 7 (1959) 118-151.

³⁴ SZRANT, art. cit., 133.

³⁵ MH, XIII, 213.

the Rector Major to have Passerat appointed Vicar General.³⁶ It is not possible to say whether such an appeal was made or whether it affected the decision. On 30th May, just two months after Hofbauer's death, the Rector Major Mansione named his successor, Father Joseph Passerat.³⁷ He arrived in Vienna in October, when he assumed also the office of novice master.

1. - Departures

After the death of the "second founder" of the Redemptorists an eager group of his admirers gathered under the leadership of Doctor Johann Madlener, the learned professor of mathematics in the University of Vienna.³⁸ With the encouragement and guidance of influential sympathisers they prepared a petition for the establishment of the Congregation in Vienna and presented it to the emperor over the signatures of no fewer than thirty-two prospective novices. That was on the 18th April, just a month after St. Clement's death; and the very next day the emperor issued the order that the Redemptorists be given charge of the church of Maria am Gestade with an adjoining residence. A month later Stark clothed eight candidates with the religious habit.³⁹ They had all been rather carried away by their eagerness, because there was as yet no Vicar General. Father Passerat entered on his office only on 25th July.⁴⁰

When the new superior reached Vienna in October, there were already a dozen novices with many more waiting to join them.⁴¹ He at once assumed the care of their training. One of them, Bartholomew Pajalich, declared that, like himself, practically all the novices "owed the beginning of their vocation, as well as their fervour, to their association with the apostle of Vienna".⁴² It was a meeting of the two "traditions." The experience was not new for Father Passerat, as in Switzerland he had already been responsi-

³⁶ H. GIROUILLE, *Life of venerable Father Joseph Passerat*, E.T. J. CARR, London, 239.

³⁷ *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 44.

³⁸ HOFER - HAAS, 529. On Madlener cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 216.

³⁹ GIROUILLE - CARR, 248.

⁴⁰ *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 44.

⁴¹ GIROUILLE - CARR, 252.

⁴² *Ibid.* On Pajalich cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 272.

ble for a number of men who had known St. Clement in the busy Warsaw days.

Naturally, there had to be some give and take; and it is hardly surprising that there should have been clashes. The most disturbing incident, and one it is safe to see as representative, was the departure of Father Veith.⁴³ Johann Emmanuel Veith was a renowned literary figure as well as a respected medical practitioner when, shortly after his conversion from the Jewish religion, he was drawn to the Hofbauer Circle in 1818. He became an intimate friend of St. Clement and was the doctor who attended him on his deathbed. Professed as a Redemptorist in 1822, he at once won fame as a preacher. He was probably the most distinguished of the talented group of candidates received by Passerat. He quickly won the esteem of the Vicar General, who as early as 1824 chose him as consultor, an office he held until his departure from the Congregation in 1830.

Veith's few years as a Redemptorist were not at all happy. He was a man of restless zeal and an independent spirit, who did not readily accept the restraints of a religious community. And in that short time he proved to be quite a thorn in the side of his superior. They were two different characters, and Veith's irascibility did nothing to ease relations between them. Passerat objected to his consultor's activities outside the community, to the neglect of prayer; but he did not find it easy to discuss the matter in the face of responses it would scarcely be unjust to call rude. When the Vicar General told his consultor that the Holy See had given him permission to continue his medical practice, Veith became irritated.⁴⁴ Then, when reproved for seeming to care little for Church law and censures, he burst out: "The whole world is wrapped up in censures. I hold with the holy Fathers: I don't think that they were so fussy about administering the Sacrament of Penance." When the shocked superior appealed to the practice of St. Charles Borromeo, St. Francis de Sales and St. Alphonsus, Veith was far from impressed. "All right, I'm a heretic," was his response.⁴⁵

Another stormy exchange between the two probably gives a clue to a more fundamental difference. Passerat protested: "I am

⁴³ The case of Veith has been treated by Father Sampers. A. SAMPERS, in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 155-162; Cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 404-405.

⁴⁴ Passerat to Cocle, 17th June 1830 in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 142.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

not a founder: I neither want to be one nor am I able." Veith answered bluntly: "You ought to be one".⁴⁶ One suspects that what he was looking for was the openness and adaptability he had admired in Clement Hofbauer. Whether or not the incident is to be so interpreted, it is still not unreasonable to look for considerable yearning for the "Hofbauer tradition" among the many new Redemptorists who had been his disciples. However much at fault Veith may have been, it was ungenerous of Passerat to speak of him as another Muscari, as he did to the Rector Major.⁴⁷

Veith was a public figure, and his departure from the Redemptorists inevitably created a stir. Passerat protested that he did not share the fears of those who foretold harm to the Congregation;⁴⁸ but others were not so phlegmatic. A man who did take the rumours circulating seriously was Franz Xaver Schwoy, an Augustine Canon of Klosterneuburg, confessor of Maria Clementina, wife of Prince Leopold of Salerno. He voiced his misgivings to Kaspar Ringelstein S.J., a native of Alsace, who had joined the Jesuits in Naples.⁴⁹ Their forebodings, addressed to Father Cogle, Rector Major, stressed the renown Veith enjoyed and suggested that people were starting to question the competence of Passerat as superior, saintly man though he was. Father Cogle answered courteously, but apparently was not greatly disturbed. When writing to the Vicar General of his dealings with the two men, he mildly suggested that Passerat learn from the incident to be more cautious in choosing his consultors and local superiors.⁵⁰

Even though the Vicar General was not moved by the threat of dire consequences, he was certainly anxious about a growing distrust of the Redemptorists in Vienna. At the time when he was writing about his trouble with Veith he reported to Father Cogle: "In general we are totally isolated from the clergy. Some of them despise us, and the rest are afraid to take our part, lest they become included in our anathema".⁵¹ He went on to speak of a conver-

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ Passerat to Cogle, 21st May 1830, in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 134. The Basilian abbot, Giuseppe Muscari, joined the Redemptorists after assisting them to gain Papal approbation of their rule. He soon became critical of their life and created something of a revolution.

⁴⁸ Passerat to Cogle, 21st May 1820 in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 137.

⁴⁹ An exchange of letters between Schwoy and Ringelstein and Cogle concerning the Veith case is to be found in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 158-162.

⁵⁰ Cogle to Passerat, 24th August 1830 in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 145.

⁵¹ Passerat to Cogle, 5th August 1830 in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 141.

sation that had been brought to his notice.

A certain penitent of the Fathers of Maria am Gestade remarked to a friend: "I think I'll give up the faith of the Redemptorists."

"What's this"? said the friend, "Isn't the faith of the Viennese the same Catholic faith as that of the Redemptorists?"

"It's true" was the reply, "in Vienna people are Catholic, but not quite like the Redemptorists."

One would have to say that St. Clement, who prided himself on his "Catholic nose," would not have liked to hear of such sayings. It is fair to ask whether the departure of Veith is to be seen as indicating a change since the death of Hofbauer. The conversation was mentioned, after all, in connection with the case. It could be, perhaps, that the Veith affair was too clamorous to be really representative. There is possibly more to be learned from other departures.

Departures were numerous enough during the Passerat regime, and many, if not most, of them were of men who had been disciples of St. Clement or had at least known him. A considerable number of those dispensed from their vows had been for some time separated from their communities for the sake of pastoral or other works. This was the case with many Redemptorists in Poland and Switzerland.⁵² There is obviously little relevant to our purpose to be learned from these cases, for the most part casualties of their time. More significant are the men who were in closer contact with the Vicar General.

There does seem to be evidence of uncomfortable relations between Passerat and some of the more devoted disciples of St. Clement. Father Josef Forthuber, who was dispensed from his vows in 1829, had been the first superior of the foundation made in Bucharest in 1815.⁵³ After the community was recalled to Vienna in 1821 the new Vicar General found him too much inclined to melancholy and difficult to correct.⁵⁴ The two men clearly did not live happily together. Very much the same sort of thing was repor-

⁵² Information about some of those engaged in parochial work is to be found in A. SAMPERS, *Redemptoristen in Oberwalliser Pfarreien in der ersten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts* in *Spic. Hist.* 24 (1976) 216-234; and by the same author, *Pater Johann Appenzeller 1766-1830. Einige Notizen über den ersten Schweizer Redemptoristen* in *Spic. Hist.* 29 (1981) 389-404.

⁵³ Cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 55.

⁵⁴ Passerat to Mansone, 18th November 1821 in *Spic. Hist.* 9 (1961) 146.

ted of Father Karl Josef von Welsersheimb, prominent in the Hofbauer Circle, who was professed as a Redemptorist in 1821. He had attended the general chapter in 1832 which elected Father Ripoli Rector Major, and in the following year he was back in Italy asking for dispensation from his vows.⁵⁵ Welsersheimb, a Count of the Empire, occasioned a great mass of documentation before the case was finalised in 1835.⁵⁶ Friedrich von Unkhrechtsberg was also close to St. Clement and he remained devoted to the Redemptorists in spite of unhappy memories he must have retained. At Passerat's request he was appointed consultor in 1826, remaining in that office until he was dispensed from his vows in 1831. At his earnest request he was allowed to live in the house of Leoben from 1868 and he died there after having been readmitted to profession two years later.⁵⁷ Father Martin Stark,⁵⁸ the link with the last days of St. Clement, became a consultor of the new Vicar General from the beginning; and occasioned frequent complaints to the Rector Major for his criticism of his superior. The same was to be the case with Father Franz Kosmacek, who was quite distinguished as a Redemptorist.⁵⁹ Even the genial Father Franz Springer did not meet his superior's standards. Writing to the Rector Major, Passerat expressed his disappointment with Springer as temporary superior in Vienna, describing him as uncontrollably gloomy, obstinate and ambitious.⁶⁰ It is hard to agree with that description of the man whose sympathetic and even humorous account of a mission in Nocera can still delight the reader.⁶¹ One is inclined to question the similar complaint of Father Forthuber. One certainly has reason to suspect some uneasiness in the relations of Father Passerat with the more intimate associates of St. Clement.

2. - *The Superior*

When Veith insisted in his disgruntled fashion that the Vicar General ought to see himself as a founder, he was speaking more

⁵⁵ Passerat to Mautone, Procurator General, 31st January 1833 in *Spic. Hist.* 28 (1980) 256-257.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ Cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 397.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 373.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 187-188.

⁶⁰ Passerat to Cocle, 14th December 1824 in *Spic. Hist.* 10 (1962) 360.

⁶¹ Springer's report on the mission is in *Spic. Hist.* 4 (1956) 25-43.

significantly than he probably intended. However much Passerat protested to the contrary, he was in a position very much like that of a founder. It was his task to reorganise St. Clement's work that had been so abruptly cut short. It was a task that called for exceptional gifts of initiative and of a good measure of prudence in dealing with so many candidates looking for the ways they had known in his charismatic predecessor. It could hardly have been a comfortable responsibility, and Father Passerat carried it for close on thirty years. It is no wonder he begged so repeatedly to be relieved.

In spite of Veith's grumbling it must be granted that Passerat showed quite considerable initiative. Among his earliest foundations in Austria outside Vienna two, Frohnleiten and Marburg, had parishes attached to the churches and residences.⁶² Similarly, he raised no difficulties about the parochial duties assumed in the United States.⁶³ In England, too, almost as a matter of course, the earliest foundations were parishes.⁶⁴ Under the next Vicar General these parishes were renounced, except in the United States, where zeal for the rule had to yield to the indignant objections of the bishops. Passerat even thought of accepting a school in Bavaria, quoting the practice of Hofbauer, recognised and approved by Tannoia in his life of Alphonsus;⁶⁵ but he left the final decision to the Rector Major. In these ventures there was certainly initiative, and the Vicar General showed the same in courageously attempting a foundation in Philippopolis in Bulgaria.⁶⁶

Under Father Passerat the Congregation beyond the Alps had a period of considerable expansion. The hardy endurance of Father Fortner and his companions in Bulgaria was amply repaid by the progress of the American foundations and the vigorous development of the Redemptorists in Belgium under Father von Held.⁶⁷ From Belgium the Congregation spread to Holland and England.⁶⁸

⁶² On the Frohnleiten foundation cf. *Spic. Hist.* 12 (1964) 145-184; E. HOSP, *Erbe des heiligen Klemens*, Vienna, 1953, 158-160. For Marburg cf. *Spic. Hist.* 13 (1965) 166-214; HOSP, 283-289.

⁶³ The introduction of the Redemptorists into the United States is treated by JOHN F. BYRNE, *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, Philadelphia, 1932, 41-79; M.J. CURLEY, *The Provincial Story*, New York, 1963, 1-57.

⁶⁴ Cf. J. SHARP, *The Redemptorists in the United Kingdom: the Early Years in The Clergy Review*, London, 67 (1982) 383-392.

⁶⁵ Passerat to Cogle, 26th July 1827 in *Spic. Hist.* 13 (1965) 55.

⁶⁶ HOSP, *Erbe*, 338-352; GIROULLE - CARR, 411-419.

⁶⁷ On the United States see note 63. The foundation in Belgium is treated in M. DE MEULEMEESTER, *Glanes Alphonsiennes*, Louvain, 1941.

⁶⁸ A. SAMPERS, *Documenta de erectione Prov. Hollandicae et Anglicae C.S.S.R.* (1854,

In 1835 the Redemptorists came to northern Italy, when a foundation was made from Vienna in the Duchy of Modena.⁶⁹

Father Passerat deserves credit for the remarkable achievements of his term of office; but his style of government is much more open to criticism. His biographers, commencing with Desurmont, who undoubtedly influenced those who followed, have given special attention to the theme; and their treatment is noticeably defensive.⁷⁰ In this context some questions presented themselves that needed to be answered.

One thing that surely demands comment is the surprising number of Passerat's consultors, no fewer than eighteen during his term of office.⁷¹ The only one who had to be replaced by reason of death was Father Josef Libotzky, one of the pioneers of Romania, who died in January 1841.⁷² Changes of other personnel were occasioned usually by the appointment of one or other to a community at too great a distance from Vienna. Alois Czech, for example, one of the first appointed at Passerat's request, was in Switzerland and seems never to have lived in Vienna.⁷³ With the frequent changes in his council it must have been extremely difficult for the Vicar General to offer leadership.

The instability among the consultors gives rise to a suspicion that there must have been some tension in the council; and there is evidence that such was the case. For example, writing to the Rector Major in September 1830, Passerat spoke of the discontent of Stark and Prigl, both associates of Hofbauer.⁷⁴ This is just one instance of a theme that frequently recurred in the Vicar General's correspondence. He shows himself to have been particularly uncomfortable with Stark, who remained in office until 1848, when revolution scattered the Redemptorists in Austria. Since the difficulties with the superior were so continuous, Stark is surely to be

1855, 1865) *cum quibusdam notis de fundatione domuum* in *Spic. Hist.* 3 (1955) 365-382.

⁶⁹ G. ORLANDI, *La Congregazione del SS. Redentore nel Ducato di Modena* in *Spic. Hist.* 18 (1970) 371-430.

⁷⁰ A. DESURMONT, *Le R.P. Joseph Passerat*, Montreuil, 1893, 382 ff; E. GAUTRON, *L'âme du vénérable P. Passerat*, Paris, 1929, 289 ff; GIROUILLE - CARR, 467 ff.

⁷¹ A. SAMPERS - J. LÖW, *Series Moderatorum generalium C.SS.R. eorumque vicariorum et consultorum* in *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 9-83; 225-279.

⁷² *ibid.*, 45.

⁷³ *ibid.*, 44.

⁷⁴ Passerat to Cocle, 22nd September 1830 in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 149-150: The same letter is quoted by GAUTRON, 293, but in such a condensed form as to give the impression that Welsersheimb was also a consultor.

given much credit for his endurance. It seem from the repeated reports of disagreement that the point at issue was the differing concepts of Redemptorist life of these two sincere religious. Passerat insisted, naggingly one fears, on strict fidelity to the prayers and other exercises prescribed by the rule; and Stark, with growing irritability in spite of periodic "conversions," argued for the demands of pastoral works.

It is really oversimplifying the tension to express it in terms of different attitudes, even though that is the way it usually appears in the correspondence. Desurmont has drawn attention to an underlying incompatibility - what he calls "the spirit of nationalism".⁷⁵ It is a suggestion that appears from time to time in Passerat's letters. The troublesome issues are more apparent when we find them formulated clearly by Father Kosmacek. He was consultor to the Vicar General from 1830 until the general chapter of 1832 elected him consultor to the new Rector Major Ripoli. He was clearly a man of upright and honest character and known as such to the Rector Major.⁷⁶ Shortly after his return to Vienna after his term as general consultor was cut short by regalist objections of the Neapolitan court, he wrote, describing the attitude of the Vicar General.⁷⁷ He had been somewhat aggrieved, he admitted, to discover that Father Passerat had made some accusation against him to Father Biagio Panzuti, who had governed the Congregation between the resignation of Father Cocle and the election of Father Ripoli. It is possible, therefore, that he was a little too vehement in his own complaints.

Father Passerat, Kosmacek wrote, insisted on blind obedience, even to the extent of agreeing with his own views, sometimes quite strange, on philosophical, theological and historical matters. Some of these opinions, which could not be contradicted, were quite startling, such as ideas about the inquisition and the burning of heretics. His views on the superiority of the contemplative over the active were expressed in extreme terms. A very distressing example was the Vicar General's forbidding *under pain of mortal sin* that anyone should leave the house without a companion, and that on the occasion of a serious epidemic of cholera, a circumstance that justified the italics. There was a problem of nationalism, too,

⁷⁵ DESURMONT, 380.

⁷⁶ *Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 47.

⁷⁷ Kosmacek to Ripoli, 6th September 1832 in *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 298-301.

since Kosmacek complained that Passerat was in the habit of speaking slightly of Germans and their literature, and imprudently of their laws and even of their bishops.

Allowance must be made, of course, for the fact that Kosmacek was quite aggrieved, and understandably so, when he wrote. Just the same, he gives us definite indications of probable causes of differences between the superior and his subjects. In a later communication Kosmacek spoke of the discord that reigned in the community of Maria am Gestade.⁷⁸ The trouble came about, he said, through "a few zelators like Fathers Held and Pilate, who are always looking for faults in others and reporting them to Father Vicar".⁷⁹ It is an unhappy picture, and to make things worse, it had come to the knowledge of others outside the community.

Father Ripoli, elected in 1832, soon found himself obliged to pay closer attention to the unsatisfactory state of affairs in Vienna. The Apostolic Nuncio, Pietro Ostini, a sincere friend of the Redemptorists, in his concern urged the new Rector Major to take steps, even by way of a personal visit, to remedy a situation whose gravity had become known even to the imperial court.⁸⁰ The fears voiced by Schwoy and Ringelstein over the Veith case had not apparently been far-fetched. The Nuncio, a man of balanced judgment as his correspondence shows, was anxious about the effect the unfavourable rumours might have on the faithful.

While he was waiting for a reply, the Nuncio wrote again to the Rector Major.⁸¹ He spoke of some pages containing complaints about the Vicar General, which had been given to him by one of the Fathers. A lengthy (28 pages) document attached to the Nuncio's letter in the general archives of the Redemptorists may or may not be the one handed to him, but it does contain a statement of grievances.⁸² There is no indication of authorship, but the document might well have been compiled by Stark or Kosmacek or some other who thought like them.

⁷⁸ Kosmacek to Ripoli, 13th December 1832 in *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 307.

⁷⁹ Friedrich von Held had a distinguished career as a Redemptorist in Belgium, England and the United States. Cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 158-159. Johann Baptist Pilat also became prominent in Redemptorist history, cf. *ibid.*, 292.

⁸⁰ Ostini to Ripoli, 26th March 1833 in *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 325-326. The career of Ostini, later Cardinal Bishop of Albano, is described by O. WEISS, *La corrispondenza tra il Rettore Maggiore Ripoli e il Vicario Generale Passerat, aprile 1833 - gennaio 1834* in *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 266-267.

⁸¹ Ostini to Ripoli, 12th May 1833 in *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 327-328.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 328-331.

The complaints are not stated in the form of a tirade. The author even shows appreciation and admiration for Passerat, whose evident virtue is fully stated at the beginning. In speaking of his shortcomings what is particularly stressed is a certain timidity which made him too dependent on others. This weakness, it is said, has thrown him under the control of Held, whose rigorism is the principal cause of the discord in the community. The disciples of Hofbauer, the author declares, "were filled with zeal for souls and love of learning," which unhappily had been stifled "lest they harm piety and the religious life." A sharper note appears when there is talk about how the Vicar General chose his consultors: Madlener "for his heroic virtue," Libotzky "for his indifference" and Fortner "in desperation." The result was, the author went on, that Held imposed his will in everything. Consultations were altogether unsatisfactory in the circumstances. The long statement asked for a remedy in view of the loss of reputation of the Redemptorists already making itself felt. When it came to definite steps to be taken, "in the first place it was to be desired that Father Held be removed from among the consultors."

That statement of the situation is to be valued most of all because of its restraint. It described the task that, as it turned out, had to be faced by the Nuncio himself, as Father Ripoli's reply to his earlier letter suggested.⁸³ Ostini set himself to work without delay, and was able to report that there was soon some improvement.⁸⁴ This was due largely to a change among the consultors. A postscript noted that "the absence of Father Held in Belgium will contribute greatly to peace. This very good man is like a volcano, likely to disturb the peace of any community whatever." Particularly interesting is the way the Nuncio speaks about Stark, so often mentioned by Passerat as especially troublesome. "I know this subject well. He is well informed on the affairs of the Congregation and possessed of fine qualities."

In the meantime Ostini had written to Ripoli's predecessor, now confessor to the Neapolitan royal household and titular Archbishop of Patras; and he in turn communicated the message to the Rector Major.⁸⁵ The Nuncio spoke about his concern over the unhappy state of the Redemptorists in Vienna, too publicly known.

⁸³ Ripoli to Ostini, 18th April 1833 *ibid.*, 326-327.

⁸⁴ Ostini to Ripoli, undated, *ibid.*, 331-332.

⁸⁵ Cocle to Ripoli, 31st May 1833, *ibid.*, 333-334.

"I don't believe I am mistaken," he had declared, "if I dare to say that the main cause is in the head of this Vicar General, Father Passerat. I believe he is a saint, but a French saint." He went on to quote something he had heard from Sebastian Job, another light of the Hofbauer Circle. Job had remarked: "Just let us wait a while to see what happens to a community of lads guided by a French head."

It seems that the nuncio had in a very short time gained a clear and just understanding of the position in Maria am Gestade. He put his final suggestions to the Rector Major.⁸⁶ Lacking another superior suited by maturity in Redemptorist life, he recommended that Passerat be retained in office, but that care be taken that he be provided with consultors who would be helpful. This advice was followed as far as possible during the remaining years of Passerat's term of office. It did not, however, completely heal the discord. As late as 1847 the poor Vicar General was pleading yet again to be allowed to resign, asking now for a "German to preside over the Germans".⁸⁷ In making his plea, he spoke once more of difficulties with his consultors, "Father Martin Stark, Father Kosmacek and Father Petrak." That meant half of his consultors; and to them he added Father Anton Passy, another of the close associates of St. Clement.

In summing up Father Passerat's tenure of office, troubled as it was, it is necessary to emphasise that he was taking a direction different from that of his predecessor. That is clear enough in the names of the individuals mentioned repeatedly in his correspondence as differing from him. They were all disciples of St. Clement. The change of orientation is mentioned explicitly in the independent report of the Nuncio Ostini. The other matters mentioned by men like Kosmacek are of less importance, even though they may have been more irksome. Such pinpricks as the nagging insistence on blind obedience, the routine of prayer and even the French spirituality are no more than symptoms of the real malaise. They represent the personal convictions of the Vicar General, which through their being eagerly espoused by men like Held and Pilat became the pattern of Redemptorist life.

⁸⁶ Ostini to Ripoli, 9th July 1833, *ibid.*, 335-336.

⁸⁷ Passerat to Ripoli, 21st January 1847, quoted by GAUTRON, 294-295.

3. - The Spirituality of Father Passerat

In view of the problems that existed between Father Passerat and so many of his companions it is right that questions be asked about his spirituality. It would not be unreasonable to wonder if sufficient cognisance has been taken of the troubled condition of the community of Maria am Gestade. Perhaps we need to revise the picture commonly presented.

There is a certain traditional vision of Passerat, and that derives principally from that extraordinarily durable French provincial, Achille Desurmont.⁸⁸ Henri Girouille acknowledged his own indebtedness, declaring that "the only existing biography of any account is that of Père Desurmont".⁸⁹ The same influence can be seen in Gautron, and even in the Process of beatification the name of Desurmont recurs to a surprising extent.⁹⁰ The resulting picture is so laudatory that it ignores or explains away the very real problems that existed. It is not unfair to suggest that what has emerged is the description of the spirituality of Desurmont rather than of Passerat. Is it possible to find a better understanding of the man whose virtue has been formally declared heroic?⁹¹

A good starting point is the statement of grievances, whether or not it was given to Ostini.⁹² The writer is careful to avoid any suggestion of blame of the Vicar General, insisting rather on his genuine piety. The complaints have regard to his exercise of authority, which occasioned the distress of the community, the real theme of the document. There is no need to take the complaints in detail. It should be sufficient to look at a few matters especially stressed and recurring in the correspondence with the Rector Major:

There was some foundation for that remark, churlish as it was, of Veith, that Passerat was not the founder he should have

⁸⁸ Cf. note 70.

⁸⁹ GIROUILLE - CARR, 23.

⁹⁰ See, for example, *Responsa ad animadversiones R.P.D. Promotoris Fidei*, Roma, 1901, 44-45; 46-47; 48.

⁹¹ A. SAMPERS, *Father Joseph Passerat's Heroic Virtue Declared on April 29, 1980* in *Spic. Hist.* 28 (1980) 225-235.

⁹² It is not altogether clear that the document annexed to Ostini's letter in the Redemptorist general archives is the statement mentioned in his letter; but it is an expression of the troubles experienced at Maria am Gestade and as such serves our present purpose.

been. The Vicar General was not really a good leader.⁹³ His virtue, in truly heroic measure, was never more apparent than when he was harried from pillar to post as he led his band of exiles from Babenhausen through Switzerland to Valsainte. It was a nomadic existence that lasted a dozen years of remarkable fortitude. While it is true that Passerat was the leader of the community in the search for a home, he acted as guided by Hofbauer from his own exile in Vienna. It is his obedience we must admire rather than his leadership; but it is none the less heroic.

When, in obedience to his Rector Major, he came to Vienna, it was to assume the responsibility for the already large number of candidates offering themselves to a life they had admired in the person of his predecessor. It was a situation that called for quite exceptional qualities of leadership. As the statement of grievances put it, however, he showed himself too reliant on others and not prepared to take the necessary initiative himself.⁹⁴ That threw him into the hands of men like Held and Pilat. They were young men and quite unaccustomed to life in a religious community as were all their companions. Those who complained of the troubles experienced under Passerat generously and no doubt correctly attributed them to the harshness and rigorism of the men on whom he relied. Without picking through the many petty annoyances listed by those who aired their grievances, it is sufficient to say that he was not the best superior for the Transalpine Redemptorists in 1820. But that had already been well said by the Nuncio Ostini and even he could not suggest a man to take his place.

Father Passerat's sanctity is to be sought elsewhere, and the search need not lead one far afield. Everybody was ready to give him credit for being a man of prayer, from St. Clement even to those who chafed under his authority. There is no reason to quarrel with the praise given him in this regard by his biographers from Desurmont to Girouille. His strong emphasis on prayer was his greatest contribution to those Redemptorists who came after him.

The Vicar General's insistence on prayer was proposed in the context of what his critics saw as an exaggerated insistence on French ways. Even a much later generation of Redemptorists can scarcely find it hard to disagree with such an exhortation as "My dear brothers, let us always remain novices, novices though blind

⁹³ Passerat to Cocle, 17th June 1830 in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 142.

⁹⁴ *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 330.

obedience, novices without judgement, novices entirely changed through love of prayer".⁹⁵ Love of prayer could well have been more convincingly advocated. Passerat's devotion to prayer, which is the principal characteristic of his spiritual life, cannot be illustrated adequately by his dealing with his subjects, which has been the way of his biographers. The justice due to his heroic sanctity would be better served by a study of the influences that formed him, the spiritual writers he studied and his teachers, Benedictines, ex-Jesuits and others, who guided him on his way towards the priesthood. His convictions were already deeply rooted when he came to the Redemptorists in Warsaw. That led him to find fault with the apostolate in St. Benno's under St. Clement's vigorous leadership.⁹⁶

When he came to Vienna in 1820, with his principles of the spiritual life firmly established, he found himself responsible for a large number of young candidates. Their leader, Stark, was only thirty-three years old and quite inexperienced in community living. Clashes occurred, as Sebastian Job had foretold; and it was probably as he had expected, "a community of lads under a French head." And that is the expression that recurs in the correspondence about the tensions, a difference between French and German principles. Even that, however, is to put things in too general terms.

The way those who complained of the troubles expressed themselves suggests that the problem was rather a difference in emphasis. The statement of grievances attached to the Nuncio's letter to the Rector Major speaks of the zeal of the disciples of Father Hofbauer as being in anger of becoming stifled by the Vicar General's fears that "piety and the religious life be harmed".⁹⁷ Kosmacek, who in spite of the resentment he felt at being denounced to the Roman superiors, shows admirable restraint, points to what was probably the fundamental issue. He says that Passerat "is always speaking about the superiority of the contemplative life over the active, values a pious person above one who might convert the entire world, and sees the end of the Institute as being only in ascetical exercises".⁹⁸ In other words it was a difference in emphasis, and that of a kind to cause a very deep division. St. Clement

⁹⁵ Quoted by O. WEISS in *Spic. Hist.* 35 (1987) 169.

⁹⁶ HOFER - HAAS, 169-175.

⁹⁷ *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 330.

⁹⁸ Kosmacek to Ripoli, 6th September 1832 in *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 330.

saw the contemplative life as an integral part of the active, giving that "unction of the Holy Spirit, without which the workmen's carts creak".⁹⁹ Then his successor was represented as though he made the contemplative life of the Redemptorist an end in itself.

4. - Redemptorists after Passerat

By 1820, when Passerat came to Vienna, Europe was in what historians call "the Age of Revolution".¹⁰⁰ The Cambridge scholar, A. R. Vidler, speaks of the Church, by which he means "the whole complex of Christian institutions," during this period of change and insecurity. The Church, he says, "has for the most part been conspicuous for its resistance to change and could plausibly be regarded as the chief rallying ground for all *laudatores temporis acti*".¹⁰¹ If that assessment is correct, then Passerat appears as very much a man of his times with all its diffidence. He was described by his trusted consulter, Father Madlener, as "through excessive kindness too changeable".¹⁰² Like most leaders in the Church, he was very much *laudator temporis acti*.

The mission of Father Springer to obtain an authentic copy of the constitutions of the general chapter of 1764 is typical of the time. It betrays a worried nostalgia for a past that was seen as reliable, since it was the time of the sainted founder.¹⁰³ Those constitutions were to remain the pattern of Redemptorist life until very recent years, and they were very long-standing evidence of uncertain leadership in the Age of Revolution and beyond.

Very much the same is to be said about the cult of St. Alphonsus. Passerat showed great eagerness to learn all he could of the life of the founder, as had St. Clement before him. But in both cases information was slow to come. What was received was avidly read and interpreted, not always in keeping with historical

⁹⁹ See note 16.

¹⁰⁰ Cf. A. R. VIDLER, *The Church in the Age of Revolution*, vol. 5 of *The Pelican History of the Church*, London, 1961; FRIEDRICH HEAR, *Europe, Mother of Revolutions*, London, 1971; CHARLES, LOUISE AND RICHARD TILLY, *The Rebellious Century*, Harvard, 1975; OWEN CHADWICK, *The Popes and European Revolution*, Oxford, 1981.

¹⁰¹ VIDLER, *op. cit.*, 9.

¹⁰² Madlener to Cogle, 22nd November 1830 in *Spic. Hist.* 14 (1966) 249.

¹⁰³ J. LÖW, *La pratica dell'Osservanza regolare nel collegio principale della Congr. del SS.mo Redentore in Nocera dei Pagani minutamente esposta dal P. Francesco Springer in Spic. Hist.* 2 (1954) 295-364.

reality. Passerat's comparison of Veith, for example, with Muscari is dreadfully far-fetched. Use of whatever was known of the foundation years and personalities interpreted in a fashion that was ill informed and even with a French bent became the pattern of the earliest biographies of St. Alphonsus outside Italy. That is the sort of thing Vidler had in mind when he spoke of the Churches and their reluctance to change with the times. It shows a lack of self-reliance in an ecclesiastical superior. Those who expressed their dissatisfaction with the Vicar General emphasised his dependance on others.¹⁰⁴ Even Madlener, humble and respectful towards authority as he was, admitted that Passerat was inclined to be too diffident of himself.¹⁰⁵

It could well be that Passerat insisted so strongly on an exact observance of the rule because he found there the support he needed. Whatever the reason, it led to certain emphases that proved very long lived. Particularly significant is one that Madlener singled out as a source of division in the community. "Our good Vicar," he wrote to the Rector Major, "wishes that we sanctify ourselves *first* and *then* others; many of us, on the other hand, wish to sanctify others first, or ourselves and others *together*."¹⁰⁶ This extraordinarily durable emphasis is also characteristic of the timid exercise of authority so typical in the Churches as they faced the Age of Revolution.

After Passerat's resignation was accepted in 1848, a pressure group manifested itself in the vigorous Belgian province. It was identified by Father Markus Andreas Hugues, procurator for the Transalpine Redemptorists in Rome.¹⁰⁷ The leaders, whose names he mentioned, were Fathers Held and Pilat, with whom was associated Father Victor Dechamps.¹⁰⁸ With regret, because he honestly esteemed the men concerned, the procurator declared that much of their activity was fired by hostility to Father Rudolph Smetana,

¹⁰⁴ *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 330.

¹⁰⁵ See note 102.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.* The emphasis is Madlener's.

¹⁰⁷ Father Hugues, a distinguished German convert, took his vows in 1833 and was ordained in 1838. Cf. O.A. ROSENTHAL, *Convertitenbilder aus dem neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, 1,2, Schaffhausen, 1871, 57-60. He is the author of an undated MS in the general archives of the Redemptorists in Rome, *Additamenta quae spectant ad historiam Congregationis Sanctissimi Redemptoris a primo schismate a. 1780 usque ad perfectam unionem sub Rectore Majore residente Romae, anno 1869*.

¹⁰⁸ On Dechamps, later Archbishop of Malines and cardinal cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 102-1034.

Vicar General after Passerat.¹⁰⁹ Significantly, those agitators, or at least two of them, Held and Pilat, had been mentioned to the Nuncio Ostini as exercising too much influence over the Passerat regime. It would not be at all unreasonable to suggest that it was due to them that the character of Passerat's government persisted. Certainly, it reappeared in the Superior General elected by the general chapter of 1855.

Father Nicholas Mauron, in office from 1855 to 1893, took his responsibilities very seriously to heart.¹¹⁰ He understood his obligations in so personal a fashion that his consultors had little to contribute in his decisions. One example can supply for many. In the year 1860 the Superior General was trying to satisfy two conflicting applications for foundations, one in the Dominican Republic and one in Australia.¹¹¹ Both seemed to him attractive, and he declared to the English provincial: "I wish only to know the Will of God and the good pleasure of St. Alphonsus".¹¹² It would not require any straining of the facts to suspect that it was just such ways that Veith found hard to accept from Father Passerat. Mauron also was very much a man of his time, and those times extended well beyond the end of the century. From Father Passerat, a typical churchman of the Age of Revolution, there was handed on a style of government of a kind found quite generally in Church leaders: a dependence on ways that had been successful in the past, especially the observance of the rules. In the case of the Redemptorists, that amounted to what had been decided in 1764, to which was joined a cult, not really well informed, of St. Alphonsus. This cult of the Redemptorist past was pursued with an earnest zeal, in which one might fairly glimpse an element of desperation. A particularly regrettable consequence of this prevailing spirit of nostalgia was that it made Redemptorists, and not by any means them alone, excessively introspective. It was the legacy of Passerat, mentioned by Madlener as well as by hostile witnesses, that the religious were taught to look first to their own sanctification and then work for the salvation of others.

However justified that description of the "Passerat tradition"

¹⁰⁹ HUGUES, *Additamenta*, 155-158. On Father Smetana cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 366-367.

¹¹⁰ On Father Mauron cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 230-231.

¹¹¹ S.J. BOLAND, *An Early Offer of an Australian Redemptorist Foundation in Spic. Hist.* 34 (1986) 141-159.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, 152.

may be, it must be stated at once that it is very far from being a picture of unrelieved gloom. More than one historian has remarked that the Age of Revolution was an age of contradictions for the Churches, of timid leadership in the face of advancing secularism and at the same time of very great achievement. A. R. Vidler, for example, declares that "it is a sociological rather than a theological paradox that for the Churches of the West the nineteenth century was a period of both formidable reverses and of prodigious expansion".¹¹³ Sociological or not, the paradox is undeniable. It is marvelously evident in the case of the Redemptorists. They expanded to the Americas, to Asia and to Africa, and they even established and maintained a foundation on Russian soil in the face of the harshest opposition. This quite phenomenal growth of the Institute produced many a case of splendid initiative and heroic achievement.

The "Passerat tradition" may also justly claim to be represented by men who would deservedly shine in any company. They are not only the ones who achieved the remarkable results we have mentioned, but their sanctity has in some instances been recognised by the Church. St. John Neumann is rightly regarded as the ornament of the American hierarchy.¹¹⁴ Blessed Peter Donders, the simple, amiable Redemptorist who laboured tirelessly for the lepers and outcasts of Surinam, can well hold his own with the great missionaries better known to the faithful.¹¹⁵ If it should be argued that the saintly Bishop of Philadelphia and the apostle of the lepers are not typical of Redemptorist community life and observance, so much a feature of the Passerat regime, the same could not be said of Blessed Kaspar Stangassinger, whose brief Redemptorist career was passed entirely in the monastery, where he imparted his own spirit to the young candidates of the Upper German province.¹¹⁶ Names like those are enough to show that the "Passerat tradition" was not barren of inspiration; but they do not exhaust the evidence. It is impossible to pass over the brilliant Dutch preacher, Father Bernard Hafkenschied.¹¹⁷ His eloquence was heard not only in Europe, but in the United States and in

¹¹³ VIDLER, *op. cit.*, 246.

¹¹⁴ See AA.VV., *Studia Neumanniana (Bibliotheca Historica C.SS.R. VI)*, Rome, 1977.

¹¹⁵ See AA.VV., *Studia Dondersiana (Bibliotheca Historica C.SS.R. XI)*, Rome, 1982.

¹¹⁶ O. WEISS, *Tun was der Tag verlangt. Das Leben von Pater Kaspar Stangassinger*, Freiburg - Basel - Wien, 1988.

¹¹⁷ Cf. BOLAND, *A Dictionary*, 150-151.

Ireland, and it never failed to move those who heard. Even Father Friedrich von Held, who appears almost as the *bête noire* of those who in the beginning chafed under the Passerat regime, was a man of zeal to whose energy in all justice must be attributed the spectacularly successful planting of the Redemptorist missions in Belgium, Holland and England.¹¹⁸

The emergence of the "Passerat tradition" after the dynamic Hofbauer regime was far from untroubled. It was not easy for those who had known the excitement that centred on the person of St. Clement to accept the lead of a man who seemed to shrink from the zealous activity they had loved. Inevitably there were casualties, and it would not be fair to find fault with those who left. Even Veith, for all his grumbling, was always a fine priest and had a most distinguished career when he was no longer a Redemptorist. The same should be said of Unkhrechtsberg and Welshersheimb. They and others like them were victims of a difficult transition. There was a marked change; and the new direction that ensued lasted long past the end of the century. It has been challenged only in the most recent years; but it has already produced its share of great and truly admirable achievement.

¹¹⁸ K. DILGSKRON, *P. Friedrich von Held*, Vienna, 1909.

PAUL LAVERDURE

THE AMERICAN REDEMPTORISTS
IN BRITISH NORTH AMERICA 1832-1862

SUMMARY

1. Introduction. - 2. Joseph Reisach comes to North America. - 3. Father Francis-Xavier Haetscher, C.Ss.R. - 4. Reisach and Haetscher in the Sault Sainte Marie area. - 5. Withdrawal from the Sault; - 6. The Changes in the American Mission. - 7 Simon Saenderl, C.Ss.R., in the Diocese of Toronto 1843-1852. - 8. European Priorities, American Needs 1845-1850. - 9. Canadian Needs, American Priorities 1852-1862. - 10. Conclusion.

1. Introduction

When Brother Joseph Reisach began writing his memoirs, he was forty-eight. Born on January 21, 1808 in Innsbruck in the Tyrol, Austria, he was twenty-four in 1832 when he left Vienna for America. His Austrian passport describes him as Catholic, short, with a long face, brown hair and eyes, a pointy nose and a pleasant mouth, with no other distinguishing marks; an ordinary looking man. Twenty-four years later, Brother Joseph still wrote in the

Abbreviations:

ABA American Baptist Archives Centre, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania.

ARCAT Archives of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.

ARPT Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Toronto.

AGHR Redemptorist General Archives Rome.

RABP Archives of the Redemptoris Province of Baltimore, Brooklyn.

UCA Archives of the United Church of Canada, Toronto.

WUEST JOSEPH WUEST, C.Ss.R., *Annales Congregationis SS. Redemptoris*

Provinciae Americanae 5 volumes in 9 books, with two books of documents in *Supplementum ad I-II-III* (Ilchester, 1888-1924).

cramped, corrupt old-fashioned German script of a man who had spent his adult life in manual labour. He finished his writing early in 1857. In a young country, peopled by young immigrants, he was already old. Five years later, in 1862, Brother Joseph, the first man to join the Redemptorists in America, died of a heart attack. His writings rest almost hidden in a filing cabinet in the basement archives of the Redemptorist Baltimore Province, in Brooklyn, New York. There and not in Europe can be found the early history of the Redemptorists in British North America, a footnote to the history of the Redemptorists in the United States.¹

2. *Joseph Reisach comes to North America*

Shortly after the first Viennese Redemptorists left for the American Midwestern Michigan Territory in 1832, Joseph Reisach, then a student in Vienna, asked Joseph Passerat, the Redemptorist Vicar General, to become a Redemptorist. To test Reisach's vocation, Passerat sent him to join the American missionaries. Reisach travelled from Vienna, through Portugal and arrived in New York in 1833. After learning some English in New York, Reisach made his way to the Michigan Territory and presented himself as a candidate to the Redemptorists in Green Bay, now Green Bay, Wisconsin, in July 1833.

The Superior, Simon Saenderl, assigned the hopeful candidate to help Father Francis-Xavier Haetscher who was working between Sault Sainte Marie and Detroit, now part of the State of Michigan.² The Redemptorists gave missions, renewals, and spiritual retreats in French, the international language of the day and the language of most of the Catholics -French Canadians, Metis, and some Natives- in the Northern United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Within a short time, the Redemptorists,

¹ RABP Personnel files, Brother Joseph Reisach's manuscript has been transcribed in WUEST, *Supplementum* pars 1, 278-310. For Reisach's description: RABP "Reisepass. Passaporto imperiale regio austriaco", 1847 January 22.

² MICHAEL J. CURLEY, C.Ss.R., *The Provincial Story. A History of the Baltimore Province of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer*, New York 1963, is a history of the Redemptorists in North America until 1875, when the continent was divided into two provinces, east (Baltimore) and west (St. Louis). See also TH. ROEMER, O.F.M.Cap. *The Leopoldine Foundation and the Church in the United States*, New York: U.S. Catholic Historical Society, Vol. XII, 1933.

especially Father Saenderl, also preached in the Iroquoian dialects of the Ottawa and the Ojibway tribes.³ And, with time, Redemptorists learned English among the Irish immigrants, but the rapidly growing German Catholic community also needed religious services in its own language. Coming from the Austrian Empire, the Redemptorists were well prepared for the polyglot nature of the American frontier.

3. Father Francis-Xavier Haetscher, C.Ss.R.

Joseph Reisach learned that Father Francis-Xavier Haetscher was no exception. Born the son of a dairy woman in 1784, Haetscher ran away from home as a young man to enlist in the Austrian army. A few years later he deserted and spent some years in Paris. At Napoleon's fall, he made his way back to Vienna where he heard the Redemptorist Clement Hofbauer preaching. Hofbauer brought Haetscher to repent of the life he led as a soldier, a deserter, and a vagrant. Haetscher joined the Redemptorists in October 1814 at the age of twenty-nine. In fact, he had been a Redemptorist barely two months when he was ordained with the intention of being a missionary in the Ottoman Empire. He had rushed through theology during his novitiate. Bulgaria and Turkey proved inhospitable to a Catholic priest, so he settled in the Ottoman Province of Wallachia, presently southern Romania; he was also expelled from there after a few years. Returning to the Viennese monastery, he was soon sent by Father Passerat to the mission field of North America. Almost on arrival, Haetscher preached the first Redemptorist eight-day mission in America, in Tiffin, Ohio, fell ill with cholera while helping the plague victims in the Detroit area, survived, and within two weeks was preaching again. Tall, strong and healthy, with a wide experience of people and languages, Father Haetscher endured the pri-

³ For summaries of this episode, see EDUARD HOSP, C.Ss.R., *Erbe des hl. Klemens Hofbauer. Erlösermissionäre (Redemptoristen) in Österreich 1820-1951*, Vienna 1953, 295-300, and the monthly magazine *Klemens-Blätter. Monatschrift des Volksmissionäre vom Heiligsten Erlöser*, March 1949 to January 1951. In English, CARL HOEGERL, C.Ss.R., has summarized the relevant sections of Hosp's work in "With Francis X. Haetscher, C.S.S.R., in Detroit, 1832" in *The Province Story. A Redemptorist Historical Review - Baltimore Province* 4/1 (June 19, 1978) 14-26.

mitive conditions. He was forty-nine, the eldest of the first missionaries.⁴

4. Reisach and Haetscher in the Sault Sainte Marie area

In September of 1833, Haetscher and Reisach, alone in Green Bay, tended to the Menominees and finished the building of a chapel. They left to join Father Saenderl working with the Ottawas in Arbre Croche, now Harbor Springs, Michigan. Haetscher and Brother Reisach left Arbre Croche on November 22, 1833, for Detroit.⁵ In early July of 1834 Bishop Frederic Rese of Detroit sent Haetscher to Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan, to establish a permanent mission among the French Canadians and the Winnebago Indians.⁶ Formerly, Mass had been celebrated in a private house on Water Street by visiting priests; Haetscher and Reisach built a log chapel. Within a short time conversions increased and Reisach noted how one

“... old chief came to the fathers’ cabin with a [French] Canadian interpreter. Entering and taking off his cloak, he cast it upon the floor and sat upon it, stark naked. In no way embarrassed either by shame or by the cold, the chief asked Saenderl to receive himself and his tribe into the Catholic Church. ... Each week from twenty to thirty Indians trooped into the cabin to learn about the true God.”⁷

⁴ CARL MADER, C.Ss.R., *Die Congregation des Allerheiligsten Erlösers in Österreich. Ein Chronicalbericht über ihre Einführung, Ausbreitung, Wirksamkeit und ihre verstorbenen Mitglieder als kleine Festgabe zur Centenarfeier ihres heiligen Stifters Alphonsus Maria de Liguori*, Vienna 1887, 408 re Haetscher’s career throughout the Northern United States, Europe, and Turkey. For a popular account of Haetscher’s American years, see JOHN M. LENHART, O.Cap., “Francis Xavier Haetscher, C.Ss.R., Indian Missionary and Pioneer Priest (1832-1837)”, in *Social Justice Review* 1952 January, pp. 308-311; February, pp. 340-342; March, pp. 366-368; April, pp. 19-22; May, pp. 49-53. For the origin of many Catholic settlers, see February, 341. The Review contains translations of primary sources from Wuest and from the *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung* V, Vienna 1833, 28-34. For a summary of the *Berichte*, see *The Catholic Historical Review* 1 (1915-16) 51-63.

⁵ For the date, JOHN F. BYRNE, C.Ss.R., *The Redemptorist Centenaries*, Philadelphia 1932, 47, contrary to WUEST I, 18. See also WUEST I, 445 for travel.

⁶ EDWARD DAY, C.Ss.R., “*The Beginnings of the Redemptorist the United States: 1832-1840*” (Memoire de Licencié en Sciences Historiques. Université Catholique de Louvain, 1958), 76 incorrectly states 1835.

⁷ Reisach in WUEST, *Supplementum* 1, 285-6. Translation by DAY, 49.

On July 31, 1834, Bishop Rese arrived in Sault Sainte Marie to administer Confirmation to the Winnebagos and French Canadians gathered by Haetscher. The «Catholic Telegraph» of Cincinnati reported how the mission flourished:

“The Indians flocked together from all directions. They were marshalled in orderly array and fired the guns both at the arrival and departure of the Bishop, so that he could scarcely get through the smoke. The Indians had erected a church of bark, open in front. The whole time this mission lasted, was spent in the most solemn and religious exercises, preparing them for the reception of the holy sacraments of baptism, confirmation, penance, Eucharist, extreme unction, and matrimony. More than one hundred were confirmed”.⁸

When it became known that the American bishops had sent priests into the western border areas near the Great Lakes, Canadian bishops requested that these priests visit British territory to help the Catholics scattered there. One Canadian bishop, Reisach states, invited Haetscher to go into the British colony of Upper Canada, now Ontario. Haetscher and Reisach regularly travelled every three weeks by canoe from the American to the Canadian Sault Sainte Marie.⁹ In an abandoned War of 1812 armoury, they built an altar out of a door, because no large table was available. Brother Reisach clearly remembered his adventures in Upper Canada:

⁸ October 10, 1834 (WUEST III, 366).

⁹ Which bishop is unclear. Reisach's testimony, transcribed in WUEST *Supplementum* 1, 301 states “Während dieser Zeit, erhielt er [Haetscher] einen Brief von dem Bischof von Montreal, worin er gebeten wurde, auch die Canadier auf der englischen Seite zu besuchen und ihnen die hl. Sakramente zu spenden. Alle drei Wochen fuhren wir hinüber auf einem Canoe, wo wir in einem BlockHause einen Altar aufrichteten.” This agrees with ANTOINE ROY, *Rapport de L'Archiviste de la Province de Ouebec pour 1943-1944* 224, and *Registre des Lettres Mgr Lartigue 1 Dec. 1832 à 27 Octobre 1835* 7, 120, where Mgr Jean-Jacques Lartigue writes to Mgr J.-Norbert Provencher that Sault-Ste-Marie is well-off, since the American bishops sent many priests to the border areas. Evidence from Sault Ste-Marie, however, is found in ARCAT, document MAC2401, 1834 September 24, and shows the Catholics of Saul Ste. Marie writing to the Right Rev. Alexander McDonnald [sic], Kingston. Byrne 50 does not credit Reisach and assumes the Canadian bishop to be the Bishop of Kingston. Yet the fact that Reisach is talking about Canadians would tend to mean that a French Canadian bishop, i.e., Lartigue, was meant, since the word “Canadian” referred exclusively to French speakers. McDonell would have been considered Scottish, or British. Canada was not formed until 1867 from the British colonies of Upper Canada (Ontario), Lower Canada (Quebec), New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. It would take a generation before English speakers began to call themselves Canadians.

"During the late fall and early spring crossing the frozen river was always a matter of mortal danger. Reverend Father Haetscher often crawled on the ice on his hands and knees because the ice was broken and buckled in the middle and yet he could not be held back. The winter is extraordinarily cold and one is not in a position to walk with one's face toward the wind. Throughout the winter we used the lower part of our apartment in the newly built church for Mass, namely 20 to 40 feet. We had set up a very good stove, about ten feet from the altar; I had heated it very well and yet it was not possible to say Mass. While praying the confiteor I could not speak any more but I was completely conscious; the Reverend Father prayed my part as well and went to the altar; during the reading of the Epistle his hands became completely stiff so that he was forced to leave the altar. I saw all of this and was glad that he had to stop; I had already become completely frozen. Only when I tried to stand up did I collapse. They had to carry me to bed..."¹⁰

At another time, Father Haetscher travelled to St. Joseph, about seventy miles from the Sault. Six dogs pulled a sleigh on which Haetscher lay wrapped in buffalo skins, and Natives ran ahead to light fires so he could warm himself when he arrived. Forty miles out from the Sault, he met a Native family that wanted baptism, but because he could not stop long, he told them to learn prayers from nearby Catholics and come to the Sault in the spring to be baptised. After eight days of this kind of travelling, he returned to the Sault, "but he had really suffered because of the extreme cold", Reisach reported. Just before Lent, the family from Upper Canada sledded to the Sault where they were baptised.

The Catholics on the British side of the Sault benefit of services every third Sunday. Shortly after Haetscher arrived among them in September 1834, they asked one of their English-speaking members to draft a petition to the Catholic Archbishop of Kingston, Alexander McDonell. Now that they had a pastor of "their own denomination", they requested money to build a chapel. Forty-five French Canadian names were signed over the name of the drafter of the petition, Doctor William Bell. No help came. McDonell might have been more generous if he had had the means or if he knew that some of the names, such as the entire Cadotte family, were

¹⁰ Reisach in WUEST, *Supplementum* 1, 301-2.

soon to be added to the ranks of competing churches. The petition was renewed in January of 1835, this time to Upper Canada's Lieutenant Governor Sir John Colborne, and emphasized that his loyal Canadians had been forced to ask a priest from the American side, because their poverty could not attract a priest all the way from the settled parts of Canada. Colborne, who appointed the Anglican ministers and sent money for the upkeep of the established Church of England in Upper Canada, was kind enough to pass on the letter to McDonell, who still had no money.¹¹

Although the French Canadian Catholics tried to organize a parish, not everyone in the Sault eagerly welcomed the Redemptorists. The earliest records of the Redemptorists' work with the French Canadians, at that time forming the majority of Catholics in the United States and in British North America, were but descriptions of immorality. The Redemptorists chronicled drunkenness, polygamy, wife-swapping, incest and worse. One Redemptorist historian affirmed:

"If the reception of the Sacraments was turning savages into seraphs, all too many Catholic French-Canadians were bent upon degeneration. Most of these half-breed trappers were little more than pagans. For some it had been anywhere from twenty to forty years since they had last seen a priest. One old man remembered vaguely that some sixty years before he had gone to Communion in Montreal for the last time. In every family there were youngsters who had to be baptized. ... Polygamy was a common affair and the trading of wives for a load of hay or a cow was not unheard of. ... many of the Canadian trappers were drunken sots.¹²

They were a bad example to the Natives who were trying to live up to their new-found faith, Father Saenderl lamented. Reisach related several incidents of near escapes:

¹¹ ARCAT MAC24.01, petition dated 24 September 1834 from the Catholics of Sault Ste. Marie to 'Right Rev. Alexander McDonald [sic MacDonell], Roman Catholic Bishop of Upper Canada [sic Kingston]'. MAC24.02, petition dated 12 January 1835 from 'the inhabitants of Sault Ste. Marie to His Excellency Sir John Colborne, K.B., Lieutenant Governor of the Province of Upper Canada'.

¹² DAY 49, n. 27, AGHR X, E, Saenderl to Passerat, Green Bay, 1833 June 26, in WUEST I,246, Byrne 45-6, but the complete text is transcribed and translated into Italian by ANDREAS SAMPERS, in *Spic. Hist.* XVII,1 (1969) 93-101.

"One day, we - the priest and I - were together. (We still lived in the old block-house.) The priest was praying the Breviary and I was working on the windows of the new church, then all at once the door sprang open and this wild man jumped at the priest with clenched fists. I did not hesitate very long. I took my axe and placed myself in front of him saying that he had better get out immediately or I would crack open his head, whereupon he left the room with threats to shoot us to death. Through many nights I kept an axe by my bed. The priest awoke me at the slightest noise."¹³

Protestants also gave the Redemptorists trouble. Religious differences had been flourishing in the Sault area for many years. The first British Protestant missionary, James D. Cameron, a poorly-paid half-Native of the Anglican Missionary Society, led his newly-won followers out of the Church of England and into the American Baptist Church. Soon after Cameron arrived, the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Canada sent missionaries to the area. The Baptists themselves under the Rev. Abel Bingham of the American Baptist Union had been working in the Sault since 1828.¹⁴ Although the Church of England tried to secure their position by appointing William McMurray to replace Cameron, and the Wesleyan Methodist Church in British North America built a church in the Sault, the Natives preferred the Catholic priest, "a true Blackrobe".¹⁵

The American Baptist minister observed:

¹³ Reisach in WUEST, *Supplementum* 1, 303-5.

¹⁴ For overview, UCA, W. S. WILSON, "A Study of the Religious Developments in the Sault Ste. Marie Area" [June 1962] 14 p. For the Anglicans, Toronto Public Library Baldwin Room (277.13 S57) *Second Annual Report of the Society for Converting & Civilizing the Indians, and Propagating the Gospel, Among Destitute Settlers in Upper Canada, For the year Ending October 1832*, Toronto 1833. For Methodists, "Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan" *The Encyclopedia of World Methodism*, Tennessee 1974, II,2098. For Methodist personnel, UCA *The Minutes of the Annual Conferences of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada, from 1824 to 1845, inclusive, ...*, Toronto 1846. The Methodist missionaries were Peter Jones and William Case who brought in James Evans, Jonathan Scott, and Gilbert Miller. For Baptists, ABA, 1836 September 5, Michilimakinak. Rev. James D. Cameron to the Rev. Dr. Lucius Bolles. Cameron claims to be working for the Methodists.

¹⁵ See JOHN CARROLL, *Case and His Contemporaries; or: The Canadian Itinerants' Memorial: Constituting a Biographical History of Methodism in Canada, from its Introduction into the Province till the Death of the Rev. William Case, in 1855* III, Toronto 1871, and the *Minutes of the Annual Conference of the Wesleyan-Methodist Church in Canada, from 1824 to 1845, inclusive; ...* Toronto 1846. See also JOHN WEBSTER GRANT, *Moon of Wintertime. Missionaries and the Indians of Canada in Encounter since 1534*, Toronto, University of Toronto Press 1984, for an overview of missionary activity in Canada.

“Since the Catholick priest came here last, our school has till, lately, been reduced to our boarding schollars. ... when the Romish priest came, the children from Catholick families were prevented from coming.”

He added:

“But from some cause they begin to attend again, the school has increased again to 4 or 5 & twenty. Whether it is because his virulence has abated some, or his influence is curtailed, & weakened, I am not able to say. But from the zeal which he displayed last sabbath we should be led to think it is not owing to the former. I am told by those who saw it, that in the midst of his discourse, he tore a protestant Bible to pieces, & threw it into the fire place, to show his kind intentions to burn it. I believe there was no fire in it, the room being heated by a stove. But he publicly declared it to be a great sin for his people to read it”.¹⁶

One can well believe Haetscher of such oratorical flamboyance. He had previously written to Austria that, unlike the French Canadian clergy who were Jansenists and tough on their penitents while tolerant of Protestants, he would be harsh with heretics and soft with sinners.¹⁷

Perhaps in response to Haetscher's preaching and his success in winning several lapsed Catholics from them, or perhaps to forestall any conversions to Catholicism among the Natives, Baptists and Methodist preachers on the British side began a fiery preaching campaign against the Catholic Church and against Haetscher in particular. The Anglicans exhorted their brethren to “overcome the black bird, which had been singing about their ears for some time past, even as the Great God hath overcome the evil spirit”.¹⁸ Bishop Rese of Detroit reported in a letter how the more radical Protestants finally overcame the “black bird”:

¹⁶ ABA, 1835 January 27, Sault-Ste-Marie, Rev. Abel Bingham to the Rev. Lucius Bolles, Baptist Missionary Board, Boston.

¹⁷ Saint Clement Hofbauer, ‘The Apostle of Vienna’, who converted Haetscher, was said to be even more dramatic and primitive in his preaching. See ADAM BUNNELL, *Before Infallibility. Liberal Catholicism in Biedermeyer Vienna*, London, England; Rutherford, New Jersey 1990.

¹⁸ Toronto Public Library, Baldwin Room, 277.13 S57 *The Fifth Annual Report of the Society, For Converting & Civilizing the Indians, and Propagating the Gospel, Among Destitute Settlers In Upper Canada; For the Year Ending October 1835*, Toronto 1836, 51.

I can only mention with tears the contemptible vandalism perpetrated on our little chapel at Sault Ste. Marie. The windows were smashed, then the sacred vessels thrown out, crushed and destroyed, the missal torn into a thousand fragments, and after the good Father Haetscher, without a word of complaint, on the eve of All Saints, repaired the damage as best as he could, the whole building was set ablaze by throwing fire into it. The loss is incalculable for us, inasmuch as it is very difficult to obtain here the articles which are indispensable. Yet the affair has turned out unexpectedly in our favor, for the Baptist and Methodist preachers were compelled to seek safety in flight [to Canada] to escape the vengeance of an angry people who now all sympathize with us. Thus a temporal loss and a persecution have brought us much spiritual benefit. Yet it is hard for us to bear it nonetheless".¹⁹

The British Captain Thomas G. Anderson, asked by the Upper Canadian government to report on the cross-border incident, downplayed the destruction of the American chapel by reporting:

"A Roman Catholic Priest, a foreigner, living on the American side, visited the Canadians & [sic] almost daily, that he had actually burnt an English Bible on that side [of] the water, and that he had tried to get some on our side for the same purpose, that Mr. McMurray [the Anglican missionary] had been compelled to turn him out of his enclosures when he had made his way to Mr. McMurray's Indians and that he had actually caused a Bark Chapel to be built adjoining this [Indian] enclosure, much to the annoyance of Mr. McMurray and his adherents".²⁰

Passing over the damage to the chapel, he urged all of the Natives and the French to join the established Anglican church

¹⁹ Rese to the Leopoldine Foundation, New York, May 21, 1835, printed in *Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung* IX, Vienna 1836, 42. See also WUEST I, 19, 249-250, translation in BYRNE 49. Confirmed by Reisach who wrote: "One night they stole across the river and, smashing a window, entered the Catholic chapel. The bigots opened the tabernacle and scattered the sacred Hosts all over the plank floor. Someone of them fanatically cut a missal into ribbons."

WUEST, *Supplementum* 1, 297, translation by Day 76-7 [October 31, 1834?] who wrote, "the protestant bigots returned to the attack. This time they burned the chapel to the ground".

²⁰ Anglican Church of Canada, Synod of the Diocese of Algoma Archives. 1835 July Report of Capt. Thomas G. Anderson re visit to Sault-Ste-Marie.

and stated that the American foreigner had no rights -civil or religious- in British Canada. Captain Anderson and the Anglican Reverend A. Elliot then recommended to the authorities the removal of the French Canadian "squatters" from the banks of the Sault because, the Captain claimed, they corrupted the Natives and "seriously and even violently obstruct the [Anglican] Missionary in the performance of his duty."

After the fire, Haetscher spent the winter at Mackinac. In the spring of 1835, Bishop Rese ordered Haetscher to build a new church in the American Sault. On arrival, he faced "twelve or more" houses of ill-repute that had sprung up over the winter, peopled with women and soldiers unprepared to be model colonists. Haetscher and Reisach lodged with an officer who had deserted from the British army and was married to a Catholic. But dances - seen as occasions of sin- were held at the house, so the Redemptorists left for a forest hut.

The hut was a mile away from the new church building and Reisach was charged with carrying the altar materials back and forth for each Mass. The hut itself soon became a confessional of sorts. Reisach, who got up at four in the morning to get the chapel ready, now found himself saying his prayers outside in the night air while penitents and visitors used the hut to visit Father Haetscher on private matters. One visitor was Abel Bingham, the Baptist minister, who came to debate with Haetscher whether veneration of pictures was image worship or whether Christ or the Pope was the foundation and the head of the Church.²¹ There was little sleep for the candidate brother. Haetscher rewarded Joseph Reisach's perseverance by clothing him in the Redemptorist habit on October 19, 1835. Reisach's formal religious training as a novice began.

5. Withdrawal from the Sault

The next spring, in May of 1836, after the church was finished, Haetscher was called back to Green Bay where the other Redemptorists were working. Perhaps because of the mutual

²¹ ABA, 1836 March 16, Rev. Abel Bingham's Journal.

discord between the rival religious groups, the entire population of the Sault had declined and Haetscher was needed more elsewhere.²² After Haetscher left, the controversies continued to rage in the Sault. Bingham wrote a report to the Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians and denounced Catholic schools as mere tents where catechism was held. Only the Baptists first, then the Congregationalists, next the Methodists should receive any government money.²³ The Catholics were not asked their opinions.

The constant travel, first by order of the Bishop then by Redemptorist superiors, and finally declining health brought Haetscher to lose any hope that he could help found a permanent Redemptorist house in America. The American economy was in a shambles after the crash of 1837. There had been nothing but poor crops for several years. British North America and the United States were becoming estranged over border disputes; slavery which the British empire prohibited since 1832 caused more border incidents as an underground railway spirited American slaves through Detroit and into the British colonies. The Canadian colonies were experiencing financial and agricultural troubles that would lead to their Rebellions in 1837. In such turmoil, Haetscher thought his usefulness at an end. Joseph Reisach, however, entered a rigorous six month novitiate in Green Bay and then he and an exhausted Haetscher left for Vienna. One might imagine Haetscher's pessimistic report, for the Viennese Redemptorists were ready to recall the missionaries, but "Brother Joseph by his earnest pleading succeeded in having the decree suspended, and obtained new laborers for the Mission".²⁴

Joseph Reisach himself had originally joined to study for ordination. Given the needs of the North American mission, and the little education he had received on the frontier, his superiors in Vienna thought his carpenter skills more important. In Europe, an ideal Redemptorist monastery held twelve priests and six brothers. In America, where everything - church, rectory, school, and

²² ABA, 1836 August 1, "Eighth Annual Report of the Baptist Mission at Sault Ste-Marie" Rev. Abel Bingham to Rev. Lucius Bolles, Corresponding Secretary, Baptist Missionary Rooms, Boston, for statement of population decline.

²³ ABA, 1836 September 2, Michilimakinak, Abel Bingham and Lucius Garey, American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions.

²⁴ THOMAS W. MULLANEY, C.Ss.R., *Four-Score Years: A Contribution to the History of the Catholic Germans in Rochester*, Rochester 1916, 23.

hall- needed to be built and maintained, the need for brothers equalled the need for priests. The brotherhood became an important calling for those who desired religious life but were not called to ordination or could not complete the studies for the priesthood. Reisach pronounced his vows as a brother on the 19th of March, 1838.²⁵ He immediately volunteered for America but was first assigned to the Viennese house to continue his religious training.

6. The Changes in the American Mission

While Reisach deepened his spiritual life in Vienna, the American mission underwent profound changes. After the Canadian Rebellions, the British Lord Durham's Report recommended that the French Canadians be assimilated in a greater English union of the British colonies. The Act of Union of 1840 thus joined Upper and Lower Canada into the colony of Canada, divided administratively into Canada West (Ontario) and Canada East (Quebec). During these political troubles, from 1837 to 1840, Redemptorist missionaries ceased travelling into British North America. There was work enough in the United States for the Redemptorists, because German immigration had swelled. A potato rot, later to reach Ireland, spread rapidly across Germany to reach crisis proportions. In 1834 there were already 40,000 Germans making their way to the United States. That increased to 86,000 in 1839, 101,000 in 1844, 285,000 in 1849, and 654,000 in 1854.²⁶ Shortly before Reisach left the United States in 1837, the Superior, Joseph Prost, decided to concentrate on the urban Catholic immigrants, especially the Germans who had almost no priests working for them. In 1841 a new superior from Vienna, Alexander Czvitkovitz, decided to dedicate the Redemptorist ministry henceforth solely to the German immigrants. In contrast to the many French-speaking religious communities fleeing France's revolutionary and anti-clerical crises, or to the Irish secular priests following their flocks, most of the Redemptorists, from Austria, the

²⁵ RABP personnel file, Reisach, "Verzeichniss".

²⁶ STANLEY NADEL, *Little Germany. Ethnicity, Religion, and Class in New York City 1845-80*, Urbana, University of Illinois Press 1990, 17-19. For Germans in Canada: HEINZ LEHMANN, *The German Canadians 1750-1937. Immigration, Settlement and Culture* tr., ed., and intro. by GERHARD P. BASSLER, St. John's, Newfoundland, Jesperson Press 1986.

German states, or Belgium, were German-speaking and became known as the German Fathers.²⁷

The Redemptorists in America abandoned the attempt to adapt the structured Redemptorist life to the American frontier and to itinerant and often non-Catholic Natives. They reintroduced Clement Hofbauer's model of stable parish missions and work among immigrant urban Catholics. With a change in policy from missionary work to preaching parish missions among the Catholic immigrants, success crowned the Redemptorist search for stability and regular community life. Although Pittsburg (1839) holds claim to being the first canonical foundation of the Redemptorists in America, Redemptorists had been working nearer Canada in Rochester, New York, since 1836 although it was canonically founded in 1839. Monasteries multiplied on the east coast and along the Great Lakes transportation routes the immigrants followed: Redemptorist houses were built in Baltimore (1841), New York (1842), Philadelphia (1843), Buffalo (1845), and Detroit (1846), while Brother Joseph lived in Vienna. The need for more Redemptorist brothers became acute as each foundation, almost a copy of one another, borrowed each others' blue prints and brothers, building larger churches, schools, halls, and rectories.

7. *Simon Saenderl, C.Ss.R., in the Diocese of Toronto 1843-1852*

On invitation of Bishop Michael Power of Toronto, the former superior of the American mission, Simon Saenderl, had been working in the Diocese of Toronto, especially Waterloo County, since 1843. He had displeased an American bishop with some imprudent newspaper writing and Saenderl's successor as superior thought it better to have him working elsewhere.²⁸ Bishop Michael Power, worried about a possible newspaper controversy in Canada, controlled every word Saenderl wrote, going so far as telling him to forego a printing press unless Saenderl submitted everything, except his German writings, to Power's approval.²⁹ The Bishop also

²⁷ CURLEY, *The Provincial Story* 39-55 for Prost's reorientation of the Redemptorists to the German immigrants, and 68-70 for Czvitkovitz.

²⁸ CURLEY, *The Provincial Story* 343, n.110, as well as WUEST, *Supplementum* I,179, 369-70. Archbishop Samuel Eccleston of Baltimore objected to a newspaper article Saenderl was accused of writing.

²⁹ ARCAT LB01.104 [copy] 1844 February 20, Alexander Czvitkovicz, C.Ss.R., to

insisted that Saenderl make sure property bought by lay people for church use be handed over to the Bishop.³⁰ Furthermore, Bishop Power wrote Saenderl that any lay person who had not paid their dues to the church in Preston, which Saenderl was building, was to be denied Christian burial, causing one scandal when Saenderl refused to bury in consecrated ground the daughter of one of the parishioners who refused to pay his dues.³¹ It is reported that Saenderl attempted to enforce the Bishop's will by threatening to disinter anyone buried without his knowledge and turn it over to a medical school which, according to local tradition, he did, causing him even more trouble among his parishioners.³² Saenderl eventually worked in Wilmot (St. Agatha), Preston, New Germany, Kingsbush (St. Clements), the Huron Tract (South East Hope), Alona near Toronto, Peel County, Chippawa, Rainham, Guelph, Greenwood near London, Puslinch, Woolwich, and Wellesley where he dedicated a church to St. Alphonsus, later named St. Clement's. Pleased with Saenderl, in 1845 Bishop Power of Toronto, faced with clergy shortages and a growing German Catholic population, renewed his invitation of 1843 to the Redemptorists to found a monastery in his diocese.³³

Clergy shortage in the United States brought Saenderl's superiors to request his return in 1846, but a long series of misunderstandings cut him off from the Congregation. Working alone in the Toronto Diocese, he deposited his income in the Toronto parish of St. Paul's. Ordered to report to his superior in Monroe, Michigan, Saenderl suffered a fall from his horse in Berlin, now Kitchener, broke his leg and lost his horse. He was found by a passing traveller and nursed back to health in Berlin, but it was some time before he could walk, and more time before he could send

the Bishop of Toronto, Michael Power. LB01.105 [copy] 1844 February 28, Power to Simon Saenderl, C.Ss.R., granting faculties in the townships of Wilmot, Waterloo, and for Germans and Ojibway throughout the diocese. LB92.250 [copy] 1845 August 18, p. 223-224, Power to A. Czveskovicz [sic for Czvitkovicz]. For Power's decision re the printing press, ARCAT LB02.252 [copy], 1845 August 26, Bishop Michael Power of Toronto to Father Simon Saenderl.

³⁰ ARCAT LB02.158 [copy] 8 May 1844, Bishop Michael Power to R[everend] F[ather] S. Sanderl, C.S.R. [sic], Wilmot, C[anada] W[est].

³¹ ARCAT LB01.256 [copy] 1845 November 12, Power to Saenderl, re Preston. See especially the Rev. THEOBALD SPETZ, C.R., *The Catholic Church in Waterloo County*, Toronto: The Catholic Register and Extension 1916, for fuller information about Saenderl's activities.

³² RABP Provincial's Papers, extract from letter of Paul Balzer, C.Ss.R., to Henry Schorp, C.Ss.R., 1935 September 20.

³³ ARCAT LB02.250 [copy] 1845 August 18, Power to Czitkovicz [sic].

word of his delay. He remained lame for the rest of his life. When he did not appear on the appointed day, the American superior sent a dispensation from his vows to Monroe. Saenderl was accused of breaking his vow of poverty by saving money for personal use; failure to return to his monastery convinced the American Superior of Saenderl's disobedience.³⁴ The Bishop of Toronto wrote Saenderl's superior of the accident, but there is no record of the letter in the Redemptorist Baltimore archives. Luckily, the local superior in Monroe, learning the rest of the story from Saenderl once he arrived, decided not to give the dispensation, but Saenderl accidentally learned of the intended action. Shocked at such hasty and shabby treatment, he demanded his release from the Congregation. He was then immediately accepted into the Diocese of Toronto in September of 1847, where he worked for a short time during the typhus or "ship fever" epidemic that eventually claimed so many lives, including Bishop Power. Saenderl returned to St. Agatha's Parish, Waterloo County, which later became part of the Diocese of Hamilton, Ontario. Soon after he also worked in Guelph, Arthur, and Hamilton, and in 1850 he began a hermitage, now in ruins, on Puslinch Island. During the erection of the building, he left on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. On his return in 1852, his desire for solitude and quiet, as evidenced by the building of the hermitage, gained the upper hand and Saenderl decided to join a contemplative order.³⁵ The first Superior of the Redemptorists in North America, Simon Saenderl, sometimes called the founder of the Redemptorists in America, ended his days a Trappist, in the monastery of Gethsemani, Kentucky in 1879.³⁶

³⁴ For this early interpretation of Saenderl's dispensation, see AGHR 300700 IX (1832-1855) "Index Congregatorum Provinciae Americanae, qui ab initio i.e. ab anno 1832 ad Mensem Majum usque anno 1855 dispensati vel expulsi fuere", WUEST I, 179, and for Saenderl's side of the story, WUEST I, 369-70 and *Supplementum* 2, 95-7. The Superior was Peter Czackert.

³⁵ For evidence of Saenderl's work in Guelph, see RABF to Schorp, 1935 September 20 and the baptismal records from October 31, 1847 to June 23, 1850. For Arthur, ARCAT PAB1206; Guelph, ARCAT PAB1314, 1849 November 16, Saenderl to Bishop Power; also ARCAT C.AB0611, 1850 February 11, Saenderl to Power; ARCAT LB02.158 [copy] 1844 May 8, Power to Saenderl. Also, SPETZ 17-18, 56, 76, 97, 258, JOHN H. GILCHRIST "The History of Puslinch Lake and the Big Island" (Archives 31, Wall Co. Hist. Res. Soc., 1936) typescript; *Annals of Puslinch 1850-1950* (Acton Free Press, Acton, Ontario, n.a., n.d) 82-83.

³⁶ ARCAT LB02.228 [copy] 15 January 1845, Power to Saenderl. AGHR 17 bis Pagani 6.5.1845 and 18 Pagani 21.8.1845. ARCAT LB92.250 [copy] 18 August 1845. Power to Very Rev. A. Czveskovicz [sic]. For a biographical study of Saenderl's travels and life, see JOHN M. LENHART, O.F.M. Cap., "Rev. Simon Saenderl, C.Ss.R., Indian Missionary" *Social*

8. *European Priorities, American Needs 1845-1850*

Saenderl's departure was a reaction to the growing conformity within the Redemptorist Congregation. In 1845, the Provincial Superior of Belgium, Frederick von Held, had visited the United States which had been placed in his care. Although von Held had been a disciple of Hofbauer during the revolutionary period of European history, he now lived under Joseph Passerat during the restoration of monarchy, hierarchy, and stability. Both Passerat and von Held moved from adapting the Rule in new conditions to enforcing the rules. In America von Held encouraged all to a stricter regular order.³⁷ Success in founding monasteries and in attracting members from the German-American Catholic community was not so much a result of more regular order but the result of the population explosion in Catholic America. Nor did the Redemptorists overlook the fundamental shift from frontier Native missions to ministry among the urban Catholic immigrants who more readily provided vocations. There was, nevertheless, an overwhelming belief that the European-style regular order was blessed by God and was in the main responsible for success.³⁸ It was thought more regular order and a greater emphasis on the Constitutions and Rules of the Congregation would promote greater success. This stricter mood in America drove Saenderl out of the Congregation, but attracted many others fleeing the chaos of American life. The European Church's priority on stability suited the growing urban immigrant population in the United States.

At the same time, the anti-clerical persecutions building in Austria convinced Redemptorists to flee. Some, such as Haetscher, left for England, but many fled to North America. Brother Joseph Reisach was sent to America in 1847 just before the revolutionary storms broke out across most of Catholic Europe in 1848. The Viennese Redemptorists scattered, as did many other religious

Justice Review 1941 July-August, pp. 130-132; September, pp. 166-168; October, pp. 206-207; November, pp. 242-244; December, pp. 278-280; 1942 January, pp. 314-316; February, pp. 350-353, and March, pp. 386-386.

³⁷ WUEST I,313, "Decreta a Patre De Held facta tempore Visitationis canonicae, quam anno 1845 habuit ..." [in German]; CURLEY 89.

³⁸ DAY: "Apparently then, the first missionaries set off for the United States either with no Rule at all, or with a rather faulty and debatable translation." There was some fear that the translated Rule was too free with the requirements of poverty. Day implies that this was the reason for Saenderl's departure and for the problems on the early missions.

communities, and they swelled the American Redemptorist foundations, causing the United States to become numerically important enough to become an ecclesiastical province dependent solely on Rome in 1850. The arrival of more German-speaking Redemptorists cemented the fundamental orientation in Redemptorist priorities to the immigrant Catholics even in a country peopled mainly with English-speaking Protestants. The European Redemptorist need for asylum suited the American Church's need for clergy.

When Brother Joseph arrived in the United States in 1847, he was stationed in Rochester as a carpenter. There he witnessed the continued growth of the Congregation, the growing discipline of the Redemptorist community, and the occasional mission into Canada. Monasteries were founded in New Orleans in 1847, in Annapolis in 1853, another in Baltimore in 1859, and in Chicago in 1861, all within Brother Joseph's lifetime.³⁹ By 1859, twenty-seven years after the first Redemptorists stepped foot in America, there were fifty-six fathers, forty-six brothers, twenty-eight novice brothers and sixty clerical students in eleven foundations stretching from the Virgin Islands to the American Northwest.

9. *British North American Needs, American Priorities 1852-1862*

Von Held's visitation in 1845 illustrated another truth about the development of the Congregation in North America. Von Held travelled from Belgium via Liverpool to Halifax, Nova Scotia, before reaching his destinations in the northern United States.⁴⁰ Cheaper transatlantic and transcontinental water routes united British North America to England and northern Europe. Redemptorists arrived in the United States from Europe through British North America, following the same route many colonists took. The shortest distance between Monroe, Michigan and Buffalo, New York and later between Detroit and Buffalo, was along the Canadian water and rail routes.⁴¹ The Redemptorists of the American Northwest learned a great deal about British North

³⁹ *Catalogus Congregationis Sanctissimi Redemptoris*, Rome 1859.

⁴⁰ WUEST, *Supplementum* 1,495. 1845 April 28.

⁴¹ *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung in Kaiserthume Oesterreich XXXI* (1861) 48 p, see especially 14-15, written by P.L. Coudenhove.

America along the Great Lakes while travelling to their American destinations. Some then travelled from their new monasteries in Monroe, Rochester, and Buffalo through the Windsor and Niagara Falls regions of Canada West.⁴² American-based Redemptorist missionaries -Tschenhens, Schmid, Holzer, Kannamueller, Bayer, Keitz, and Joseph Wissel- became known in Hamilton, Simcoe, Caledonia, Windsor, Sandwich, Rainham, Black Creek, Waterloo, or more simply, throughout southwestern Ontario. They ministered mainly to Germans, some of whom had not seen a German-speaking priest since the New York diocesan priest, John Neumann, left the Buffalo and Niagara Falls areas to join the Redemptorist novitiate in 1840.⁴³

In 1852 Bishop Power's successor in Toronto, Bishop Armand de Charbonnel, impressed with the mission preaching of the Redemptorists in Cincinnati and continually looking to alleviate the chronic shortage of clergy in his diocese, urged the Redemptorists to accept the pastoral care of either Brantford or Hamilton, Ontario. When that was refused, he offered Niagara Falls. "Would to God", De Charbonnel exclaimed, "I would be soon so happy as to possess some of St. Liguori's Children!".⁴⁴ The Bishop travelled to Europe to see the Redemptorist superiors, but there was also a shortage of clergy in Europe. In 1854, the Bishop of Toronto offered any mission the Redemptorists wished on the Canadian rail line running between Buffalo and Detroit, but the answer was the same. More disappointingly, the American

⁴² AGHR 300700 IV Labores apostolici (1832-1868) "Elenchus laborum apostolicorum in Prov. Americana" 82-83. More easily obtainable is [JOSEPH WUEST, C.Ss.R.,] *Conspectus laborum apostolicorum Congregationis SS. Redemptoris in America septentrionali. Ab anno 1840 usque ad annum 1890*. Ilchester 1893, which leaves out the Belgian Redemptorist statistics for French Canada but is a compendium of sacramental information relating to the English and German monasteries in the United States and Canada. See also RABP (528 Rochester) "Circa Ministerium PP. Nostrorum anno 1844 ad annum 1856 in Buffalo" by JACOBUS KEITZ, C.Ss.R., [in German] and Wuest I, 173-174 "Hospitium Buffalonense". Wuest I, 191 for Black Creek where about 100 faithful lived, [in Latin]. For Simcoe and Caledonia, WUEST, II, 86.

⁴³ RABP (528 Rochester) Keitz, "Both [Rainham and Black Creek, Toronto Diocese] counted 100 souls who had been without any spiritual support since blessed Bishop Neumann joined the Congregation in 1841". For more information on Saint John Neumann, see MICHAEL J. CURLEY, C.Ss.R., *Bishop John Neumann, C.Ss.R. Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia*, Philadelphia 1952.

⁴⁴ WUEST II, 460-462, 1852 August 15, Richmondhill. For mission in Cincinnati and for offer of Hamilton, WUEST II, 204, 460-2; III.1, 334-7. See also AGHR 300700 IV Labores apostolici (1832-1868) "Elenchus Laborum Apostolicorum in Prov. Americana", 108, re Brantford and the list of missionaries.

Provincial Superior, George Ruland, informed Bishop De Charbonnel that he was considering closing one or more of the monasteries that were near Canada. Steps were taken to close both Monroe and Detroit, Michigan, but fortunately for Toronto's Bishop and Redemptorist admirers in southwestern Ontario, the Bishop of Detroit objected and only Monroe was closed, not for lack of work, but for the lack of men to maintain regular order.⁴⁵ With eleven foundations in 1854, and just over fifty priests and under fifty brothers in the United States, the Redemptorists were spread too thinly to have much community life together. It seemed as if every single priest in a foundation was out on missions, leaving the parish shorthanded and the community religious exercises undone. When the anti-Catholic, nativist, xenophobic political Know-Nothing movement reached its height in the United States in 1855, the Bishop of Toronto again seized his chance, approached Father Provincial Ruland, and recommended a house of refuge from American Protestant bigotry in his Canadian diocese. He offered any of Father Simon Saenderl's former places: St. Agatha's parish in Wilmot, a church in New Germany, or St. Clement's church in Wellesley were offered. Lack of men again brought the hard-pressed Redemptorist Provincial in Baltimore to decline.

Only one Canadian joined the Redemptorists between 1834 and 1879. François-Xavier Bricot (1827-1858), of Pointe-aux-Trembles on the eastern tip of the island of Montreal, left the major seminary, the Grand Séminaire of Montreal. After a two-year stint of teaching in the parish school for the Redemptorists in Monroe, Michigan, he joined the Rochester community in 1852. Father Bricot left the reputation of a silent man who dedicated himself to prayer and to the French parishioners given to his care. He attended the recreation periods with Brother Reisach but did not speak much. He spoke French and very little else; Brother Joseph spoke German and, one may assume, some English. Sickness overcame Bricot and, on April 23, 1858, he died in Baltimore. No other Canadian would be professed until the Redemptorists founded a community in Canada itself.⁴⁶

⁴⁵ WUEST III.1, 334-337, 1854 November 21 and 30, Bishop Armand de Originals in RABP and in ARCAT CTA01.07, 1853 November 19, M. Heilig, C.Ss.R. to de Charbonnel [in French]; CTA01.08, Rev. Fr. Provincial, Ruland to De Charbonnel. For Monroe, BYRNE 198-212.

⁴⁶ Archives of the Grand Séminaire of Montréal, "Registres et dossiers des inscriptions 1840-1879", 1848-50; RABP "Annals. St. Jos., Rochester. 1836-1913" 1857 Nov. 14;

In the meantime, Bishop Charles-François Baillargeon, Administrator of the Archdiocese of Quebec, approached the Redemptorists for a foundation in his archdiocese. Provincial Ruland gave him the same polite answer; he would be delighted to have a house in Canada, but lack of men prevented him from thinking of it for at least another two years. Rome had just ordered the American Redemptorists to take over the care of the Virgin Islands.⁴⁷ Baillargeon immediately informed the Redemptorists that the deal was concluded; within two years, by 1858, he expected them to establish a house in the Quebec archdiocese and he offered the English-language church of St. Patrick's in Quebec City itself.⁴⁸ After this letter, Ruland must have examined the scrawled rough draft in German refusing the foundation and the polite French translation that had been sent and, blaming the misunderstanding on the translation, allowed the Bishop's interpretation of his refusal to stand. The Redemptorists sent Father Joseph Helmprecht to investigate the proposed foundation.

The rumour of an English house in French Canada East upset several of the English-speaking Redemptorists, notably Isaac Hecker, who left for Rome to plead, among other things, for an English house in the United States instead of Canada. These second-generation American Redemptorists wanted an English language mission house in the United States in order to move the Redemptorists from German to English parochial work and missions.⁴⁹ Hecker was expelled by the Superior General for disobeying a directive against travelling to Rome, but he obtained the Pope's endorsement to found the Paulist Fathers for missions to the non-Catholics of America, who were mainly English-speaking.

"Cat Novitiorum"; "Liber vestitiones Prov. 1842-1924"; "Liber III in quo exitas aut dimissio alicujus Novitii descripta est: novitiate departures"; "Annals. St. Alphonsus, Baltimore, 1840-1903" April 1858. Bricôt's genealogy is in the Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Ste-Anne-de-Beaupre. His necrology is in AGHR 300700 IX Necrologus (1848-1866) "Relationes Provinciales ad Chronistam Generalem. Provincia Americana" no. XIII. "Franciscus Xaverius Bricaut".

⁴⁷ RABP (322 Ruland) 1856 April 22, C.F. Bishop of Tloa [Baillargeon] to Fr. G. Ruland, C.Ss.R.; 1856 May 5, Fr. C.J. Cazeau to Ruland [in French]; reply June 3, manuscript draft [in German] on April 22 letter. JOSEPH G. DALY, C.Ss.R., *Conflict in Paradise. Beginnings of the Redemptorist Mission to the Virgin Islands, 1855-1860*, n. p., 1972, 9.

⁴⁸ RABP (322 Ruland) 1856 June 11, Quebec, C.F. Cazeau, Vic. Gen., to Provincial G. Ruland [in French]; 1856 August 28, Bishop of Tloa, C.F. [Baillargeon] to Ruland [in French].

⁴⁹ DALY 11. CURLEY, *The Provincial Story* 130. For a modern biography, see DAVID J. O'BRIEN, *Isaac Hecker, An American Catholic*, New York and Mahwah, New Jersey, Paulist Press 1992.

The English Redemptorist fears about Quebec were unfounded. Helmpraecht reported his findings: the Jesuits and the Oblates were already giving French language missions in the Quebec City area. There were several territorial parishes besides St. Patrick's Church that gave services to the English community. There was also little work, English or French, outside of the church so that Redemptorists would not be called on for missions and would become simply parish priests. Moreover, there was hardly enough work in the church itself for more than a few priests and a brother; a regular foundation with a full complement of about twelve to eighteen Redemptorists would be unnecessary. Finally, the administration of the church was in the hands of lay people so that the Redemptorists would not be in control of everything, as they were in the United States. Father Ruland informed Bishop Baillargeon that the Redemptorists could not accept the foundation and the Bishop, in spite of impassioned pleas, had to accept the decision.⁵⁰

In the 1850s and the 1860s, the same situation, the same requests, and the same lack of priests was repeated time and again in Canada. The need for priests increased with the Catholic immigrant population. From 1856 to 1857, Father Francis Krutil, a brilliant polyglot who preached in eleven languages and could hear confessions in thirteen, travelled from Detroit into the Sandwich-London diocese to give missions to the Polish and to the Bohemians in Hamilton, Port Hanley, Simcoe, and Windham, Paris, London, and other towns of southwestern Ontario.⁵¹ The Bishop of London then offered the Redemptorists the care of Chatham, Ontario, and the surrounding area where six thousand Catholics of various nationalities had recently settled.⁵² As usual, there were not enough Redemptorists to found a community.

⁵⁰ WUEST III.1, 270. Also AGHR 300700 X Localia [copy] 1856 September 11, Pittsburg, Provincial G. Ruland, C.Ss.R. to Rector Major N. Mauron re offer and 1857 September 15, re Helmpraecht's report. Helmpraecht's report is in RABP (322 Ruland) 1857 August 19, to Father Provincial [in German]. Ruland's reply to Bishop C.F. Baillargeon, Administrator of the Archdiocese of Quebec, is dated 1857 September 24, Baltimore.

⁵¹ WUEST, III. 1, 378. "Relatio privata Patris Franc. Krutil de laboribus apostolicis ad ipso infra quattuor annos, dum familiae Detroitensi adscriptus erat, perfunctis". Also III.2,139. Krutil was born in Moravia, 1815 August 3, ordained 1839 August 4, professed 1841 June 21, arrived in the United States in June of 1843, left for Vienna in 1859 and died 1898 November 19. More information can be found in LORENZ LEITGEB and KARL TAUSCHER, *Lebensbilder der vom Jahre 1887 bis 1914 verstorbenen Redemptoristen der österreichischen Provinz*, Vienna 1924, 118-120.

⁵² WUEST III.1, 270-1. RABP (322 Ruland) London, Canada West, 1857 July 27,

Centralization and uniformity became the rule in the Congregation under the Superior General Nicolaus Mauron as in the Catholic Church in the nineteenth century under Pope Pius IX. Those who differed were expelled, as were Isaac Hecker and other founding members of his Missionary Society of Saint Paul, the Paulists. Some left, as Simon Saenderl's case illustrates.⁵³ European priorities were reflected in the New World of the United States. Those who could not or would not adapt to the German American urban parish missions were out of place in the United States. This left Canada with no Redemptorists at all. The early Paulists seemed to have adapted most to the North American religious and cultural context - Protestant and English - and were skilled in the outstanding English oratory aimed at both Catholics and the Protestants who were in the majority in North America. The English-speaking Redemptorists who left to join the Paulists were the same missionaries that inspired Bishop de Charbonnel to invite the Redemptorists to English-speaking and Protestant Toronto, but the departures caused by Redemptorist conformity and consolidation and the needs of the American Church meant that foundations in English Canada were regularly refused for lack of men.⁵⁴ Although there were 1,200 members in the Congregation by 1855, in America they numbered just over one hundred members, less than ten percent of the total. Most of them were immigrant German-speaking Redemptorists, some of whom were unwilling to learn English or suffer English customs.⁵⁵ British North America's

Adolphe Pinsoneault, Bishop of London; AGHR 300700 X Localia (London) 1857 August 18, Québec, Pinsoneault to Mauron.

⁵³ F. DUMORTIER, C.Ss.R., *Le Révérendissime Père Nicolas Mauron. Supérieur Général de la Congrégation du Très-Saint Rédempteur (1818-1893) Notice Biographique*, Paris 1901. See also MAURICE DE MEULEMEESTER, C.Ss.R., *Sommaire de l'histoire de la Congrégation du T.S. Rédempteur*, Bruxelles 1921. An updated and revised edition in English is *Outline History of the Redemptorists*, Louvain 1956. For centralization and uniformity in North America, see CURLEY, *The Provincial Story*, esp. 170, 176-177. See RABP 323 (De Dycker) for an interesting case where J.H. Cornell, C.Ss.R., left because of the Rule and the German emphasis in the Congregation, 1863 July 17.

⁵⁴ CURLEY, *The Provincial Story* 126, 130.

⁵⁵ For the German-Irish nationalisms among American Redemptorists, see AGHR 300700 IX Personalia, 1859 August 2 Adrian Van de Braak to Mauron. For the number of German personnel see RABP (230 Personnel of the 1800s) "Album Prov. C.Ss.R. Americanae". ERNST ANT. REITER [S.J.] in *Schematismus der katholischen deutschen Geistlichkeit in den Ver. Staaten Nord-Amerika's; Statistik aller deutschen Missions-Pfarreien, Stationen und Schulen, und Wegweiser für katholische deutsche Einwanderer. Mit einer kirchlichen Karte der Ver. Staaten*, New York, Cincinnati, & Regensburg 1869, labels all of the Redemptorists as German, whether they were born in Germany, Ireland, or the

population, and its bishops, both one-tenth that of the United States, might have expected one community of about ten members, or one-tenth of the Redemptorists working in North America to work in Canada. The German Fathers image also prevented American Redemptorists from attracting English members and expanding into the English colonies of British North America in spite of repeated offers and earnest pleading.

From Brother Reisach's perspective, much had changed. Clement Hofbauer's decentralization and adaptation of the Rule to new conditions in Europe was reversed under Mauron.⁵⁶ Yet it was this same Superior General that required each Province to have an archivist and an archives, a chronicler and house chronicles. So the Provincial asked Brother Joseph to write his memoirs, the only brother so asked, one of the only brothers able to write who remembered what it was like in 1833 to work side by side with the Redemptorist pioneers. It must have seemed incredible to Brother Joseph to think that he began his religious life on a now-vanished, dangerous frontier with the Natives and the French Canadians, and now was spending his hours in a well-regulated German and English-speaking monastery in a great city. When he finished the manuscript in 1857, he was transferred to Baltimore, to work as a carpenter in the churches of St. Michael and Holy Cross. There, he undoubtedly followed the progress of the Congregation in America.

Bishop Lynch of Toronto renewed his request for the Redemptorists in 1861 and offered Niagara Falls as a pilgrimage site.⁵⁷ Although the American Civil War had broken out and a foundation or a refuge outside of the United States would have been desirable, the offer was rejected for the same reasons: lack of men. Now the Civil War absorbed all of the Redemptorists' energies in North America.

In late 1862, Father Haetscher travelled to Vienna with the Provincial of Austria. There, Haetscher helped to bury Hofbauer's remains under the lectern of the church of Maria am Gestade and celebrated a Requiem High Mass in the presence of the Cardinal

United States.

⁵⁶ ARPT, BARNABAS HIPKINS, C.Ss.R., "The C.Ss.R. Brother in Our History" presented to the Esopus Workshop October 15, 1987 24p., typescript.

⁵⁷ ARPT (210) 1861 June 21, Lynch to Provincial De Dycker. AGHR 300700 IV Labores apostolici 1832-1868, "Elenchus Laborum Apostolicorum in Prov. Americana" 169 which states: "Eppus. Torontoensis denuo stationem prope Niagara Fall's Congregationi offert. Oblatio rejicitur" in 1861. See also WUEST V.1, 198.

and clergy of Vienna. From across Germany and Austria, Redemptorists, especially those who had known Hofbauer personally, came by twos to celebrate Hofbauer's symbolic return to Vienna and the end of the revolutions that had forced the dispersal of Catholic religious who had been identified with the forces of hierarchy and monarchy. Just before Christmas, Haetscher, now seventy-eighth years old, suffered a stroke and lingered until his death on January third, 1863.⁵⁸

A week after Haetscher helped rebury Hofbauer's remains early on November 8, 1862, at about eight in the morning, during breakfast, Brother Joseph suddenly felt chest pains so fierce, he could not rise from his chair. He stayed in the common room, sometimes sitting and sometimes walking around, but the pain never left him. Father Joseph Wissel rushed over from St. James to hear Brother's confession at half past ten. Wissel gave absolution and administered extreme unction as Brother Joseph lay dying.⁵⁹ The other members of the community, shocked at the speed with which death was overcoming him, rushed in to say the prayers for the dying. He had been sitting with them at breakfast; by lunchtime, he was a corpse.

10. Conclusion

During Brother Joseph Reisach's years with the Redemptorists, they had arrived in North America and had consolidated their position in the United States. From 1832 to 1862 British North America was nothing more than a footnote to the great events in the United States and in Europe, but the main patterns of later Canadian Redemptorist life had been established. After the American Civil War, when American Redemptorists were available, Canada would be visited and supplied from mission houses in the United States. More and more Redemptorists would work in English, the language of the United States and of the British Empire in North America, although the majority of Catholics spoke other languages. Surprisingly, most early

⁵⁸ Archives of the Redemptorist Province of Austria, "*Chronik des Redemptoristenkollegs Leoben 1863*" 127-128.

⁵⁹ RABP "*Annals of St. Michael's Baltimore*" 1862, "Mors Fr. Josephi". Also WUEST IV.2, 100.

Redemptorists knew French, but did not accept the Canadian invitations to work in the British colonies. The Redemptorists received requests to establish themselves in the immigrant centres of Toronto, Windsor, London, Niagara Falls, Quebec City, or wherever they pleased in Canada, but no men were spared from the United States for a foundation. When occasional help was sent, the diocese of Toronto, with its cosmopolitan, urban, immigrant population, so like the United States, would be the American Redemptorists' favourite Canadian diocese. Simon Saenderl, however, was first sent because he was unwanted in the United States. Clearly, the United States received the very best the Redemptorists believed they had to offer to the Church in America. Canada did not.

There would eventually be foundations in Canada, and they would be founded from the United States, not from Europe in general and not from France in particular. This difference in origin and in viewpoint makes the Redemptorists unusual among the nineteenth century Canadian religious congregations usually founded from Europe, or founded in Canada by a Church frustrated with continual refusals from European and American congregations. The American Redemptorist viewpoint effectually made British North America nothing but an appendage to the American Church, its history, and its needs. One may wonder whether much of the later history of the English Catholic Church in Canada is also, as with the Redemptorists, a footnote to the United States. Religious congregations or provinces considering cooperation, or unification because of insufficient personnel might ask themselves whether regional needs risk becoming another footnote to competing national or international needs. The United States benefitted from European revolutions and priorities; Canada, in competition with the United States for the same European-born personnel, did not.

MANUEL GOMEZ RIOS

LOS REDENTORISTAS EN ESPAÑA:
DE LA REVOLUCION A LA RESTAURACION (1868-1878)

SUMARIO

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Contactos con la Provincia Galo-Helvética. - La Provincia Galo-Helvética asume la dirección.

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De la Revolución a la I República. - Primera República.

El 12 de febrero de 1863 desembarcaron en Barcelona los padres Víctor Loyódice y Egidio Zanoní con el hermano Luis Zanichelli. El 15 por la mañana estaban en Madrid. Les enviaba desde Roma el P. General, Nicolás Mauron, para iniciar la fundación en España. Se hospedaron en casa del sacerdote madrileño D. Andrés Martínez de Noboa (1805-1871), que había solicitado, con insistencia, su venida.¹

Con D. Andrés permanecieron hasta el 11 de octubre de 1863 que se trasladaron a Alcalá de Henares donde el mismo D. Andrés les "pagava l'affitto della casa".² A comienzos de 1864 se produjo un

¹ Para más detalles sobre la fundación de la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor en España remitimos a M. GOMEZ RIOS, *Primera crónica de los Redentoristas en España (1863-1868)*, en *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 83-127, 339-407; *Annales Provinciae Hispanicae C. SS. R. Fasciculus I, 1863-1866*, PP. Lojodice, Jost, Didier, Matriti 1925. Esta obra se publicó sin nombre de autor, pero siempre se ha considerado como tal al P. Gamarra, y así aparece en la bibliografía de R. TELLERIA, *Un instituto misionero. La Congregación del Santísimo Redentor en el segundo centenario de su fundación (1732-1932)*, Madrid 1932, 15; D. DE FELIPE, *Fundación de los Redentoristas en España. Una aventura en dos tiempos*, Madrid 1965; J. CAMPOS, *Grandes del Apostolado*, Madrid 1965; F. FERRERO, *Las primeras misiones populares de los Redentoristas en España (1863-1868)*, en *Spic. Hist.* 33 (1985) 357-451.

² M. GOMEZ RIOS, *Primera crónica*, 100-101.

hecho importante para el pequeño grupo italiano que se sabía y sentía congregación misionera: el 26 de enero iniciaron la primera misión popular redentorista en el pueblo de Auñón (Guadalajara). Duró once días y la predicaron los PP. Loyódice y Zanoni con el sacerdote diocesano D. Antonio López Ordóñez.³ El día 30 llegaron a Alcalá los PP. Pasquali y Bivona, también italianos.

El 24 de junio de 1864 abandonaron Alcalá los PP. Loyódice, Bivona y el H. Luis, camino de Huete, adonde llegaron el día 29. El 1 de julio se les unieron los PP. Zanoni y Pasquali. En la pobreza de la casa-convento desamortizado, popularmente llamado El Cristo, dieron comienzo a la primera fundación.⁴ El 24 de enero de 1867 Loyódice tomó posesión canónica de la casa-iglesia del Carmen de Alhama (Granada), segunda fundación española.⁵

La Revolución de Septiembre de 1868 suprimió las comunidades de Huete y de Alhama. La mayor parte de los redentoristas eran extranjeros y se volvieron a sus países de origen.⁶ En diciembre de 1878 se iniciaba la restauración por medio de la Provincia Galo-Helvética.⁷

No pretendemos hacer una crónica de los acontecimientos, sino insertar la comunidad de Madrid en el contexto histórico, ofrecer la documentación que trata de la restauración de la Congregación en España y, al mismo tiempo, de los acontecimientos políticos que aparecen en la correspondencia de la época.

Este aporte documental ilumina la decisión del P. General Nicolás Mauron de confiar la restauración a la Provincia Galo-Helvética, lo que se tradujo en un forma de ser y de pensar que

³ *Ibid.*, 102.

⁴ Así lo recoge la crónica escrita por los PP. Loyódice y Zanoni: "tutti furono contenti in vedersi riuniti in quella casa che potevano dire propria della Congregazione in Spagna". *Ibid.*, 121.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 375-376. L. PÉREZ, *Los Redentoristas en Granada (1879-1979). Historia de cien años largos*, en *Boletín de la Provincia Española* 16 (1980) 284-330.

⁶ Los acontecimientos y la correspondencia de esta época en M. GÓMEZ RÍOS, *La Revolución de 1868 en la correspondencia de los redentoristas suprimidos en España*, en *Spic. Hist.* 41 (1993) 351-399.

⁷ A pesar de que permaneció en Madrid una comunidad redentorista, utilizamos el término restauración porque se ajusta a la realidad y es el preferido de los contemporáneos. Así se expresa, en la edición corregida y aumentada, V. LOYÓDICE, *Vida del Glorioso Doctor de la Iglesia S. Alfonso M^o de Ligorio*, Madrid ²1902, 642: "Con la restauración de la monarquía española restauróse también en España el edificio de la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor derribado por la revolución del 68". *Los Annales Provinciae Hispanicae*, hablan de que al P. Desurmont "demandatum erat munus constabiliendi apud nos Alfonsianum Institutum", 123. D. DE FELIPE, *Fundación*, titula el cap. XVI "La primera fundación de la restauración. Nava del Rey y diversos tanteos", 121.

marcó las primeras generaciones de redentoristas hispanos.⁸

Muy pronto veremos surgir la figura del provincial francés, Aquiles Desurmont. Mauron y él trazaron las grandes líneas de actuación frente a la opinión del P. Víctor Loyódice y, más de fondo, del P. Luis Cagiano de Azevedo, ambos italianos. Víctor Loyódice perdió el protagonismo indiscutible que había mantenido hasta ese momento en la fundación española, se silenció su figura, se rechazaron sus planteamientos y terminó abandonando España el año 1884. Sin embargo fue él quien transmitió a Roma información sobre la realidad política que va de la Revolución a la Restauración.

En estas páginas presentamos:

- la comunidad redentorista madrileña de 1869 a 1878;
- el contexto histórico de la correspondencia que aborda temas políticos de la época.

I. LA COMUNIDAD REDENTORISTA MADRILEÑA (1869-1878)

En enero de 1869 permanecían en España cuatro sacerdotes redentoristas: los italianos Víctor Loyódice y Egidio Zanoni, en Madrid, calle del Lobo nº 32; huéspedes, como en los orígenes, de D. Andrés. En el pueblecito navarro de Unciti los españoles Pedro López y Francisco Machín que buscaron refugio en casa de un hermano del segundo, párroco del lugar. Los hermanos se acomodaron en las respectivas familias esperando la evolución política. Era superior de todos ellos el P. Loyódice.⁹

El 25 de enero fue asesinado en la catedral de Burgos el gobernador de la ciudad, D. Isidoro Gutiérrez de Castro. Acudió a cumplir la orden del Ministro de Fomento que incautaba los archivos y bibliotecas de las catedrales, cabildos, monasterios y órdenes militares. El 26 se celebró en Madrid una gran manifestación contra la Nunciatura. Los periódicos publicaron que en la calle del Lobo, nº 32, vivían varios jesuitas. D. Andrés, temeroso, durmió fuera varios días. El P. Loyódice ordenó regresar a Italia al P.

⁸ En *Annales Provinciae Hispanicae* se encuentran pormenorizados todos los acontecimientos. Remitimos, también, al manuscrito del P. BÜHREL, *Anales de la Provincia Española, tomo I: 1863-1888. Padres Loiodice, Jost, Didier, Desnoulet*, conservado en el Archivo de la Provincia Redentorista de Madrid (APRM).

⁹ M. GOMEZ RIOS, *Primera crónica*, 407.

Zanoni, que partió el 29 de enero. El se trasladó a vivir a casa de un amigo del que no conservamos el nombre. Escribió al P. López para que viniese a Madrid ante el peligro de guerra carlista que amenazaba Navarra.¹⁰ El 10 de febrero estaban juntos en Madrid.¹¹ El General, por su parte, ofreció a los PP. López y Machín estancia en Italia si persistían las dificultades.¹²

La situación no podía prolongarse. Loyódice comunicó a Roma su intención de trasladarse a una casa propia, llamar a un hermano y al P. Machín y organizar la vida comunitaria, dentro de lo posible.¹³

El domingo, 18 de abril, Loyódice, López y el H. Alvaro se trasladaron a vivir a una casa aneja a la Capilla del Obispo, patronato del duque de Híjar. Tenía solamente tres habitaciones. Al llegar el P. Machín, uno de ellos, por turno, se hospedará en casa de D. Andrés. Trabajaban en la Capilla, los hospitales y las cárceles.¹⁴

El 5 de noviembre de 1869 Loyódice salió de Madrid camino de Roma. Acompañó al Concilio Vaticano I, como confesor e intérprete, a su amigo el arzobispo de Granada D. Bienvenido Monzón y Martín que se hospedó en la casa general de los redentoristas, Villa-Caserta.¹⁵ El 22 de febrero de 1870 Loyódice se encontraba de nuevo en Madrid.¹⁶

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 357, 386-387, incluye el texto de la carta de Loyódice al General, Madrid 30 de enero de 1869. *Archivum Generale Historicum Redemptoristarum* (AGHR) 30150001, 237.

¹¹ Carta de Loyódice a Roma. AGHR 30150001, 240.

¹² Carta a Loyódice, 6 de febrero. AGHR 30150001, 239.

¹³ Carta del 8 de abril. AGHR 30150001, 247.

¹⁴ Carta del 26 de abril. AGHR 30150001, 247.

¹⁵ El P. López comunica al P. General la salida de Loyódice en carta del 15 de noviembre, mientras ellos permanecen "in questa miserable Spagna". *Anales*, I, 602. El obispo de Granada se había hospedado en Villa-Caserta en junio de 1867, con ocasión del jubileo-centenario de S. Pedro, acompañado por el P. Loyódice. M. GÓMEZ RÍOS, *Primera crónica*, 384-385. La nueva petición lleva fecha del 25 de septiembre de 1869. AGHR 30150001, 252. El General respondió el 26 de octubre aceptando. AGHR 30150001, 253. El obispo de Cuenca, D. Miguel Payá y Rico, también sugirió hospedarse en Villa-Caserta en junio de 1867, pero no fue posible. El P. Mauron le conoció en esa época y comunicó al P. Etienne, superior de Huete, su impresión: "C'est un bien digne homme, un savant et bien zélé prélat". AGHR 30150001, 161. Ante la proximidad del concilio, Payá y Rico ruega de nuevo al P. Etienne le proporcione hospedarse en Villa-Caserta. El 8 de julio de 1869 el P. Mauron responde a Etienne que confirme la noticia, dada la abundancia de peticiones de obispos. Desea complacerle por todo lo que ha hecho en favor de la casa de Huete, a pesar de que los obispos españoles son exigentes como huéspedes. AGHR 30150001, 248. Parece que este apunte se refiere al arzobispo Monzón. Etienne contesta a Roma el 16 de septiembre que el obispo de Cuenca mantiene la petición. AGHR 30150001, 251. El 27 de octubre de 1870 Loyódice escribe a Roma que han vuelto del Concilio Vaticano I el arzobispo de Granada y el obispo de Cuenca, muy agradecidos por el hospedaje. AGHR 30150001, 273.

¹⁶ Carta a Roma del 24 de febrero. *Anales*, I, 351.

El año 1870 presenta varias novedades. El 9 de marzo, el P. General comunicó a Loyódice su deseo de enviar a las misiones del Ecuador a los PP. López y Machín con un hermano. Se unirían a la expedición del P. Grisar.¹⁷ Loyódice contestó que estaba todo preparado. Partirían el día 27 para París, Avon, St. Nazaire.¹⁸

En Madrid quedaban Loyódice y el hermano Alvaro. Demasiado pocos. El P. General prometió enviar a España al P. Jenger.¹⁹ El 28 de abril, nueva petición de Roma. Ahora quieren que vaya al Ecuador el H. Alvaro. En lugar de Jenger se enviará a España al P. Luis Cagiano de Azevedo.²⁰ Loyódice está de acuerdo. El P. Cagiano es italiano y conoce la lengua bien. Como Jenger, había estado en España hasta la Revolución.²¹

Hasta la llegada del P. Cagiano, 30 de agosto de 1870, Loyódice vivió con el H. Eugenio dedicado a los trabajos pastorales y a preparar un Manual de ejercicios traducido del italiano.²²

El 14 de diciembre de 1870, nuevo cambio de residencia. El P. Loyódice se hizo cargo de la capellanía de las Franciscanas de San Pascual, Paseo de Recoletos, con la única obligación de celebrarles misa diaria a las 6.30 de la mañana. A cambio, tendrían casa gratis, 1 lira diaria y la intención de la misa libre.²³

Los meses siguientes Loyódice estuvo ocupado en varios fren-

¹⁷ AGHR 30150001, 259, 260. Félix M^a Grisar, nació el 23 de febrero de 1831 en Ehrenbreitstein, Borussia Renania. Llegó a España el 20 de noviembre de 1866. Primer maestro de novicios en Huete, abandonó España en la Revolución. Los primeros redentoristas franceses llegaron a Ecuador en 1864, a petición del presidente Gabriel García Moreno (1821-1875). La misión fracasó. En 1870 los obispos de Rióbamba y de Cuenca (Ecuador), pidieron misioneros al P. General. Este los remitió a la Provincia Galo-Helvética.

¹⁸ Carta del 17 de marzo. AGHR 30150001, 261. El 23 de marzo Loyódice comunica a Roma que los misioneros de Ecuador adelantan la salida al día 25 para estar en Avon el 27. AGHR 30150001, 262.

¹⁹ Antonio Jenger, alsaciano, nació en 1838. Llegó a España en octubre de 1867 y la abandonó en la Revolución. En 1871 partió para las misiones del Pacífico. Jenger y Cagiano dejaron los relatos más completos sobre la Revolución del 68 y su salida de España. M. GOMEZ RIOS, *La Revolución de 1868*, 377-385, 389-399.

²⁰ AGHR 30150001, 265. El 17 de mayo Loyódice escribe a Mauron que el H. Alvaro sale para Avon el 29. AGHR 30150001, 268.

²¹ AGHR 30150001, 266.

²² El 31 de agosto Luis Cagiano escribe al P. General que llegó el día anterior por la mañana "stanco si, ma sano e salvo". AGHR 3015000, personalia. Cuando escribimos estas páginas la sección Personalia del AGHR no estaba completamente sistematizada. Las referencias al Manual de ejercicios, en AGHR 30150001, 268. V. LOYODICE, *Manual de ejercicios devotos, entresacados de las obras ascéticas del celosísimo Doctor de la Iglesia S. Alfonso María de Ligorio, traducidos y ordenados por un padre de la misma Congregación*, Madrid 1875. El 2 de julio escribe que vive con el H. Eugenio, AGHR 30150001, 271.

²³ Carta al P. General de 16 de diciembre. AGHR 30150001, 275. La regla prohibía aceptar capellanías de monjas, pero dada la situación política de Madrid se permitió.

tes de trabajo. El 11 de marzo, en plena calle, caía fulminado por un ataque de apoplejía D. Andrés Martínez de Noboa que falleció doce horas y media después.²⁴ Era "el amigo constante y bienhechor generoso" que llamó a los redentoristas a fundar en España y recibió en su casa al P. Loyódice y sus dos compañeros el 15 de febrero de 1863.

El 12 de mayo de 1871, Loyódice escribió una larga carta para informar a Roma sobre la celebración del doctorado de S. Alfonso M^a de Liguori, fundador de la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor. Tuvo lugar el día 9 en la iglesia de S. Ginés de Madrid. La fiesta fue esplendorosa y solemnísimas. Asistieron el obispo de Jaén, Antolín Monescillo,²⁵ el obispo de Daulia, José M^a Benito Serra²⁶ y el obispo de Cuenca, Miguel Payá y Rico. Este último predicó el panegírico que fue recogido por *El Pensamiento Español*. Loyódice envió a Roma la traducción haciendo constar "che é il miglior giornale cattolico di Spagna".²⁷

Aparte del trabajo pastoral, Loyódice dedicó buena parte de su tiempo a escribir la vida de S. Alfonso y a recorrer diferentes diócesis buscando lugar adecuado para futuras fundaciones de la congregación.²⁸

Contactos con la Provincia Galo-Helvéctica

A partir de 1875 el P. General inicia contactos con el provincial de Francia, Aquiles Desurmont, para restaurar la congregación

²⁴ AGHR 3015000, personalia. Telegrama y carta del 14 de marzo de 1871 ampliando la noticia.

²⁵ R. SANZ DE DIEGO, *Medio siglo de relaciones Iglesia-Estado: El cardenal Antolín Monescillo (1811-1897)*, Madrid 1979.

²⁶ M^a. H. BRAGA DA SILVA - M^a. C. ERASO MUTILOA y Otras, *José María Benito Serra. Estudios sobre su vida*, Madrid 1989.

²⁷ AGHR 3015001, 287. *El Pensamiento Español* fue fundado por Francisco Navarro Villoslada en 1860. Reproduce el texto, casi en su totalidad, T. RAMOS, *Vida del R. P. Víctor Loyódice*, Madrid 1921, 132-133. Miguel Payá y Rico, vinculado a los redentoristas desde la primera fundación en Huete, ocupará los puestos más elevados de la jerarquía española. Fue especialmente destacada su intervención en el Concilio Vaticano I (1.7.1870) que "tuvo grandísima resonancia en los medios de la mayoría infalibilista y le valió un abrazo del mismo papa Pío IX". J. MARTÍN TEJEDOR, *Payá y Rico, Miguel*, en *DHEE*, III, 1951, con bibliografía.

²⁸ El 2 de marzo de 1874 el censor daba el dictamen favorable a la Vida de S. Alfonso, publicada ese mismo año. V. LOYODICE, *Vida del glorioso Doctor de la Iglesia San Alfonso M. de Liguori*, Madrid 1874. La dedicó a su gran amigo D. José de Toledo y Muñoz. En M. GÓMEZ RÍOS, *Primera crónica*, se destaca el protagonismo de D. José en la fundación

en España. Comienzan años difíciles para Loyódice. Hasta ese momento los protagonistas indiscutibles habían sido Mauron y él. A partir de ahora los planes de futuro se van a decidir, cada vez más, entre Mauron y Desurmont. Loyódice va a opinar, pero poco a poco se sentirá desplazado.

Las primeras noticias llegaron, sin previo aviso, el 16 de abril de 1875. El General comunicó que desde hacía tiempo estaba en marcha un proyecto de noviciado para españoles, preferentemente con destino a Ecuador, al otro lado de la frontera; con posterioridad continuarían sus estudios en Francia. Ya se ha encontrado casa en Pontacq:

da molto tempo si pensava di fondare un casa nei Pirenei vicino alla Spagna, specialmente per istabilirsi un noviziato di soli Spagnuoli che si abbisognano per l'Equatore e più per la Spagna stessa. Quando poi abbiano fatto il noviziato in detta casa passerebbero nel comune studentato di Francia. Ora si è trovata una casa nella piccola città di Pontacq, diocesi di Baiona e vicino a Lourdes; sufficiente per 6 o 7 padri e per una decina di Novizi.²⁹

El 26 respondió Loyódice manifestando su alegría por la noticia soñada.³⁰ Sin embargo, percibió también que el proyecto no podía funcionar. Tras pensarlo mucho, escribió una larga carta para ofrecer al General un plan alternativo: abrir pequeñas comunidades en España y preparar sujetos en la lengua "per poi impiegarli nei labori apostolici".³¹ Teniendo en cuenta los obispos amigos, es posible fundar 12 en un año, aunque le parezca difícil "per le vicende politiche". No tendremos vocaciones hasta que no nos

de Alhama, 372-275, y final de la misma, 402-407. D. José jugó un papel decisivo en la vuelta a Granada en 1879. L. PEREZ, *Los redentoristas en Granada*, 8-14.

²⁹ AGHR 30150001, 337.

³⁰ AGHR 30150001, 340.

³¹ Es, dice, la técnica seguida por los jesuitas: "Se i Gesuiti, in tutto questo tempo di Rivoluzione, non hanno scarseggiato di vocazioni, questo si deve, tanto alle Missioni che non hanno lasciato di fare, quanto per trovarsi sparsi in quasi tutte le città di Spagna, benché in piccoli residenze. Ma, che possiamo fare noi due soli? Come lavorare fuori, come farci conoscere dai giovani? Tanto più che generalmente parlando la gioventù di Madrid o non è atta, o è contraria allo stato religioso, o corrotta dai cattivi esempi. Prego V. P. di riflettere bene su di ciò; senza darmi vanto di Profeta, mi pare di poter assicurare che verrà un giorno che la Spagna darà alla Congregazione più Soggetti di nessuna altra nazione del mondo, forse anche più della stessa Italia: ma per questo è necessario, ripeto, far conoscere la Congregazione, e molto più l'utilità di essa". Carta de Loyódice del 22 de agosto de 1875, con caligrafía de Cagiano. El no se encontraba bien de salud en esos momentos. AGHR 30150001, 339.

demos a conocer mediante las misiones, “come é successo la prima volta”. Pensando en los proyectos de preparar españoles en Francia para las misiones americanas, escribe:

Siamo anche noi interesatti nella prosperità delle nostre case dell'America Spagnuola, ma quei paesi assorbono anziché dare soggetti, e secondo ciò che ho sposto qui sopra, non ce ne saranno per inviare colá, si prima non ci sono qui.³²

Desde esta carta Loyódice dio a entender a Mauron, sin decirlo claramente, que no estaba de acuerdo con el previsible protagonismo que iba a tomar la Provincia francesa en la formación, dirección y número de sujetos que trabajasen en España: para realizar su plan ruega se envíen ocho sacerdotes jóvenes e inteligentes, en su mayor parte italianos, “perché sono quelli che parlano meglio lo Spagnuolo”.³³

El 4 de septiembre, Mauron contestó a Loyódice que se trataba de una bella propuesta pero irrealizable. Cortó de raíz sus ilusiones de vincular la restauración de España con las provincias italianas. La Provincia de Nápoles no podía aportar sujetos. A la Provincia Romana no se lo permitían las circunstancias políticas. La solución estaba en la misma España con un noviciado en la frontera.³⁴

Loyódice insistirá en el tema. El 5 de mayo de 1876 propuso al General fundar en Toledo por la posibilidad de vocaciones que ofrecía y por la estima que les mostraba el arzobispo.³⁵

Fracasado el proyecto Pontacq, durante 1875-1876 Mauron va comunicando a Loyódice los intentos de abrir un noviciado español en Pau, cosa que se realiza, y al que Loyódice irá enviando diferentes sujetos.³⁶

Mauron tenía claro que la primera o primeras casas españolas debían estar en el norte y bajo la jurisdicción del provincial de Francia. El 4 de octubre de 1876, se lo comunicaba a Desurmont.³⁷

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ AGHR 30150001, 341.

³⁵ AGHR 30150001, 348.

³⁶ De la numerosa correspondencia que alude al tema, destacamos, en estas fechas, AGHR 30150001, 344, 346, 347, 349, 350-354.

³⁷ “Je suis convaincu que nous n'avons rien à espérer de l'Espagne, si nous ne parvenons pas à y établir une maison, du côté nord, non pas dans la Catalogne où il y aurait trop de difficultés à cause de la langue, puisque, outre l'espagnol, il faudrait connaître le cata-

Han ofrecido casa en la capital de su diócesis los obispos de Pamplona y Sigüenza. Sería muy bueno para las vocaciones si estuviésemos establecidos allí. Y añade: la casa abierta en España quedará bajo la jurisdicción del provincial de Francia.³⁸

Es el primer aviso claro de que las cosas van a cambiar. En efecto, a partir de ahora el tema de España ocupa destacado relieve en la correspondencia entre Mauron y Desurmont. A Loyódice se le pedirá que estudie las posibilidades que ofrecen los obispos de fundar.³⁹ Lo hace con los de Pamplona, León, Salamanca y Granada.⁴⁰ La noticia de la posible venida del P. Bayer a Madrid sirve de pretexto a Loyódice para exponer al General la impresión sobre los franceses: le parece bien porque no es francés puro ya que éstos no caen bien a las autoridades españolas eclesiásticas y civiles.⁴¹

El 5 de mayo Mauron comunicó a Desurmont que los PP. Bayer y Kempf estaban destinados a Madrid. Cuando dominasen la lengua se podría pensar en una fundación en regla; le agradecía su colaboración en la restauración de la congregación en España.⁴²

Loyódice pidió al General que los padres enviados por Francia quedasen adscritos a la Provincia Romana así como las futuras fundaciones.⁴³

La respuesta de Mauron no dejó lugar a dudas: era imposible contar con la Provincia Romana por razones políticas. Los nuevos sujetos y las nuevas fundaciones quedarán adscritos a la Provincia

lan"... AGHR 30150001, 356, fotocopia. El original de todos los documentos señalados como fotocopia se conserva en el mismo AGHR, sección de la Provincia Galo-Helvética. La catalogación de la Provincia de Madrid se debe al P. Dionisio Ruiz Goñi e incluye la fotocopia y referencia de los documentos vinculados a la misma que se encuentran en otras secciones.

³⁸ "Les novices qu'on pourrait ainsi recueillir, seraient envoyés soit dans le noviciat français, soit dans un noviciat espagnol à Pau. La maison établi en Espagne serait sous la juridiction du Provincial de France". AGHR 30150001, 356.

³⁹ El 4 de abril de 1877 Mauron comunica a Loyódice que piensa enviar a España al P. Andrés Bayer, instruido y capaz de aprender bien la lengua. El P. Desurmont asegura que se puede esperar mucho de él. "Quindi, se lo vuole me lo faccia sapere... Sono poi contento in sentire che parecchi Vescovi desiderano la nostra Congregazione nelle loro diocesi. Prima di tutto bisogna bene esaminare quale delle nuove offerte sarebbe sotto ogni riguardo la migliore per noi e la più accettabile. Prese tutte le debite informazioni me le riferisca". AGHR 30150001, 367.

⁴⁰ AGHR 30150001, 366.

⁴¹ Carta 11 de abril 1877. AGHR 30150001, 368.

⁴² AGHR 30150001, 371.

⁴³ "La prego di dichiarare i nuovi Padri Bayer e Kempf come appartenenti alla Provincia Romana... Con questa occasione ardisco pregarla di voler considerare come parte de cotesta Provincia le fondazioni che si vadano facendo in qualunque punto di Spagna... in altra mia le esporrò le ragioni che mi muovono a desiderare questa unione colla Provincia Romana e non con la Francese". Carta del 20 de mayo. AGHR 30150001, 373.

francesa, al menos por ahora. Ruega a Cagiano y a él que sean cor unum et anima una con el provincial francés.⁴⁴

Loyódice respondió casi a vuelta de correo: pedía fuerza para obedecer y deseaba saber si la casa de Madrid también pasaba a la obediencia del provincial de Francia. En caso afirmativo, a pesar de no conocer el francés, tendría que entenderse con él tras 14 años de "vita anomala" en España haciéndolo con el General.⁴⁵

El 23 de octubre Loyódice no había recibido contestación de Mauron y le propuso viajar a Roma para hablar personalmente del tema de España.⁴⁶ El 2 de noviembre de 1877 Mauron escribió una de las cartas largas, precisas y revestidas de la autoridad de General que le gustaba mostrar. Ofrecemos los puntos principales. Pedía disculpas por la tardanza en escribir y exponía los planes de futuro: ha destinado dos padres italianos a España. En Pau está todo preparado para recibir a los jóvenes españoles que hagan los estudios previos al noviciado. El P. Pedro Blum viajará a Madrid para hablar con ellos sobre las vocaciones. Se puede pensar en fundar una casa en el norte la próxima primavera. Toda la formación se dará en Francia. España no puede y la Provincia Romana está destruida por la Revolución.⁴⁷

El viaje a Roma le parecía prematuro.⁴⁸ Era consciente de que a los dos italianos les desagradaba depender de la jurisdicción francesa; pero era, también, la única solución para el futuro:

⁴⁴ Carta del dos de julio de 1877. AGHR 30150001, 374.

⁴⁵ "Per togliere ogni dubbio la prego di farmi conoscere se anche questa residenza di Madrid dev'essere soggetta alla giurisdizione del Provinciale di Francia da oggi avanti; ed in questo caso, se debbo, e quando, ricorrere a V. P. come l'ho fatto nei passati 14 e più anni di questa mia vita anomala in Ispagna". Carta del 12 de julio. AGHR 30150001, 375.

⁴⁶ "...Mi pare che sarebbe utile per i nostri affari qui il poter io andare, e parlare personalmente a V. P..., credo che il mio viaggio potrebbe essere utile al futuro progresso della Congregazione in Ispagna". AGHR 30150001, 376.

⁴⁷ "si sono prese delle disposizioni per poter ricevere d'ora innanzi giovani spagnuoli in un cosi detto Giovenato, ossia Collegio preparatorio al Noviziato. A quest'effetto, il P. Blum, ora Rettore di Pau, andrà a Madrid per concertarsi con Loro in torno al modo di trovare e ricevere giovani spagnuoli in questo Giovenato... Quindi mi parrebbe bene, si se potesse prendere qualche misura per trovare, in una delle città della Spagna settentrionale, una casa più atta per una futura fondazione, quella fondazione potrebbe cominciare già nella prossima primavera... In Francia ha da essere, pel momento, la scuola preparatoria, il Noviziato e lo Studentato; perché a far tutto ciò vi si richiede un personale che non possiede ancora la Spagna, e nemmeno la Provincia di Roma, la quale disgraziatamente è tutto sfiata per la triste circostanza della Rivoluzione". AGHR 30150001, 377.

⁴⁸ "Rimetta dunque questo viaggio, a meno che non abbia cose tutto speciali da comunicarmi. Mi scriba sopra di ciò, e mi dica quel che crede opportuno, nel Signore, a comunicarmi". *Ibid.*

So che dispiace a V. R. e al P. Cagiano che io faccia intervenire la Provincia francese nelle cose di Spagna. Ma questo è, pel momento, l'unico mezzo per arrivare a qualche risultato. Dell'Italia, loro non hanno nulla da sperare, fuorché personalmente da me come Superiore della Congregazione e dal mio intervento col Provinciale di Francia. Si fanno valere le simpatie e le antipatie nazionali; ma se vogliamo dar peso a cose simili è meglio rinunciare ai disegni, perchè Iddio non benedice simili riguardi. Sì, l'ubbidienza farà tutto riuscire pel bene della Congregazione in Spagna.⁴⁹

Loyódice contestó a Mauron, 9 de noviembre de 1877, con la carta más larga de sus quince años en España; por eso pedía "pazienza e comprensione" para leerla. Trató de aclarar los puntos señalados por el General. En primer lugar, la antipatía españoles-franceses. El tema aparece con frecuencia entre Loyódice, Mauron y Desurmont en esta época. Curiosamente, ninguno de ellos era español. Loyódice sabe que tiene base histórica; pero lo utiliza en sus cartas como pretexto para defender su propia idea; es decir, que no se confíe a los franceses la restauración de la congregación en España y, mucho menos, depender jurídicamente de la Provincia francesa, única solución de futuro según Mauron.⁵⁰

En cartas anteriores ambos habían manifestado sus posturas. Loyódice se ve ahora en la necesidad de argumentar. Lo hace con astucia, desviando su problema hacia los obispos, el Gobierno y la sociedad española. Estas son sus razones. Cagiano y él no sienten antipatía alguna hacia los franceses; pero existe y ellos no pueden hacer nada.⁵¹ Cagiano y él no han pensado excluir a los franceses, tampoco los obispos; pero éstos verían con malos ojos el predominio francés y la dependencia directa de Francia. ¿Lo pensaban los obispos o se trata de sus propios argumentos? Desde luego, los hace coincidir.⁵² Finalmente, insinúa que es el propio Gobierno quien no vería bien la ingerencia francesa como le manifestaron durante los

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* Mauron, y los superiores franceses, tendrán que repensar sus planes. Se darán cuenta que es imposible reunir niños españoles que vayan a estudiar a Francia, hacer el noviciado y los estudios superiores y pondrán los medios para que todo eso se haga en España.

⁵⁰ AGHR 30150001, 378.

⁵¹ "Non possiamo imporci agli altri, cioè fare che i Vescovi, per esempio, depongano queste simpatie ed antipatie se le hanno, ed ad occhi chiusi si contentino di ricevere a qualunque di qualsivoglia nazione". *Ibid.*

⁵² No verían mal "la permanenza di alcuni di questi nelle loro diocesi ma bensì che non sarà loro grato il predominio dell'elemento francese, espressione usata in Spagna, nè la dipendenza diretta da Francia". *Ibid.*

trámites que precedieron a la aprobación real⁵³ antes de la Revolución:

Cuando si ottiene l'approvazione del Gobierno per potere stabilire legalmente la Congregazione, ci fu consigliato da persone molto amiche, e perfino da alcuno che apparteneva al Governo, che non si facesse menzione di nessuna ingerenza francese in tutto l'affare, perché il Governo ci si sarebbe mostrato contrario, ma dire solamente che procedevano da Roma. Questo vuol dire che anche il Governo ha simili antipatie.⁵⁴

Los restantes puntos de la carta ocupan menor espacio: los padres Bayer y Kempf no conocen suficientemente la lengua, por tanto es prematuro iniciar una fundación con ellos. Ante la sospecha de que la comunidad de Madrid sea provisional, enumera una serie de razones para defender que no debe abandonarse nunca. El P. Blum será bien recibido. El problema es que no hay habitaciones disponibles para recibirle en Madrid. Loyódice se ofrece para ir a Pau a hacer los ejercicios anuales y hablar del tema de la formación. Finalmente, se siente en la obligación de exponer, por última vez, su plan de futuro: es necesario comenzar abriendo una casa cerca de Madrid para recibir las nuevas vocaciones.⁵⁵ De ese modo, Cagianò y él podrían colaborar con los nuevos responsables de la formación por conocer mejor la lengua.

Mauron se dio cuenta del estado de ánimo de los dos italianos y escribió seis días después. El lenguaje es revelador de que detectó

⁵³ Loyódice no aludió a este punto en su momento. El P. Celestino Etienne, superior de la casa de Huete y confesor en esa población de la madre y familia del Ministro de Gracia y Justicia Carlos María Coronado, tampoco dejó constancia alguna del problema francés por la sencilla razón de que no se planteó en aquel momento. El Real Despacho de Isabel II, 2 de diciembre de 1867, y la referencia a estos temas, en M. GÓMEZ RÍOS, *Primera crónica*, 348-349, 388-389; *Id*, *La Revolución de 1868*, 359.

⁵⁴ Otro de sus argumentos es la diversidad del carácter español-francés: "la vivacità del carattere francese è molto a proposito (en América Hispana donde habian fundado) mentre qui questo stesso carattere è diametralmente opposto allo spagnuolo grave, riflessivo e nemico di novità". Su preocupación es no depender de Francia, por eso insiste en manipular el argumento para defender su tesis: si viene algún francés importa poco, ya estuvieron antes de la Revolución, "ma siccome dipendevano direttamente tutti da V. R. non davano all'occhio, e non si considerava la fondazione se non come cosa Romana; ma adesso non sarebbe così". Sabe que los lazaristas dependen, pero le sirven para apoyar su tesis: el Visitador es español. "Di nessun altro ordine si veggono qui religiosi diretti da Francia, meno i Lazzaristi, ma questi hanno il loro Visitatore spagnuolo". AGHR 30150001, 378.

⁵⁵ "Sono sicuro che si riempirebbe subito, ciò che non succederà trattandosi del passare la frontiera, come la sperienza lo proverà". *Ibid*.

el problema y trató de suavizarlo.⁵⁶ Conocía la antipatía de los españoles hacia los franceses, por eso enviaba sujetos que no lo fuesen, pero confirmaba que el noviciado y los estudios superiores se harían en Francia:

Voglio che questa gioventù sia ben educata e faccia buon studii; e questo pel momento non si può fare in Italia, sibbene in Francia. Rinunziare per ora a formare i giovani in quest'ultimo paese, è rinunziare ad ogni disegno di stabilirci in Ispagna. E questa dipendenza avrà da durare sino a tanto che il nostro stabilimento in Spagna sia ben assodato.⁵⁷

Juventud bien educada significa, en Mauron, mucho más que sólida formación humanística y teológica. Se trata de una formación diferente a la recibida en España, de combatir el "nacionalismo", de afirmar el centralismo de Roma y de educar en la severidad, cosa que no han hecho los italianos. Por eso plantea, con claridad, un tema que no es nuevo⁵⁸ y que en el futuro se repetirá constantemente en él, y, por él, en Desurmont, en los visitantes franceses y en los formadores de jóvenes, combatir el orgullo nacional español.

Dico però francamente che quest'orgoglio nazionale dei Spagnuoli mi dispiace, e mi fa temere per la nostra Congregazione ciò che accade a quasi tutti gli Ordini religiosi. Basta leggere, nei

⁵⁶ "così ancora non dipendono da Lui le simpatie o antipatie nazionali della Spagna, sicché non posso fare un minimo rimprovero, né a Lei, né al P. Cagiano". Carta del 15 de noviembre de 1877. AGHR 30150001, 379.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* Desurmont no siguió este planteamiento de Mauron para la formación de españoles.

⁵⁸ El 22 de marzo de 1867 Mauron escribía a Etienne, superior de Huete: "On pourrait à la rigueur commencer un noviciat à Huete, mais j'ai peur de l'esprit de nationalité; car d'après ce qu'on m'a assuré et ce que prouve l'histoire des Ordres religieux en Espagne, cet esprit est très vivace et très exclusif dans la Cour des Espagnols. Je crois donc qu'il vaut mieux et qu'il est prudent pour que les premiers membres de la Congrégation que nous fournirà l'Espagne soient tels que S. Alphonse les désire afin que surtout ils puissent faire un noviciat en règle, hors de leur pays, et même passer quelque mois dans une de nos maisons d'études - afin que de cette manière ils soient entièrement imbus du véritable esprit de notre Congrégation et contractent une profonde affection pour leur Mère". AGHR 30150001, 152. Dos días después, Mauron decía lo mismo a Loyódice: se han presentado dos jóvenes sacerdotes en Huete pidiendo la admisión: "penso mandarli per alcuni mesi nello studentato, affinché imparino l'andamento della Congregazione, e apprendano lo spirito e una sincera affezione per la medesima, importandomi assai che i primi elementi spagnoli siano della Congregazione del Santissimo Redentore, e non di una Provincia esclusivamente nazionale". AGHR 30150001, 153.

principi della Compagnia di Gesù, la storia degli sforzi fatti in Spagna per staccarsi dal centro di Roma.⁵⁹

¿Por qué introduce Mauron el orgullo nacional español y su temor a la separación de Roma si los redentoristas españoles no habían creado problema alguno de este tipo, eran muy pocos y se encontraban en las misiones americanas? No vamos a tratar el tema, al menos en estos momentos, por su complejidad histórica y porque excede los límites de nuestro trabajo.⁶⁰ Nos limitamos a aportar tres claves para iluminar el contexto histórico que vivía Mauron.

En primer lugar, "casi todas las órdenes" tenían vicarios generales en España "por ese afán regalista y nacionalista de no depender estrictamente de los generales romanos".⁶¹

En segundo lugar, la personalidad del propio Mauron y su estilo de gobierno respondían a una concepción centralista, monárquica y absolutista del poder. Esto, y su formación cultural, le llevaron a leer la historia de las congregaciones religiosas en España de una forma peculiar acudiendo, nada menos, que a los orígenes de la Compañía de Jesús para argumentar su forma de pensar y de gobernar.

En tercer lugar, la historia de división en la propia congregación redentorista. El Reglamento aprobado en el Reino de Nápoles -claramente regalista según el poder político de la época - difería de la Regla Pontificia de 1749. Por este motivo, el año 1780 la congregación sufrió la primera escisión en vida del fundador San Alfonso. El papa nombró Superior General para las casas de los Estados Pontificios al P. Francisco de Paola (1736-1814) separándolas de las que seguían el Reglamento en el Reino de Nápoles. De Paola nombró Vicario General para las fundaciones transalpinas a S.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ El particularismo, españolismo y espíritu nacional exclusivista, se lo recuerda al P. Loyódice, tal vez porque los franceses y él mismo estaban convencidos que los dos italianos tenían mucho que ver en el tema. El 7 de diciembre de 1877 Desurmont escribe al General que el P. Cagiano fomenta el "particularismo español", en un momento en que no había español alguno en la comunidad de Madrid. Tampoco el 18 de diciembre de 1878; sin embargo el P. General dice a Loyódice: "Dobbiamo poco a poco andare incontro allo spirito nazionale troppo esclusivo degli Spagnuoli; e V. R. vedrà che l'antipatia contro i Francesi non sarà una difficoltà insuperabile che non si possa poco a poco vincere. Del resto, i primi Padri che vanno in Ispagna non sono Francesi nel stretto senso o di puro sangue". AGHR 30150001, 425. Desurmont a Mauron, 8. 11. 1878, AGHR 30150001, 415, fotocopia.

⁶¹ B. JIMENEZ DUQUE, *Espiritualidad y apostolado*, en *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, V, 422.

Clemente Hofbauer. El josefinismo también prohibía en el imperio las congregaciones religiosas con superiores en el exterior. La llamada "Regla de S. Clemente" no se explica sin tener en cuenta este movimiento regalista y antiromano.

El capítulo de 1793 eligió como único Superior General a P. Pablo Blasucci. El año 1850 Roma otorgó al Vicario General Transalpino poderes especiales para su territorio y lo vinculó a la Congregación de Obispos y Religiosos lo que significaba, de hecho, separación del Superior General con residencia en Pagani. El año 1852 el Gobierno General de la Congregación se trasladó a Roma. El Reino de Nápoles se consideró agraviado en su regalismo y desterró al P. General, Vicente Domingo Trapanese. El 6 de septiembre de 1853 un Motu Proprio de la Santa Sede dividió en dos la Congregación: un superior general en Roma para las comunidades de Nápoles y Sicilia y un segundo en Viena para las comunidades del resto de Europa y del mundo, incluida la Provincia Romana.

En estas circunstancias fue elegido Superior General el P. Nicolás Mauron en el capítulo de 1855. La reunificación de la congregación llegó bajo su mandato el año 1869. El mismo se lo comunicó a Loyódice.⁶²

Esta digresión nos ha alejado de la narración de los acontecimientos. El anunciado P. Pedro Blum llegó a Madrid el 15 de noviembre de 1877 adelantándose a los planes de Loyódice de trasladarse a Pau para hacer ejercicios y tratar de la formación en Francia, anterior al noviciado, de los jóvenes españoles.⁶³

El 7 de diciembre Desurmont comunicó a Roma el regreso de Pedro Blum con un informe que confirmaba sus sospechas, especialmente frente a Cagiano: defenderá siempre el "particularisme espagnol"; no es malo, pero carece del espíritu de S. Alfonso y actúa según su idea; el P. Loyódice es un santo, pero tímido, indeciso "et sans initiative", sometido al P. Cagiano; éste debe perder influen-

⁶² Carta del 6.10.69. AGHR 30150001, 253. Respuesta de Loyódice, 16.10.69, manifestando la alegría de todos: "Non posso esprimere a V. P. il contento che ha prodotto in questi due Padri (López y Machín) la notizia della sospirata unione...; in me ha prodotto una sensazione più viva, perché sono più di sedici anni che con indicibili amarezza aveva assistito alla funesta lettura del decreto della separazione". AGHR 30150001, 256. APRM, *Anales*, I, 600-601.

⁶³ Carta de Loyódice a Roma, 22. 11. 1877. AGHR 30150001, 380. Tampoco Mauron veía difícil que los muchachos españoles se trasladasen a estudiar a Pau. Carta a Desurmont, 31.12.1877. AGHR 30150001, 384, fotocopia.

cia en la restauración de la Congregación en España.⁶⁴ La negativa visión de Cagiano será una constante en Desurmont y en los Visitadores.

La Provincia Galo-Helvética asume la dirección

A partir de 1878 Desurmont toma una postura definitiva: aceptar la restauración en España y comprometerse con ella cordialmente. A pesar de poner la lucha contra el españolismo como base de actuación, hablará de "ce noble pays d'Espagne" y manifestará al General que es la Provincia francesa quien está agradecida por el honor y el favor de haber sido elegida para restaurar en España la Congregación.⁶⁵ El 23 de febrero de 1878 escribía a Roma:

J'en viens donc à l'Espagne. Cette ouvre, je l'avoue, me remplit l'âme: déposer dans le pays les germes d'une province vraiment espagnole et, en même temps, vraiment ultramontaine, c-à-d ultra pyrénéen (pardonnez-moi ce mot); d'une province qui puisse plus tard prendre à sa charge et alimenter l'Amérique; j'avoue que c'est là une affaire telle qu'il saurait difficile d'en trouver une qui soit plus intéressante ou plus importante.⁶⁶

Comenzó a actuar personalmente. Pidió al General que impidiese a Loyódice viajar de un lado para otro y se limitase a encontrar una fundación en el norte, cercana a Francia. Mandó regresar de América a los padres Grisar, López y Rodrigo para trabajar en España.⁶⁷

⁶⁴ "Il y a à Madrid une influence qui paralyse tout: c'est l'influence du P. Cagiano... et il sera toujours le grand partisan du particularisme espagnol". AGHR 30150001, 383, fotocopia.

⁶⁵ Carta del 10 de mayo de 1877. AGHR 30150001, 372, fotocopia. Loyódice siempre pensó que la restauración española se encomendó a Francia "a petición del M. R. P. Aquiles Desurmont, que deseaba tener sujetos españoles para sostener las casas del Ecuador". T. RAMOS, *Vida del R. P. Víctor Loyódice*, 177.

⁶⁶ AGHR 30150001, 393, fotocopia.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* Francisco Rodrigo Argüello aparece por vez primera en estas páginas. Nació en Manzanal del Barco (Zamora) el 4 de octubre de 1842. Hizo parte de los estudios en el seminario de Zamora. Durante la Revolución del 1868 se presentó en Huete pidiendo ingresar en el noviciado. Se trasladó a Francia donde profesó, concluyó los estudios, recibió el sacerdocio y partió para las misiones de América del Sur. Ahora lo reclama Desurmont para incorporarse a las nuevas comunidades españolas.

El 9 de agosto de 1878 Desurmont comunicó al General que tenía el hombre idóneo para llevar a cabo la restauración en España, el P. Meinraldo Jost:

La divine Providence s'est chargé de m'indiquer elle même l'homme qui remplira en Espagne le rôle du P. Didier en Amérique. C'est le P. Jost que je vous propose [...] Et pour l'Espagne je croie qu'il serait impossible du trouver dans toute la province un seul homme qui, en somme, soit aussi apte que le P. Jost a satisfaire aux nécessité de la position. Il est, comme vous le savez, consciencieux, réguler et imbu profondément de nôtre esprit.⁶⁸

El 14 de septiembre Desurmont manifestaba a Roma su alegría porque Jost había aceptado, estaba imbuido de "la grâce de l'Espagne", asumía su forma de pensar y quería implantarla.⁶⁹ Debía viajar a España para informarse sobre el terreno, conocer al P. Loyódice y prepararse para actuar. Sólo así se podrá abandonar la situación de estancamiento.

La carta del 14 de septiembre nos da varias claves para entender los acontecimientos posteriores. Desurmont comunica que ha dado a Jost instrucciones claras y precisas sobre lo que quiere hacer en España, de acuerdo siempre con el General:

voici les deux principales: aimer l'Espagne et se faire, autant que possible, espagnol avec les espagnoles, mais combattre, avec autant force que de prudence, l'espagnolisme et tacher de former dès le principe un personnel fortement imbu de cette idée: que la branche espagnole de notre Congrégation doit, avant tout, éviter toute espèce de particularisme, et être (quoad spiritum, vitae rationem, usus et régime) ce que l'ont est partout ailleurs. J'espère que

⁶⁸ AGHR 30150001, 404, fotocopia. El P. Meinraldo Jost nació el 12 de febrero de 1835 en Bernadswiller, Alsacia. Profesó en la Provincia Galo-Helvética el 24 de septiembre de 1852. Presbítero, el 25 de mayo de 1861. Profesor de humanidades, de teología moral, de derecho y de historia. Misionero, prefecto de estudiantes. El 15 de octubre de 1878 llegó a España como superior de la futura casa de Granada. Primer Visitador de la Vice-Provincia de España, superior de Nava del Rey (1789) y de Villarejo de Salvanés (5 de octubre de 1880). Murió en Nava del Rey el 22 de marzo de 1882. *Annales Provinciae Hispanicae C. SS. R.*, I, Matriti 1925, 128.

⁶⁹ "Jost a reçu abondamment la grâce de l'Espagne. Il est plein de droiture dans les intentions, de confiance et de zèle... Naturellement nous avons beaucoup causée de cette grande oeuvre". AGHR 30150001, 408, fotocopia.

le Bon Dieu accordera a notre P. Jost la grâce de communiquer ce salutaire esprit aux prémices de notre famille espagnole.⁷⁰

Desurmont se confirma en la idea de que Cagiano se opone a todo lo proyectado por los franceses y puede crear problemas en el buen P. Víctor y en las autoridades eclesiásticas y civiles.⁷¹

Mauron responde que está de acuerdo con la elección de Jost y que Loyódice no será obstáculo. Sin embargo el ritmo de acción es diferente al de Desurmont. No ve la utilidad de que Jost viaje a Madrid, pero tampoco se opone.⁷²

El 4 de octubre Desurmont insiste: está decidido a enviar a Jost, ha elegido varios padres más y varios hermanos están aprendiendo la lengua para poner en marcha, definitivamente, las cosas de España.⁷³

En esos momentos se creía que en Granada estaba todo preparado para fundar. Jost sería el primer superior. Pero el 2 de octubre Loyódice comunica a Roma su decepción al ver que ni siquiera han comenzado las obras de la casa. Para salir del paso alquiló una cercana. En torno a Santa Teresa, 15 de octubre, esperaba la autorización del Gobierno para fundar.⁷⁴ Cuando Desurmont recibió la noticia ya había salido para Madrid el P. Jost. La situación de Granada confirmaba la desconfianza de Desurmont hacia la forma de actuar de Loyódice.⁷⁵

El 3 de noviembre Desurmont comunicó a Roma que Jost había vuelto de España para hablarle personalmente de la grave situación de Granada y de otros temas. Lo mejor era que se trasladase a Roma para informar.⁷⁶

A pesar de lo sucedido, Desurmont siguió pensando en el

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹ "Je n'ai pas caché au P. Jost que, sans accuser le P. Cagiano de mauvaises intentions, je me défie profondément de lui, que je le crois opposé de coeur et d'âme à l'organisation projetée, que je le juge capable d'influencer le P. Victor, à l'insu de ce dernier; qu'il pourrait même, en déformant la conscience, susciter contre nos projets des difficultés tant de la part de l'autorité ecclésiastique que de la civile, et effrayer par ces difficultés l'esprit du bon Père Victor; et que, pour les raisons, on rencontrera, peut être, des mécomptes et des dernières entraves". *Ibid.*

⁷² AGHR 30150001, 409, fotocopia.

⁷³ AGHR 30150001, 411, fotocopia.

⁷⁴ Carta de Loyódice a Roma, 2. 10 1878. AGHR 30150001, 410.

⁷⁵ El 22 de octubre escribe Desurmont a Mauron: "Je redoutais de la part de l'excellent Père Lojodice une nouvelle déconvenue. De fait, la lettre, ci-incluse, qu'il m'a envoyée prouve que mes craintes n'étaient pas chimériques". AGHR 30150001, 412, fotocopia.

⁷⁶ AGHR 30150001, 413, fotocopia.

futuro. El 8 de noviembre envió a Roma su proyecto de actuación en España: la tutela de la Provincia francesa debía resultar agradable a los españoles, porque sería larga, hasta formar una generación en el espíritu tradicional; era necesario nombrar un Visitador que actuase en contacto con el provincial y fuese capaz de tomar decisiones independientes. En Madrid se debía poner un superior diferente de Loyódice y Cagiano y trasladar la casa de lugar. El seminario menor se debía hacer en España, el noviciado en Pau, la filosofía y dogmática en el estudiantado francés y la moral en España.⁷⁷

Son muchos los documentos que insisten en la idea de Desurmont y Mauron sobre la necesidad de educar en el espíritu tradicional y en la severidad a las nuevas generaciones de redentoristas españoles. El P. Jost era el indicado para realizarlo. El 10 de diciembre de 1878 escribía al General:

Le Père Provincial n'a fait qu'appuyer avec beaucoup d'énergie tout ce que Votre Paternité m'avait recommandé. Faites en sorte, m'a-t-il dit que, tout en conservant l'esprit de famille que règne chez nous, vous introduisiez en Espagne une union plus parfaite avec Dieu et une plus grande sévérité.⁷⁸

Las acusaciones de que Cagiano no vive el auténtico espíritu alfonsiano son evidentes. Pero, sobre todo, las decisiones tomadas por Jost, Desurmont y Mauron en diferentes puntos resucitaban los viejos fantasmas de quién representaba la genuina tradición. Los restauradores estaban convencidos de ser ellos, frente a los italianos. El tema es importante y merece un estudio detallado de las fuentes. Más allá de las anécdotas, replantea el significado de la figura y del magisterio de S. Alfonso en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX y remite a la corriente neorigorista e integrista que se impuso en España y que se percibe en diversos campos: predicación, misiones, cultura, moral, vida religiosa, etc.⁷⁹

El 13 de diciembre Loyódice escribió a Roma una carta importante en el desarrollo de los acontecimientos que venimos señalando: el P. Jost le había hecho saber su nombramiento como superior de la casa de Granada y de las fundaciones futuras.

⁷⁷ AGHR 30150001, 415, fotocopia.

⁷⁸ AGHR 30150001, 421, fotocopia.

⁷⁹ D. DE FELIPE, *Fundación*, 172-174, alude al tema.

La carta daba a entender que Loyódice se sentía dolorido. Esta y otras noticias habían llegado “dal Provinciale nella forma consueta usata coi sudditi della Provincia”; en otras palabras, como si ya dependiese de Francia. Recuerda que algunas cosas no se han hecho según lo ordenado por la Provincia francesa porque considera que la casa de Madrid depende directamente del General según lo acordado.⁸⁰ Se alegra del nombramiento de Jost y ruega al General se sirva indicarle la norma a seguir.⁸¹

El 15 de diciembre de 1878 Jost estaba en Madrid tras su estancia en Roma.⁸² El 27 comunicaba al Superior General los viajes hechos en busca de posibles fundaciones en Miranda de Ebro, El Espino (Burgos) y Medina del Campo. Los PP. Loyódice y Cagiano están muy afables y dispuestos a colaborar en todo lo necesario.⁸³ Veremos que no era así.⁸⁴

La época de Loyódice al frente de las fundaciones españolas había concluido definitivamente y de forma poco elegante.⁸⁵ Los largos años de correspondencia ininterrumpida con Mauron parece que no fueron suficientes para recibir información personal de Roma sobre el cambio de superior. Mauron era consciente de lo sucedido. El día 18 de diciembre escribió a Loyódice una carta extraña donde intentaba, de forma diplomática, contentarle: exponía por qué tomó la decisión de encomendar a la Provincia francesa el tema de España; podía decir que la casa de Madrid

⁸⁰ “Con questa occasione le fo conoscere che stando a quello che V. P. mi disse l'anno passato che voleva che questa Residenza dipendesse direttamente da Lui e quindi dalla Provincia Romana come certa Procura del P. Generale”... AGHR 30150001, 422.

⁸¹ “La norma che dovrò seguire da oggi innanzi e stia sicuro V. P. che non ostante la mia superbia sarà ubbidita ciecamente”. *Ibid.*

⁸² El 16 Mauron comunica a Desurmont que Jost ha dejado Roma, AGHR 30150001, 423. R. TELLERIA, *Un instituto misionero*, 249, señala que el 15 llegó a Madrid como Visitador.

⁸³ AGHR 30150001, 428.

⁸⁴ El 30 de abril de 1879 Jost escribe a Desurmont: “P. Victor, que j'estime et aime sans pouvoir partager ses craintes, plus funestes qu'il ne pense pas”. Si ahora no se actúa a tiempo, sucederá como en la época anterior a 1868, “nous aurons à pleurer des innovations dans nos fondations naissantes”. AGHR 30150001, 458. La carta de Desurmont al General del 30 de mayo es aún más clara. Los caracteres de Jost y de Loyódice eran opuestos. Jost se permite ir más allá y achacarlo a la tortuosidad napolitana. El mismo Desurmont hace ver al General la exageración de Jost: “Je crois qu'il exagère un peu la tortuosité de cette nature napolitaine”. Desurmont no es menos fuerte que Jost en la misma carta. AGHR 30150001, 465, fotocopia.

⁸⁵ La edición de 1902 de V. LOYODICE, *Vida del Glorioso Doctor de la Iglesia S. Alfonso*, 643, también señala esta fecha como inicio de la restauración por parte de Francia: “Como primer Vice-Provincial vino a España el integérrimo P. Yost en 1878, y bajo su autoridad se fundaron varias casas: la de la Nava del Rey en 1879”, El Espino y Villarejo.

seguía dependiendo del Superior General, pero no veía por qué razones los padres de Madrid se debían declarar independientes del provincial de Francia y del Visitador; finalmente, le rogaba permaneciese al lado del P. Jost y le prestase su colaboración.⁸⁶

Loyódice no se hizo ilusiones. El 8 de enero de 1879 Jost escribía al General sobre diferentes asuntos; al final manifestaba que Loyódice se había quejado por no gozar de su confianza, lo que, según él, era infundado.⁸⁷ Unos días antes, el 22 de diciembre, el mismo Mauron comunicaba a Desurmont que Loyódice era un santo, "mais un peu petit et délicat", obediente hasta el escrúpulo.⁸⁸

Santo y consciente de la nueva situación donde no se sentía contento. A partir de ese momento la correspondencia con Roma fue muy escasa. Un año después, el 19 de diciembre de 1879 y el 5 de enero de 1880, escribió al General como superior de Granada. En la respuesta, Mauron le decía: me agradaría mucho recibir de vez en cuando carta suya.⁸⁹

El 19 de mayo de 1882 el Consultor General M. Ulrich informaba a Desurmont que había recibido carta de Loyódice proponiendo varias cuestiones sobre la reparación de la iglesia de Granada. No aceptaron algunas de sus propuestas y concluía: tenga mucho cuidado en usar esta información sobre la carta de Loyódice porque usted sabe "jusq'à quel point il est susceptible".⁹⁰

Ya apuntamos que Mauron y Desurmont tenían ideas muy precisas sobre el nacionalismo español que se traducían en afirmación del centralismo, severidad en la formación de la juventud y de

⁸⁶ "V. R. resterà Superiore dell'Ospizio di Madrid, ed il P. Jost sarà Superiore della casa di Granada; e fondandosi altra casa, egli ne sarà fatto Visitatore con facultà delegata, conforme lo è il P. Didier per le case dell'Equatore e del Chili. Perciò il P. Jost é ancora stato incaricato della direzione delle fondazioni da farsi... Io non ebbi bisogno di raccomandare a questo Padre di servirsi dei consigli e dell'esperienza di V. R., quantunque glielo ho raccomandato; giacche egli stesso, per la stima e venerazione che ha per V. R. era in antecedenza a ciò dispostissimo. Si faccia tutto con carità e buona intelligenza, per amor di Dio e pel bene della Cong[regazio]ne. Lo sa il P. Jost, come lo sappiamo tutti, che dobbiamo a V. R. l'essere noi andati in Ispagna, e il ritornarvi che speriamo... Nulla osta che per i motivi fatti valere da V. R., si dica che l'Ospizio di Madrid dipende da me; come di fatto tutte le case nostre di Spagna e di altrove dipendono de me. Ma, avendo io, per gravissimi motivi di opportunità ed anche di necessità, poste, fino a nuovo ordine, le fondazioni spagnuole da farsi sotto l'autorità immediata del Provinciale di Francia; non vedo perché, *in foro interno*, i Padri di Madrid siano dichiarati indipendenti del medesimo Provinciale e del Visitatore da me nominato". AGHR 30150001, 425.

⁸⁷ AGHR 30150001, 429.

⁸⁸ AGHR 30150001, 427.

⁸⁹ AGHR 30150001, 504.

⁹⁰ AGHR 30150001, 562, fotocopia.

la vida comunitaria y apuesta por un estilo transalpino de pensar y de vivir la genuina tradición redentorista frente a la herencia italiana.⁹¹

Estos esquemas se intentaron introducir en la comunidad de Huete pero apenas hubo tiempo a causa de la Revolución de 1868. Para ello se nombró superior al P. Celestino Etienne y maestro de novicios al P. Félix María Grisar: ambos tenían una visión de la vida religiosa y comunitaria, de la formación de la juventud y de las misiones muy diferente a la de Loyódice que pasó de superior a la fundación de Alhama.⁹²

Pero fue en la restauración cuando los planteamientos de Mauron y de Desurmont se trasladaron a España a través de Jost y de sus sucesores y se aplicaron de forma sistemática desde el comienzo. Más aún, la restauración auténtica consistió en esto.

Loyódice se sintió desautorizado y atacado y optó por marcharse para dejar el campo abierto a los restauradores.⁹³ Eso sí, dejó una lectura personal de la realidad diferente de la oficial de Mauron, Desurmont, y Consultores Generales; ofrecemos este significativo párrafo:

⁹¹ Según Loyódice, intervino otro elemento, la fundación de las Misiones del Pacífico por parte de la Provincia Galo-Helvéctica. Desurmont comprendió muy pronto que el futuro de las mismas estaba en España; pero existían viejos problemas de aceptación por parte de los obispos y de las élites de gobierno y Desurmont vio una salida combatiendo el particularismo español con la formación de los jóvenes en Francia. Cfr nota 65.

⁹² Son interesantes las cartas del nuevo superior de Huete, Celestino Etienne: en la primera, 11 de enero de 1867, escribe al P. General que está dispuesto a exigir mayor observancia y espíritu de piedad "car je vois avec peine que cet esprit fait un peu défaut à Huete". AGHR 30150001, 146. El 6 de febrero ya habla claramente al General que ha restringido el trato con mujeres, hasta el punto que la buena gente de Huete dice ahora "qu'ils n'ont jamais connu une religion aussi sévère que la nôtre, et nous croient d'une nature supérieure à celle des anciens religieuse". AGHR 30150001, 148. Mauron le anima a seguir en esa línea. AGHR 30150001, 149, 150, 159, 162, 206. Está claro que se adopta una forma de gobierno diferente a la de Loyódice. El 3 de septiembre de 1867 Etienne comunica al General su opinión sobre Grisar: es un religioso excelente, desea partir para las misiones de ultramar; tal vez el único defecto, entre sus numerosas virtudes, sea estimar demasiado la forma de vida de su Provincia renana y la pretensión de imponerla en todas partes. AGHR 30150001, 168. Es interesante la carta de Etienne sobre la interpretación de la Regla según las diferentes nacionalidades que se daba en Huete el 16. 6. 68. AGHR 30150001, 201, 206. Grisar, ya maestro de novicios, será cuestionado por la excesiva severidad. Incluso a Mauron le parece "un peu exigeant". AGHR 30150001, 206.

⁹³ Así lo manifestó Loyódice a su biógrafo mucho más tarde, 13 de febrero de 1913: "En efecto, declaro delante del Señor, que si bien yo mismo pedí salir de España, dando por motivo mi poca salud, la causa principal de semejante petición fue... dejar más libres a los Padres franceses en sus disposiciones y determinaciones, relativas al gobierno de las casas ya fundadas después de la revolución del 1868". T. RAMOS, *Vida del R. P. Victor Loyódice*, 178.

“Una sola parola mi dovrà permettere circa il contenuto della sua ultima: dice V. R. riguardo ai suoi sentimenti di Nazionalità non sono tanto contento. A dire il vero, Padre mio, non so qual sia la mia nazionalità morale e simpatica, giacché sonno italiano e non amo lo stare in Italia, sono Napoletano e questi non mi sono molti graditi, in cambio amo e stimo molto V. R. che è tedesco, amo eccessivamente il nostro P. Generale che è svizzero, il nostro P. Verheyen, olandese di santa memoria, era per me uno dei Padri più amati nei 32 anni di mia vita religiosa: evvero che amo gli Spagnuoli, ma le assicuro che amarei lo stesso i Francesi in Francia, la mia vecchia e buona Madre è Francesa ed io l'amo tanto: in Francia sarei io dei più liggi per il loro costumi ed usanze: non giungo mai a farmi capire bene su questo punto, quello che più mi serve di tentazione si è che essi (non V. R.) che declamano tanto contro lo spirito de Nazionalità, sono in ogni luogo i più acerrimi introducttori e sostenitori dei loro costumi francesi (non parlo delle usanze e costumi generali della Congregazione): mi deve perdonare questa manifestazione filiale che sarà forse per ultima volta in questo senso”.⁹⁴

En esos momentos la restauración estaba en marcha. El 7 de septiembre de 1884 Loyódice abandonó España. Prefirió dejar libre el terreno a la Provincia francesa. ¿Razones? Desde el principio se dieron algunas, muy pocas.⁹⁵ La documentación parece confirmar que otras se callaron. Mucho más tarde, 3 de abril de 1921, el P. Julio Blanpied, Visitador Extraordinario de la Provincia Española, recordaba con tonos dramáticos a los Consultores Generales de Roma no olvidasen el incendio de cólera e indignación que podía desencadenar en las provincias francesas la próxima publicación de una vida del P. Loyódice.⁹⁶

⁹⁴ Carta desde Granada, 29 de mayo de 1883, al Consultor General Stix. AGHR 3015000, personalia.

⁹⁵ Señalamos las principales obras publicadas que recogen el tema: T. RAMOS, *Vida del R. P. Víctor Loyódice*, 174-179. *Annales Provinciae Hispanice*, 101-103; D. DE FELIPE, *Fundación*, 219-221; L. PEREZ, *Los redentoristas en Granada*, 17-19, resume la visión de los anteriores. La edición de 1902 de la Vida de S. Alfonso de V. Loyódice, citada anteriormente, elude este asunto personal.

⁹⁶ “Je vous en prie, T.R.P. ne négligez pas l'affaire relative à la Vie du P. Loyodice. Ça risque d'allumer un incendie de colere et d'indignation dans nos provinces françaises”. AGHR 30150002, 26. Se trata de la obra del R. P. TOMAS RAMOS, *Vida del R. P. Víctor Loyódice*, publicada ese mismo año de 1921. En el cap. XI habla de la salida del P. Víctor Loyódice de España. La carta de Blanpied se escribió en abril. El permiso de impresión lleva la fecha del 29 de septiembre. ¿Se cambió el original entre una y otra? Sólo sabemos que un Visitador Extraordinario tenía mucho poder en esos momentos.

II. CONTEXTO HISTORICO DE LA CORRESPONDENCIA QUE ABORDA TEMAS POLITICOS DE LA ÉPOCA

La Restauración se dio en unas circunstancias políticas concretas, diferentes a las que originaron la Revolución de 1868 y la salida de España de casi la totalidad de los redentoristas extranjeros. La comunidad de Madrid fue testigo de los acontecimientos y de los cambios políticos. La correspondencia con Roma refleja una pequeña parte de los mismos y silencia otros muchos. Tal vez porque el P. Víctor Loyódice, testigo principal, era extranjero y no vivía la agitada situación política de esas fechas de forma tan cercana e intensa como los españoles. Pero, también, porque su formación religiosa y humana le empujaba a leer los acontecimientos de manera muy personal. En todo caso, nos parece interesante dar a conocer la correspondencia que trata el tema político en el período de la Revolución burguesa (1868-1874) y primeros años de la Restauración monárquica de Alfonso XII.⁹⁷

De la Revolución a la I República

El día 17 de septiembre de 1868 Isabel II se trasladó a San Sebastián. El 19 se iniciaba la Revolución "Gloriosa". Los revolucionarios, desde Cádiz, dirigieron a la nación la proclama *España con honra*. Negaba "su obediencia al Gobierno que reside en Madrid, seguro que es leal intérprete de los ciudadanos". Entre los firmantes estaban los generales Francisco Serrano, duque de la Torre, y Juan Prim, marqués de Castillejos. La Junta Revolucionaria de Madrid declaró enemigo público a quien opusiere resistencia "al

⁹⁷ M. ARTOLA, *Partidos y programas políticos 1808-1936*, Madrid 1977; V. PALACIOS ATARD, *La España del siglo XIX (1808-1898)*, Madrid 1981. J. M^º. LABOA, *Iglesia y religión en las constituciones españolas*, Madrid 1981; S. PETSCHEN, *Iglesia-Estado. Un cambio político. Las Constituyentes de 1869*, Madrid 1975; J. A. LACOMBA, *La I República. El trasfondo de una revolución fallida*, Madrid 1973; C. GARCIA CORTES, *El cardenal García Cuesta, arzobispo de Santiago (1803-1873). Fuentes para su estudio e ideología*, en *Compostellanum* 3 (1986) 203-257; ID., *Documentos colectivos del episcopado español en el siglo XIX*, en *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 61-62 (1988-1989) 269-332; J. MARTIN TEJEDOR, *Partidos políticos católicos*, en *DHEE*, Supl. I, Madrid 1987, 574-607; J. M. CUENCA, *Integrismo*, en *DHEE*, II, Madrid 1972, 1203-1206; D. BENAVIDES GOMEZ, *Democracia y cristianismo en la España de la Restauración (1875-1931)*, Madrid 1978; V. CARCEL ORTI, *Iglesia y Revolución en España (1868-1874)*, Pamplona 1979; ID., *La revolución burguesa (1868-74)*, en *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, V, dir. por Ricardo García Villoslada, Madrid 1979, 227-276. A. BAHAMONDE-J.A. MARTINEZ, *Historia de España. Siglo XX*, Madrid 1994, 525-597. V. LEON NAVARRO, *Las Visitas ad limina en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX. (1860-1890)*, en *Anales Valencinos* 39 (1994) 195-227. Con bibliografía.

proyecto de expulsar del país a la familia Borbón, en todas sus líneas y ramas y de apelar para la reconstrucción política de España a la soberanía de la nación". El 28 de septiembre el general Serrano vencía en Alcolea las tropas isabelinas mandadas por el general Novaliches. El 30 de septiembre Isabel II abandona España camino de Francia.⁹⁸

Los ideales de la Revolución de 1868 se proyectaban hacia la República como forma de gobierno. El principio de la Soberanía Nacional, proclamado por todas las Juntas Revolucionarias, llevaba a gran parte de las masas populares en esa dirección.

"La república tenía mucho adelantado en la conciencia del pueblo, titular de la soberanía nacional a cada paso invocada hasta por los que, habiendo dado al traste con la monarquía, trataban de levantar otra en tierra harto movediza. No era extraño, pues, que el pueblo se dejase llevar al republicanismo, sin necesidad de grandes esfuerzos dialécticos, en la propaganda determinada por la proximidad de la convocatoria a Cortes Constituyentes".⁹⁹

En la misma calle del Lobo, donde vivió el P. Loyódice los primeros días de la Revolución en casa de D. Andrés, existía un casino frecuentado por el republicano D. Nicolás Estévez.¹⁰⁰ Tras el asesinato del gobernador de Burgos, 25 de enero de 1869, y las manifestaciones consiguientes contra la Nunciatura, el P. Loyódice se vio precisado a abandonar la casa y enviar a Roma a su compañero de fundación, el P. Zanoni. Así lo expone al P. General el 30 de enero:

Frattanto si é detto nei giornali che nella calle del Lobo n° 32 ci erano Gesuiti radunati, questo ci ha fatto uscire subito di là ed il povero D. Andrea ha dovuto andare a dormire fuori di sua casa.¹⁰¹

A pesar de la presión republicana, no se impuso esta forma de gobierno. El general Serrano actuaba como Regente.¹⁰² El general Prim, auténtico jefe de la Revolución, guardaba silencio "ante los

⁹⁸ M. FERNANDEZ ALMAGRO, *Historia política de la España Contemporánea*, Madrid 1956, 8; C. LLORCA, *Isabel II y su tiempo*, Madrid 1984, 221.

⁹⁹ M. FERNANDEZ ALMAGRO, *Historia política de la España Contemporánea*, 18.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 20.

¹⁰¹ AGHR 30150001, 237. M. GOMEZ RIOS, *La Revolución de 1868*, 386.

¹⁰² A él se dirigen los obispos reunidos en Roma para el concilio Vaticano I: "Exposición de los Obispos Españoles participantes en el Concilio Vaticano al Regente, contra el juramento de la Constitución". Roma 26 de abril de 1870. C. GARCIA CORTES, *Documentos colectivos*, 289-290.

vítoras a la República” y se negó “a arrancar de su ros la corona real”. El gobierno provisional publicó un Manifiesto el 25 de octubre donde se afirmaban todos los principios de la Revolución, pero dejaba entrever que optaba por la monarquía. El 12 de noviembre, Cristino Martos, Nicolás M^a Rivero y Manuel Becerra, del partido Demócrata, firmaron un Manifiesto en favor de la monarquía¹⁰³. El Decreto del 6 de diciembre, convocando elecciones a Cortes para los días 15-18 de enero, se declaraba por la monarquía en la confianza de “que salgan victoriosos de las urnas los mantenedores de ese principio y del hecho de un monarca, no electivo, sino elegido por aquellos a quienes el pueblo español otorgue al efecto sus poderes”.¹⁰⁴

Los republicanos, sin embargo, ganaron la calle y la opinión pública. A primeros de diciembre, Cádiz se manifestó al grito de “República federal o muerte”. El 1 de enero de 1869 los tumultos se repitieron en Málaga, y posteriormente en poblaciones tan distantes como Tarragona, Béjar, Orense... Los disturbios, controlados por el ejército, incitaron a las armas a republicanos y carlistas. La guerra civil parecía inminente.

La correspondencia de los redentoristas en estos meses ha sido publicada por nosotros, por eso no volvemos sobre ella; pero alude a estos acontecimientos y presiente la guerra civil como inevitable.¹⁰⁵

Las Cortes Constituyentes se abrieron el 11 de febrero de 1869 y alcanzaron su clímax en la discusión de los artículos 20 y 21 del proyecto de Constitución. Se referían a la unidad católica de España y a la libertad de cultos. El 1 de junio fue aprobada la nueva Constitución. Loyódice guarda silencio sobre estos temas en la correspondencia.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰³ M. FERNANDEZ ALMAGRO, *Historia política de la España Contemporánea*, 12, 20-21.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

¹⁰⁵ M. GÓMEZ RÍOS, *La Revolución de 1868*, 376. El P. Pedro López escribía al P. General el 21 de diciembre en malísimo italiano: “El horizonte político... aparece todos los días cubierto de nubes y de las más horribles tinieblas; diariamente estamos amenazados con una nueva tempestad”. La carta del 2 de febrero, en latín, recuerda los tristes sucesos de Cádiz y de Málaga, la muerte del gobernador de Burgos y la manifestación contra la nunciatura. Todos ellos “sunt signa certa validissima tempestatis, quae huic regioni ferrum flammamque in proxima minitatur. Bellum civile videtur esse inevitabile”. La ambición del gobierno, la impiedad de las sectas y la fe de los católicos ultrajada hasta el límite, hacen pensar a este carlista, refugiado en el pueblecito navarro de Uncití, que son suficientes argumentos para mover los ánimos a la guerra: “omnia haec animus ad praelia parantur”, *Ibid.*, 388.

¹⁰⁶ El 25 de febrero se limita a decir: “Le cose pubbliche seguitano senza alterazione: le Camere procedono lentamente”. AGHR 30150001, 241.

En el verano de 1869 la insurrección carlista era un hecho. Tal vez por eso, Loyódice escribió a Roma el 25 de julio en términos dramáticos.¹⁰⁷ Unos días después, el 31, comunica que “no ha sucedido nada de lo que se temía”.¹⁰⁸

El 5 de agosto, el ministro de Gracia y Justicia, Ruiz Zorrilla, publicó uno de tantos decretos curiosos de la época: él, que se manifestó como uno de los defensores de la separación iglesia-estado, no tenía problema alguno en decidir e imponer actuaciones “pastorales” concretas a los obispos. Acusó a una parte del clero de alinearse con el carlismo, de “sumirnos en los horrores de una desastrosa guerra civil”, y de contribuir económicamente a su triunfo;¹⁰⁹ pedía a los obispos que denunciasen a los clérigos “que estuviesen adscritos para lanzarse a combatir la situación política creada por las Cortes Constituyentes”; exigía, siempre a los obispos, que visitasen las diócesis y publicasen “un breve edicto pastoral” “en el preciso término de ocho días” exhortando obediencia a las autoridades constituidas; finalmente, que recogiesen “las licencias de confesar y predicar a aquellos sacerdotes notoriamente desafectos” al régimen constitucional.¹¹⁰

El Gobierno remitió al Consejo de Estado la actuación de algunos obispos que no se portaron según sus deseos. Los diarios anunciaron una manifestación anticlerical en Madrid para el día 15 de agosto. La actitud más crítica frente a las medidas del Gobierno correspondió al polémico e intolerante arzobispo de Santiago, cardenal Miguel García Cuesta. El mismo día 15 dirigió al ministro de Gracia y Justicia un escrito, en respuesta al suyo del día 5, oponiéndose “con una negativa firmísima a aplicar a su clero tal decreto o a dirigir a sus fieles pastorales en dicho sentido, pues el concordato que se invocaba en su favor había sido roto en nume-

¹⁰⁷ “Non dico da un giorno all'altro, ma da un'ora all'altra si teme una terribile rivoluzione in Madrid; umanamente parlando è da temersi non poco”. *Anales*, 596. Las cartas que llevan solamente la referencia de los Anales fueron transcritas por el P. Bührel, *Anales de la Provincia Española*, I, APRM. El mismo afirma que las transcribió del Archivo General. Algunas no se encuentran en éste.

¹⁰⁸ *Anales*, 596.

¹⁰⁹ “...no deben ser tantas las escaseces que sufre el clero cuando parece averiguado que, salvas las excepciones que sean justas, ha contribuido poderosamente, no sólo con sus consejos y excitaciones, sino con recursos propios, a la realización del empréstito abierto con el fin de allegar medios para facilitar el triunfo de la causa carlista”. *Colección legislativa de España*, T CII, 218-320. V. CARCEL ORTÍ, *El clero durante la Revolución de 1868 y la primera República española*, en *Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 48 (1975) 22-23.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

rosos puntos por la conducta del gobierno".¹¹¹ Se le negó el pasaporte que le impidió asistir al Concilio Vaticano I.

En este contexto se enmarcan una serie de cartas de Loyódice a Roma. El 7 de agosto escribe: no ha sucedido nada nuevo en Madrid la semana pasada. He hecho algunos gastos extraordinarios

per comprare abiti da secolari ai compagni, giacche tutti i preti di qui ne sono provvisti, e questi tutti già ne fanno uso per uscire di casa, non eccettuato il buono e virtuoso D. Andrea. Io non ancora me ne sono provvisto, pero sorto solamente per andare a confessare; il P. Machin sono più di 20 giorni che non sorte affatto, ed il P. López veste da secolare per venire a visitarci e fari gli altri affari necessari... Tutti i Religiosi, specialmente i Gesuiti, andiamo così raminghi ed insicuri; noi seguitiamo molto bene in questa casetta, ma in un giorno di furore popolare converrà rifugiarsi altrove, giacche ci hanno assicurato che in tutti i rioni della città ci sono persone destinate per scoprire dove abitano Ecclesiastici, ma non deve V. P. affliggersi, giacche sto prendendo tutte le cautele.¹¹²

El 30 de agosto alude a las dificultades que tiene para enviar a Francia una pequeña suma de dinero a causa de las acusaciones lanzadas por el Gobierno contra la subvención económica del clero a la causa carlista:

Adesso mando una cartella indossata al P. Grisar per messe incaricate da D. Andrea; non la mando direttamente perché qui si dice che i Preti mandano danaro a Francia per la causa di D. Carlo ed ho temuto che aprissero la lettera. Stiamo bene, grazie a Dio e più tranquilli per adesso, giacche tutta la questione è al presente coi Vescovi.¹¹³

El 9 de octubre de 1869 las noticias de Loyódice a Roma son preocupantes: estamos rodeados de republicanos, pero hasta ahora no han actuado en Madrid; confiamos no lo harán porque el gobierno tiene mucha fuerza armada. Zaragoza, Valladolid, Andalucía y Cataluña han tenido problemas, pero se piensa que cederán en pocos días.

¹¹¹ C. GARCIA CORTES, *El cardenal García Cuesta*, 237.

¹¹² *Anales*, 597.

¹¹³ *Anales*, 598.

Stiamo circondati di Repubblicani, pero finora, grazie a Dio, non si sono mossi in Madrid, e speriamo che non lo faranno, giacche il governo ha qui molta gente armata. In Saragozza ci fu ieri un attacco, dicono che e cessato, pero non si sá di certo; in Valladolid hanno dissarmato la guardia Nazionale che al principio si resisteva, ma dovette obbidire al vedere i cannoni disposti a far fuoco sulla città; in Andalucia, ed in Catalogna la cosa stá piú seria, ma si crede che dovranno cedere fra pochi giorni.¹¹⁴

La nueva constitución declaró en el artículo 33: "La forma de Gobierno de la nación española es la Monarquía". Serrano y Prim fueron encargados de buscar un soberano ajeno a la casa de Borbón. El P. Loyódice se hizo eco del tema. El 18 de julio escribió una carta al P. General exponiendo la situación política ante la inminente llegada de un nuevo compañero, el italiano P. Luis Cagiano de Azevedo: se han reunido las Cortes para ofrecer "la poco invidiable corona di questo infelice Regno" a un príncipe prusiano, Leopoldo de Hohenzollern Sigmaringen. Existe peligro de conflicto con Francia o, en caso de no encontrar candidato alguno, pasar a una dictadura. Si llegase la revolución se refugiaria en las Hermanas Francesas de la Esperanza.

Reverendissimo Padre.

Credo dover manifestare a V. P. lo stato attuale della Spagna affinché possa regolarsi meglio circa la venuta del P. Cagiano.

Le Camere si chiusero nel mese passato ed adesso sono state convocate repentinamente per il di 24 del presente, per aver accettata la poca invidiable corona di questo infelice Regno un Principe Prussiano: V. P. saprà già tutto questo per i giornali. Qui poi si teme che o il Governo opera con lealtà e sincerità, ed allora potrebbe essere un conflitto con Francia e con gli altri partiti politici della Nazione; o se quello che mostrano e piuttosto una delle cose liberalische, ed allora facendo vedere che si fa impossibile qualunque candidatura potremmo trovarci con una dittatura, tanto più che poco prima di chiudersi le camere fu approvata la legge che vuole che il candidato sia eletto per maggioranza di voti non già dei Deputati presenti, ma di tutti assolutamente, e ciò rende l'elezione difficilissima, specialmente in questa improvvisata convocazione alla quale non concorreranno, credo io, molti Deputati.

Quindi, il Padre deve venire ben provvisto di passaporto e di visto bono dell'Ambasciatore Spagnuolo in Roma, giacche usano,

¹¹⁴ AGHR 30150001, 254.

come mi dicono, molto rigore adesso in questo. Anzi, non ostante il mio desiderio di avere il compagno dopo il lungo tempo di star solo, crederei che sarebbe conveniente aspettare, e vedere il risultato delle Camere, che, come dicono, dureranno riunite solamente otto giorni. Questo lo scrivo contra il mio proprio desiderio, però non vorrei essere causa di un evento pericoloso per seguire le mie voglie. Adesso, dopo di aver esposto il sudeletto V. P. può decidere quello che stima: in caso di una rivoluzione qui in Madrid, penso, a Dio piacendo, rifugiarsi nella casa delle Suore Francesi dette della Speranza, dove vado a dir la Messa ogni giorno. Alcuni dicono che non ci è timore, e che peggio stavamo l'anno passato, giacche adesso i partiti contrarii all'attuale Governo non hanno forza alcuna per muoversi e lasceranno che questo faccia quello che vuole".¹¹⁵

La aceptación del trono por parte de Leopoldo sirvió de pretexto para iniciar las hostilidades franco-prusianas y le impidió venir a España. El 23 de julio, Loyódice comunicaba a Roma que las Cámaras no se reunían tras la renuncia del candidato prusiano. Curiosamente, veía mayor peligro de revolución en Francia que en España:

Adesso le cose mi pare che hanno preso altro aspetto: le Camere non si radunano più in vista della rinunzia del candidato di Prussia, e credo che più pericolo di rivoluzione ci sia in Francia che qui.¹¹⁶

La elección, finalmente, recayó en Amadeo de Saboya, hijo de Víctor Manuel II. No fue reconocido por Pío IX a causa de la ocupación de los Estados Pontificios. Juró en el congreso el 2 de enero de 1871 coincidiendo con el asesinato de Prim. Loyódice escribe a Roma el día 23: supone que están enterados por los periódicos de la nueva situación y no emite juicio alguno sobre Amadeo de Saboya; se limita a señalar las "terribles y funestas inundaciones en diferentes provincias".¹¹⁷ Pocos días más tarde, 1 de febrero, comenta al P. General que los periódicos hablan violentamente contra el rey como si se tratase de un Presidente de Ministros; existe temor ante las próximas elecciones y parece que estamos al inicio de una revolución:

¹¹⁵ AGHR 30150001, 272.

¹¹⁶ AGHR 3015000, personalia.

¹¹⁷ AGHR 3015000, personalia.

Qui le cose vanno dello stesso modo come prima dell'elezione del Re; solamente che prima i giornali parlavano violentemente contra Prim, ed adesso contra di lui, però con la stessa libertà e senza verun ritegno come se fosse un Presidente di Ministero e niente più; si teme molto l'epoca della elezione dei nuovi Diputati, e si travaglia molto da quelli dell'opposizione, tanto che pare siamo al principio di una nuova rivoluzione.¹¹⁸

La Junta de Vevey, 18 de abril de 1870, unificó el carlismo bajo la dirección personal de D. Carlos; pero su manifiesto del 8 de junio le hizo perder algunos liberales moderados que se unieron a la causa de Alfonso XII. Las elecciones a cortes de 1871 dieron a los carlistas una elevada minoría que, unida a los republicanos, hizo difícil el gobierno y obligó a Amadeo de Saboya a cerrar las Cortes. Loyódice alude al tema el 20 de noviembre de 1871: se habla de golpe de estado y de nueva revolución, pero, añade con sorna, no sucederá nada porque cuando se grita una cosa se hace la contraria.

Già saprà per i Giornali che il 18 dell'attuale Amedeo diede il decreto della chiusura premature delle Camere, dicessi che forse darà un colpo di stato, o che vi sarà una nuova rivoluzione, però credo che seguiranno le cose come finora giacché qui succede quasi sempre che quando si vocifera una cosa risulta il contrario.¹¹⁹

A primeros de abril de 1872 se iniciaron las hostilidades carlistas en diferentes lugares. El 21 se declaró nueva guerra que comenzó por el norte y rápidamente se extendió por Aragón y El Maestrazgo. El 22 de abril Loyódice escribía a Roma:

Saprà già tutto ciò che passa qui: da un momento all'altro aspettiamo qualche cosa straordinaria. Faccia Dio quel che sia meglio per questa povera nazione. Non avrei voluto scriverle circa il seguente affare perché i tempi non sembrano molto a proposito per siffatte cose.¹²⁰

Loyódice no alude en la correspondencia al movimiento proletario ni a las diferentes ideologías inspiradas en Proudhon,

¹¹⁸ AGHR 3015000, personalia.

¹¹⁹ AGHR 30150001, 299.

¹²⁰ La carta, con firma autógrafa de Loyódice, está redactada por el P. Luis Cagiano de Azevedo. AGHR 30150001, 312.

Bakunin o Marx. Seguramente las desconoce. Los conflictos sociales que se suceden tras La Gloriosa los relaciona, sin más, con "los republicanos intransigentes". El 27 de noviembre de 1872 comenta, de pasada, al P. General:

Saprà che qui stiamo non molto bene: si teme molto da due o tre giorni a questa parte; i Repubblicani intransigenti sono già in campagna; ieri sera volevano togliere il gas (secondo mi hanno detto) in questa città; domenica passata vi furono disordini per le strade; speriamo che Iddio voglia rimediare le cose.¹²¹

Primera República

El 11 de febrero de 1873 abdicó Amadeo de Saboya tras una serie de gobiernos derribados por constantes intrigas que provocaron "la ruptura definitiva de progresistas y demócratas. A partir de entonces, los ministerios se sucederán alocadamente minando la moral de Amadeo, que renuncia a la corona".¹²²

El mismo día dio comienzo la I República. La alianza de republicanos y federales llevó al poder a Estanislao Figueras (11.II.1873). Ese año gobernaron Francisco Pi y Margall (11.VI.1873), Nicolás Salmerón (18.VII.1873) y Emilio Castelar (7.IX.1873).

"Los primeros grupos y las primeras publicaciones republicanas salen a la luz en el trienio esparterista. Sus antecedentes son los "exaltados" del trienio 1820-1823 y como ellos tienen por móvil principal las limitaciones de la construcción liberal, en este caso progresista... El republicanismo español es desde sus inicios federal. Opera en esta definición el gran ejemplo de la democracia norteamericana y también, secundariamente, la razón histórica de ser España un país de agregación cuyos componentes distan de haber perdido sus peculiaridades... Por último, el primer republicanismo es ya anticlerical. Con un lenguaje altamente sacralizado -la República, gobierno santo, frente al carácter diabólico de la monarquía-, el republicanismo denuncia la centralidad del clero regular

¹²¹ AGHR 3015000, personalia.

¹²² Francisco Serrano y Domínguez (4.I.1871); Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla (24.VII.1871); José Malcampo y Monge (5.X.1871); Práxedes Mateo Sagasta (21.XII.1871); Francisco Serrano y Domínguez (26.V.1872); Manuel Ruiz Zorrilla (13.VI.1872). F. GARCIA CORTAZAR - J. M. GONZALEZ VESGA, *Breve Historia de España*, Madrid 1994, 438, 682.

en la oposición al triunfo de las nuevas ideas, el nacimiento de la ignorancia y la defensa del absolutismo".¹²³

El 10 de marzo, un mes después de proclamada la República, Loyódice escribe al P. General una carta interesante donde expone, por vez primera, el estado de ánimo que le produce la nueva situación política que se desarrolla ante sus ojos: esperamos diariamente algo positivo pero estamos como el primer día de la República, tan avezados al temor que casi no nos impresiona; diariamente se teme que suceda algo grave, pero no sucede nada; el Congreso está rodeado de soldados; no existe monarquía, ni república, sino un gobierno anómalo "che tira avanti come puó, e nient'altro":

Reverendissimo Padre

É già molto tempo che non ho scritto a V. P. Avrei dovuto farlo prima in vista dei successi di qui, ma questi stessi successi sono stati causa della tardanza, giacche aspettando a giorno in giorno qualche cosa di positivo, si é ormai passato un mese, e stiamo come al primo giorno della Repubblica.

Siamo già avvezzi a timori, e questi si sono fatti così ordinarii qui che quasi non fanno più nessuna impressione: tutti i giorni si teme qualche cosa di grave, il Congresso stà ogni volta che si riuniscono i Deputati circondato di soldati, e pure andiamo passando bene, grazie a Dio; però non sappiamo che Governo abbiamo: non so se nelle Storie si legga di altra Nazione che come Spagna adesso siasi sostenuta senza testa, ne piedi, ne mani, e ciò non stante senza gravi disordini. I giornali non so come parlano delle cose nostre, cioè di Spagna, ma può credere V. P. che né esiste la Monarchia, né la repubblica si bene un Governo anomalo che tira avanti come puó, e niente altro; del resto noi stiamo bene in questa nostra cassetta e proseguiamo in tutto come prima.¹²⁴

El 26 de abril de 1873 Loyódice informó a Roma, con la precisión de un corresponsal de guerra, sobre el día "verdaderamente belicoso" que acababa de vivir, puesto que los cañones estaban a "sesenta metros" de su casa: el pasado 23 se produjo un frustrado golpe de estado contra la República, en favor de Alfonso XII, "según se dice". Vivía en esos momentos en San Pascual, Paseo de Recoletos.

¹²³ A. ELORZA, *Las ideas políticas*, en *Enciclopedia de la Historia de España*, dir. por Miguel Artola, Madrid 1988-1993, III, *Iglesia, Pensamiento y Cultura*, 129-211.

¹²⁴ AGHR 3015001, 324.

Reverendissimo Padre.

Scrivo a V. P. queste poche rigge per dirle brevemente quello che qui é successo affinché non stia in pensiero per noi, benché temo che questa forse non sia per giungerla per lo stato deplorabile delle cose di Spagna.

Il dì 23, festa di S. Giorgio, fu veramente un giorno bellicoso in questa città, e grazie all'intercessione del Santo non ci furono successi sanguinosi quando fondatamente si temevano in vista dei preludii. Si trattava di dare un colpo di stato contra la Republica, e perciò si erano dichiarati in ribellione la maggior parte della guardia Nazionale antica e molti Generali dell'esercito col municipio: avevano occupato diversi edifici pubblici fra essi uno prossimo alla nostra casa dove si erano collocati fin dalla mattina circa 5.000 dei detti Nazionali; ma la cosa riuscì male, e verso le ore 7 della sera al vedersi circondati dai soldati dell'esercito favorevole alla Republica, e da più cannoni si rendettero e furono tutti disarmati dopo pochi tiri e qualche ferita; ciò non ostante tutta la notte si passò in guardia, et stettero 24 cannoni situati a distanza di sessanta metri dalla nostra casa, che sta quasi nell'estremo dell'abitato, disposti ad entrare nella città se si fosse bisogno, benché noi non ne avevamo molto timore per essere fuori delle strade principali; adesso stiamo in mano dei Repubblicani avanzanti e non può prevedersi quello che faranno Essi, e quello che faranno gli altri che volevano dare il colpo di stato in favore del figlio di Elisabetta 2^a, secondo si dice. Speriamo che la SSma. Vergine seguirà assistendoci come sinora ha fatto, possiamo dire miracolosamente, quindi V. P. non deve temere per noi.¹²⁵

“Las tensiones entre el gobierno de Sagasta y los nuevos centros de la vida política desembocan en los levantamientos de Barcelona, Sevilla y Valencia y en la escisión de los unitarios, detractores de un modelo que sospechaban ponía en peligro la unidad de España”.¹²⁶ El hecho llamó la atención del P. Loyódice. El 5 de julio de 1873, escribe al P. General: la situación ha empeorado, el desorden es lo ordinario en provincias y es prodigioso que no suceda lo mismo en Madrid; tenemos preparado el traje secular por lo que pueda suceder, aunque hasta ahora no lo hemos utilizado.

Reverendissimo Padre:

Ricevetti la preggiatissima di V. P. del 4 Maggio passato, ed

¹²⁵ AGHR 30150001, 325.

¹²⁶ F. GARCIA CORTAZAR-J.M. GONZALEZ VESGA, *Breve historia*, 442.

in tutto questo tempo non ho scritto di nuovo tanto per stare aspettando in ogni momento qualche cosa di serio, come per timore che non passassero le lettere. Adesso che gli affari di qua non stanno in via di accomodo ma di peggiore aspettativa mi son risoluto a scrivere per rimetterle questa cartella, e per il desiderio che abbiamo di sapere delle cose nostre di costà...

Qui il disordine si è fatto ordinario in molte provincie, e pare un prodigio che in questa Capitale non siansi verificati gli eccessi di Malaga, Siviglia, Barcellona e Granata. Sono pochi giorni che è passato per qui il virtuoso Cardinale di Siviglia vestito da secolare. L'Arcivescovo di Granata seguita colà bene, ma [non] sò fino a quando lo lasceranno stare tranquillo¹²⁷. Noi abbiamo già abiti da secolari per quello che potesse succedere sebbene finora non ne abbiamo fatto uso. Stiamo contenti non per tanto confidando nella protezione del Signore e della Vergine"....¹²⁸

La insurrección cantonal -especialmente sangrienta en Cartagena-, el tradicionalismo carlista en armas una vez más, los "excesos" de los republicanos, la mala situación económica y los conflictos sociales minaron los sucesivos gobiernos republicanos. El 15 de noviembre de 1873 Loyódice se hace eco de la situación con estas palabras: "qui siamo arrivati al non plus ultra e perciò speriamo la riazione in melius".¹²⁹

¿Está pensando en un golpe de estado que acabe con la República? ¿Sueña, acaso, que triunfe la causa de D. Carlos reavivada por los sucesos originados durante la República, el cantonalismo y la actuación antirreligiosa del gobierno? Existen razones para pensar que sí, pero en la correspondencia con el General no las desvela.

La burguesía conservadora llevó al general Pavía a ocupar militarmente el Congreso y a disolver las Cortes en la madrugada del 3 de enero de 1874.

Cuatro días antes, 29 de diciembre, Loyódice insistía que la situación política era mala, pero confiaba en el futuro: el traslado de obispos será muy útil para la Congregación porque varios de ellos pedirán nuevas fundaciones en sus diócesis. El, que había hablado tantas veces de golpes de estado y de revoluciones, no aludía a la inminente entrada del general Pavía en el Congreso

¹²⁷ D. Bienvenido Monzón.

¹²⁸ AGHR 30150001, 326.

¹²⁹ Carta al P. General. AGHR 301500, personalia.

para acabar con la I República.

... Qui benché le cose politiche vadino molto male, la nomina e traslazione dei Vescovi si spera che sarà utile alle diocesi, ed io credo che molto pure lo sarà alla Congregazione, giacche potremmo, con l'aiuto del Signore, stenderci facilmente in Galizia dove andrà il Vescovo attuale di Cuenca,¹³⁰ in Toledo se vieni l'Emo. Moreno;¹³¹ in Granada, ed in Cuenca dove siamo già conosciuti ed in altra Diocesi per la quale sarà eletto l'attuale Rettore del Seminario di Granada D. Narciso Martínez Izquierdo, amico mio.

No es el momento de presentar el pensamiento del P. Loyódice. Parece claro que se movió siempre en los esquemas del integrismo. El estudio de sus obras nos llevaría fácilmente a esta conclusión; pero no podemos detenernos. Sin embargo, la nómina de obispos que señala como amigos, y que realmente lo fueron, camina en la misma dirección. Los arzobispos Juan de la Cruz Ignacio Moreno y Maisonave, Miguel Payá y Rico y Antolín Monescillo ocuparon el arzobispado de Toledo. Moreno, Payá y Rico, y Bienvenido Monzón (Granada) estuvieron a su lado desde el primer momento, y ofrecieron lugares para fundar en sus diócesis. Los dos últimos se hospedaron en la casa General de Roma durante el Concilio Vaticano I. El arzobispo de Granada lo eligió de confesor.

Pues bien, todos ellos aparecen entre la generación "africana" de obispos cuya "característica fundamental fue el integrismo dogmático".¹³² Entre sus amigos se contaban, también, dos figuras influyentes del carlismo y del tradicionalismo: José M^a Benito Serra, obispo de Daulia y Francisco Navarro Villoslada, director de *El pensamiento Español* y autor de una vida del fundador de la Congregación del Santísimo Redentor.¹³³

¹³⁰ Miguel Payá y Rico (1811-1891), preconizado para Compostela el 16. I. 1874. Cardenal, en 12.III. 1877. Arzobispo de Toledo el 7. VI. 1886.

¹³¹ En la misma carta agradece al P. General las noticias sobre Ecuador: el presidente García Moreno, primo del cardenal Moreno, acababa de pedir al P. Mauron que le enviase misioneros para abrir nuevas fundaciones. Cfr. nota 18.

¹³² V. CARCEL ORTI, *El liberalismo en el poder*, en *Historia de la Iglesia en España*, V. El autor sigue el esquema de Martín Tejedor, que distingue los obispos de la generación de la Desamortización y de la Guerra de Africa, "punto culminante de la simbiosis entre la Iglesia y el régimen político" en lucha contra la Media Luna, añoranza "de la jerarquía española de la España tradicional" en oposición al liberalismo, 192-193.

¹³³ F. NAVARRO VILLOSLADA, *Compendio de la Vida de San Alfonso María de Ligorio*,

Sin embargo, Loyódice, hombre meridional, santo, austero e identificado con el integrismo dogmático, no aceptó los rígidos planteamientos que la Provincia Galo-Helvética introdujo en la restauración sobre la forma de vivir la regla y la Congregación que él había iniciado en España.

Madrid 1887; M. GOMEZ RIOS, *Primera crónica*, 349. Loyódice escribía a Roma el 15 de junio de 1872 que se encontraba haciendo ejercicios en Ciempozuelos, invitado por el P. Serra, que también se hospedó en la casa General de Roma. AGHR, 3015000, personalia.



OTTO WEISS

I REDENTORISTI TEDESCHI
DURANTE IL KULTURKAMPF (1871-1893)

SUMMARY

I. LA LEGGE SUI GESUITI DEL 20 MAGGIO 1872 E LA SUA ATTUAZIONE:

1. La legge sui gesuiti. - 2. La più precisa definizione del § 2 della legge sui gesuiti. - I redentoristi affiliati dei gesuiti. - 3. L'esecuzione del § 2 della legge sui gesuiti nei confronti dei redentoristi tedeschi.

II. LAVORI PER IL RITORNO E LA RIAMMISSIONE DEI REDENTORISTI:

1. I primi pareri - Gli interventi di Franz Xaver Kraus. - 2. Iniziative partite dalla Baviera. - 3. Resistenze da parte del Centro tedesco e dell'imperatore tedesco. - 4. Il ritorno.

Il § 2 della cosiddetta legge sui gesuiti del 20 maggio 1872 era diretto contro gli ordini e le congregazioni religiose, che erano presuntivamente affiliate alla Compagnia di Gesù. Nelle pagine che seguono vedremo di che in realtà si trattò. Cercheremo, servendoci dell'esempio della congregazione dei redentoristi: 1) di definire e motivare più da vicino questo paragrafo e il modo in cui esso fu attuato, 2) di descrivere il modo in cui esso fu abolito. Non mi interesserò tanto della sorte toccata a coloro che ne furono colpiti, ma cercherò piuttosto di mettere in luce alcuni punti focali.

Anzitutto domandiamoci: "Kulturkampf", cioè lotta per la civiltà, o "Kulturkämpfe", cioè lotte per le civiltà? In altre parole, vediamo se c'è stata unanimità tra i Länder tedeschi nelle questioni ecclesiali e se c'è stato un gioco concertato tra il Reich e i singoli Stati. I redentoristi erano infatti presenti in tre regioni tedesche: nella Baviera, nella Prussia e nel "Reichsland" dell'Alsazia-

Lorena.¹ Marginalmente interessato fu anche il Württemberg. E' dunque opportuno comparare il modo di procedere dei governi dei singoli Stati. In particolare occorre domandarsi se, a proposito di questa questione, la Baviera svolse un ruolo specifico, così come occorre domandarsi su quale base e con quali argomenti i singoli Stati tedeschi portarono avanti la loro lotta.

Un secondo punto focale del mio studio riguarda i rapporti e i contrasti spesso intricati tra i vari gruppi di interessi nella cosiddetta questione dei redentoristi, rapporti e contrasti che a mio giudizio rappresentano un esempio tipico di come nella Prussia di Bismarck e nella Baviera di Lutz la vera politica, se astraiamo dall'approvazione del bilancio dello Stato, ignorò spesso il Parlamento e continuò sempre a prendere le decisioni che contano secondo il modello della vecchia politica di gabinetto, al di fuori dei partiti democratici e delle loro maggioranze. Se rifacciamo la storia dei singoli raggruppamenti e dei loro interessi scopriamo le coalizioni più sorprendenti, dal momento che vi sono implicati gesuiti e redentoristi, governo prussiano e governo bavarese, cancelliere e imperatore, Partito del Centro del Reich e Partito del Centro bavarese, ala sinistra e ala destra del Centro, vescovi e Vaticano, "Evangelischer Bund" (Alleanza evangelica) e uomini evangelici di Stato.

Un terzo punto focale riguarda il presunto pericolo che l'ordine dei gesuiti e le società ad esso "affiliate" avrebbero fatto correre al Reich, punto che ha molto a che fare con l'interpretazione del Kulturkampf. Se infatti il Kulturkampf non viene solo visto come un confronto tra Bismarck e il Centro, bensì anche - come lo intese Virchow² e come oggi viene visto pure da storici non cattolici quali Heinz Gollwitzer e Wolfgang Mommsen - come confronto tra la cultura protestante-tedesca moderna e quella cattolico-romana retrograda,³ che aveva di nuovo manifestato la sua ostilità verso il pro-

¹ Nel territorio del Reich nel 1872 c' erano 17 case della Congregazione, cioè in Prussia (Prov. Germ. inf.): Bornhofen (fond. 1850), Trier (fond. 1851), Maria Hamicolt (fond. 1856), Aachen-Burtscheid (fond. 1859), Bochum (fond. 1868); in Baviera (Prov. Germ. sup.): Altötting (due case, fond. 1841), Vilsbiburg (fond. 1845); Niederachdorf (fond. 1849), Gars (fond. 1857), Dorfen (1861); Heldenstein-Bachham (1864), Fährbrück (1866); in Alsazia e Lorena (Prov. gall.-helv.): Bischenberg (fond. 1820); Landser (fond. 1842); Teterchen (fond. 1847); Mühlhausen (Mulhouse) (fond. 1868).

² Cfr J. KOLCKENBROCK-NETZ, *Wissenschaft als nationaler Mythos. Anmerkungen zur Haeckel-Virchow-Kontroverse*, in J. LINK - W. WÜLFING, *Nationale Mythen und Symbole in der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Stuttgart 1991, 212-236.

³ Cfr W. MOMMSEN, *Kultur und Politik im deutschen Kaiserreich*, in Id., *Der autoritäre Nationalstaat. Verfassung, Gesellschaft und Kultur im deutschen Kaiserreich*, Frankfurt/Main 1990, 285; H. GOLLWITZER, *Zum politischen Germanismus des 19.*

gresso con il dogma dell'infalibilità,⁴ allora si comprende che la lotta contro i gesuiti rivestì in esso un'importanza centrale. In Germania infatti i gesuiti erano considerati già da molto tempo come i rappresentanti di tutto ciò che non era tedesco, del romano, delle battaglie di retroguardia; anzi, la fobia nei loro confronti, che crebbe nella misura in cui diminuiva la vera conoscenza del loro ordine, finì per penetrare anche in molti ambienti cattolici.⁵ Combattere i gesuiti significava combattere tutto ciò che si opponeva al progresso e alla missione della nazione tedesca e in genere a qualsiasi modernizzazione.⁶ La loro espulsione dal Reich faceva parte del compito che Heinrich von Treitschke affidava al "nuovo Stato dei tedeschi", cioè del compito di portare a compimento la Riforma in Germania e "di rianimare il cristianesimo evangelico in maniera tale da metterlo in grado di dominare tutta la nostra nazione... Mai più infatti una Chiesa di preti radunerà il popolo di Martin Lutero attorno ai suoi altari".⁷ All'interno di questa situazione non è cosa priva di interesse osservare come coloro che ne furono collateralmente colpiti argomentarono e come, ad esempio, i redentoristi e i loro amici fecero propri i pregiudizi e gli stereotipi relativi ai gesuiti, anzi adottarono le posizioni di gruppi nazional-liberali e protestanti bellucosi per stornare da sé l'accusa di connivenza con i gesuiti.

Dopo queste osservazioni preliminari passiamo al tema vero e proprio.

I. LA LEGGE SUI GESUITI DEL 20 MAGGIO 1872 E LA SUA ATTUAZIONE

1. La legge sui gesuiti

"Noi Guglielmo, per grazia di Dio imperatore tedesco, re di

Jahrhunderts, in *Festschrift für H. Heimpel*, Göttingen 1971, I, 288-356.

⁴ Cfr QUIRINUS [= J.J.I. von DÖLLINGER], *Römische Briefe vom Concil*, München 1870; - Cfr anche: O. WEISS, *Döllinger, Rom und Italien*, in G. DENZLER - L. GRASMÜCK, *Geschichtlichkeit und Glaube. Gedenkschrift zum 100. Todestag Ignaz von Döllingers*, München 1990.

⁵ Cfr Chr. WEBER, *Kardinäle und Prälaten in den letzten Jahrzehnten des Kirchenstaates. Elite-Rekrutierung, Karriere-Muster und soziale Zusammensetzung der kurialen Führungsschicht zur Zeit Pius IX. (1846-1878)*, Stuttgart 1978, 329-341.

⁶ Cfr W. MENZEL, *Geschichte der neuesten Jesuitenuntriebe in Deutschland (1870-1872)*, Stuttgart 1873.

⁷ H. VON TREITSCHKE, *Luther und die deutsche Nation* [conferenza tenuta a Darmstadt il 7 nov. 1883], in *Id.*, *Historische und politische Aufsätze*, Leipzig 1920, IV, 21.

Prussia..., ordiniamo in nome del Reich tedesco e dopo aver ottenuto l'approvazione del Bundesrath e del Reichstag, quanto segue:

§ 1 L'ordine della Compagnia di Gesù, gli ordini ad esso affini e le congregazioni similari sono banditi dal territorio del Reich tedesco: è interdetta la fondazione di nuove sedi, e quelle attualmente esistenti vanno soppresse entro un termine che sarà stabilito dal Bundesrath e che non dovrà andare oltre i 6 mesi.

§ 2 Gli appartenenti all'ordine della Compagnia di Gesù o gli ordini ad esso affini o alle congregazioni similari, qualora siano stranieri, possono essere espulsi dal territorio della Federazione; qualora siano indigeni, si può loro proibire il soggiorno in determinati circoscrizioni o località, oppure imporre loro di risiedere in essi.

§ 3 Le disposizioni necessarie per lo scioglimento (degli enti sopra menzionati) e per garantire l'attuazione di questa legge saranno emanate dal Bundesrath.

Da noi sottoscritto con la nostra firma autografa e contrassegnato col nostro sigillo.

Bad Ems, 4 luglio 1872 Wilhelm
Fürst von Bismarck⁸

Così suona la legge riguardante l'ordine della Compagnia di Gesù. Brevemente sulla sua preistoria: il Reichstag tedesco, allorché nel 1872 si riunì per la sua terza sessione, si trovò davanti non meno di 93 petizioni ostili ai gesuiti, petizioni che in parte chiedevano il totale divieto dell'ordine, perché esso metteva in pericolo la "sicurezza del Reich tedesco". Molto più numerose erano naturalmente le petizioni di associazioni e comunità cattoliche in favore dei gesuiti. Con 23 voti a favore e 5 contrari si stabilì "di sottoporre al Reichstag un progetto di legge, che sanciva una pena per quei membri della Compagnia di Gesù e delle congregazioni ad essa affini che si fossero stabiliti in un luogo senza l'esplicita autorizzazione del governo del rispettivo "Land". Importante è la motivazione di questa proposta. L'ordine, che nella storia aveva dato prova di saper esercitare un grande influsso, possederebbe ancor sempre un potere enorme che andava al di là di quello di tutto l'episcopato; inoltre esso sarebbe guidato dall'estero e metterebbe in pericolo la pace religiosa nel Reich.⁹

La proposta della Commissione fu sottoposta al vaglio del ple-

⁸ Pubblicato in *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1872, I, 253. Cfr. E. R. HUBER (Hg.), *Dokumente zur Deutschen Verfassungsgeschichte*, 3 vol., Stuttgart 1961-1966, II, 363 s.

⁹ *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des deutschen Reichstags 1872*, Session 3, tom. III, Berlin 1872, 261 ss.

num del Reichstag. Durante il dibattito del 15 e 16 maggio 1872 l'ordine dei gesuiti fu dipinto come pericoloso per il Reich, per lo Stato, per la cultura, come fattore di disturbo della pace confessionale e come pericoloso per l'istruzione, l'educazione e i costumi.¹⁰ Il testo della legge sui gesuiti fu presentato al Reichstag l'11 giugno. In occasione della sua terza lettura, effettuata il 19 luglio 1872, 181 deputati votarono a favore, 93 contro e 2 si astennero. Assieme al Centro votarono contro, tra gli altri, August Bebel e Eduard Lasker.¹¹ Il 5 luglio il Bundesrath, che rappresentava i Laender, decretò a proposito dell'attuazione della legge:

“1. Poiché l'ordine della Compagnia di Gesù è bandito dal Reich tedesco, agli appartenenti a tale ordine non bisogna permettere di esercitare la loro attività, in particolare nelle chiese e nelle scuole, e di tenere missioni.

2. Le sedi dell'ordine della Compagnia di Gesù andranno soppresse al più tardi entro 6 mesi dalla data di entrata in vigore della legge.

3. Le misure necessarie all'attuazione della legge nei singoli casi saranno disposte dalle autorità di polizia dei Länder”.¹²

E in effetti i governi tedeschi procedettero con estremo rigore contro i gesuiti.

Domandiamoci: come fu possibile tutto questo? Per rispondere a questa domanda bisogna ricordare anzitutto la menzionata fobia verso i gesuiti, che presentava dei tratti irrazionali e che era in larga misura alimentata da miti e pregiudizi tenaci, come ad esempio dall'idea dell'enorme potere dell'ordine, come dimostrano le varie petizioni che ne chiedevano la proibizione. Anziché addurre delle prove ci si limitava naturalmente a fare delle affermazioni, oppure ci si richiamava all'Assemblea federale di Francoforte, che già nel 1848 aveva stabilito che “l'ordine dei gesuiti, redentoristi e liquiriani andava per sempre bandito dal Reich tedesco”,¹³ una decisione questa che però era stata allora revocata.¹⁴

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, tom. I, 367-428.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, tom. II, 1004-1028, 1124 ss.

¹² *Reichsgesetzblatt* 1872, I, 254.

¹³ *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen der deutschen konstituierenden Nationalversammlung in Frankfurt*, hg. von S. WIGARD, tom. III, Frankfurt 1848, 1990. - Cfr *Historisch-politische Blätter für das kath. Deutschland* 22 (1848) 539-544; *Neue Zion* 4 (1848) 673 s., 725 s., 733 ss.

¹⁴ *Stenographischer Bericht* (vedi n. 13), tom. IV, Frankfurt 1848, 4144.

Qualcosa della paura dei gesuiti diventa però fino ad un certo grado comprensibile, se teniamo presenti i raggruppamenti che avanzarono le petizioni contro di essi. Due furono soprattutto questi gruppi. Da un lato i veterocattolici in fase di formazione, i quali vedevano nei gesuiti i principali responsabili che, lavorando nell'ombra, avevano portato alla proclamazione del dogma dell'infallibilità. Con la loro chiara presa di posizione essi speravano di essere riconosciuti e sostenuti dal Reich tedesco.

Già il Congresso dei veterocattolici del settembre 1871 aveva chiesto che si mettesse fine all'"attività socialmente deleteria" dell'ordine dei gesuiti, perché esso adoperava la sua posizione di forza e di potere "per diffondere e alimentare nella gerarchia, nel clero e nel popolo tendenze ostili alla civiltà, pericolose per lo Stato e antinazionali".¹⁵ Dall'altro lato vanno menzionati il Protestantenverein (Associazione dei protestanti), fondato nel 1863,¹⁶ nonché ambienti e personalità ad esso vicini, come gli storici von Giesebrecht e von Treitschke. Per essi il nuovo Reich tedesco era un Reich protestante, in cui per i cattolici non c'era propriamente spazio e meno che mai per l'ordine ultramontano dei gesuiti, un ordine ossequioso nei confronti del papa romano. Così nel dicembre del 1871 il Protestantentag tedesco dichiarò che era "un dovere impellente della nazione tedesca operare con estrema energia per por fine a qualsiasi attività degli appartenenti e degli affiliati all'ordine dei gesuiti nella scuola e nella Chiesa".¹⁷

2. La più precisa definizione del § 2 della legge sui gesuiti - I redentoristi affiliati dei gesuiti

La legge sui gesuiti non specificava quali fossero gli ordini religiosi affini o affiliati ai gesuiti. Era compito dei governi regionali scoprire quali fossero tali società nel loro territorio. Tuttavia, già durante le sedute della Commissione parlamentare e del Parlamento sulla legge relativa ai gesuiti, i redentoristi erano stati indicati da varie parti come la società più vicina alla Compagnia di Gesù. Qualcuno espresse pure il timore che, una volta espulsi i gesuiti, i redentoristi avrebbero potuto prenderne il posto. Particolar-

¹⁵ *Stenographischer Bericht über die Verhandlungen des Catholiken-Congresses, abgehalten vom 22. bis 24. September 1871 in München*, München 1871, 232.

¹⁶ Cfr J. RATHJE, *Die Welt des freien Protestantismus*, Stuttgart 1952.

¹⁷ Ch. MOUFANG, *Aktenstücke, betreffend die Jesuiten in Deutschland*, Mainz 1871, 1 ss.

mente grave apparve il fatto che i redentoristi alsaziani sottostavano a un superiore provinciale francese residente in Francia.¹⁸ Ma nel corso delle sedute tenute al Bundesrat su questa legge risultò pure che la Baviera non era convinta dell'affinità esistente tra i gesuiti e i redentoristi.

Così Johann Nepomuk von Fäustle, ministro della giustizia della Baviera, affermò che "per il momento i redentoristi erano ammessi nella Baviera, anche se il governo bavarese si era rifiutato nella maniera più tenace di ammettere l'ordine dei gesuiti". La cosa importante non era il termine "verwandt" (affine, imparentato, collegato), decisivo sarebbe il fondamento giuridico per l'espulsione. La Baviera si riservava di verificare "se i redentoristi bavaresi cadono sotto la legge attualmente in discussione" e di esaminare "in ogni caso con precisione i loro statuti, la loro costituzione e il loro fine".¹⁹ Certo è che tale presa di posizione fu concordata con il primo ministro Freiherr von Lutz, che per motivi politici regionali non era disposto ad espellere i redentoristi.²⁰

A proposito di tutto questo ci poniamo tre domande: 1) In tutta questa faccenda quale ruolo svolsero in realtà i redentoristi alsaziani? 2) Cos'era in realtà la presunta affinità o parentela con i gesuiti? 3) Perché la Baviera assunse una diversa posizione?

- A proposito del punto 1: i redentoristi in Alsazia e Lorena

C'erano un convento in Lorena e tre in Alsazia, tra cui quello di Bischenberg presso Bischofsheim, il convento più antico - assieme a quello di Vienna - fondato nel 1820 a nord delle Alpi. Essi non costituivano una propria provincia, ma dal 1841 erano stati inclusi con il convento svizzero di Friburgo nella cosiddetta provincia gallo-elvetica.²¹ In seguito alla guerra della confederazione separatista il convento svizzero

¹⁸ Cfr *Stenographische Berichte über die Verhandlungen des Deutschen Reichstags*, Session 3, tom. 2, 1004, 1007, 1015 ss., 1088, 1125 ss., 1137.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 1068.

²⁰ Cfr Johann Fhr. von Lutz a Bismarck, München, 28 giugno 1889. - Bayer. Geheimes Staatsarchiv München, MA I, 811.

²¹ La provincia consisteva all'inizio di due case, l'una nella Svizzera: Friburgo (fond. 1818), l'altra nell'Alsazia: Bischenberg. Nel 1842 fu fondata una seconda casa alsaziana, cioè Landser. - Cfr Th. LANDTWING, *Die Redemptoristen in Freiburg in der Schweiz, 1811-1847*, Freiburg 1955 (= Bibliotheca Historica CSSR, 2), 119.

era stato soppresso,²² e il suo posto fu preso da conventi esistenti in Francia, da St. Nicolas presso Nancy e Contamine nella Savoia.²³ Dal 1865 al 1898 il padre francese Achille Desurmont (1828-1898), dalle idee monarchiche e conservatrici, residente a St. Nicolas, rimase quasi ininterrottamente al vertice della provincia.²⁴ Anche se le case dell'Alsazia e della Lorena erano abitate in gran parte da padri di lingua tedesca e anche se i padri alsaziani continuavano come sempre ad operare pure nel Baden e nel Lussemburgo e ricevevano di là nuove vocazioni,²⁵ Desurmont cercò di francesizzare quei conventi. Così tutti i documenti ufficiali, pure le lettere dirette al superiore generale, dovevano essere redatti in francese.²⁶ In tal modo i redentoristi si contrapponevano fortemente ad altre comunità di religiosi, soprattutto ai cappuccini che si comportavano in maniera pronunciatamente tedesca.²⁷ Nel 1871 le case divennero relativamente autonome,²⁸ però Desurmont continuava ad essere provinciale anche delle case poste sul territorio del Reich, benché pure lui fosse convinto che, a lungo andare, tale situazione non potesse durare.²⁹ Del resto già le lettere da lui indirizzate al superiore generale dal giugno 1872 in poi mostrano che egli si aspettava la soppressione dei conventi dell'Alsazia e della Lorena e che si preoccupava della sistemazione dei "pauvres pères allemands".³⁰ Per questo propose di trasferire la casa comune degli studi dalla Lorena a St. Nicolas o in Belgio e provvide ad acquistare un edificio vicino a Belfort per i padri che, come c'era da attendersi, sarebbero stati espulsi.³¹ Ci possiamo naturalmente domandare se

²² *Ibid.*, 45-51.

²³ S. Nicolas du Port (sede del superiore provinciale) fu fondato nel 1845, Contamine-sur-Arve nel 1847. - Cfr *Catalogi CSSR*; S. J. BOLAND, *A Dictionary of the Redemptorists*, Romae 1987, 15 s.

²⁴ Cfr A. GEORGE, *Le très révérend Père Achille Desurmont de la Congrégation du Très Saint Rédempteur, Provincial en France*, Paris 1924.

²⁵ Cfr P. HENLÉ, *Lebensbilder der Straßburger Ordensprovinz nebst einer kurzen Geschichte ihrer Niederlassungen*, s.l., 1937, 5, 230.

²⁶ Cfr AGHR, Provincia Gallo-Helvetica.

²⁷ Informazione del P. Martin Benzerath.

²⁸ Il p. Michael Neubert (1805-1885) funzionava in un certo senso da viceprovinciale, ma giuridicamente e anche in realtà il p. Desurmont restava sempre provinciale. - Cfr HENLÉ, *Lebensbilder* (n. 25), 5.

²⁹ Cfr A. Desurmont a N. Mauron... AGHR; Prov. Gall-Helv.

³⁰ A. Desurmont a N. Mauron, 27 giugno 1872; *ibidem*.

³¹ Cfr Desurmont a Mauron, 19 giugno, 24 giugno, 5 agosto, 25 agosto 1872; 25 aprile, 23 maggio, 7 giugno, 19 giugno 1873; *ibidem*.

il governo generale non avrebbe fatto meglio a erigere subito i conventi esistenti sul territorio del Reich in provincia autonoma e a separarli da quella francese. Questo avrebbe perlomeno fatto cadere uno dei motivi dell'espulsione. In ogni caso una parte dei padri alsaziani avrebbe dovuto abbandonare la patria, perché non pochi di essi -pur essendo stati lasciati liberi di scegliere dal provinciale -avevano optato per la nazionalità francese.³²

- *A proposito del punto 2: l'"affinità" dei redentoristi "con i gesuiti"*

Non era naturalmente solo la dipendenza dei padri alsaziani da un provinciale francese a bollare i redentoristi come affini ai gesuiti. L'accusa aveva radici più profonde. Vari furono i momenti che vi contribuirono. I redentoristi erano stati fondati nel 1732, però a nord delle Alpi erano comparsi solo poco dopo la soppressione dei gesuiti. Se già per questo essi erano considerati dei gesuiti camuffati, che avevano solo un nome diverso, a ciò si aggiunse il fatto che la loro struttura esterna, con un superiore generale eletto a vita e una rigida organizzazione basata sul principio dell'obbedienza, richiamava alla mente la Compagnia di Gesù.³³ Senza contare la loro attività nel campo delle missioni popolari, l'affinità dell'orientamento da loro sostenuto in teologia morale con il probabilismo gesuitico e il loro modo esteriore di presentarsi, modo sentito per molti aspetti come tipicamente romano.³⁴ Le tre persone che presero parte alla fondazione della congregazione, Alfonso de Liguori, Tommaso Falcoja e Maria Celeste Crostarosa, avevano di certo tutt'altra intenzione che quella di dar vita a un nuovo ordine gesuitico. Non doveva trattarsi di un ordine religioso, ma di una comunità di sacerdoti secolari viventi insieme. La regola della congregazione, cui solo in

³² Desurmont a Mauron (vedi n. 31); Cfr Copia di una lettera del p. Desurmont alla comunità sul Bischenberg, 18 luglio 1873; *ibid.*

³³ Cfr *Monumenta Hofbaueriana* XIII, 33s., 52, 63, 74, 83, 84; *Bayer. Volksblatt* 1830, 31, 314; O. WEISS, *Die Redemptoristen in Bayern (1790-1909). Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Ultramontanismus*, 189 s., 248, 266, 811.

³⁴ Cfr E. HOSP, *Erbe des heiligen Klemens Maria Hofbauer. Erlösermissionare (Redemptoristen) in Österreich 1820-1951*, Wien 1953, 229.

occasione dell'approvazione canonica i canonisti romani conferirono la sua rigida forma presuntivamente simile a quella dei gesuiti,³⁵ si ispirava in larga parte alle rivelazioni di cui era stata gratificata Suor Celeste, al Carmelo e alla associazione dei "Pii Operarii" operante a Napoli. Fine della congregazione erano l'apostolato in favore dei gruppi marginali viventi nell'hinterland di Napoli, la vita e l'attività vicino ai poveri e agli abbandonati, il tutto accompagnato da una forte accentuazione della vita contemplativa, della meditazione e della preghiera corale.³⁶ Se c'era una qualche affinità con i gesuiti, essa consisteva nella teologia morale antigiansenista del fondatore de Liguori, anche se già lui aveva cercato di prendere le distanze dal probabilismo gesuitico. "Oh come mi pento", scrisse egli al suo editore, "di aver scritto un commento al (gesuita) Busenbaum!"³⁷ Dopo la metà del secolo XIX sarebbe poi scoppiata una violenta diatriba fra redentoristi e gesuiti su questioni relative ai sistemi morali.³⁸

Se ciò malgrado i primi redentoristi non italiani furono segnalati come gesuiti nei rapporti della polizia,³⁹ ciò aveva anche molto a che fare con il titolo di "gesuitico" che, in qualità di contraltare del titolo di "giansenistico", indicava nel secolo XVIII tutto ciò che appariva "romano e non tedesco, oscurantistico e superstizioso".⁴⁰ Tutte queste etichette furono applicate ai redentoristi.⁴¹ A ciò si aggiunse il fatto che all'inizio

³⁵ Cfr S. FERRERO, *La regola pontificia del 1749, in Storia della Congregazione del Santissimo Redentore, vol. I. Le Origini (1732-1797)*, tom I., a cura di F. Chiovaro, Roma 1993, 452-475.

³⁶ Cfr Th. REY-MERMET, *Il Fondatore*, in *Ibid.*, 119-164; ID., *Dalla fondazione all'approvazione pontificia*, *ibid.* 165-238.

³⁷ S. Alfonso a Giambattista Remondini, 12 giugno 1763. *Lettere di San Alfonso*, 3 vol., Roma 1887, III, 167-169. Vedi anche S. Alfonso allo stesso, 15 giugno, *ibid.*, 169-171. - Cfr H. ARBOLEDA VALENCIA, *Regestum manuscriptorum Sancti Alfonsi*, in *Spic. Hist.* 34/35 (1988/89)

³⁸ Su questo argomento: A. BALLERINI SJ., *Dissertatio de morali systemate S. Alphonsi*, Roma 1864; [R. v. SMETANA CSSR.], *Vindiciae Alphonianae seu Doctoris Ecclesiae S. Alphonsi M. de Liguori Doctrina moralis vindicata*, Roma 1873. Ulteriore bibliografia in O. WEISS, *Alfonso de Liguori und die deutsche Moralthologie*, in *Stud. Mor.* 25/1 (1987), 123-161, qui 151 ss.

³⁹ Vedi n. 33.

⁴⁰ Cfr R. REINHARDSTÖTTNER, *Andreas Zaupser*, in *Studien zur Kultur- und Literaturgeschichte Altbayerns* 1 (1893) 146; R. VAN DÜLMEN, *Propst Franziskus Töpsl (1711-1798), Augustinerchorherr und Professor in Ingolstadt*, Kallmünz 1967, passim; O. WEISS, *Der Ultramontanismus. Grundlagen - Vorgeschichte - Struktur*, in *Zeitschrift für bayer. Landesgeschichte* 41 (1978) 825.

⁴¹ Cfr L. von OETTINGEN-WALLERSTEIN, *Aechte Erläuterungen und Zusätze zu der Rede des Reichsraths-Referenten gelegentlich der Berathungen über die Klosterfrage*,

del secolo XIX essi si apprestavano indubbiamente a divenire una specie di surrogato dei gesuiti e ad assumere le loro precedenti funzioni, così come quando nel 1818 la cosiddetta regola imperiale, elaborata da Clemens Hofbauer assieme a canonisti austriaci, pose al primo posto tra i fini dell'ordine l'attività scientifica e l'educazione nelle università.⁴² Niente affatto qualificabile come ultramontano-gesuitico era naturalmente il fatto che si trattasse in fondo di una regola ecclesial-statale, simile a quella che già era stata messa a punto a Napoli nel cosiddetto "Regolamento".⁴³ Tale regola ecclesial-statale austriaca, anche se fu rinnegata da P. Passerat,⁴⁴ successore di Hofbauer al vertice dei redentoristi transalpini, continuò ad essere considerata vincolante da molti membri,⁴⁵ e successivamente si vide che in Austria e poi anche in Baviera la congregazione aveva per cos dire due anime, una ultramontana e una più orientata verso una Chiesa di Stato.⁴⁶ Sempre si cercarono buoni rapporti con i governi⁴⁷, anche per sottrarsi alle ingerenze dei vescovi, che cercavano di intromettersi nelle faccende della congregazione, la cui esenzione non era ancora del tutto garantita e le cui costituzioni cominciavano pur sempre con le parole: la congregazione ha lo scopo di radunare sacerdoti secolari.⁴⁸

Comunque sia, il sospetto che i redentoristi fossero dei gesuiti camuffati era stato lanciato, e non fu più facile per loro scrollarselo di dosso. Lo si vide già, per esempio, nel 1826, allorché il re Luigi I aveva promesso di concedere loro il permesso di entrare in Baviera, cosa che fu tuttavia impedita all'ultimo minuto dai consiglieri del re, i quali gli diedero ad

[München 1846], XVII, CIX, CXCIV-CCIII.

⁴² E. HOSP, *Geschichte der Redemptoristen-Regel in Österreich (1819-1848). Dokumente mit rechtsgeschichtlicher Einführung*, Wien 1935, 218-222, 231-249. - Cfr O. WEISS, *Die transalpinen Redemptoristen und der Zeitgeist*, in *Spic. Hist.* 35 (1987) 166 s.

⁴³ Cfr G. ORLANDI, in *Storia della Congregazione I/1* (n. 35), 271-295.

⁴⁴ Cfr Passerat a N. Mansione, 25 luglio 1820, 29 marzo 1822, in *Spic. Hist.* 9 (1961), 141, 143, 153.

⁴⁵ Cfr HOSP, *Geschichte der Redemptoristen-Regel* (n.42), 27; ID., *Das Erbe* (n. 34), 210-215; WEISS, *Die Redemptoristen* (n. 33) 155 s.

⁴⁶ Cfr la lettera del p. Carl Welsersheimb al p. Ripoli, 22 febbraio 1833, in *Spic. Hist.* 40 (1992) 309; O. WEISS, *Katholiken in der Auseinandersetzung mit der kirchlichen Autorität. Zur Situation des kath. Wien und des Wiener Katholikenvereins in den Jahren 1848-1850*, in *Rottenburger Jahrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* 10 (1991) 28 s.

⁴⁷ Cfr WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 207 s., 283 s, 1099 ss.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 252, 788-793.

intendere che i redentoristi non erano solo delle spie del gabinetto di Vienna, ma che sotto il mantello del beato Alfonso si nascondeva pure tutta la regola di sant'Ignazio.⁴⁹ Né di alcun giovamento fu il fatto che nel medesimo tempo si leggesse su una rivista teologica: "I redentoristi pensano di sostituire i gesuiti, ma non ne hanno né l'erudizione né l'intelligenza".⁵⁰ Anzi, ciò peggiorò ulteriormente la situazione. I redentoristi furono declassati a gesuiti di seconda categoria, per così dire a gesuiti popolari per la gente di campagna⁵¹ o, peggio ancora, come si legge nello scritto polemico di Döllinger, pubblicato con lo pseudonimo di "Quirinus", a "battistrada e fratelli conversi, a portaborse dei gesuiti".⁵² Similmente non stupisce che, fra i redentoristi, l'antigesuitismo fosse tanto forte quanto lo era in ambienti liberali.⁵³

Alla rivalità nel campo della pastorale pratica, alle controversie in teologia morale si aggiunse un certo complesso di inferiorità e anche, in misura crescente, il timore che i redentoristi potessero essere scambiati per "gesuiti molto poco osservanti, mondanizzati e lassisti".⁵⁴ La lotta dei redentoristi contro i gesuiti non era già da tempo condotta solo più sul piano delle dotte controversie. In gioco era entrata una politica molto concreta, che condusse alle coalizioni più singolari. Ricordo il caso Kuhn.⁵⁵ Sul caso Kraus ritornerò ancora. Alorché i gesuiti furono espulsi dalla Germania, il provinciale bavarese Carl Schmöger (1819-1883) fu del parere che essi se lo fossero meritato.⁵⁶

- *A proposito del punto 3: la presa di posizione della Baviera*

I redentoristi erano considerati, come abbiamo detto,

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 189 s.

⁵⁰ *Katholische Monatsschrift* 2 (1827) 112-126; cfr *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* 8 (1827), 322-325.

⁵¹ Cfr WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 811.

⁵² QUIRINUS (n. 4), 415.

⁵³ Cfr O. WEISS, *Döllinger et les Rédemptoristes*, in *Spic. Hist.* 38 (1990) 415.

⁵⁴ Così il provinciale bavarese p. C. Schmöger. *Ibid.*, 415.

⁵⁵ H. WOLF, *Ketzer oder Kirchenlehrer? Der Tübinger Theologe Johannes von Kuhn (1806-1887) in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen seiner Zeit* (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen, 58), Mainz, 224-334. - Cfr la mia recensione in *Spic. Hist.* 41 (1993) 422 ss.

⁵⁶ Cfr WEISS, *Döllinger et les Rédemptoristes* (n. 53), 434.

dei gesuiti popolari meno istruiti e, quindi, come il male minore. Per questo il ministro Karl von Abel, quando nel 1841 propose al re bavarese di introdurre i gesuiti, aggiunse per precauzione: "Se questo non dovesse essere possibile, chiedo che vengano introdotti i redentoristi". I gesuiti non ebbero il permesso di entrare, i redentoristi sì.⁵⁷ Anche in seguito la Baviera tenne lontano i gesuiti, dicendo che i redentoristi erano più che sufficienti.⁵⁸ Questi lasciarono cadere alcuni tratti delle missioni popolari importati dall'Italia meridionale⁵⁹ e si rigenerarono con vocazioni bavaresi indigene e altre provenienti dal Württemberg.⁶⁰ Certo, essi continuarono ancor sempre ad essere considerati rigorosi e ultramontani,⁶¹ però avevano imparato a farsi amare dalla popolazione cattolica della Baviera, al punto tale che la gente non li considerava affatto dei gesuiti popolari, ma li indicava col nome di "cappuccini di Gars".⁶² E i cappuccini non passavano come "nemici del Reich", ma stranamente come bavaresi e tedeschi particolarmente fedeli. L'allontanamento dei redentoristi dalla Baviera appariva perciò come ingiustificato, non necessario e dannoso a motivo dello scontento che avrebbe suscitato tra la popolazione.⁶³

Ma torniamo a vedere come i Länder tedeschi meglio definirono il contenuto del § 2 della legge sui gesuiti. Il 28 giugno 1872 il Bundesrat chiese ai governi federali di fare delle rilevazioni sugli ordini religiosi affini ai gesuiti.⁶⁴ I redentoristi furono sì nominati al primo posto, ma proprio nei loro confronti i governi tedeschi non si dimostrarono in un primo momento unanimi. Chiara la situazione apparve nel "Reichsland" dell'Alsazia-Lorena, dove i padri sostavano a un provinciale francese. E neppure in Prussia alcuno si mosse in favore dei redentoristi, dal momento che la sezione catto-

⁵⁷ WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 200-204.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 277 ss.

⁵⁹ Cfr *ibid.*, 987-1004.

⁶⁰ Frh. von Lutz a Bismarck, 28 giugno 1889 (n. 20).

⁶¹ Relazione del presidente del governo di Oberbayern, 4 febbraio 1873, Staatsarchiv für Oberbayern, München, RA 2526/9979.

⁶² Informazione dai padri anziani di Gars all'autore nel 1962.

⁶³ Lutz a Bismarck (n.20).

⁶⁴ Cfr Bericht des Ausschusses für Justizwesen über die weitere Ausführung des Reichsgesetzes vom 4. Juli 1872, Bundesrat 1873, Drucksache 80, Berlin 1873 (copia, Arch. Prov. di Monaco, Gars, Carte G. Brandhuber).

lica del ministero del culto era già stata abolita. Poiché era noto che nei dibattiti relativi alla legge sui gesuiti i redentoristi erano stati indicati come affini a questi, già nel 1872 alcune autorità prussiane si erano mosse contro di essi. Così la missione popolare già iniziata a Wehlen an der Mosel fu interrotta nell'agosto del 1872 dal presidente del governo di Treviri.⁶⁵ Il 1 gennaio 1873 apparve quindi sulla "Spencersche Zeitung" un articolo, che si fondava chiaramente su un parere espresso da parte veterocattolica. Esso tradiva una grande conoscenza della materia, si occupava dell'organizzazione dell'ordine dei gesuiti, comparata con quella di ordini più antichi (governo affidato a un superiore generale straniero eletto a vita, rigida organizzazione basata sull'obbedienza ecc.), e concludeva dicendo che se una congregazione o un ordine presentavano anche solo una di queste caratteristiche, avrebbero dovuto essere considerati come affini ai gesuiti.⁶⁶ E i redentoristi, poiché mostravano addirittura più di una di tali caratteristiche, non potevano che attendersi il peggio, tanto che quelli residenti nella Germania settentrionale cominciarono già nel febbraio del 1873 a cercarsi un tetto in Lussemburgo, in Belgio e in Olanda.⁶⁷

Diversamente le cose andarono in Baviera. Qui il governo Lutz non era affatto disposto a sopprimere i conventi dei redentoristi e si procurò piuttosto numerosi pareri, tra cui uno di Döllinger.⁶⁸ Tali pareri convenivano sì nel dire che le regole dei gesuiti e quelle dei redentoristi combaciavano in fatto di governo dell'ordine e di prassi dell'obbedienza, ma sostenevano anche che ciò malgrado le differenze erano notevoli. Soprattutto i redentoristi non si proponevano come i gesuiti di convertire i protestanti. Anzi essi sarebbero più "nemici che amici dei gesuiti".⁶⁹ A risultati simili pervenne il governo della Baviera meridionale (Oberbayern) in un'ampia relazione sull'attività dei padri.⁷⁰ Ciò fu comunicato dal governo bava-

⁶⁵ G. BRANDHUBER, *Die norddeutsche Provinz*, in ID., *Die Redemptoristen 1732-1932*, Bamberg 1932, 269 s.

⁶⁶ Il provinciale p. M. Schmitz a Mauron, Trier [Treviri], 19 gennaio 1873, AGHR, Prov. Cerm. Inf. II.

⁶⁷ Schmitz a Mauron, Trier 21. febr. 1873, *ibid.* - La casa nella città di Lussemburgo apparteneva già dal 1859 alla provincia della Germania del Nord. Cfr H. TRITZ, *Entstehungsgeschichte der Kölner Redemptoristenprovinz*, in *In Benedictione Memoria. Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Hundertjahrfeier der Kölner Provinz der Redemptoristen*, hg. vom Ordensseminar Geistingen, Bonn 1959, 99-183, qui 178 ss.

⁶⁸ Cf. WEISS, *Döllinger et les Rédemptoristes* (n. 53), 434-438.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 437.

⁷⁰ Relazione del presidente (n.81).

rese a Bismarck già il 9 dicembre 1872, con l'annotazione che sarebbe stato giuridicamente ben difficile dimostrare l'affinità dei redentoristi con i gesuiti.⁷¹ In particolare il ministro von Lutz non poteva riconoscere che la congregazione dei redentoristi rappresentasse un pericolo per il Reich e lo Stato. Essa, che si era nel frattempo arricchita di vocazioni bavaresi indigene, aveva perso il suo rigore zelotico iniziale e non andava giudicata diversamente dai francescani, dai cappuccini o dagli agostiniani. Infine la cattiva impressione che un'espulsione dei padri avrebbe fatto sulla popolazione cattolica superava di gran lunga l'utilità che ne sarebbe potuta venire dal loro allontanamento.⁷²

Con queste convinzioni la Baviera partecipò il 22 febbraio 1873 alla sessione del Bundesrat, in cui bisognava decidere sull'affinità con i gesuiti di nove associazioni religiose maschili e due femminili. Poiché non si riuscì ad arrivare ad una decisione unanime, la faccenda fu affidata a una commissione che si occupava di problemi della giustizia. Essa avrebbe dovuto chiarire, tra l'altro, se le società religiose in questione tendevano notoriamente come i gesuiti a un dominio spirituale e culturale universale, se possedevano una rigida organizzazione e se erano diffuse in tutto il mondo.⁷³ In una delle sedute della commissione il rappresentante prussiano dichiarò: "Se i redentoristi non cadono sotto la legge, con ciò viene contemporaneamente riconosciuto che nessun altro ordine e nessun'altra congregazione va dichiarata affine ai gesuiti". A tale dichiarazione si associò l'Alsazia-Lorena, la quale fece osservare come l'ostilità dei redentoristi contro il Reich risultasse in modo chiaro dalla loro dipendenza da un superiore provinciale francese. Solo allora la Baviera cedette, dopo qualche titubanza, al fine di non provocare dissonanze tra i Länder in una questione così importante. Il rappresentante della Baviera affermò: il governo bavarese era sempre convinto della non affinità dei redentoristi bavaresi con i gesuiti, però si rendeva conto che in una questione tanto importante decisive erano le condizioni registrate non in *un* Land della Federazione, bensì quelle registrate nel Reich nel suo complesso.⁷⁴ In effetti l'esistenza di un superiore provinciale francese in Alsazia e

⁷¹ Bericht des Ausschusses (n. 64).

⁷² *Ibid.* - Cfr Lutz a Bismarck (n.20).

⁷³ *Bunderathsprotokolle* 1873 §54, 41 ad 1, Berlin 1873; G. BRANDHUBER, *Die süddeutsche Provinz*, in *Id.*, *Die Redemptoristen* (n.65), 237; *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht* 30 (1873) 261 ss.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, 263, 284 ss., 290; *Bundesrathsprotokolle* 1873 § 316.

Lorena era una cosa che aveva il suo peso. Per cui, sulla base di queste riflessioni, anche la Baviera assentì il 23 aprile 1873 a che i redentoristi fossero annoverati tra le società affini ai gesuiti.⁷⁵ In tal modo il § 2 della legge sui gesuiti poteva finalmente essere definito con precisione e il 13 maggio 1873 acquistava con la pubblicazione forza di legge. Entro sei mesi bisognava espellere i redentoristi, i lazzaristi, la congegrazione dei sacerdoti dello Spirito Santo e la società del Sacratissimo Cuore di Gesù, tutte congregazioni queste ultime la cui espulsione era stata chiaramente determinata dal fatto che esse erano governate da superiori residenti in Francia.⁷⁶

3. L'esecuzione del § 2 della legge sui gesuiti nei confronti dei redentoristi tedeschi

Nell'esecuzione della legge si verificò una differenza tra la Prussia e il Reichsland, da un lato, e la Baviera, dall'altro lato, naturalmente non tanto per quanto riguardava le misure prese, quanto piuttosto per il modo della loro traduzione in atto. Così già il 9 giugno 1873 un funzionario del governo si presentò nel convento di Aquisgrana e dispose che a partire dal 10 giugno venisse interrotta qualsiasi attività pastorale.⁷⁷ Poi fu la volta delle altre sedi. I conventi andavano sgombrati entro ottobre o al massimo entro il 1 novembre.⁷⁸ In Alsazia il direttore distrettuale si presentò l'11 giugno 1873 nel convento di Riedisheim vicino a Mulhouse, il 12 giugno a Landser, il 16 a Bischenberg, e dispose la soppressione dei conventi, che andavano lasciati liberi entro il 20 novembre.⁷⁹

In Baviera i conventi furono soppressi tra il 21 giugno e il 3 luglio. In linea generale essi andavano sgombrati entro il 1 novembre. La maggior parte dei funzionari distrettuali bavaresi, che provvidero alla soppressione, espressero il loro rincrescimento per il fatto di dover attuare questa misura. Assai diverse furono le di-

⁷⁵ Cfr Lutz a Bismarck (n.20).

⁷⁶ BRANDHUBER (n. 65) 237, 261. - Cfr *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 24 maggio 1873.

⁷⁷ P. provinciale Schmitz al p. generale Mauron, Trier, 9 giugno 1873, AGHR, Prov. Germ. Inf. II.

⁷⁸ Schmitz a Mauron, Trier, 3 luglio, Maria Hamicolt 22 luglio, Aachen, 23 agosto 1873; Cfr BRANDHUBER (n. 65), 270 s.

⁷⁹ Relazione del p. Nikolaus Jung sull'espulsione, 30 dicembre 1886, AGHR, Prov. Gall-Helv.; Desurmont a Mauron, St. Nicolas, 19 giugno, 1. luglio 1873. *ibid*; Cfr HENLÉ (n. 25), 6 s., 126 ss.

sposizioni da loro impartite. Mentre in un convento fu immediatamente proibita la celebrazione di qualsiasi messa bassa, ad Altoetting i pellegrinaggi potevano continuare fino al 1 novembre, data fissata per lo sgombero.⁸⁰ Pure Freiherr von Zwehl, presidente del governo della Baviera meridionale (Oberbayern), espresse il suo rammarico. "Veda", disse egli al superiore provinciale bavarese Carl Schmöger, "noi dipendiamo in tutto e per tutto da Berlino. Qui non possiamo più cambiare alcunché".⁸¹ Perfino Lutz diede ad intendere al provinciale che contro i redentoristi non si sarebbe proceduto con lo stesso rigore come contro i gesuiti.⁸² Al padre August Gerhard (1832-1880), suo amico di gioventù, egli offrì addirittura una parrocchia riccamente dotata qualora avesse abbandonato la congregazione.⁸³ Il 4 ottobre 1873 il Ministero degli interni per gli affari ecclesiali e scolastici dispose che i vescovi diocesani potevano accogliere nelle loro diocesi singoli exredentoristi, a patto che essi venissero dispensati dai voti religiosi.⁸⁴ Pure alcuni vescovi presentarono in tal senso richieste al superiore provinciale e a Roma.⁸⁵ Nel medesimo tempo però i 17 redentoristi bavaresi che già lavoravano in parrocchie ricevettero il decreto di espulsione.⁸⁶ La proposta di dispensare anche solo temporaneamente i padri dai voti religiosi - come in effetti avevano fatto altri ordini durante il Kulturkampf⁸⁷ - apparve al provinciale bavarese, P. Carl Schmöger, che continuava ancor sempre a sperare in un trattamento speciale, una provocazione, anzi un attacco alla fedeltà conventuale.⁸⁸ Così non gli rimase altro che spedire all'estero i suoi padri.⁸⁹ Pochi di essi poterono sì rimanere in Baviera, ma senza esercitare alcuna attività pastorale, e tra di essi lo stesso provinciale Carl Schmöger, che fece intestare a proprio nome il convento di Gars. Egli figurava da proprietario terriero, mentre i fratelli conversi rimasti a Gars e in-

⁸⁰ Relazione del p. Vogl sulla espulsione, Archiv. Prov. di Monaco, Gars; Cronache delle case bavaresi, *ibid.*; Cfr O. WEISS, *Die bayerischen Redemptoristen im Kulturkampf*, in P. KRITZER (Hg.), *Unbekanntes Bayern*, Bd. 11: *Politik, Staat und Kirche I*, München 1980.

⁸¹ Schmöger a Mauron, [giugno 1873], AGHR, Prov. Germ. Sup. II A 6.

⁸² Schmöger a Mauron, 31 maggio 1873, *ibid.*

⁸³ Fr. J. BOGNER, *Autobiografia*, manosc., Arch. Prov. di Monaco, Gars.

⁸⁴ Copia AGHR, Prov. Germ. Sup. II A 7.

⁸⁵ Cfr Mauron a Schmöger, 8 settembre 1873. Copia, *ibid.*

⁸⁶ Relazione del p. Vogl (n. 80).

⁸⁷ Cfr G. FLECKENSTEIN, *Die Franziskaner im Rheinland 1875-1918* (= *Franziskanische Forschungen* 38), Werl/Westfalen 1992, 47-56.

⁸⁸ Cfr C. Schmöger ai vescovi bavaresi, 2 ottobre 1873, Copia AGHR, Prov. Germ. Sup. II A 7.

⁸⁹ Cfr O. WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 328 s.

dossanti abiti civili figuravano da suoi dipendenti.⁹⁰ Nel periodo che va sino alla fine degli anni '80 ricomparvero di nuovo in Baviera all'incirca 20 padri, per la maggior parte anziani e malati e tacitamente tollerati dal governo, che però non potevano ovviamente svolgere alcuna attività pastorale. Di nascosto si portò avanti addirittura un seminario e un noviziato.⁹¹ Quando il presidente del governo della Baviera meridionale (Oberbayern) decise di procedere contro i redentoristi, il governo Lutz gli fece capire che non doveva por mano ad alcuna iniziativa. Solo dopo che la faccenda fu arrivata nel 1889 sulla stampa, il governo dovette muoversi.⁹²

Ma non solo nella Baviera il Kulturkampf non fu condotto con estremo rigore, bensì anche in qualche modo nel Württemberg, ove i redentoristi non erano mai stati ufficialmente ammessi. Benché moltissimi redentoristi provenissero da quella regione, tutti i tentativi di stabilire là una sede erano falliti.⁹³ Tanto più stupisce perciò il fatto che, dopo la soppressione dei conventi, nell'estate del 1873 il provinciale Schmöger sia riuscito a sistemare sette padri, ad eccezione di uno tutti wurtenberghesi, nel Land confinante con la Baviera, come ad esempio a Wurzach presso delle suore, a Buchau am Federsee e soprattutto a Ellwangen presso il parroco dr. Franz Josef Schwarz, un suo amico che condivideva le sue stesse idee. Tali padri, anche se non potevano svolgere attività pastorale, ottennero tuttavia dalle autorità il permesso di soggiorno e di celebrare quotidianamente la santa messa. Il fatto che ciò sia stato possibile lo si deve alla intelligente politica del governo del Württemberg e del vescovo Hefele, che insieme cercarono di tener il più possibile lontano dalla loro regione il Kulturkampf.⁹⁴ Al parroco Schwarz, che simpatizzava per il Kulturkampf dal canto della chiesa, si venne evidentemente il più possibile incontro al fine di evitare che egli potesse procurare delle noie. Al vescovo il governo fece capire che esso avrebbe ignorato la presenza dei padri, che dovevano essere dispersi il più possibile nel Land. I padri, occupati in lavori scientifici e di traduzione, non furono "vessati dal governo o burocraticamente sorvegliati e poterono abitare dappertutto insie-

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, 329-332.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, 336.

⁹² *Ibid.*, 367 s.

⁹³ Cfr *ibid.*, 288-292.

⁹⁴ Cfr B. SCHÜLER, *Hefele im Lichte der nichtkirchlichen Presse in der Zeit von 1863-1893*, in H. WOLF, *Zwischen Wahrheit und Gehorsam. Carl Joseph von Hefele (1809-1893)*, Ostfildern 1994, 102-223.

me in due". Allorché sulla stampa apparvero notizie circa due gesuiti che abitavano presso il parroco Schwarz e la cosa irritò alcuni ambienti del governo, questo si contentò di domandare se i padri mostravano qualcosa di sospetto.⁹⁵

Un trattamento altrettanto pieno di comprensione non avevano avuto i padri dell'Alsazia-Lorena e della Prussia. In Prussia nel 1875 si era alla fine addirittura deciso di espellere tutti gli ordini religiosi,⁹⁶ anzi le onde del Kulturkampf raggiunsero a volte persino i luoghi di rifugio nel Lussemburgo, nel Belgio e in Olanda, tanto da far apparire imminente anche qui un'espulsione.⁹⁷

II. LAVORI PER IL RITORNO E LA RIAMMISSIONE DEI REDENTORISTI

Il P. Franz Vogl (1807-1890), dopo esser divenuto nel 1884 provinciale nella Baviera, avanzò subito due petizioni per la riammissione della congregazione, una nel 1884 al governo bavarese e una seconda nel 1886 al principe reggente Luitpoldo. La risposta fu che il governo guardava con benevolenza alla congregazione, ma che era impotente perché si trattava di una legge del Reich. La cosa avrebbe dovuto esser trattata a tale livello.⁹⁸

1. I primi pareri - Gli interventi di Franz Xaver Kraus

Nel 1886 si svolsero effettivamente a Roma delle trattative ad alto livello tra l'inviato prussiano Kurd von Schlözer e Mons. Luigi Galimberti, un ammiratore della Germania e di Bismarck,

⁹⁵ Cronaca dei Padri nel Württemberg, Arch. Prov. di Monaco, Gars; WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n.33), 329, 334; A. HAGEN, *Beiträge zum Leben und Wirken des Prälaten Dr. Franz Joseph Schwarz, Ellwangen*, in *Ellwangen 764 - 1964: Beiträge und Untersuchungen zur Zwölfhundertjahrfeier*, hg. im Auftrag der Stadt Ellwangen/Jagst von V. BURR, Ellwangen 1964, 503-533.

⁹⁶ *Gesetz betreffend die geistlichen Orden und ordensähnlichen Congregationen der katholischen Kirche*, 31 maggio 1875. E. R. HUBER / W. HUBER, *Staat und Kirche im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert. Dokumente zur Geschichte des deutschen Staatskirchenrechts*, vol 2: *Staat und Kirche im Zeitalter des Hochkonstitutionalismus und des Kulturkampfes 1848-1890*, Berlin 1976, 659.

⁹⁷ Cfr Heilig a Mauron, Vaals, 20 luglio 1875; Schmitz a Mauron, Vaals, 29 agosto, 30 agosto 1875, 18 giugno 1878; AGHR, Pro. Germ. Sup. II. - Cfr BRANDHUBER (n. 65), 272 s.

⁹⁸ Cfr WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33) 337 ss.

trattative che vertevano tra l'altro sul ritorno degli ordini religiosi espulsi nel 1875 dalla Prussia.⁹⁹ Anche se i redentoristi avevano visto le loro speranze ridimensionate dalle parole del vescovo Krementz di Colonia, secondo il quale il Bundesrat non avrebbe mai acconsentito al ritorno dei gesuiti e dei redentoristi,¹⁰⁰ il governo generale dell'ordine, che aveva buoni rapporti con Galimberti, cercò di inserire la questione dei redentoristi nelle trattative di questi con Schlözer. A tale scopo il consultore generale P. Ulrich (1834-1903), persona di fiducia di Galimberti e confessore di quest'ultimo, originario dell'Alsazia, chiese verso la fine di dicembre del 1886 ai redentoristi alsaziani, prussiani e bavaresi di inviare dei pareri, che sarebbero stati posti a base delle trattative.¹⁰¹ Importante apparve il fatto che in essi doveva essere confutata l'affermazione che i redentoristi sarebbero affini ai gesuiti.¹⁰² I tre gruppi di redentoristi tedeschi risposero a tale richiesta. Anzi, non solo essi fecero stendere o stesero personalmente in tutta fretta tali pareri e li inviarono a Roma, ma cominciarono anche a muoversi direttamente per perorare la loro causa.

Verso la metà di gennaio del 1887 arrivò a Roma un memorandum del P. Vogl sull'affinità coi gesuiti, memorandum in cui egli affermava che avrebbe fatto successivamente pervenire un ampio parere di un giurista - si trattava di Joseph Bachmair di Neumarkt, notaio e presidente del Consorzio dei contadini bavaresi.¹⁰³ I redentoristi prussiani poterono contemporaneamente contare su un ampio parere di un ex membro della sezione cattolica del Ministero prussiano del culto, il signor Carl Dubusche di Aquisgrana, parere che si prestava naturalmente meno ad essere presentato alle autorità tedesche, perché in esso il Kulturkampf era collegato con il tramonto dell'"ultima grande nazione cattolica", la Francia.¹⁰⁴ Dai pa-

⁹⁹ Cfr Ch. WEBER, *Kirchl. Politik zw. Rom, Berlin und Trier 1876-1888. Die Beilegung des preußischen Kulturkampfes* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen 7). M. L. ANDERSON, *Windthorst, Zentrumspolitik und Gegenspieler Bismarcks* (= Forschungen und Quellen zur Zeitgeschichte, 14), Düsseldorf 1988, 348 s.; sulle relazioni di Galimberti con Germania sempre: K. BACHEM, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte und Politik der Zentrumspartei IX* (1932), passim.

¹⁰⁰ Heilig a Mauron, 13 dicembre 1886, AGHR, Prov. Germ. Inf.

¹⁰¹ M. Ulrich a Vogl, Heilig e Desurmont, 24 dicembre 1886. Copia, ibid.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*

¹⁰³ Parere della provincia Germ. sup., con una lettera allegata del p. Vogl, Gars, 11 gennaio 1887, AGHR, Prov. Germ. Sup. III B 2. Cfr WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 339 ss.

¹⁰⁴ Heilig a Mauron, 10 gennaio 1887; Parere della provincia Germ. inf. (autore C. Dubusche, già procuratore dello Stato), Copia, Vaals, 15 gennaio 1887, AGHR, Prov. Germ. Inf. III, 1 a. - Cfr H. TRITZ, *Franz Xaver Kraus und P. Marcus Andreas Hugues CSSR. Mit unveröffentlichten Briefen*, in *Spic. Hist.* 11 (1963) 182-232, qui 196 s.

dri alsaziani arrivarono in un primo momento solo notizie sull'espulsione.¹⁰⁵ Anche qui però fu stilato un parere e precisamente dal parroco e decano prussiano Anton Scher di Metz, che passava per un uomo di principi nazionali¹⁰⁶ e che era amico del futuro superiore generale Matthias Raus (1829-1917).¹⁰⁷ Questi lo aveva verosimilmente conosciuto durante la guerra del 1870/71 a Teterchen, nella Lorena, dove i padri si erano distinti nella cura di soldati prussiani feriti.¹⁰⁸

A partire dall'inizio del 1887 i redentoristi premettero quindi da vari lati per ottenere che fosse loro permesso di tornare. Sembra che i pareri disponibili siano in effetti stati consegnati a Galimberti in traduzione italiana e in un testo più breve.¹⁰⁹ Galimberti e con lui il vescovo e futuro cardinale Georg Kopp, allora ancora a Fulda, che dal marzo 1887 era similmente in rapporto coi redentoristi prussiani e bavaresi, miravano tuttavia a ottenere in primo luogo il richiamo degli ordini espulsi dalla Prussia, per poi occuparsi in un secondo momento delle società affini ai gesuiti, per il cui ritorno occorreva l'assenso del Reichstag e dei governi dei Länder. Questo Kopp comunicò nell'aprile del 1887 al provinciale bavarese.¹¹⁰ Qual'era dunque la cosa più opportuna se non che i redentoristi bavaresi e prussiani si attivassero da parte loro presso i rispettivi governi regionali? Determinanti nel Bundesrat erano la Prussia e la Baviera. Continuamente si faceva notare che, se la Prussia avesse votato nel Bundesrat contro il ritorno dei redentoristi, così avrebbero fatto anche tutti gli altri Länder, forse ad eccezione della Baviera; mentre se la Prussia avesse votato a favore, così avrebbero fatto anche gli altri Länder federali. Dall'altro lato, e precisamente da parte prussiana e soprattutto da Bismarck, si desiderava che l'iniziativa partisse dalla Baviera, che da sempre aveva dimostrato il suo interesse per i redentoristi.¹¹¹

Avvenne così che nella primavera del 1887 sia i redentoristi

¹⁰⁵ Desurmont a Ulrich, S. Nicolas, 4 gennaio, 9 gennaio 1887, allegate: lettera del p. C. Druelle, relazione del p. N. Jung sull'espulsione, 30 dicembre 1886, copie dei documenti ufficiali, AGHR, Prov. Gall-Helv.

¹⁰⁶ Vedi sopra il parere del s. X. Kraus.

¹⁰⁷ Cfr Lettera del Anton Scherr a Raus, Mülhausen, 3 marzo 1895, AGHR, Prov. Gall-Helv.

¹⁰⁸ Cfr "Germania" (giornale del Centro tedesco), 18 giugno 1873.

¹⁰⁹ Cfr il documento "I Redentoristi sono essi affiliati ai Gesuiti? (nota: presentato)", AGHR, Prov. Germ. Sup. III, B 2; WEISS, *Redemptoristen*, 440 s.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 341

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, 342-403.

prussiani che quelli bavaresi fecero di nuovo redigere dei pareri da sottoporre direttamente ai rispettivi governi. Particolarmente interessante appare il tentativo partito dalla Prussia, sia a motivo della persona attraverso cui il passo diplomatico venne compiuto, sia a motivo della incisività degli argomenti. L'uomo incaricato di compiere quel passo diplomatico era infatti un vecchio amico della congregazione, che godeva di molta considerazione anche presso il governo prussiano, e cioè Franz Xaver Kraus, professore di storia della Chiesa a Friburgo.¹¹² Fin dalla prima giovinezza egli era stato in stretti rapporti con i redentoristi a Treviri e in altri luoghi.¹¹³ Il P. Markus Andreas Hugues (1808-1887), storico della congregazione, figlio di un commerciante calvinista di Amburgo convertitosi in precedenza a Döllinger, era stato per molti anni il suo confessore. Inoltre per tutta la vita egli fu un devoto di sant'Alfonso de Liguori.¹¹⁶ La fiducia dei redentoristi in lui si spinse fino al punto che il P. Gabriel Hampl, provinciale della Germania settentrionale, gli affidò nel 1870 la relazione triennale da consegnare al superiore generale a Villa Caserta a Roma, dov'egli fu accolto come ospite graditissimo.¹¹⁷ Per di più egli si sentiva in debito con i redentoristi. Poco tempo prima il padre redentorista Michael Haringer (1817-1887), consultore generale e consultore della Congregazione dell'Indice, lo aveva salvato dai guai. La terza edizione del suo *Lehrbuch für Kirchengeschichte* (Manuale di storia della Chiesa) correva il pericolo di essere messa all'indice. A manovrare in tal senso da lontano c'erano i gesuiti e il teologo dogmatico Matthias Scheeben, avversari comuni dei redentoristi e di Kraus. Haringer fece sapere a questi quali cambiamenti egli avrebbe dovuto apportare all'opera, cosa che egli fece, permettendo così alla sua storia della Chiesa di essere tranquillamente pubblicata con una buona dose di irritazione da parte dei gesuiti e di Scheeben,¹¹⁸ che a somi-

¹¹² H. TRITZ, *Franz Xaver Kraus* (n. 104), 195-232.

¹¹³ F. X. KRAUS, *Tagebücher*, hg. von H. SCHIEL, Köln 1957, passim.

¹¹⁴ Su Hugues cfr: O. WEISS, *Wie ultramontan war Klemens Maria Hofbauer? Überlegungen anlässlich einer neuen Hofbauerbiographie*, in *Spic. Hist.* 39 (1992), 41-97, qui 87-96.

¹¹⁵ Cfr H. SCHIEL (Hg.), *Liberal und integral. Der Briefwechsel zwischen Franz Xaver Kraus und Anton Stöck*, Mainz 1974, 36; TRITZ (n. 104), 186-191.

¹¹⁶ Cfr Kraus a M. A. Hugues, 27 aprile 1887, TRITZ (n. 104), 227.

¹¹⁷ G. Hampl, provinciale, a Mauron, 10 gennaio 1870, AGHR, prov. Germ. Inf. I A 4/d. - "Ho celebrato la messa al altare della Madre del Buon Soccorso nella chiesa dei redentoristi". KRAUS, *Tagebücher* (n. 13) 282 (19 febbraio 1870).

¹¹⁸ H. H. SCHWEDT, *Michael Haringer C.S.S.R. (1817-1887), Theologien au Premier*

glianza dei gesuiti era ritenuto dai redentoristi un avversario di sant'Alfonso.¹¹⁹

Quando perciò il P. Hugues, suo vecchio amico e padre spirituale, gli inviò il 21 marzo 1887 un memoriale da lui scritto, con la preghiera di attivare le sue relazioni presso il governo prussiano, egli si dimostrò per gratitudine disponibilissimo. Hugues richiamò tra l'altro la sua attenzione sulla biografia di sant'Alfonso recentemente pubblicata da Carl Dilgskron (1843-1912), biografia in cui veniva illustrato il fine della congregazione completamente diverso da quello dei gesuiti, cioè la cura pastorale della popolazione rurale povera, e da cui risultava inoltre come il fondatore fosse stato talmente fedele allo Stato da attirarsi per questo addirittura lo sfavore di Roma.¹²⁰

Il 19 luglio 1887 Kraus si rivolse al ministro prussiano del culto von Gossler, pregandolo di riammettere i redentoristi. Nel suo scritto egli descrive dapprima i gesuiti con le tinte più fosche. Con la loro lotta contro il protestantesimo essi sarebbero una fonte continua di disturbo per uno Stato paritetico e un pericolo per la pace confessionale acquisita dalla moderna civiltà; inoltre sarebbero i nemici giurati di tutti gli Stati non ultramontani, gli alleati occulti dei nemici della Prussia, come ad esempio della Polonia; infine sarebbero i sostenitori del cattolicesimo politico, orientato al dominio terreno, opposto allo spirito tedesco e fonte principale della corruzione intraecclesiale. Da tutto ciò i redentoristi sarebbero completamente esenti. Come dimostrerebbe la biografia del loro fondatore Alfonso de' Liguori, appena pubblicata, il loro fine principale sarebbe quello di prendersi cura pastorale, mediante le missioni, della popolazione delle campagne, una cosa che i gesuiti avrebbero sempre trascurato. In Alsazia essi avrebbero esercitato un influsso benefico sugli operai delle fabbriche, come dimostrerebbe l'allegato parere del parroco e decano Scher, uomo nazionalista. Quanto al loro influsso positivo a Treviri, lui stesso poteva testimoniare. Inoltre sul piano scientifico da circa 20 anni i redentoristi sarebbero in disaccordo con i gesuiti a motivo della loro teologia morale. Di una qualche affinità tra i due ordini non si poteva ragio-

Concile du Vatican et consultant del la Congrégation de l'Index, in *Spic. Hist.* 39 (1991), 99-155, qui 145-155.

¹¹⁹ Cfr G. ORLANDI, *La causa per il dottorato di S. Alfonso. Preparazione - svolgimento - ripercussioni (1866-1871)* (Bibliotheca Historica CSSR, 5) 25-240, qui 95; WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 821.

¹²⁰ TRITZ, *Franz Xaver Kraus* (n. 104), 198 s., 209-228.

nevolmente parlare.¹²¹ Non sappiamo se il ministro degli interni Gossler abbia risposto a Kraus. Certo è però che il granduca del Baden gli assicurò il voto di questo Land in favore dei redentoristi nel Bundesrat. Infine Kraus entrò in contatto con il governatore von Hohenlohe a Strasburgo e con il governatore della provincia renana prussiana a Coblenza, che gli promisero il loro appoggio.¹²² Ma in un primo momento tale azione non produsse frutti.

2. Iniziative partite dalla Baviera

Nel mentre tutto questo andava avanti, la provincia bavarese non rimase inattiva. Nel marzo del 1887 il parere del notaio Bachmair era pronto.¹²³ Solo che ora nella Baviera prevaleva lo scetticismo. I padri pensavano di trovare scarso interesse per il loro ritorno anche presso gli stessi vescovi bavaresi, quando, in maniera del tutto inattesa e grazie alla mediazione di Bachmair, due nobili della Germania settentrionale e membri dell'ala destra del Centro, Conrad Graf von Preysing e Max Freiherr von Soden-Fraunhofen, furono conquistati alla loro causa.¹²⁴

Il conte von Preysing intervenne a un livello politico molto alto. Com'è noto, nel 1886/87 Bismarck aveva cercato di ottenere l'assenso del Centro tedesco al progetto di legge militare dei sette anni, il cosiddetto settennato, e non si era peritato di manipolare molto abilmente Leone XIII e di coinvolgerlo nei suoi piani. Tra l'altro si era parlato di concessioni in questioni ecclesiali, ad esempio a proposito del ritorno degli ordini e delle congregazioni religiose, qualora il Centro avesse votato in favore del bilancio della difesa. In una nota del 3 gennaio 1887 Roma chiese quindi a Windhorst, capo del Centro, di favorire in tutti i modi possibili il progetto di legge militare di Bismarck. Tuttavia, almeno in un primo momento, il centro e il suo leader Windthorst opposero al papa il loro celebre "rifiuto di obbedire" nella faccenda della votazione sul bilancio della difesa. Windthorst dava così ad intendere che nelle questioni puramente politiche non si sentiva legato alle direttive del papa.¹²⁵

¹²¹ Kraus a von Gossler, 19 luglio 1887, *ibid.*, 228-230.

¹²² Cfr *ibid.* 230 s.

¹²³ WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 347.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, 343-353

¹²⁵ Cfr ANDERSON, Windthorst (n. 99), 346-370; WEBER, *Kirchliche Politik* (n. 99), 147-154; O. WEISS, *Il «Kulturkampf» tedesco (1871-1890) nell'opinione pubblica italiana*, in *Il*

In seguito a ciò Bismarck sciolse il Reichstag. Nella campagna elettorale successiva il conte von Preysing, candidato al Reichstag, disse quindi chiaro e tondo che più importante dell'opposizione contro il settennato era per lui il ritorno dei redentoristi. Dopo essere stato eletto egli votò contro la maggioranza del Centro, in compagnia di altri deputati nobili dello stesso partito, allorché fu di nuovo messo in votazione il settennato.¹²⁶

Da quel momento egli, che con tale comportamento si era guadagnato il favore di Bismarck, e con lui anche von Soden-Fraunhofen lavorarono indefessamente per il ritorno dei redentoristi. La loro azione puntò in varie direzioni, verso la camera dei deputati bavarese, verso il governo bavarese e verso la corte, in ciò appoggiati dalla stampa cattolica. E un anno più tardi von Preysing presentò una petizione anche al livello più alto del Reich.¹²⁷

Nel gennaio del 1888 il lavoro dei due nobili portò i primi frutti. Il governo bavarese incaricò il proprio inviato a Berlino, Hugo Graf von Lerchenfeld-Koefering, di sondare il governo prussiano.¹²⁸ Malgrado che anche il vescovo Kopp fosse intervenuto e malgrado che da parte dei redentoristi fosse pronto il parere di Bachmair, verso la fine di febbraio von Lerchenfeld comunicò che il governo prussiano non era disposto a cedere. Ma poco dopo dei redentoristi si tornò di nuovo a parlare al livello più alto. In occasione delle celebrazioni dei funerali di Guglielmo I, Galimberti, nel frattempo promosso nunzio a Vienna, fece cadere il discorso sui redentoristi. Egli ritenne di poter constatare una buona disposizione da parte dell'imperatore Federico e di Bismarck, ma non da parte di von Gossler.¹²⁹ Nel medesimo tempo anche il Vaticano si era attivato presso il governo bavarese.¹³⁰ Un tentativo fatto dalla Baviera a Berlino mostrò tuttavia che là non c'era ancora alcun interesse reale, come la Baviera comunicò al Vaticano, allorché questo si era di

«Kulturkampf in Italia e nei paesi di lingua tedesca, a cura di R. LILL e S. TRANIELLO, Bologna 1992, 283-326, qui 317-324.

¹²⁶ WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 345 s.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 346-354, 364 s.

¹²⁸ Frh. von Lutz al ministro Krafft Frh. von Crailsheim, 26 gennaio 1888; WEISS, *Redemptoristen* 353. - Cfr Conte Eulenburg a Herbert von Bismarck (il figlio del cancelliere), 25 gennaio 1888. J.G.G. RÖHL, *Philipp Eulenburgs polit. Korrespondenz*, 3 vol., Boppard am Rhein 1976-1983, I, Nr. 143

¹²⁹ WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 354ss.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 357-360. Cfr K. MÖCKL, *Die Prinzregentenzeit. Gesellschaft und Politik während der Ära des Prinzregenten Luitpold in Bayern*, München - Wien 1972, 258 ff.; H.-M. KÖRNER, *Staat und Kirche in Bayern 1886-1918* (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Zeitgeschichte. Reihe B: Forschungen, 20), Mainz 1977, 31 ss.

nuovo rivolto al governo bavarese con la preghiera di avviare nel Bundesrat una revisione della risoluzione di espulsione.¹³¹

Ora però nella Baviera era cominciata la fase calda dei tentativi per ottenere il ritorno. Alla politica di gabinetto era subentrata la politica dei partiti, accompagnata da agitazioni popolari e prese di posizione pubbliche dell'episcopato. Il ritorno dei redentoristi divenne una delle maggiori istanze del Centro bavarese e sarebbe diventato uno dei temi principali dell'imminente primo Katholikentag bavarese del settembre 1889 a Monaco.¹³² Tutto ciò era molto scomodo per il governo bavarese, che all'inizio di giugno del 1889 cercò di entrare da parte sua in contatto con il conte von Preysing. Egli promise che sia lui che i membri nobili del Centro non avrebbero partecipato al Katholikentag, ma che in compenso il governo bavarese avrebbe dovuto tentare di fare in Prussia tutto quello che era in suo potere. Già il 13 giugno 1889 l'inviato prussiano in Baviera, Graf Kuno Rantzau, si recava quindi da Bismarck per sondare il terreno. Bismarck dichiarò che in linea di principio egli non aveva nulla contro un ritorno dei padri. Non sapeva però che cosa l'imperatore, ch'egli riteneva dipendere dall'Evangelischer Bund (Confederazione protestante), pensasse al riguardo. Lutz si rivolse quindi in un lungo scritto a Bismarck e gli disse che la pace ecclesiale turbata nella regione avrebbe potuto essere ristabilita, se fosse stata revocata la decisione del Bundesrat del 13 maggio 1873 a proposito dei redentoristi.¹³³

Dopo aver ricevuta quella lettera Bismarck si mise in contatto col ministro prussiano del culto von Gossler, il quale dichiarò che la risoluzione del Bundesrat avrebbe potuto esser revocata solo se si fosse dimostrato ch'essa era basata su un errore o che i redentoristi non erano nel frattempo più collegati con i gesuiti. Il materiale presente nel ministero prussiano del culto, tra cui anche la lettera di Franz Xaver Kraus, non sarebbe stato sufficiente allo scopo. Bismarck pregò allora il governo bavarese di raccogliere, possibilmente assieme ai redentoristi, il materiale che faceva all'uopo. Il governo bavarese trasmise questa richiesta al conte von Preysing, che a sua volta la girò al provinciale Vogl.¹³⁴

¹³¹ WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n.33), 358.

¹³² *Ibid.*, 360-364, 376-378; cfr MÖCKL, (n. 129). 257-269; KÖRNER, (n. 129), 30-33.

¹³³ WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 364-367.

¹³⁴ Bismarck a Lutz, Varzin, 6 agosto 1889, copia (dell'originale distrutto nella seconda guerra mondiale) Arch. Prov. di Monaco, Carte Brandhuber; Conte Preysing a Vogl, 28 agosto 1889, *ibid.*, espulsione, fasc. lavori per il ritorno.

Lutz stesso pregò il 4 settembre 1889 Döllinger di fargli pervenire un parere in questo senso, parere che venne inoltrato verso la fine dell'anno. Doellinger respingeva l'accusa di affinità con i gesuiti e quella di pericolosità per lo Stato, però aggiungeva che su questo punto solo dopo il Concilio Vaticano si era verificato un cambiamento in meglio. Da allora in poi i redentoristi non avrebbero dovuto esser giudicati diversamente dai benedettini, minoriti, cappuccini ecc. Quel che rendeva i gesuiti un istituto veramente pericoloso - "la potente organizzazione internazionale, unitamente alla dottrina dell'obbedienza cieca e incondizionata, la loro ineluttabile adesione ai principi della coercizione religiosa e della coscienza, la loro perfezionatissima arte nel succhiare risorse finanziarie" -, tutto ciò non esisterebbe affatto tra i redentoristi o sarebbe presente solo in misura innocua. Con questo parere il governo bavarese aveva un asso nella manica, anche se già dei contemporanei si domandarono perché mai i redentoristi avrebbero dovuto cambiare dopo il 1870. In effetti un cambiamento era subentrato, perché l'unico redentorista tedesco realmente attivo nel campo della politica ecclesiale, Carl Schmöger, era nel frattempo morto.¹³⁵

Pure i redentoristi raccolsero del materiale a loro scarico. Un promemoria già precedentemente redatto da Vogl e il parere di Bachmair furono completati dai padri - sulla base di una serie di domande loro rivolte dal governo - con la collaborazione del futuro ministro del culto von Wehner. Essi misero in risalto come i contrasti con i gesuiti nel campo della teologia morale e della dottrina della grazia fossero andati aumentando negli ultimi anni e fecero notare come già il fondatore avesse espressamente preso le distanze dai gesuiti troppo indulgenti. Inoltre accennarono alla differenza fra il semplice segreto redentorista di ufficio e il dovere di mantenere il segreto dei gesuiti, nonché alla prassi dell'obbedienza religiosa, che fra i redentoristi non sarebbe affatto cieca, e al divieto di svolgere qualsiasi attività politica. Il governo bavarese fece completare tale materiale con pareri delle facoltà teologiche delle università di Monaco e Würzburg ed ebbe così sufficiente materiale in mano.¹³⁶ Meno contento esso fu naturalmente del fatto che nel frattempo la questione dei redentoristi era stata sbandierata soprattutto da parte dell'ala sinistra del Centro, e precisamente sia in occasione del Katholikentag di Monaco che nelle discussioni del

¹³⁵ Cfr WEISS, *Döllinger et les rédemptoristes* (n. 53), 438-441.

¹³⁶ WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 386-390.

Landtag (dieta) bavarese, cosa che a Berlino, in specie all'imperatore, non riuscì particolarmente gradita. In una lettera del 6 febbraio 1890 al principe ereditario bavarese Luigi, che più o meno in quel tempo aveva votato nella Camera dei Reichsräte a favore del ritorno dei redentoristi, Lutz annotava: "La faccenda dei redentoristi sarebbe andata meglio, se si fosse lasciato che ad agire fosse stato soltanto il governo bavarese".¹³⁷

3. Resistenze da parte del Centro tedesco e dell'imperatore tedesco

Certo è che, dopo la raccolta del materiale, due motivi trattennero il governo bavarese dal fare un passo presso il Bundestag tedesco. Il primo aveva in effetti a che fare con l'imperatore, il secondo riguardava il Centro e una parte dell'episcopato tedesco. Causa dell'atteggiamento dell'imperatore e del Centro erano i gesuiti. Ma mentre l'imperatore riteneva che con il ritorno dei redentoristi si sarebbero già fatti entrare in maniera raffinata i gesuiti, il Centro temeva che una separazione della questione dei redentoristi da quella dei gesuiti avrebbe significato la permanente esclusione dei gesuiti dal Reich. Cerchiamo di chiarire meglio questi due punti.

Per quanto riguarda Guglielmo II, egli si era già pronunciato prima contro un ritorno dei redentoristi, in netto contrasto con Bismarck,¹³⁸ che chiaramente all'insaputa dell'imperatore trattava su questa questione con la Baviera, non, come dice John Roehl,¹³⁹ per far cadere il governo bavarese Lutz, proprussiano, bensì per appoggiarlo. Per gli avversari di Bismarck a Berlino, per coloro che sfarfalleggiavano attorno al giovane imperatore - i conti Max von Holstein e Philipp zu Eulenburg, l'inviato del Baden, Freiherr von Marschall, e il capo di Stato maggiore, Graf Waldersee¹⁴⁰ - il modo arbitrario di procedere di Bismarck nella questione dei redentoristi

¹³⁷ Copia della lettera (distrutta nella seconda guerra mondiale), Arch. della Prov. di Monaco, Gars, Carte Brandhuber.

¹³⁸ Cfr A. Graf von WALDERSEE, *Denkwürdigkeiten aus meinem Leben*, 2^a Stuttgart 1922. II, 59; O. GRADENWITZ, *Die Redemptoristenfrage vor Bismarcks Entlassung*, in "Germania" 1925, Nr. 858.

¹³⁹ J. C. G. RÖHL, *Kaiser, Hof und Staat. Wilhelm II. und die deutsche Politik*, München 1987, 43.

¹⁴⁰ Cfr *ibid.*, 35-77.

fu un'occasione propizia per seminare zizzania tra questi e l'imperatore. Né giovò al cancelliere il fatto che egli, dopo esser venuto a conoscenza dell'irritazione di Guglielmo per quanto era avvenuto nel Landtag bavarese, chiesse a Lutz di non intraprendere per il momento alcunché per il ritorno dei redentoristi, specie per il fatto che l'ala destra del Centro, impegnata in tale operazione, dopo l'uscita di Schorlemer-Alst dalla camera dei deputati, aveva perso qualsiasi peso agli occhi di Windthorst. Il gruppo raccolto attorno al conte von Holstein non si contentò di questo. In maniera sorprendentemente sollecita all'inizio di ottobre del 1889 furono inviati all'imperatore, che si trovava in crociera nel Mediterraneo, dei ritagli di giornale, in cui si parlava di una imminente mozione del governo bavarese al Bundestag. Il 6 novembre 1889 l'imperatore telegrafava subito a Bismarck:

“Apprendo dalla *Nationalzeitung* e dalla *Kölner Zeitung* che a Monaco si sta attualmente discutendo, con prospettiva di successo nel Bundesrath, della questione del richiamo dei redentoristi. Incarico l'Eccellenza vostra di comunicare da parte mia al Bundesrath che io non acconsentirò mai, in nessuna circostanza. Di questo ordine ho informato telegraficamente il conte Rantzau, perché lo comunichi al governo bavarese”.¹⁴¹

Ma per Bismarck la questione non era per questo chiusa. Secondo varie fonti la questione dei redentoristi giocò un ruolo anche nella violenta discussione tra l'imperatore e il cancelliere la mattina di quel memorabile 15 marzo 1880, che finì con il licenziamento di Bismarck.¹⁴²

Se l'irritazione dell'imperatore per le trattative non concordate di Bismarck con la Baviera fu dunque senza dubbio uno dei motivi principali, che indussero a soprassedere provvisoriamente dal presentare al Bundesrat la progettata mozione, altrettanto sicuro è che anche un altro motivo svolse qui un ruolo. I redentoristi avevano perorato la causa del loro ritorno con l'aiuto di altolocati diplomatici vaticani, del governo bavarese e della corte bavarese, dell'ala destra del Centro e di Franz Xaver Kraus, e avevano cercato di prendere senza alcun riguardo le distanze dai gesuiti. Ma un simile modo di procedere non corrispondeva affatto alle intenzioni

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 44; WEISS, *Redemptoristen*, 379-385.

¹⁴² Cfr *ibid.*, 385 s.; E. HÜSGEN, *Ludwig Windthorst*, Köln 1907, 333-344.

della dirigenza del Centro tedesco e di uomini eminenti dell'episcopato. Nel settembre del 1889 Conrad von Preysing dovette riconoscere che Windhorst non avrebbe consentito in alcun modo una separazione della questione dei gesuiti da quella dei redentoristi.¹⁴³ Ciò non era una novità. Già all'inizio del 1888 il barone von Soden-Fraunhofen aveva informato il provinciale bavarese che il Centro si dava da fare a Berlino per il ritorno dei gesuiti.¹⁴⁴ Il 20 novembre 1888 sulla stampa si leggeva addirittura che i dirigenti del Centro avevano deciso di non separare il richiamo dei redentoristi da quello dei gesuiti.¹⁴⁵ Come lascia intendere lo storico della congregazione, P. Georg Brandhuber, nella questione dei redentoristi grandi erano le divergenze di opinione tra la Santa Sede e il Centro. Inoltre il Vaticano appoggiava pienamente la linea dei redentoristi, come dimostra la solenne dichiarazione da esso trasmessa al governo bavarese sulla loro non affinità con i gesuiti. Brandhuber scrive: "Su desiderio del papa i dirigenti dei cattolici tedeschi avrebbero dovuto riferire al riguardo anche al Cancelliere del Reich. Ma alla maggior parte degli uomini di primo piano della Germania cattolica tale passo sembrava molto inopportuno".¹⁴⁶ Quanto all'episcopato tedesco, soprattutto vescovi della Germania settentrionale, come Kremenz e Korum, fecero sapere che non condividevano affatto il tentativo di contrapporre i redentoristi ai gesuiti.¹⁴⁷ Perfino Kopp, che non era incondizionatamente amico del Centro ed era invece in costante contatto con i redentoristi, non propendeva molto per una separazione della questione dei redentoristi da quella dei gesuiti. Come minimo egli auspicava un'abolizione di tutto il § 2 della legge sui gesuiti e, soprattutto, il ritorno dei padri dello Spirito Santo.¹⁴⁸

4. Il ritorno

Ma la mozione che il governo bavarese intendeva presentare al Bundesrat non era stata accantonata, bensì solo differita. I re-

¹⁴³ Note del Conte Preysing, Carte Brandhuber, Arch. Provincia di Monaco, Gars. Cfr WEISS, *Redemptoristen*, 372 ss.

¹⁴⁴ Frh. von Soden-Fraunhofen a Vogl, 21 febbraio 1888, Arch. Provincia die Monaco, Gars, espulsione, fasc. lavori per il ritorno.

¹⁴⁵ *Münchner Fremdenblatt* 11 (1888), Nr. 325 (24. Nov.).

¹⁴⁶ Carte Brandhuber: Storia della provincia bavarese (abbozzo). Arch. Prov. di Monaco, Gars.

¹⁴⁷ Cfr Vogl a Soden-Fraunhofen, 11 febbraio 1888, minuta. *Ibid.*, espulsione, fasc. lavori per il ritorno.

¹⁴⁸ Cfr WEISS, *Redemptoristen* 373 s.

dentoristi fecero del loro meglio per non lasciar cader la cosa in dimenticanza, lavorando sempre attraverso i vecchi canali. Canali che erano da un lato i nunzi di Vienna e di Monaco, mentre dall'altro lato sorprende il fatto che gli interlocutori non fossero né i vescovi, né il Partito del Centro, bensì la corte bavarese e il clero di corte.¹⁴⁹ In effetti già nel 1891 era risultato chiaro che la parte non bavarese del Centro era decisamente contraria a un ritorno isolato dei redentoristi. Tanto più si dichiarò invece favorevole al ritorno dei padri il nuovo primo ministro bavarese Ludwig August von Müller, nipote (naturale) del re Luigi I e amico intimo del conte Preysing,¹⁵⁰ che aveva imparato a conoscere i redentoristi ad Altoetting. In occasione della prima visita del provinciale P. Schoepf egli lo assicurò che avrebbe fatto di tutto per ottenere il ritorno dei padri. "Ho molta simpatia per la vostra congregazione", egli gli disse, "ma per i gesuiti, sia detto fra noi, proprio no".¹⁵¹ Inoltre egli gli fece comunicare che il governo avrebbe ignorato la presenza di altri padri in Baviera. Si attendeva solo un'occasione propizia per presentare la richiesta bavarese al Bundesrat. Per questo il governo fece preparare un ampio parere, che si dice sia stato redatto da von Müller e dal consigliere von Wehner, il futuro ministro bavarese del culto.¹⁵² Il momento propizio arrivò quindi nel 1894. Il 1 dicembre 1893 e il 16 febbraio 1894 il Reichstag tedesco aveva ammesso una mozione del Centro per la soppressione di tutta la legge sui gesuiti. Solo la Prussia e il governo del Reich avevano lasciato chiaramente intendere con non erano disposti a permettere il ritorno dei gesuiti. Ma per tacitare il Centro e il Vaticano essi proposero come compromesso il ritorno dei redentoristi. Dopo che anche l'imperatore si fu espresso, a quanto pare in maniera del tutto sorprendente, in favore di tale compromesso, sembrò che anche la proposta bavarese potesse essere presentata con successo al Bundesrat. Allorché il 9 luglio 1894 questo si riunì per deliberare sulla risoluzione del Reichstag di abolire la legge sui gesuiti, sul tavolo trovò anche la proposta della Baviera. Come c'era da attendersi, esso non consentì al ritorno dei gesuiti, ma nello stesso tempo decise che in futuro la legge sui gesuiti non doveva più essere applicata ai redentoristi e

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 393 ss. - Nel clero della corte si trattava specialmente del successore di Döllinger: il preposto Jakob Ritter (Cavaliere) von Türk (1826-1912), intimo del ministro von Lutz e confessore del principe reggente della Baviera.

¹⁵⁰ MÖCKL, *Die Prinregentenzeit* (n. 129), 209.

¹⁵¹ Cfr WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 33), 395.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 395-398.

ai padri dello Spirito Santo. Ulteriori e più precise disposizioni avrebbero dovuto esser prese dai governi dei Länder.¹⁵³

Ancora una volta si vide come, nel por fine al Kulturkampf, i singoli governi tedeschi procedessero in maniera sparsa. Il provinciale bavarese ebbe già il 18 luglio 1894 un primo colloquio consultivo col ministro von Müller. Il 19 agosto il lavoro pastorale poteva essere ripreso con una messa solenne nella chiesa conventuale di Gars.¹⁵⁴ Von Müller, finché fu ministro del culto, venne incontro in ogni modo ai redentoristi. Diede la sua approvazione al progetto di varie fondazioni. In particolare, prevedendo future difficoltà, concesse ai redentoristi bavaresi il diritto di corporazione, per cui in Baviera i redentoristi rappresentano tutt'oggi una società di diritto pubblico e i loro impiegati fanno parte del servizio pubblico.¹⁵⁵ Tanto premura ebbe fine con il successore di von Müller, von Landmann, che pure in sé e per sé era ancora più ben disposto di von Müller verso la Chiesa.¹⁵⁶ Doloroso risultò il fatto che il convento di Altötting, di proprietà dello Stato bavarese, durante il periodo dell'espulsione fosse stato occupato dai cappuccini che erano considerati concorrenti dei redentoristi. Il ministro von Müller fece capire che avrebbe preferito i redentoristi, ma che non era più possibile mandare via i cappuccini, in specie perché gli abitanti di quella zona si erano abituati alla loro buona birra.¹⁵⁷

Solo nella primavera del 1896 il ministro prussiano del culto diede il permesso di riaprire le sedi della congregazione, in primo luogo il convento di Aquisgrana. Nell'autunno dello stesso anno fu la volta di Treviri. Bochum poté esser di nuovo acquistato solo nel 1899, con la clausola da parte dello Stato che ci si sarebbe dovuto occupare della cura pastorale dei polacchi.¹⁵⁸ Purtroppo poco prima della fine dell'esilio si erano ancora venduti i due conventi vuoti di Maria-Hamicolt¹⁵⁹ e Bornhofen, cosa che risultò dolorosa specialmente per quanto riguardava il convento di Bornhofen. Su pressione del vescovo nel 1890 tale convento, meta di pellegrinaggi, era

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, 403-406; KÖRNER, *Staat und Kirche* (n. 129), 146 ss.

¹⁵⁴ WEISS, *Redemptoristen* (n. 39) 406 s.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 406 s., 411-414.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 412-420.

¹⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 411. - Anche il convento di Vilbiburg, proprietà della diocesi di Regensburg, era stato occupato dei cappuccini; *ibid.*

¹⁵⁸ BRANDHUBER (n.65) 275.

¹⁵⁹ Cfr J. SPOOS, provinciale, al generale Mauron, 19 giugno 1893, AGHR, Prov. Germ. Inf. III

stato ceduto ai francescani.¹⁶⁰ Di conseguenza ora bisognava fondare nuovi sedi.

Diversamente andarono le cose in Alsazia e Lorena, ove nel 1895 e 1896 i redentoristi poterono riavere le loro vecchie case.¹⁶¹ Naturalmente prima fu necessario superare un ostacolo. Non solo nei conventi sarebbero potuti entrare soltanto tedeschi, cioè individui nati in Alsazia, Lorena e Baden, o anche in Lussemburgo e in Svizzera,¹⁶² ma non francesi, bensì pure esteriormente si dovette procedere a una chiara separazione dalla Francia, cosa che avvenne mediante l'erezione di una viceprovincia a Strasburgo direttamente sottoposta al superiore generale.¹⁶³ Ciò malgrado si dovettero superare altri ostacoli, perché il governatore von Hohenlohe, di per sé ben disposto verso i redentoristi, aveva lasciato proprio allora il suo incarico. Un problema particolare fu il fatto che il seminario minore competente di Uvrier si trovava nella Svizzera francese. Il governo promette perché gli alunni venissero educati presso i cappuccini filotedeschi, cosa che però i redentoristi respinsero con decisione.¹⁶⁴

(Traduzione: Carlo D'Anna)

¹⁶⁰ Il vescovo, Karl Klein, Limburg, 11 settembre 1888, al provinciale J. Spoons, Copia; Spoons al governo generale, 12 ottobre 1888, 21 maggio 1889; Originale di una lettera del vescovo, Karl Klein [1889]; Spoons a Ulrich, 28 giugno 1890, AGHR, *ibid.*

¹⁶¹ Varie lettere, AGHR, Prov. Gall.- Helvetica.

¹⁶² Cfr p. generale M. Raus al principe di Hohenlohe, Gars, 25 settembre 1894, Roma, 26 ottobre 1894, minute, AGHR, Vice-Provincia di Alsazia Lorena.

¹⁶³ Nell'anno 1895 fu eretta la Vice-provincia dell'Alsazia Lorena. Già il 15 marzo p. Vittorino Hauger (1845-1915) fu nominato vice-provinciale. Ma solo l'11 novembre la Consulta generale decise definitivamente la erezione della vice-provincia. Allo stesso tempo il padre Hauger fu nominato di nuovo (!) viceprovinciale. Cfr lettera del p. generale M. Raus al V. Hauger, 12 novembre 1895 (Copia), AGHR, Vice-Provincia dell'Alsazia Lorena; lettere del p. Hauger, *ibid.*; HENLE, *Lebensbilder* (n. 25), 156.

¹⁶⁴ Cfr varie lettere degli anni 1894 e 1895, AGHR, Provincia Gallo-Helvetica, Vice-Provincia Alsazia Lorena.



JEAN BECO

JOZEF BOON
REDEMPTORISTE ET DRAMATURGE

SUMMARY

I. SA VIE.

II. SON ŒUVRE:

1. "CREDO". - 2. "SANGUIS CHRISTI". - 3. *Autres Titres.* - 4. *Traductions.* - 5. - *La Bibliotheca Alphonsiana. Opbouwen-Renouveau.*

III. CONCLUSION.

APPENDICE.

I. SA VIE

Jozef Boon est né le 5 septembre 1900 à Hal, au sud de Bruxelles, dans une des parties néerlandophones du diocèse de Malines.¹ Sa ville natale est toujours restée célèbre pour son caractère marial et son pèlerinage. Jozef y commença des études de commerce et fut un temps stagiaire chez un notaire, puis secrétaire d'un inspecteur de l'Enseignement. Il termina ses études secondaires en notre juvénat d'Essen (1919-1921) où il écrivit sa première œuvre théâtrale *Tharcisius*. Il fit profession à Saint-Trond le 20 septembre 1922 et reçut l'ordination sacerdotale à Beauplateau le 21 septembre 1927. Entretemps, pendant son service militaire à Beverloo, il rencontra le musicien Arthur Meulemans qui devint son ami et collaborateur pour la vie. Pendant ses études de théologie, il publia sept pièces de théâtre dont la plus connue a pour titre *Les martyrs de l'Ouganda*. Ses talents littéraires n'étant plus un

¹ Son frère, Jan BOON, était directeur du célèbre quotidien flamand *De Standaard* et président de l'Institut National de la Radio (I.N.R.) en Belgique.

secret, il fut envoyé à l'Université de Louvain pour une Licence en Lettres Néerlandaises. Il devint alors professeur de cinquième - qui s'appelait jadis "Poésie" - en notre Juvénat d'Essen où il enseigna le Néerlandais, le Français, l'Allemand et le Latin ainsi que l'Histoire de l'Art et bien entendu l'art théâtral dans sa théorie et sa pratique. "Il réalisa des choses surprenantes avec ses élèves" écrit son confrère et ami A.Allard² "et son extraordinaire talent de régisseur s'affirmait déjà. Avec ses élèves, au cours des vacances, il va monter des spectacles dans les villes et villages de Flandre. Les salles ne lui suffisent plus, il lui faut les vastes espaces du plein air. L'immense cour du collège d'Essen, avec sa superbe galerie gothique dominée par la flèche de l'église, sera son premier terrain d'expérience pour les jeux de masse. De là, il partira à l'assaut de nos grand-places."

Les hasards de la deuxième Guerre Mondiale firent de lui un professeur au Petit Séminaire de Montauban au sud de la France et chargé de la pastorale parmi les 40.000 réfugiés belges et autres dans le Département du Tarn-et-Garonne.

En 1944, il quitte Essen et s'établit à Louvain pour fonder la "Bibliotheca Alphonsiana" qui visait à une forme d'apostolat par l'édition d'œuvres religieuses. "Mais", écrit le P. De Meulemeester,³ "cet homme qui vivait dans une atmosphère saturée d'idéalisme et de poésie n'était pas bâti pour diriger pareille entreprise. Il dut y renoncer et fut attaché à la maison de Gand". En termes plus clairs: sa gestion financière manquait d'efficacité.

Il mourut à Gand le 5 avril 1957, à l'âge de 56 ans.

II. SON ŒUVRE

Elle est considérable. Le Père De Meulemeester⁴ relève 126 titres mais s'arrête avant la deuxième Guerre Mondiale. Il aurait écrit plus de 160 œuvres.⁵ De ce matériel énorme, la partie théâtrale est de loin la plus importante. Mais on y trouve aussi des contes pour enfants, des ouvrages théoriques sur le théâtre religieux et

² Arthur ALLARD CSSR (1904-1975) de la Province Bruxelles-Sud. In *Rédemption* 62 (1957) 179-180.

³ Dans une petite nécrologie non publiée.

⁴ Maurice DE MEULEMEESTER, *Bibliographie Générale des écrivains rédemptoristes*, 3 voll., La Haye-Louvain, 1933-1939, II, 41 et III, 258-259.

⁵ D'après le quotidien flamand *De Standaard* du 6 avril 1957.

sur l'art du chœur parlé, des adaptations de pieuses légendes médiévales, quelques biographies de nos confrères rédemptoristes, canonisés ou non, des recueils de poésie à l'usage des écoles. Ajoutons les traductions qu'il a faites et les traductions que les autres ont faites de certaines de ses œuvres. Traductions qui permettent de mieux aborder une partie de l'œuvre car, inutile d'ajouter que tout a été écrit en langue néerlandaise.

Il est impossible de tout analyser mais retenons deux œuvres qui ont marqué l'époque et ont connu un succès que l'on peut qualifier d'euro péen et même de mondial: le "Credo" et le "Sanguis Christi".

1. - "CREDO"

Ce Jeu scénique a été écrit à la demande du VI^{ème} Congrès catholique de Malines pour être représenté à la clôture du dit Congrès le 13 septembre 1936 au stade du Heysel à Bruxelles.⁶ Il y avait 3.000 exécutants et 150.000 spectateurs. La traduction était d'Emile Schwartz et la musique d'Arthur Meulemans. Les deux radios nationales - francophone et néerlandophone - ont retransmis le spectacle de façon à faire participer le maximum de personnes. Ce fut réellement un événement national dont la presse se fit largement l'écho.

La deuxième représentation eut lieu à Auckland en Nouvelle-Zélande le 5 mars 1938 dans le *Western Springs Stadium*.⁷ Elle exigea 1.500 acteurs et attira une foule de 60.000 spectateurs dont 20 évêques. Le spectacle fut adapté au pays, ainsi à la fin, un groupe d'enfants s'ordonna afin de dessiner la carte de la Nouvelle-Zélande puis, à un signal donné, des centaines de lampes s'allumèrent et toute la côte néo-zélandaise - ainsi figurée - s'illumina de points d'or.

Il y eut une troisième représentation, cette fois en Australie à Melbourne en novembre 1939 à l'occasion du centième anniversaire de la première messe célébrée sur ce continent et l'inauguration de la cathédrale St-Patrick.

⁶ J. BOON, *Credo*, Bruges 1940, 65 pages d'introduction suivies du texte et des revues de presse.

⁷ Recension par Arthur RYAN dans le journal *Zeelandia* (Wellington) du 12 mars 1938, p. 14: *Greatest Spectacle Ever Staged to the Glory of God*.

- *Le texte*

Première partie: «Babylone». Illustration du Ch. 14, verset 8 de l'Apocalypse "Elle est tombée, Babylone la superbe..." Représentation de l'Empire de Satan et des sept péchés capitaux. Puis retentit le *confiteor* de la foule, suivi du cortège des Pénitents de Furnes. La ville de Babylone s'écroule. Sur les ruines, seuls les crucifiés restent debout et, les dominant tous, Jésus sur la croix.

Deuxième partie: «Bâtir». 1 Cor. III, 9-11 "Nous sommes l'édifice de Dieu". C'est la reconstruction de l'Eglise sur le sang des martyrs. Toutes les cloches de la ville sonnent (en réalité!) et la foule récite le *Credo*.

Troisième partie: «La Cité de Dieu». Selon la parole de Pie XI "La Paix du Christ dans le royaume du Christ". Cette fois il s'agit réellement d'une cérémonie liturgique. Gloire du Christ-Roi et de la Vierge Marie. Le Cardinal van Roey apporte le Saint-Sacrement, la foule chante *O Salutaris Hostia*, le *Magnificat* et le *Tantum Ergo*.

Tout ceci fut joué dans l'atmosphère inquiétante de ces années où déjà, se pressaient de grandes catastrophes.⁸

Ayant vu le spectacle, le converti danois Joh. Jørgensen (1866-1956) demanda l'autorisation de traduire le *Credo* en danois pour la jeunesse catholique de son pays.

2. - "SANGUIS CHRISTI"

ou: "Le jeu du saint-Sang de Bruges"⁹ dont la première édition date de 1938. Il ne cessera d'être réédité jusqu'en 1952.

Pour comprendre le sujet, disons d'abord un mot sur la dévotion au Saint Sang à Bruges.

La légende d'abord qui remonte haut, très haut même, à Lucifer en personne dont la couronne était sertie d'innombrables pierres précieuses. Lorsque cet archange fut précipité dans les

⁸ «Près de nous, quelqu'un murmure le mot qui est, à ce moment, dans toutes les pensées: Espagne! Espagne!». Autre passage de presse: «Ainsi je jugeai que les Belges valaient mieux que ces fameux Allemands de Nuremberg qui ne se réunissent qu'avec un martellement effroyable de bottes et avec des cris enroués qui font sursauter les appareils de radio du monde entier». Cité dans BOON, *Credo*, Bruges 1940, 150 et 171.

⁹ Titre original: *Sanguis Christi. Het Spel van het Heilig Bloed van Brugge*. En anglais: *Play of the Holy Blood*, et en allemand: *Heiliges Blut-Spiel*.

Enfers, une escarboucle de sa couronne tomba sur la terre. On y tailla un "graal" qui servit de calice au moment de la dernière Cène et qui le lendemain recut le Sang du Christ par les soins de Joseph d'Arimathie. Cette précieuse relique fut conservée à Jérusalem.¹⁰

L'Histoire ensuite: en mai 1148, le Comte Thierry d'Alsace rapporta de la seconde Croisade en Terre Sainte la relique du précieux Sang, conservée depuis dans l'église du même nom.¹¹ La relique fut confiée au clergé par les autorités civiles et une Confrérie fut instituée pour veiller sur elle au nom des autorités religieuses. Les documents renseignent la première procession connue en 1303,¹² peut-être en reconnaissance pour la victoire emportée sur la chevalerie française de Philippe le Bel à Courtrai durant la célèbre bataille dite des "Eperons d'or" du 11 juillet 1302.

La première représentation sur la base du texte et de la mise en scène du P. Boon eut lieu le 20 août 1938 dans ce décor médiéval splendide qu'offrent tout naturellement la grand-place de Bruges, son merveilleux beffroi, les clochers illuminés, leurs carillons, les milliers d'acteurs et de figurants, les jeux de lumière, l'orchestre de trois cents musiciens, les orgues de la cathédrale, les chœurs parlés et chantés, etc.... Le Jeu fut repris en 1939, 1947, 1952, 1957 (quatre mois après le décès de l'auteur) et pour la dernière fois en 1962. Le succès fut énorme, il y eut - dit-on - 125.000 spectateurs la première année.¹³ Le spectacle connut plus de 40 représentations, totalisant 600.000 spectateurs. Pour la dernière série de 1962, le texte fut revu,¹⁴ entre autres par le P. Albert Speekaert CSSR (1915-1982), également homme de lettres qui succéda au P. Boon à la tête de la «Confrérie du Jeu du Saint-Sang de Bruges».¹⁵

- Le texte

Première partie: En fait c'est la dramatisation des événe-

¹⁰ *Sanguis Christi*, 1^{ère} édition 1938, 9-13.

¹¹ E. de MOREAU, *Bruges*, in *Dictionnaire d'Histoire et de Géographie ecclésiastiques* X (1938) 891.

¹² Cette procession est à distinguer du «Jeu». Encore actuellement, elle a lieu le jour de l'Ascension.

¹³ *Analecta XVIII* (1939) 82-83.

¹⁴ *Brugs Handelsblad* du 6. 1. 1962.

¹⁵ Vingt ans plus tard, il fut question de reprendre le Jeu. Mais la proposition faite au Conseil Communal de Bruges par P. Vandendriessche (Volksunie) n'eut pas de suite. *Gazet van Antwerpen* du 5. 7. 1983.

ments du Vendredi-Saint, Procès devant Pilate, Chemin de la Croix, mort du Christ et intervention de Joseph d'Arimathie qui recueille le Précieux Sang.

Deuxième partie: Thierry d'Alsace revient de croisade avec la précieuse relique et est accueilli par le peuple de Bruges en liesse et tout le clergé.

Troisième partie: Bruges est menacée par les ennemis de la Foi, entre autres par les Révolutionnaires français, mais elle est sauvée grâce à l'intervention de Notre-Dame. Tableau final qui reprend les différents thèmes. Joseph d'Arimathie élève le Graal comme pour bénir la foule pendant que le chœur entonne l'hymne final.

L'auteur n'a jamais visé une gloire personnelle car il considérait son activité comme un apostolat. Ainsi créa-t-il à Bruges en 1947 une association pieuse sous le nom de *confrérie du Jeu du Saint-Sang* avec ses réunions régulières et son périodique *De Graal*.

Malgré le grand succès que l'œuvre a rencontré, il y eut comme toujours des voix discordantes, telle celle de l'abbé Al. De Mayer¹⁶ dont l'analyse ne manque pas de finesse:

«Je ne peux toujours pas me réconcilier avec cette œuvre qui n'est pas devenue une pièce de théâtre et encore moins un Jeu à la gloire d'une ville. Vouloir créer un scénario, c'est bien, mais, dans ce cas, il faut que cela en soit un. Une pièce de théâtre doit être un texte : celui-ci fait défaut, aussi bien au niveau de la langue que de la trame des événements racontés. Les indications scéniques doivent interpréter le Jeu pour refléter l'analyse psychologique profonde de sorte que le contenu reçoive davantage de vie et de consistance : vie intérieure et consistance psychologique. Ici, nous n'avons qu'un feu d'artifice qui ne devient même pas pure littérature. Le fait de vouloir "édifier" ne suffit pas pour édifier. Qu'on lise la *Feuille Paroissiale Liturgique* de septembre 1938. Nous y trouvons une avalanche de notations extérieures qui ont exigé de la régie des choses impossibles, de sorte que, déjà d'avance, le lecteur est mal disposé».

¹⁶ *Boekengids* 17 (1939) rubr. 16.855, p. 26 (notre traduction).

3. - Autres Titres

A côté de ces deux grandes œuvres, le P. Boon a écrit de multiples pièces de théâtre qu'il n'est pas toujours facile de classer.

Des vies de saints comme:¹⁷

St Vincent de Paul. - St Martin. - St Amand. - Ste Cécile. - Ste Barbe. - Les Martyrs de l'Ouganda. - St Jean Berchmans. - La Bienheureuse Christine. - Le Bienheureux Charles le Bon, comte de Flandre, etc...

Des contes pour enfants:

Comment Chaperon Rouge ressuscita. -, Le Père Fouettard. - Cendrillon. - St Nicolas et l'Ogre. - Comment le petit moulin de Zildergem s'en alla en pèlerinage. - La belle au bois dormant. - La dernière aventure de Kardaske, etc...

Des contes de Noël:

Le baume miraculeux de Sœur Bénédicte. - La nuit fleurie. - Comment les Turcs arrivèrent à Bethléem. - Le voyage merveilleux d'un sapin de Noël. - La révolte des poupées, etc...

Des œuvres plus profondes:

Sombres Matines. - Les Mystères Joyeux de Marie. - De Profundis. - L'Annonciation. - L'ouvrage de nos mains. - Panis Angelicus. - Victimae Paschali Laudes. - Tota Pulchra es. - Venite adoremus. - Encens du soir. - Mater Dolorosa. - Regina Pacis, etc...

Concernant les Rédemptoristes:

Biographie de Saint Gérard et du Bx Peerke Donders. - Un petit ouvrage sur ND du Perpétuel Secours.¹⁸

¹⁷ Nous donnons la traduction du titre en français, même si cette traduction n'existe pas, ce qui est le plus souvent le cas.

¹⁸ Traduit en français par le P. M.J. ANDRE CSSR (1911-1991), Province de Strasbourg.

Beaucoup plus connu: *A grands coup d'ailes vers l'Afrique*. Le récit du voyage que fit notre P. Léon Bradfer¹⁹ en octobre 1937 de Bruxelles jusqu'à notre mission du Congo, à Matadi. Sur l'Afrique encore: *L'ancien Royaume du Congo* en collaboration avec Mgr Cuvelier.²⁰

Egalement un poème dramatique sur le Bx Marcellin Champagnat,²¹ traduit en français par le P. Dügler²² sous le titre: *L'aventure du Grand Berger*.

4. - Traductions

Non content d'écrire des œuvres originales, le P.Boon a également traduit quelques œuvres et non des moindres:

De Pedro CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA (1600 - 1681):²³

La vida es sueño. - *El gran teatro del mundo*. - *El Príncipe constante*. - *La Hidalga del Valle*.

De Georg RENDL, auteur allemand:

Das Spiel vom Tode.

De Stephan ZWEIG (1881-1942), auteur autrichien:

Jeremias.

D'Henri GHEON, auteur français (1875-1944):

Les Petits Clercs de Santarem. - *Le jeu des merveilles de St Martin improvisé par les anges*. - *Le Miroir de Jésus*.

¹⁹ Léon Bradfer: né en 1901, profès en 1919, prêtre en 1925. Pionnier de l'aviation missionnaire. Quitta la Congrégation et devient d'abord Chartreux à Lucques en Toscane puis moine Camaldule à Camaldoli (Arezzo) où il mourut le 3 avril 1960 sous le nom de Frère Damien.

²⁰ Jan Cuvelier CSSR, également né à Hal en 1882, profès en 1900, prêtre en 1906. Vicaire Apostolique de Matadi (Congo belge) de 1930 à 1937. Décédé à Bruxelles-Jette en 1962.

²¹ Marcellin Champagnat (1789-1840) fondateur des Frères Maristes.

²² Charles Dügler CRR de la Province helvétique (1897-1982).

²³ Dans une entrevue avec le P. Miguel Barbera CSSR (1915-1975), il explique ce choix: Calderón avait quelques gouttes de sang flamand par sa mère, une flamande de Mons-en-Hainaut qui se serait appelée pour cette raison *Dona Ana Maria de HENAO y Riano*. En outre, son père et Calderón lui-même auraient combattu dans les Flandres. Cfr *El teatro gigantesco del P. Boon* in *El Perpetuo Socorro*, Madrid, (Oct.1953) 319-326.

De Michel DE GHELDERODE auteur belge (1898-1962):
Barabbas

D'Henri BROCHET (1898-?), auteur français:
Voici Noël, notre joie. - La Passion, notre espérance.

De MIŁOSZ,²⁴ auteur lituanien de langue française:
Miguel Mañara ou la "conversion" de Don Juan.

D'Yves LENOIR:²⁵
Les deux mendiants et Le bandit de Notre-Dame.

5. - *La Bibliotheca Alphonsiana. - Opbouwen-Renouveau*

Dans un manifeste daté du 2 janvier 1946,²⁶ le P. Boon explique sa vision du théâtre. Il y montre comment *Opbouwen* [=construire] voudrait conserver, grâce à une riche activité théâtrale, tout ce que la Flandre a donné de mieux. Il y aurait deux séries, une néerlandaise et une française. Selon lui, le fondement du théâtre, c'est la vie en plénitude. Il fait appel aux auteurs du Moyen-Age, à Henri Ghéon, à Paul Claudel qui voulait réconcilier les deux mondes: la terre et le ciel.

Il contribuera ainsi à publier en langue néerlandaise des auteurs comme T. S. Eliot (1888-1965), Michel de Ghelderode (1898-1962), Anton van de Velde (1895-1983), René Willeme, Marcel Brauns S.J., Hendrik Prijs, Arthur Allard, Jozef van den Eynde, etc.

III. CONCLUSION

En parcourant la bibliographie du P. Boon, il est frappant de constater comment cet homme ne pouvait concevoir une œuvre qu'en termes de théâtre. Lorsqu'on lui proposait un sujet, immédiatement, en esprit, il campait un décor, esquissait des personnages,

²⁴ Oscar-Vladislas de Lubicz-Milosz (1877-1939).

²⁵ Nom de plume d'Arthur Allard CSSR. Cfr note 2.

²⁶ Texte néerlandais aux Archives CSSR Bxl-Nord, Personalia. A paru en néerlandais dans le périodique français d'Henri Brochet *Jeux, tréteaux et personnages*.

découpait l'action en scènes. En somme, un bon cinéaste en puissance. A part quelques textes où il expose ses théories sur le théâtre chrétien, on trouve très peu de prose dans son œuvre.

Il s'est servi d'un grand nombre de sujets mais nous pouvons facilement dégager ses centres d'intérêt: la chrétienté médiévale, un catholicisme qu'on pourrait qualifier de "combat" et un grand amour pour sa terre natale de Flandre.

Depuis la mort de notre auteur, bien des choses ont changé dans le monde et l'Église. Il est évident que toute son œuvre est imprégnée de l'esprit de son temps. Ainsi, plusieurs de ses morceaux ont comme sous-titre "chœur parlé pour l'offensive catholique", expression qui passerait fort mal à notre époque! S'il est presque tombé dans l'oubli aujourd'hui, cela n'enlève rien à son mérite et au très grand succès indéniable qu'il rencontra durant sa vie.

Comme l'écrit le P. De Meulemeester: "Son activité littéraire s'écartait sans doute des modalités ordinaires de l'apostolat de la Congrégation et ne rallia évidemment pas les suffrages de tous les confrères. Le P. Boon, lui, la considérait comme un apostolat très réel auquel le poussait ses inclinations intimes, les encouragements venus de toutes parts et auquel il ne s'adonna pas sans l'approbation de ses supérieurs".²⁷

Il est certain que, vivant parmi nous, il n'aurait pas manqué de tirer parti de toutes les inventions récentes en matière de communication et des nouvelles technologies audio-visuelles qui offrent bien plus de possibilités que les moyens dont il disposait avant la deuxième Guerre Mondiale.

Le Père Boon était bien sûr nourri de la théologie de son temps mais il avait compris d'une façon profonde notre devise *Copiosa apud eum redemptio* et a voulu la faire vivre à sa manière, grâce à sa nature de poète et de dramaturge, en touchant le plus grand nombre de ses contemporains, la jeunesse en premier lieu. En cela surtout il a droit à notre admiration et notre respect.

²⁷ Dans une petite nécrologie non publiée.

APPENDICE

ESSAI DE BIBLIOGRAPHIE

Remarque: La traduction littérale des titres originaux est donnée entre []. Comme toute traduction littérale, elle ne rend pas toujours l'intention "poétique" de l'auteur. L'ordre chronologique est celui des premières éditions - quand elles sont connues - car certaines de ces œuvres ont eu plusieurs rééditions, parfois au cours de la même année.

1923

Tharcisius. Gedicht Eucharistisch spel in drie bedrijven, met proloog. Inleiding van Joris Eeckhout. [Tharcisius. Jeu-poème eucharistique en 3 actes, avec prologue. Introduction de Joris Eeckhout].

De Negermartelaars van Oeganda (m.s.) [Les martyrs nègres de l'Ouganda]. Traduit en Kikongo par Mgr Jan Cuvelier C.S.S.R.: «Ambangi zandombe za dibundu diakatolika mû nsi Uganda». Repris en 1926 sous le titre *Zwarte Hostiën* [Hosties noires]. Met en scène le martyr des 22 Ougandais en 1885-1887.

1924

Een Hallenaar in Congo : Pater Jan Cuvelier. [Un hallois au Congo: le P. J. Cuvelier] dans *De Eendracht* (Hal) n. 36, 37.

1925

Traduction de l'œuvre d'Henri Gheon «Le miroir de Jésus» sous le titre *De Spiegel van Jezus*.

De Tocht naar de Liefde. [La marche vers l'amour] Livret d'exécution pour la création du jeu à Beverloo le 28 mai 1925. Sur la Passion du Christ.

1926

Van een Nonnetje dat wonderen balsem wou koop. Traduit en 1938 par Emile Schwartz sous le titre "Le Baume miraculeux de Sœur Benedicta". Jeu liturgique en un acte.

De bloeiende Nacht. Traduit en français sous le titre "La nuit fleurie". Conte de Noël, jeu liturgique en un acte.

De Simpele. [L'homme simple] Jeu franciscain et liturgique en un acte. Conte pascal.

Zielen in de branding. [Ames ardentes]. Concerne Sainte Catherine de Sienne (1347-1380).

1927

Een bekeerling van Léon Bloy: Léopold Levaux en zijn dagboek: «Quand Dieu parle». [Un converti de Léon Bloy (1846-1917): L. Levaux et son journal] dans *Hooger Leven*. n. 36, 37.

1929

De Ontmoeting. Het Hooglied van m'n Priesterschap. [La Rencontre. Le cantique des cantiques de mon sacerdoce]. Poèmes.

De Vuurberg. Missie-Tragedie in 3 bedrijven. [La montagne de feu. Tragédie missionnaire en 3 actes].

1930

Het Leven van Peerke Donders in twaalf kapittelkens verteld [La vie de Peerke Donders racontée en douze petits chapitres], traduite en allemand par J.B. Thiebes CSSR dans *Der Volksmissionar* 9 (1930) en douze fragments.

Donkeren Metten [Sombres Matines]. La Passion du Christ.

Hoe Roodkapje verrees. Traduit par Yves Lenoir (=Arthur Allard CSSR) sous le titre "Comment Chaperon Rouge ressuscita" Bruxelles, 1937. Et en allemand "Wie Rotkäppchen auferstand" par Erwin K. Münz.

1931

Het zwaar Torment. Sint Margareta spel, met een inleidende studie over «Toneel en Zieleleven» [Le lourd tourment. Jeu de Sainte Marguerite,

avec une étude introductive sur «Théâtre et vie de l'âme». Sur Sainte Marguerite d'Antioche (III^{ème} siècle).

1932

De nieuwe dag. Dramatische poëem en 1 bedrijf voor de katholieke arbeidersjeugd. [Le nouveau jour. Poème dramatique en un acte pour la jeunesse ouvrière catholique].

1933

De Zeven Slapers. [Les sept dormeurs].

De zeven Blijdschappen van Maria. [Les sept Mystères joyeux de Marie].

Een jaar praktijk. [Une année de pratique] dans *Toneelgids* (Antwerpen 15 novembre - 1^{er} décembre 1933).

1934

Het werk onzer handen! Spreekkoor voor de katholieke arbeistersjeugd. [Le travail de nos mains! Chœur parlé pour les jeunes ouvrières catholiques]. Traduit en Slovène par J. Moder en 1936 sous le titre "Delo nasih rok" dans *Ljudski Oder* 1936-37, p. 135-139.

Adaptation du *Jeremias* de Stefan Zweig. Drame en 9 parties.

Vlam. Missieverhalen [Flamme. Récits de mission].

Aan ons de zee! Spreekkoor voor de katholieke meisjes der Vlaamsche kust. [A nous la mer! Chœur parlé pour les filles catholiques de la côte flamande].

Het dorstige land. Een psalm voor de missie. Op de Mis voor de voortplanting van het geloof «Deus misereatur nostri». [Le pays assoiffé. Un psaume pour la mission. Pour la messe de la propagation de la foi «Deus misereatur nostri»].

Droomt van de daad ! Spreekkoor voor de Vlaamsche katholieke

meisjes. [Rêvez d'action ! Chœur parlé pour les jeunes filles catholiques flamandes].

Victimae Paschali laudes. Verrijzenis-spreekkoor. [Victimae Paschali laudes. Chœur parlé de la Résurrection].

Panis Angelicus. Eucharistisch spreekkoor. [Panis Angelicus. Chœur parlé eucharistique]. Traduit en slovène par Janko Moder: "Angelski Kruh. Evharistichi govorski zbor" et en français par Emile Schwartz.

Eerste blijdschap van Maria: de Boodschap. [Premier mystère joyeux de Marie : l'Annonciation].

Zwarte Piet. Een Sint-Niklaassprookje. [Le Père Fouettard. Une légende de Saint Nicolas].

Met het katholieke massatooneel naar de straat - Mysterium Crucis te Lede bij Aalst. [Le théâtre de masse dans la rue - Mysterium Crucis à Lede près d'Alost] dans *Katholiek Tooneel* (juillet 1934).

Naar den opbouw van een katholieke-offensief-tooneel. [Vers la formation d'un théâtre catholique d'offensive] dans *Katholieke Middenstand Jeugd* (Brugge, oct.-nov.1934).

De opbouw van het katholiek tooneel te lande. [La construction du théâtre catholique dans notre pays] dans *Tooneelleven* (Antwerpen, 1934, t. 1, n. 9)

Tooneel en spreekkoor in ons katholiek onderwijs. [Théâtre et chœur parlé dans notre enseignement catholique] dans *De Toekomst* (Poperinghe, 1 août 1934). Article traduit en slovène.

Asschepoes. Dramatisch sprookje in 3 bedrijven voor meisjes. [Cendrillon. Conte (pour le théâtre) en 3 actes pour filles].

Noodsignalen. Spreekkoor voor katholiek offensief. [Signaux de détresse. Chœur parlé pour l'offensive catholique].

De Profundis. Katholiek offensief-drama in 3 bedrijven voor meisjes. [De Profundis. Drame d'offensive catholique en 3 actes pour filles].

1935

Flamski katoliski teater [Théâtre catholique flamand]. Article dans *Ljudski Oder* (Ljubljana, Slovénie) février 1935, 85-88.

Klaroent vuur! Spreekkoor voor katholiek offensief. [Sonnez le feu ! Chœur parlé pour l'offensive catholique].

Tota Pulchra es! Spreekkoor voor de vrouwelijke studeerende jeugd. [Tota Pulchra es! Chœur parlé pour les étudiantes]

Duc in altum! Spreekkoor voor katholieke offensief. [Duc in altum! Chœur parlé pour l'offensive catholique].

Het gesloten Hofken. Marialegenden. [Le jardin scellé. Légendes mariales].

Paaschjubel! Spreekkoor voor katholiek offensief. [Jubilation pascalle. Chœur parlé pour l'offensive catholique].

Kerstmis der kinderen. Spreekkoor. [Le Noël des enfants].

Jeugditanie tot den Heiligen Joannes Berchmans. [Litanie pour la jeunesse en l'honneur de St Jean Berchmans] (1599-1621).

De genoodigden. Verzen [Les invités. Poésies]

Sint-Niklaas en de reus. Traduit en français par Yves Lenoir (= A. Allard C&S) sous le titre "Saint Nicolas et l'Ogre" et en slovène par Janko Moder "Sveti Miklavž in divji moz".

Traduction de la pièce française d'Henri Gheon «Les petits clercs de Santarem» sous le titre *De honger der kleinen.*

Jubilate!

Het manifest van de katholieke moderne tooneelbeweging in Joego-Slavië. [Le manifeste du mouvement théâtral moderne en Yougoslavie] dans *Tooneelgids* (Antwerpen, 1935, t. 21 n. 6, 7).

Massa-uitvoering bij godsdienstige plechtigheden. - De zee kust en een H. Ceciliaspel. [Exécution de masse lors de solennités religieuses. - La côte et un jeu de Ste Cécile] dans *De Vlaamsche Radiogids* (Leuven, 1935, n. 51 ; 1936, n. 43)

1936

Het spreekkoor is een dramatisch werk. - Dramatiek in de mis-liturgie [Le chœur parlé est une œuvre dramatique. - La dramatique dans la liturgie de la messe] dans *Tooneelgids* (Antwerpen, 6 févr.- 6 avril 1936).

Van drie blauwe meisjes en een kleinen bedelaar. Een spelletje voor de studeerende meisjes van Vlaanderen, in één bedrijf. [De trois filles en bleu et d'un petit mendiant. Petite pièce pour étudiantes flamandes, en un acte].

Het laatste avontuur van Kardaske. [La dernière aventure de Kardaske].

Heilige Cecilia. Koorspel in 3 deelen voor de meisjes van onzen tijd. Traduit en français par Emile Schwartz: "Sainte Cécile. Chœur en 3 parties pour les filles de notre temps". Egalement traduit en slovène par M. Gaspersiceva: "Sveta Cecilija. Dekliska zborovska igra".

Stormklokken! Spreekkoor voor de Vlaamsche jeugd. [Cloches de tempête ! Chœur parlé pour la jeunesse flamande].

Avondwierook. Eucharistisch spreekkoor. Traduit en français par Yves Lenoir (= A. Allard CRR) sous le titre "Encens du soir", musique d'Arthur Meulemans.

Mater Dolorosa. Mysteriespel van de VII Smarten van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw. [Mater Dolorosa. Le Jeu des VII douleurs de N.D.]

Hoe 't windmoleken van Zoldergem op beëvaart ging. [Comment le moulin de Zoldergem s'en alla en pèlerinage].

De Brug. Drama in 3 bedrijven. [Le pont. Drame en 3 actes].

Magnificat! Spreekkoor voor het offensief van de K.A.-meisjes. [Magnificat! Chœur parlé pour l'offensive de l'Action Catholique féminine].

CREDO! Traduction d'Emile Schwartz: "Credo! Jeu scénique en profession de foi catholique à exécuter dans le stade du Heysel par tous les fidèles du pays le 13 sept. 1936, pour clôturer le VI^{ème} Congrès catholique de Malines.

Declamatorium voor de jeugd [Recueil littéraire pour la jeunesse].

Hoe de kemel naar 't stalleken kwam. Kertsspelletje. traduit en français par Yves Lenoir (=A.Allard C&S) : "Comment le chameau s'en vint à l'étable". Traduction allemande "Wie das Kamel zum Stall fand" par Erwin K.MÄnz.

1937

Een wolk van vuur. Missiedrama in 3 bedrijven. [Un nuage de feu. Drame missionnaire en 3 actes].

Spreekkoren. [Chœurs parlés].

Spreekkoor en massatooneel. Ontwikkeling, theorie en praktijk. [Chœur parlé et théâtre de masse. Développement, théorie et pratique]. Traduit en slovène par Janko Moder.

De nood der Lieve-Vrouwkens. Spreekkoor [La détresse des madones. Chœur parlé].

Venite adoremus. Kerstspreekkoor. [Venite adoremus. Chœur parlé de Noël].

Een nieuw drama van E. H. Cyriel Verschaeve: Elijah — Het heldhaftig missiewerk van de vliegenier Pater Bradfer. [Un nouveau drame de l'abbé Cyrille Verschaeve: Elie. - Le travail missionnaire héroïque de l'aviateur Père Bradfer] dans le quotidien flamand *De Standaard* des 24 mars 1937 et 23 mars 1938.

Pastor Ovium. Spreekkoor. [Pastor Ovium. Chœur parlé].

Wijding der Wegen. Spreekkoor. [Bénédition des routes. Chœur parlé].

De bloeiende tuin in het land van God. Spreekkoor. [Le jardin en fleur au pays de Dieu. Chœur parlé].

Ubi charitas et amor. Spreekkoor. [Ubi charitas et amor. Chœur parlé].

Regina Pacis. Spreekkoor. [Regina Pacis. Chœur parlé].

Introïbo. Roepingspreekkoor. [Introïbo. Chœur parlé sur la vocation].

Reine Kempen. Spreekkoor. [Pures Campines. Chœur parlé].

Traduction du "Chemin de la croix" de Paul CLAUDEL (1868-1955) sous le titre *Kruisweg*.

1938

Vlammende kruislegioenen, massaspel voor de arbeiders. [Croisés de feu, jeu de masse pour les travailleurs].

De eerste missievlucht naar Kongo. Traduit en français par Yves Lenoir (= A. Allard CSSR) "A grands coups d'ailes vers l'Afrique missionnaire".

Herinneringen [Souvenirs] dans *Tooneelgids* du 15 mai 1938.

Onze priester-dichters: Pater Boon vertelt... dans *De Vlaamsche radiogids* (Leuven, 9 mai 1938).

Sanguis Christi. Het spel van het Heilig Bloed van Brugge.. [Sanguis Christi. Le Jeu du Saint Sang de Bruges].

Moeder. [Mère].

Hoe de Turken naar Bethlehem kwamen. [Comment les Turcs vinrent à Bethléem].

1939

Tu es sacerdos. Spreekkoor. [Tu es sacerdos. Chœur parlé].

Adaptation de l'œuvre espagnole «La vida es sueño» de CALDERÓN de la Barca (1664) sous le titre *Het leven een droom*. L'argument est tiré de l'histoire de Pologne, du roi Ladislas et de son fils Sigismond.

Sitio. Boete-spreekkoor. [Sitio. Chœur parlé de pénitence].

Ecclesia Christi. Massaspel voor de jeugd der Limburgsche landouwen en mijnen, fabrieken en studies. [Ecclesia Christi. Jeu de masse pour les jeunes des campagnes et mines limbourgeoises, pour les ouvriers et les étudiants].

Angelus Domini. Mariaspel in 3 deelen. [Angelus Domini. Jeu marial en 3 parties].

1940

De Kathedraal der vijf wonden. Mysterie in 3 deelen. Traduit en français par Alfred Gaimant sous le titre "La cathédrale des cinq plaies".

1941

Gerardus Majella. Leekebroeder der C SSR. [Gérard Majella. Frère de la CSSR].

Het oud-Koninkrijk Kongo. (Avec Jan Cuvelier CSSR) [L'ancien Royaume du Congo].

De Maria-Getijden. [Les Heures de Marie].

De Bouwmeester. [L'architecte]. Pièce située au Moyen-Age, dans la plaine alsacienne.

De gulden Kronijken der Lieve Vrouw van Bevingen. [Les chroniques d'or de Notre-Dame de Bevingen].

Nazareth.

1942

Adaptation de l'œuvre espagnole «El gran teatro del mundo» de CALDERÓN de la Barca sous le titre *Het groote wereld-toneel*. Pièce allégorique de dimension cosmique: Dieu contemple sa création, et donne à chacun son rôle. Réflexion sur la destinée humaine.

De nood der Armen. Het levensdrama van den H. Vicentius a Paulo. Traduit en français par Paul Arve sous le titre "Monsieur Vincent. La grande pitié des pauvres".

Traduction du «Barabbas» de Michel de GHELDERODE.

Moeder Anna. [Mère Anne].

Het Mysterie der drie Korenaren. [Le Mystère des trois épis] Pièce de théâtre qui met en scène la légende à l'origine du pèlerinage des Trois-Epis près de Colmar en Alsace.

De man die Jezus kruisigde. Traduit en français par Charles Dügler CSSR sous le titre "L'homme qui crucifia Jésus" et en Italien "L'uomo che ha crocifisso Gesù" par Guido Guarda.

Traduction de la pièce d'Henri Brochet «Voici Noël, notre joie» sous le titre *Een ster was verloren gegaan.*

De reis van Sint Martinus. [Le voyage de Saint Martin].

Sint Amandus. [Saint Amand]. Evêque du VII^{ème} siècle, apôtre du nord de la France et d'une partie de l'Europe septentrionale.

1943

De revolutie der poppen. [La révolution des poupées].

De wondere reis van een kerstboom. [Le voyage merveilleux d'un sapin de Noël].

De schaapjes van Binus. [Les petits moutons de Binus].

Passio Christi.

Schoonslaapstertje. [La Belle au bois dormant].

De roep der verre Landen. [L'appel des pays lointains]. Recueil de poèmes missionnaires.

De vreugde der sterren. [La joie des étoiles].

Traduction de l'œuvre d'Henri GHEON «Le Jeu des merveilles de Saint Martin improvisé par les anges» sous le titre: *Het spel der Wonderen van Sint Martinus door de engelen geïmproviseerd.*

De Missie-gedachte in de dramatiek. [La pensée missionnaire dans l'art dramatique].

Traduction de la pièce d'Henri BROCHET «La Passion, notre espérance» sous le titre: *De kruisweg langs de stad.*

Kerstmis in de dramatiek. 50 Kerstspellen. [Noël dans l'art dramatique. 50 jeux de Noël].

De Missie-droom des Kleinen. [Le rêve missionnaire des petits].
Recueil de poèmes missionnaires pour les enfants.

Onze Lieve Vrouw van Altijddurende Bijstand. Traduit en français par M. J. André CSSR "Notre-Dame du Perpétuel Secours".

1944

Maria van het Zoete Dal. [Marie de Zutendaal]. Sur le célèbre pèlerinage du Limbourg belge.

Adaptation de la pièce de CALDERÓN de la Barca "El Principe constante" avec pour titre *De Prins wankelt niet*. L'argument en est la malheureuse expédition contre les Maures à Tanger en 1438 par l'Infant Don Fernand du Portugal.

Toen Fonske en Mitke den Hemel bezochten. [Lorsque Fonske et Mitke visitèrent le Paradis].

1945

Broeder Candide. Traduit en français par Raymond Janne "Frère Candide. Petit mystère Pascal".

1946

Traduction du français des "Notes intimes" du P. Jozef Schrijvers CSSR (1876-1945) avec comme titre: *Het eeuwig festijn. Nagelaten intieme nota's.*

Joris van Geel. Een vlaamsch martelaar in het oud-Koninkrijk Kongo (1617-1652). [Georges de Geel. Un martyr flamand dans l'ancien Royaume du Congo].

1947

De schoone strijd om Gods kleine zielen. [Le beau combat pour les petites âmes de Dieu].

1948

Het wonder van den goddelijken Bouwer van Hakendover. [Le miracle du divin bâtisseur de Hakendover].

Het schone verhaal van Hakendover. [Le beau récit de Hakendover].
Légende médiévale se déroulant dans cette paroisse du Brabant flamand.

Het blijde leven. Declamatorium. [La vie joyeuse. Recueil].

1950

Het spel van Sinte Christina de Wonderbare. [Le jeu de Ste Christine l'admirable]. Vie d'une Bienheureuse de Belgique qui a vécu à Saint-Trond (1150-1224) et dont les reliques se trouvaient dans l'église des Rédemptoristes de cette ville.

1951

Rozenkrans voor Maria. [Rosaire pour Marie].

The Modern Theatre, a form of the Marian apostolate. [Le théâtre moderne, une forme de l'apostolat marial].

1952

Traduction de l'œuvre allemande de Georg RENDL "Das Spiel vom Tode" sous le titre *De vreemde rechter die ongewenst toch opgeroepen werd.* Pièce allégorique en un acte.

Adaption de l'œuvre célèbre de Petrus DORLANDUS (XV^{me} siècle) *De spiegel der Zaligheid van Elckerlijc.* [Le miroir des Béatitudes de Elckerlijc = Tout le monde].

Traduction de la pièce d'Yves LENOIR (= Arthur Allard CSSR) "Les deux mendiants" sous le titre *Van twee bedelaars die het mirakel vreesden.*

1954

Adaptation de la pièce de CALDERÓN de la Barca "La hildaga del Valle" sous le titre de *Het adellijke Meisje uit de vallei*. Sur le dogme de l'Immaculée Conception.

Het lied in het dal der engelen [Le chant dans la vallée des anges].

Traduction de la pièce d'Yves LENOIR (= A. Allard CSSR) "Le bandit de Notre-Dame" sous le titre: *De bandiet van Onze Lieve Vrouw*.

1955

Legende van de Heilige Barbara [Légende de Sainte Barbe]. Patronne très populaire des mineurs et des artilleurs.

Karel de Goede. [Charles le Bon]. Sur le Bienheureux Charles le Bon, comte de Flandre, assassiné à Bruges en 1127.

De kruisvaart van de Goede Herder. Traduit par Ch.Düngler C SSR sous le titre de "L'aventure du Grand Berger" C'est la vie de Marcellin Champagnat, fondateur des Frères Maristes.

Sprankeltjes Zon. [Petites étincelles de soleil]. Recueil de poésies pour les enfants.

1956

Sponsa Christi.

1957

Sa dernière œuvre, parue après son décès:

De Gletsjer weent tranen. [Le glacier verse des larmes]. Drame qui se déroule dans la vallée de Lötschen en Haut-Valais suisse.



SAMUEL J. BOLAND

SERGEANT A. S. DOWDEN, EXTRAORDINARY
SECRETARY OF THE SUPERIOR GENERAL

From the files of Redemptorist archives there has emerged a curious but quite edifying story of the immediate postwar years¹. It is the story of a simple and devout British soldier of the army of occupation in Rome. Chance had thrown him into contact with Fr. P. Murray, Superior General, and others of the community of S. Alfonso; and he showed himself extremely generous in assisting communication with some of the provinces and equally honourable in respecting the confidences entrusted to him. Besides being so curious the incident was probably also unique, and for that reason seems to merit being put on more accessible record. It provides a picture of Italy in the experience of others than those involved in the struggle for political stability.

CENSORSHIP DURING THE OCCUPATION

The involvement of the British soldier in the business of the Redemptorist Superior General was occasioned by the condition of Italy after World War II. The country had gone through a severely testing experience in the long months before the end of the war. The hard-fought campaigns from Sicily, the South of Italy and the Anzio beachhead left their deep scars, not only on so many historic buildings but on the people, who in spite of themselves were by force of circumstances much more than spectators of the conflict.

¹The following archives have been used in this study: AGR: Redemptorist General Archives, Rome. In the sections of immediate interest they are still in the process of organisation. ALP: Archives of the London Province, Clapham. ACP: Archives of the Canberra Province, Sydney. The province of Dublin is also represented in AGR, but its own provincial archives have not apparently preserved the corresponding documentation.

After the entry of the allied troops into Rome in June 1944 the fighting continued as the Germans strenuously resisted. Now there was a further complication. The Italian resistance, which heroically aided the offensive, brought to the fore a redoubtable Communist element, which was to remain for a long time a significant political force in the country.

After peace in Europe in May 1945 there began for Italy, as for all combatant peoples, an anxious process of reconstruction. Each nation which had endured the war had its own peculiar problems. For Italy reconstruction was complicated by the presence of an expanding Communist party. There were many, including especially Church leaders, who viewed with grave alarm the possibility of seeing the fascist regime replaced by an equally totalitarian Marxism, with allegiance rather to Stalin's Russia than to an Italian nationalism not yet a hundred years old.

The downfall of Mussolini and the monarchy entailed the formulation of a new constitution. The election of the Constituent Assembly and the early tentative steps of the new republic were a time of deep concern for the Church and the emerging State². It was a trying period during which the Government exercised a tight check on communication with the rest of the world. Obviously, the censorship proved a considerable inconvenience for religious authorities. The Redemptorist provincial in Australia, for example, contacted his Superior General through a chaplain serving with the armed forces³. With the transfer of the helpful Father Parker the appearance of Sergeant Dowden seemed providential⁴.

SERGEANT DOWDEN

Who was Sergeant Dowden? The sudden appearance of the stranger was understandably puzzling to the provincials. Father John Cullen presumed that he was a good Catholic serving with

² J. DEREK HOLMES, *The Papacy in the Modern World, 1914-1978*, Crossroads, New York, 1981, 171-172 speaks of the early relations of the Church with the emerging republic.

³ Cullen to Parker, 22nd July 1945. AGR, Prov. Aust. Father A. Parker was a chaplain with the Australian Air Force stationed in Rome. The letterspeaks of other correspondence which had been of special help "in these months". Unfortunately, the correspondence mentioned has disappeared.

⁴ Dowden to Cullen, 13th September 1945. ACP, D 2/45. The Sergeant's rank was sometimes written in the alternative spelling as "serjeant".

the Australian Military Forces Overseas⁵. Apart from the evident contact with the Superior General, Father Patrick Murray, and his helpfulness, nothing further was known about him. A chance meeting in Sydney between Father William Byrne and a certain Major Dowden seemed to confirm the impression that the sergeant was an Australian⁶. One gathers from the little relevant correspondence with the Irish provincial that he was just as vague.

In his first letter to the English provincial, Father John Charlton, the sergeant introduced himself and explained his being so intimately involved in the correspondence of the Superior General⁷. The letter was headed A. 5. Dowden 2044261, Transportation (Br.) Main, and the signature at the end was Anthony S. Dowden.

He explained that he was a regular visitor to the church of S. Alfonso and the residence of the Superior General in the via Merulana, where he had become acquainted with Father Murray. He added that he had already assisted the Superior General in contacting Father Gibson, who was serving with the military forces, and the Consultor General, Father Alexander McMullan⁸.

He went on to say that Father Murray was anxious on account of the difficulty he had in sending cables to the distant provinces. He had himself assisted by making enquiries in Italy and now wished to ask that Father Charlton agree to send the cables from England. He sent one as a trial with his letter, which as coming from the occupying forces was not delayed by the Italian censorship. The cable was addressed to the Redemptorists of Argentina announcing the death of the superior of the Lower German (Cologne) province with one of his consultors during the war and the appointment of a successor⁹. Further cables, he suggested, could be simply sent to Brother Joseph Smith of the Clapham community for dispatch.

⁶Father Cullen added a note to the first of the Dowden letters in the provincial files. ACP D 2/45.

⁵Cullen to Dowden, 24th October 1945. ACP, D 4/45. Father William Byrne was the previous Provincial.

⁷Dowden to Charlton, 7th July 1945. ALP, Bb 199.

⁸Father Gibson of the English province was a long-serving military chaplain. (cf. Catalogue C.S.S.R., 1955, p. 388). Father Alexander McMullan of the Australian province had been elected Consultor General on 20th November 1944, but had not yet been able to reach Rome. (cf. SH 2(1954) 257-258).

⁹The Argentinian Redemptorists until 1943 had formed a vice-province dependent on the Lower German (Cologne) province.

This first letter from the sergeant went on to express the Superior General's concern over the ill health of Father Hill, another of the chaplains of the province. There was also a message for Father Demets of the West Indies, should he be in England, assuring him that he would receive a letter from Father Murray, even though he might have to wait a long time in the difficult circumstances¹⁰. The letter finished with a request for Rolls razor blades for the Superior General and for Father Lutz, Procurator General.

It seems that the method of transmitting cables through Brother Joseph proved satisfactory, since there is no further mention in later correspondence. No doubt it was an invaluable service to the general government. The other matters mentioned in this first Dowden letter to survive were typical of the contents of the considerable correspondence that followed. It was characteristic of the familiar and personal communication that was usual between the Superior General and the provincials, a fact which itself speaks plainly of the confidence the sergeant inspired. This first letter was to be the pattern of future correspondence between Rome and the three provinces. Father Murray gave his letters to the sergeant, who then copied them for transmission as his own mail thus avoiding the irksome Italian censorship. The replies were addressed to himself, and he handed them on¹¹. The contents of the letter had the usual tone of past correspondence with the small exceptions of the sergeant's own few words of respectful greeting and the warm words of appreciation of his generous service added by the provincials.

One must emphasise with a sense of gratitude what is already evident enough. Sergeant Dowden was clearly of such a character as invited confidence. Father Murray, who knew him best, did not hesitate to entrust to him much of the regular business of his office. The correspondence, such as remains in the various archives, comprises some fifty or so letters that passed through the sergeant's hands. It shows that to a considerable extent he was admitted to intimate details of Redemptorist life.

¹⁰ Father A. Demets, a Belgian attached to the vice-province of Roseau in the West Indies was to be named coadjutor to the Bishop of Roseau in 1946. cf. S.J. BOLAND, *A Dictionary of the Redemptorists*, Rome, 1987, 104.

¹¹ Cf. John Cullen's note ACP, D2/45.

His honourable conduct merits due recognition, which will become more apparent if we look more closely at the correspondence in which he shared.

To use the privileges of the occupying army in order to circumvent the censorship obviously implied infringing some regulations. Nothing can be learned of the discussions that must have occurred before the sergeant undertook to expedite the Superior General's letters. It is evident, though, from the considerable exchange that he was not troubled by fear of possible repercussions of his proceedings. The first of his letters to survive is that of 7th July 1945 to Father Charlton, the English provincial¹². In it he simply explained his association with the community of S. Alfonso and then went on to give the messages entrusted to him by Father Murray. Father Charlton's reply showed some caution which revealed his puzzlement and some concern not to compromise the sergeant¹³. He gratefully acknowledged "those messages from our friend, so dear to our hearts". His next letter, a little over a week later, omits even that trace of caution¹⁴. He speaks of proposed nominations being forwarded by Father McMullan "for Father Murray". In his first letter the Irish provincial, Father Hugo Kerr, showed himself a little hesitant, addressing the sergeant as "Dear Mr. Dowden"¹⁵.

Apart from those initial and somewhat tentative approaches the correspondence has all the ease and frankness on all sides of the normal relations of religious and their superior.

THE CORRESPONDENCE

One consideration that was reassuring to the provincials was the fact that Sergeant Dowden had already been in correspondence with Father McMullan, Consultor General, before his first letter to Father Charlton¹⁶. A considerable part of the material in the

¹² ALP, Bb 199.

¹³ Charlton to Dowden, 11th July 1945. AGR, Prov. Ang.

¹⁴ Charlton to Dowden, 22nd July 1945. ALP. Bb 200.

¹⁵ Kerr to Dowden, 21st August 1945. AGR, Prov. Hib.

¹⁶ Dowden to Charlton, 7th July 1945. ALP, Bb 199. Father McMullan's epic journey to Rome took him from Australia to India, England, Ireland and South Africa, enabling him to make canonical visitations on the way. He does not seem to have kept the sergeant's letters to him.

Dowden files is concerned with nominations, which were made in all provinces by the general government in those days. There are lists with comments by Father McMullan and all the respective provincials for India, Ireland, England and South Africa. Needless to say, much of the material was of a highly confidential nature¹⁷. In a very short time Father Murray and the provincials found that with easy minds they could repose confidence in the sergeant.

Similarly confidential were certain dispensations transmitted through Sergeant Dowden. In September 1945 the English provincial was informed that a dispensation from an impediment of age had been granted to a member of the province and that the rescript would be sent on by the more regular mail service¹⁸. Rather more confidential was the dispensation similarly arranged for a clerical student of the Australian province to transfer to the lay religious state¹⁹. The delicate nature of these transactions, especially the case of the clerical student, is yet further indication of the confidence reposed in Sergeant Dowden. It was not misplaced, as these cases and other matters normally kept from the ordinary members of the provinces were never suspected of having passed through the hands of a man other than the major Redemptorist Superiors.

With the long awaited cessation of hostilities Father Charlton in England, together with his consultors, made plans. These were principally concerned with developing the missions in South Africa; and the provincial explained his aims to Sergeant Dowden, to be handed on Father Murray²⁰. What was projected was to be largely for the benefit of the native and coloured population, "something very precious in the eyes of the Holy See". The provincial spoke of proposed new foundations with a juvenate, for which personnel could easily be provided. And he asked that the mission be given the status of a vice-province.

The reply from the sergeant was a verbatim quotation of what he had been given by the Superior General²¹. Besides the promise to consider the proposals concerning South Africa as soon as

¹⁷ Cf for example McMullan to Dowden, 7th March 1946. AGR, Prov. Ang.

¹⁸ Dowden to Charlton, 17th September 1945. ALP Bb 200. The dispensation in question was *om a requirement of age. Its purpose is not clear, as the man in question had been ordained in November of the previous year.

¹⁹ Dowden to Cullen, 6th October 1945. ACP, D 4/45; 21st November 1945. ACP, D 6/45; Cullen to Dowden, 24th October 1945. AGR, Prov. Aust.

²⁰ Charlton to Dowden, 27th October 1945. AGR, Prov. Ang.

²¹ Dowden to Charlton, 21st November 1945. ALP, Bb 201.

Father McMullan, the long-awaited Consultor General, should arrive, there was welcome news. The Apostolic Delegate, newly appointed, had expressed warm appreciation of the Redemptorists and their work for the Blacks. This encouraging letter ended with a few personal remarks from the sergeant himself. In addition to his good wishes he expressed a nostalgia for "a good old London pea-souper". He was undoubtedly a most obliging character, but his tastes were very strange.

In addition to the messages about South Africa the letter contained a most unexpected request. Through the Superior General the Apostolic Delegate asked for English Fathers to replace the Austrians in the vice-province of Copenhagen. The reason for the request was what was described as the intense hostility of the population for the Germans, which it was feared would extend to the Austrians. All the English provincial could promise in view of the expansion planned for South Africa was that the request would be considered²². As it happened, the Austrians continued their mission in Denmark without the feared disadvantages.

Even during the dismal war years there had been some encouraging expansion at a distance from the hostilities. Reports of this kind of growth came to Rome in the difficult post-war years; and it was sergeant Dowden who acted as intermediary. It was to him that the Irish provincial, Father Hugo Kerr, wrote of his careful planning for a studendate at Bangalore in India²³. Through the sergeant he sent on the plans of the building together with detailed information about how the proposal was to be financed. Similarly, in Australia there were plans for an increased Redemptorist presence in places remote from the established houses. Father John Cullen, the provincial, explained to the sergeant the work contemplated in Townsville, North Queensland²⁴ and Christchurch, New Zealand²⁵. Sergeant Dowden was able to express Father Murray's gratification at news of growth at a time so apparently unpromising²⁶.

Welcome news came from Rome by way of the sergeant concerning two Australian Fathers who had served as military cha-

²² Charlton to Dowden, 15th December 1945. AGR, Prov. Ang.

²³ Kerr to Dowden, 21st August 1945. AGR, Prov. Hib.

²⁴ Cullen to Dowden, 24th October 1945. AGR, Prov. Aust.; 11th December 1945. December 1945. ACP, D 7/45; 13th March 1946. AGR, Prov. Aust.

²⁵ Cullen to Dowden, 13th March 1946. AGR, Prov. Aust.

²⁶ Dowden to Cullen, 6th October 1945. ACP, D 4/45.

plains and had been held in Japanese prisoner of war camps²⁷. Of Father Gerard Bourke Sergeant Dowden was able to report that the Apostolic Delegate to Indo-China had written in glowing terms of his courageous ministry to his fellow prisoners on the notorious Burma Railway. The sergeant also expressed the Superior General's concern for the welfare of Father John Kennedy, who had also worked on the railway before being transferred to mines in Manchuria. Among the Dowden papers is to be found also mention of chaplains and prisoners of war among the Fathers of the English province²⁸.

Particularly intriguing is mention by Father Kerr of a visit to Ireland by Father Wheelwright²⁹. The visit, the provincial reported with an almost audible sigh of relief, "had none of the unpleasant consequences that might have been feared". With his famous half brother, Eamon de Valera (Dev to Father Kerr and Father Murray), he had visited each of the houses. No doubt, whatever of the sergeant, the Superior General would have understood the evident relief with which the provincial spoke of the guest's departure and of Dev's letter "expressing profound gratitude".

There is considerable mention in the correspondence of concern among the Redemptorists of their concern for those of their confreres who had suffered most in the conflict just ended. Italy had been the theatre of fierce land battles as the retreating Germans resisted the advancing allied armies. Together with the rest of the people the Redemptorists suffered deprivations. In November 1945 Father Kerr asked the sergeant if he would be willing to accept gifts of clothing to be handed on to the authorities of S. Alfonso³⁰. In the margin of the letter Sergeant Dowden jotted "Yes, most certainly". A problem about sending aid to fellow Redemptorists was that the more usual channels, the Red Cross and UNNRA, would not undertake to deliver goods to specified destinations. A similar problem about transferring funds prompted the Irish provincial to ask how the no doubt much needed financial assistance might be sent to Italy.

²⁷ Dowden to Cullen, 21st November 1945. ACP, D 6/45.

²⁸ Charlton to Dowden, 11th July 1945. AGR, Prov. Ang.

²⁹ Kerr to Dowden, 19th January 1946. AGRm Prov. Hib. Father Thomas Wheelwright of the Baltimore province was a half brother of Eamon De Valera, the Irish leader, whose person was to some degree controversial.

³⁰ Kerr to Dowden, 6th November 1945. AGR, Prov. Hib.

Father Cullen in Australia, acting on locally received advice, sent a large gift of clothing for the students of the impoverished Neapolitan province³¹. He had also sent a large cash donation by cable, no doubt with a fervent prayer that the funds would reach their proper destination.

SERGEANT DOWDEN AFTER ROME

In February 1946 Father Murray wrote directly to Father Charlton³² and he concluded with the news "I regret to say that Sjt. Dowden is leaving here, probably in March. We shall miss him, as he has been doing great things for us". The news stirred the English provincial as his next communication showed, being concerned with the coming interruption of the correspondence³³. He found it, he declared, impossible to express how much he appreciated the help given by such "a fast and valued friend". His inability to find the necessary words led him to indulge in a little fantasy. "If I were king I could raise you to the peerage: if I were Pope I should pin some glittering star of honour on your breast".

With the loss of such an excellent go between the provincial wondered what he should do in the months ahead. He feared that communication with Rome would once more be difficult, and he appealed to the sergeant's "fertile ideas" for suggestions.

As it turned out, communication through the obliging sergeant continued, as through him Father Charlton and Father McMullan arranged for the erection of a vice-province in South Africa³⁴. The efficiency of the process is evidenced by the reply of the Superior General announcing the erection of the vice-province in a letter dated 27th March, less than a week after the provincial's request³⁵. Father Murray announced that the sergeant now expected to remain on hand until the end of the following month. For what should happen after that he had his misgivings. Air mail was now operating; but the cost was prohibitive, especially since the

³¹ Cullen to Dowden, 11th December 1945. ACP, D 7/45.

³² Murray to Charlton, 10th February 1946. ALP, Bb 202.

³³ Charlton to Dowden, 18th February 1946. AGr, Prov. Ang.

³⁴ Charlton to Dowden, 21st March 1946 and McMullan to Dowden, 7th March 1946. AGr, Prov. Ang.

³⁵ Murray to Charlton, 27th March 1946. ALP, Bb 202.

general curia could no longer receive funds from outside Italy. He gloomily foresaw problems after Sergeant Dowden left at the end of April.

Father Murray expressed his regret and that of the whole community of S. Alfonso³⁶. "He was certainly a great help to us, but also gave us great edification". In an earlier letter he had spoken of the sergeant as coming to the church daily for Mass and Holy Communion³⁷.

After he left Rome, presumably at the end of April as he had said, Sergeant Dowden remained in some contact with the Redemptorist in Clapham. Needless to say, correspondence with him no longer appeared in the archives. Towards the end of the year Father Murray wished to confer on him and his wife a diploma of affiliation with the congregation as oblates³⁸. The Superior General hoped that the diploma would reach them for Christmas. He had been delayed because he had not known Mrs. Dowden's Christian name; but he then discovered that the extraordinarily omniscient Irish porter of S. Alfonso, Brother Stanislaus, was able to supply the information. After the passage of almost a year the sergeant was still remembered with affection, and some in Rome "were always wishing for his return". After Christmas Father Murray was able to announce that a letter from Mr. and Mrs. Dowden had spoken of their having received the diploma and of their being very proud to be associated with the Redemptorists. They deserved it, the Superior General declared, for their very great help during the war.

The writer of this article was able to trace the address of Mr. and Mrs. Dowden to Upminster to the north of London. Enquiries in the parish, however, in 1989 brought the information that both had died. It was naturally a disappointment to be unable to make the acquaintance of a man who deserved so much of the Redemptorists for his generous service in difficult times.

Something quite remarkable and deserving of emphasis in the curious interlude is that apart from the superiors involved nobody seems to have known that so much correspondence with the Superior General was passing through the hands of a layman.

³⁶ *ibid.*

³⁷ Murray to Charlton, 10th February 1946. ALP, Bb 202.

³⁸ Murray to Charlton, 8th December 1946. ALP Bb 204.

That speaks volumes of an extraordinarily honourable character. Sergeant Dowden had access to intimate information concerning three Redemptorist provinces, including some matters that were particularly confidential; and he showed himself at all times worthy of the trust.

Those who knew him personally, especially Father Murray, the Superior General, spoke in appreciation of his character and his edifying conduct. He was clearly an altogether admirable person. His service to the Congregation certainly gives him a claim to grateful remembrance.

DOCUMENTS

The letters which follow are examples of the correspondence which passed through Sergeant Dowden's hands. They are letters of the provincials, Fathers Charlton, Kerr and Cullen as well as of Father McMullan, Consultor General, and of the sergeant himself as coming from Eather Murray.

1. Dowden to Charlton, 7th July 1945. ALP Bb 1 g9.

204426 1
sjt. A.S. Dowden
Transportation(sr.)Main

Dear Father Charlton,

Being a regular visitor to the church of St. Alphonsus and to your general house, it has been my pleasure to communicate with Father Gibson on behalf of Father General and also with Father McMullan at your address, the reason being the rapid means of communication as compared with other channels. Father General has been investigating the possibilities of sending cables from here, and at the suggestion of Father Gibson I have approached the local manager of Cable & Wireless Ltd. and it was ascertained that, whilst cables can be sent through the Italian Co., to most parts of the empire and U.S.A., there is not the same availability as there is from England, so it has been decided to try sending cables to you for retransmission. This procedure will also serve to save expenditure of lire, something which is most desirable under present circumstances. The following message from Father is more explana-

tory in details of procedure and also conveys other news etc.:

Your telegram of June 4th reached Father General on June 8th and he was very grateful for the news of Father McMullan's arrival. A letter to me would have taken about the same time to arrive. On July 2nd we received your letter of March 17th via the Vatican, and on the same day' yours of June 14th to Father Proc. General. He will send you the Papal blessing for Father Boyle's jubilee with a letter to remind him of the happy years they spent with yourself at Teignmouth. Father General was very happy to visit Teignmouth from Chudleigh in 1939, and especially the altar where he said his first Mass.

Do not worry any more about Electra House, at least for the present. When Father General's telegrams are not very urgent I will send them for him to Brother Joseph Smith, who can hand them in at your own telegraph office and put the tariffs down to Father General's account. Kindly give instructions to Brother Joseph or his substitute, and give him the following telegram as a trial:

To: Provincial Redentoristas Paraguay 1204 Buenos Aires

VONMEURERS AND CONSULTOR DEAD FLESH PROVINCIAL
PATRICK MURRAY

It announces to the Argentine con*eres the death of their former provincial, Father von Meurers, and his consultor, Father Goldmann. Both were mortally wounded in the bombardment, but both lived two or three days after being wounded. As far as we know, but we have not as yet exact information. The new provincial is Father Flesch.

Heartfelt sympathy for the case of Father Rice. Father General says you are very fortunate to have had so few accidents among the chaplains, and hopes Father Rice is improving, if not already cured.

If Father Demets is still there, Father General wishes you to thank him for his letter of Feb. 25th. When the letters take so long to come courage fails him to answer, as he doubts whether the answer will reach them. He is now in communication with the provincial of Belgium, though very slow.

Father Proc. General would be very grateful if you could send him through me (preferably by air) two Rolls Ra~or blades and also

two for Father General, if you can obtain them (I doubt it.) You could find out by telephone. They cannot be had here. If you can get some put them down to Father General's a/c. Finis.

Address your letters to me, Father, and I will deliver them personally. Hoping to hear *om you soon, best wishes. Yours sincerely,

Anthony S. Dowden.

2. Charlton to Dowden, 22nd July 1945. ALP Bb200

My Dear Serjeant Dowden,

Father McMullan is writing to you enclosing (for Father Murray) a full list of our proposed appointments. The list is signed by myself and my two consultants. It expresses our unanimous opinion and covers all nominations, major and minor. The major appointments suggested are: Provincial, Fr. Frank Nolan with Fr. Kirk admonitor and Fr. L. Hull secretary. And the rectors are: Clapham, Fr. Locke; Bishop Eton, Fr. Ring; Perth, Fr. Barron; Sunderland, Fr. M. Hayes; Erdington, Fr. Wilfrid Hughes; Stortford, Fr. Spencer; Hawkstone, Fr. Upton; Machynlleth, Fr. Dorrian; Novice Master, Fr. J. Ord; Juvenate, Fr. E. O'Brien; Student Prefect, Fr. Marsh.

We suggest that if it is difficult to send diplomas for all, his Paternity should follow the course previously taken and send a document authorising the new provincial to make a declaration for each superior. There is already an exemplar of this here. Also, in consideration of difficulties, that similar authority as before be given the new provincial to make what changes he considers necessary, observatis observandis et exceptis excipiendis.

As to South Africa, we all agree that appointments be postponed until after the approaching visitation there. Six Fathers are to go out from here within the next few months; and we hope that Fr. McMullan will be able to make the journey as soon as his work in Ireland and his visit to Rome are completed. October or November?

It is suggested that for our South African houses a resident Visitator be appointed with supervisory powers over houses and personnel, until a vice province can be erected there. Also that two "hospitia" or "stations" be created: at Pretoria (Garsfontein native mission) with Fr. J. Gibb's in charge helped by another Father;

and similarly at Diep River (for the coloured mission) with two Fathers residing, Fr. Pilkington in charge.

So for South Africa we propose (provisionally) Fr. John O'Brien as Visitor Residens with Frs. Johnson and Flynn as his consultors; Pretoria rector, Fr. Matthew Bonner; Diep River rector, Fr. James McHugh.

As to myself, I have told Fr. McMullan of my humble, submissive, but very anxious desire to be relieved of all administrative work; I am old and sick; and things nowadays demand the guidance of one vigorous in mind and body. But Fr. McM bids me state - in the event of a serious and essential claim on my continuance in office what alterations must be necessary in the list given above. They would be (suppose I continue as provincial): Rector Clapham and provincial admonitor, Fr. F. Nolan; Consultor to the rector of Clapham Fr. Kirk (dropping Fr. Coyne); Rector of Stortford, Fr. W. Locke (dropping Fr. Spencer). Personally, I feel I should be of best service, did the new provincial use me only unofficially. Having said this, I leave all in God's good hands. So will you be so kind as to show this to Fr. Murray, with my kindest greetings to yourself and asking his blessing.

Yours sincerely in Xto,
J. Charlton (Provincial)

3. Cullen to Rev. A. Parker, 22nd July 1945. AGR, Prov Aust.

Padre A. Parker,
RAAF Base Post,
Middle Post.

Mayfield
22 - 7 - 45

My Dear Fr. Parker (Murray)³⁹

Your message from Father General reached me safely some few weeks ago. The contents were, of course, eagerly awaited. They were published about a week ago and gave general satisfaction. Father General might be pleased to know this. In the cable I sent him I was not able to enlarge on such details.

³⁹The name 'Murray' was handwritten in the typewritten letter, no doubt by the general archivist or his assistant.

The new consultors and self decided that it would be better to leave Fr. Selleck remain at Mayfield and have Fr. Borthistle as rector at Pennant Hills... on account of some arrangements pending with the bishop. A few of the house consultors had to be reallocated... All the rest was carried out as your letter indicated.

Father McMullan arrived safely in England early in June. He had an illness en route with a week in hospital in Cairo ... but had recovered well by the time he reached London. He will have finished his work in the English province by this time... and will commence with the Irish province. Father Charlton told me that Father Visitor will have more time between the Irish houses and so the work should not be so exacting there.

Australia has just recovered from the worst drought in her droughty history. Its effects were widespread, but the general rains of recent weeks have so changed the scene that even the most stricken areas now look forward to a bountiful season.

The provincial at Naples asked for help in the way of clothing. You might kindly tell Father General that our efforts in that way are not yet successful as the dispatch of articles is impossible at the moment.

Kindly accept best thanks from us all for all the help you have given Father McMullan and myself especially and to all C.SS.R. in Australia generally in recent months.

With every best wish, sincerely yours in JMJ,

J Cullen C SS R

4. Dowden to Cullen, 6th October 1945. ALP, D 4/45

Dear Father Cullen,

Your Superior General, Father Patrick Murray, has asked me to inform you that he received your telegram and immediately applied to the Holy See for permission for Joseph Holland to pass to the Lay novitiate. The permission has been granted and I enclose the Rescript of the S. Congregation of Religious No. 2854/45. You will see that Brother Holland has to make at least three months of the Lay novitiate. Whether he is able to make more than three months Father General leaves to yourself and your consultors to decide. He could not easily telegraph his reply on account of

the conditions contained in the Rescript, which would necessitate a very long telegram.

Father General also says that as soon as Father McMullan arrives, the question you have asked will be studied and the reply sent to you.

Trusting this finds you well, I am yours sincerely,

Anthony S. Dowden.

5. Kerr to Dowden, 21st August 1945. AGR, Prov. Hib.

Dear Mr. Dowden,

Would you be so good as to inform Father General that Father McMullan brought with him from India a blue print of the plans of the new monastery and house of studies to be erected in Bangalore, at the cost of 25,000 pounds. Father McMullan examined the plans with Father Hickey on the spot in Bangalore and approved them. We have also examined them in our consultation and approved them. Father McMullan has authorised me to say that we are in conformity with the Rule. The cost of the building will be defrayed by the province without incurring extra debt. It will only somewhat delay the liquidation of our Galway debt. It should be mentioned that of the total sum required 7000 pounds have already been paid by a benefactor who wishes to be responsible for the complete cost of the erection of the church, 120 ft. by 50, which is included in the 25,000 pounds. The building as planned will be capable of extension as required when the number of students makes it imperative to do so. The estimated cost for the completed building is 38,000 pounds. Perhaps Father General will be satisfied with these data and recommendations to give the necessary permission. If, however, he requires us to send him the plans we shall try to do so.

Father McMullan is at present in Esker, and will finish the visitation of the entire province on Sept. 16th, when we shall give him the final draft of proposals for the nominations.

Kindly inform Father General that Fathers Clancy, Whyte, Kennedy with Brother John hope to get a passage soon to India, and will be stationed in Bangalore. Also kindly inform him that Fathers Scanlan and Magnier who escaped by submarine from the

Philippines to Australia, have at last arrived home after some months in USA. They are none the worse for their experiences. The solitary English novice (Capitaneo) was professed on August 2nd and is on vacation with our students until he can get across to England. We have ten of our own novices for profession next month and nine will receive the habit. We have not yet received any communication from the vice-provincial in the Philippines. Through the kindness of some USA army personnel we have received letters from some of the Fathers. But we know that all are safe and well, and I presume that for some time we cannot expect normal communications. Kindly inform Father General that Father McDevitt has not yet left for USA.

You see what a bag full of news and messages I have for you this time! With many thanks for your kindness and begging the Mother of Perpetual Succour to bless you always,

Very sincerely in Christ,
H. Kerr C.SS.R.

6. McMullan to Dowden, 7th March 1946. AGR, Prov. Eng.

Dear Sgt Dowden,

Again I have to call upon your kind services - perhaps for the last time - to convey to Father General the following suggestions for the triennial nominations of superiors for our houses in South Africa. Father Charlton informs me that you are leaving Rome towards the end of March. As this, then, may be the last communication with you, I take occasion to thank you for the great help you have rendered us in communicating with Father General during the past year.

May God bless you for your kindness.

A. McMullan C.SS.R.

Your Paternity,

At long last I have been able to complete the visitation of South Africa, and I hereby send the suggested list for the nominations. I am taking for granted that you have already received *om Father Provincial (Clapham) his suggestion re the establishing of a vice-province and a juvenate in South Africa and also his suggestion for the triennial nominations.

Vice-provincial: Fr. John O'Brien with Frs. James Johnson adm. and Mark Flynn sec.

Rector Pretoria: Fr. Matthew Bonner with Fr. Daniel McIlvena adm. and Frs. Joseph Lavin and Wm. Pilkington consultants.

Rector Diep River: Fr. James McHugh with Fr. J. Brooks adm. and Frs. Bernard Simpson and Laurence McCauley consultants.

Superior Garsfontein: Fr. Joseph Gibbons with Fr. John Dempsey.

Superior Retreat: Fr. Michael Charlton with Fr. Thomas Wrangham.

For very weighty reasons I have had to make two changes in the list as given by Father Provincial and his consultants.

(The reasons given are of a personal nature).

It will probably be some time before a juvenate is established here on account of the difficulty in getting a Govt. permit to build.

Fr. Provincial suggests Fr. J.O'Brien as Director with Fr. McMartin as socius. I am booked for plane to England on 27th March no chance of a boat for months. Hoping to see you soon in Rome and with every best wish asking your Paternity's blessing,

A. McMullan C.S.S.R. C.G.

NOTITIAE BIBLIOGRAPHICAE

E. ROVATTI, *Finale Emilia. Mille anni di storia*, coordinamento editoriale di A. Guidetti, Modena, Artioli Editore, [1993], 668 pp., 238 ill., £ 130.000.

Grosso centro a 43 km da Modena, Finale Emilia dovette il nome al fatto di sorgere al confine nord-orientale del Ducato estense. Ottenne il titolo di "città" nel 1779, e tale concessione costituiva un riconoscimento della crescente importanza che esso era andato assumendo. Le vicende della città sono state ricostruite da Ettore Rovatti in questo bel volume. Dal punto di vista ecclesiastico, Finale dipendeva - e dipende tuttora - dalla sede vescovile di Modena. I vescovi modenesi esercitarono sul territorio finalese anche la giurisdizione civile fino al 1227, allorché la cedettero al comune di Modena, cui nel 1330 subentrarono gli Estensi. La prima chiesa di Finale - quella di s. Lorenzo - era filiale della pieve di Massa. In seguito venne costruito il duomo, dedicato ai SS. Filippo e Giacomo. Il numero delle chiese crebbe specialmente ad opera delle confraternite che man mano vennero fondate, e degli Istituti che si stabilirono a Finale. Nel 1625 giunsero anche i Frati Minori Conventuali, che eressero chiesa e convento dedicati a S. Francesco d'Assisi. Rimasero a Finale fino al 1768, allorché vennero soppressi, nell'ambito della politica ducale volta alla riduzione delle comunità religiose. I locali furono destinati ad uso scolastico, e da allora la chiesa di S. Francesco venne detta "delle scuole". Gli sconvolgimenti prodotti dalla Rivoluzione Francese causarono a Finale profondi cambiamenti, anche dal punto di vista religioso. Se in passato l'arciprete poteva contare su una larga schiera di collaboratori, appartenenti sia al clero diocesano che a quello regolare, ora tutto il peso pastorale veniva a gravare sulle sue spalle e su quelle dei due cappellani che lo coadiuvavano. Non meraviglia quindi che si stentasse a trovare candidati all'arcipretura di Finale. Nel 1818 le autorità comunali si erano adoperate per ottenere una comunità di Barnabiti, che assumesse la gestione delle scuole e che collaborasse con il parroco nella cura pastorale, ma le trattative non ebbero successo. Tuttavia, il primo problema venne risolto con la fondazione del locale seminario vescovile, affidato ad una Congregazione di Oblati diocesani. Mentre al secondo provvide la chiamata dei Redento-

risti, che avrebbero coadiuvato il parroco senza trascurare la loro attività specifica delle missioni popolari. I Redentoristi fecero il loro ingresso ufficiale a Finale il 2 agosto 1836, festa del beato Alfonso, avendo ottenuto il convento e la chiesa di S. Francesco, già appartenuti ai Conventuali. Erano tutti stranieri, e soltanto in seguito furono raggiunti da alcuni confratelli italiani, provenienti dal Regno di Napoli. Nel maggio del 1837 si poté così predicare una missione a Finale, a ricordo della quale venne eretto un «Calvario» - composto di 5 croci, secondo l'uso dei Redentoristi napoletani - tuttora esistente in quello che porta il nome di Piazzale dei Redentoristi, di fianco alla chiesa di S. Francesco (pp. 273 e 583). Quest'ultima conserva un bel quadro di s. Alfonso - olio su tela di cm 180 x 140 - dovuto al pennello di Giacomo Conca (1787-1852), che lo eseguì nel 1836. Il Rovatti ne fornisce una riproduzione a colori (p. 279). I Redentoristi rimasero a Finale fino al 1866, allorché - in occasione della terza guerra d'indipendenza - la loro casa venne adibita ad ospedale militare. In seguito i locali furono sede della scuola materna.

I Redentoristi intrattennero sempre ottimi rapporti con il clero e la popolazione di Finale, come provano anche i tentativi operati per impedirne la partenza (p. 272-273).

Il volume del Rovatti - corredato di ben 238 illustrazioni, molte delle quali a colori - si presenta in un'ottima veste editoriale. Inoltre, ed è quello che più conta, per la puntualità e la completezza dell'informazione può considerarsi un esempio di alta divulgazione. Ecco perché, pur non potendo essere annoverati tra i destinatari diretti dell'opera (dedicata «a tutti i Finalesi, di ieri, oggi e domani»), sentiamo il dovere di esprimere all'autore il nostro plauso e la nostra viva gratitudine.

Giuseppe Orlandi

G.M. CROCE, *L'Arciconfraternita di S. Maria Odigitria dei Siciliani in Roma*, Roma, Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1994, 214 pp., 10 tavv., £ 30.000.

I Redentoristi giunsero ad Agrigento (o, come allora si diceva, a Girgenti) nel 1762, per quella che era la loro prima fondazione siciliana. Inizialmente si dedicarono soprattutto alle missioni popolari. Anche perché in città non disponevano ancora di una chiesa, nella quale esercitare quelle forme di ministero che la loro regola prevedeva a beneficio delle popolazioni presso le quali la Congregazione si stabiliva. Nel 1767 poterono finalmente ottenere un luogo di culto pubblico, allorché la locale Compagnia della Madonna dell'Itria cedette loro in uso perpetuo («finché il mondo dura») la sua chiesa. La devozione all'Odigitria (popolarmente detta

dell'Itria) si diffuse in tutte le regioni di influenza bizantina, e fu particolarmente fervida in Sicilia, dove - secondo la tradizione - era stata portata dai siciliani presenti a Costantinopoli durante l'assedio del 717. Varie chiese vennero intitolate alla «Madonna di Costantinopoli», a Palermo, a Napoli, Taranto, ecc. Immagini della *Theotokos* bizantina furono venerate un po' dovunque, da Bari a Grottaferrata. La pia associazione agrigentina - fondata nel sec. XVI - il 24 marzo 1723 era stata aggregata alla «primaria di Roma». Sembra da escludere che con tale espressione debba intendersi la «Congregazione Prima Primaria» eretta nel Collegio Romano della Compagnia di Gesù, dato che non risulta che ad essa sia mai stata aggregata nessuna associazione laicale agrigentina (cfr R. MENDIZABAL, *Liber Congregationum aggregatarum, 1587-1829, Romae* [1958]). In mancanza di ulteriori precisazioni, riteniamo quindi che la «primaria di Roma» menzionata fosse l'Arciconfraternita di S. Maria Odigitria dei Siciliani, istituita a Roma nel 1594, alla cui storia ha recentemente dedicato un bel volume Giuseppe Maria Croce - scrittore dell'Archivio Segreto Vaticano e professore alla Pontificia Università Gregoriana - già noto per la sua qualificata produzione storica. La fondazione della pia associazione era dovuta ad un gruppo di siciliani dimoranti a Roma, desiderosi di dare ai loro conterranei quel centro di aggregazione religioso-sociale che altre «nazioni» già possedevano nella Città Eterna. Si trattava di un'esigenza diventata pressante da quando ai siciliani residenti avevano cominciato ad aggiungersi sempre più numerosi gruppi di pellegrini, che andavano alloggiati, alimentati e, all'occorrenza, curati. Lunghe furono le traversie che l'Arciconfraternita dovette affrontare per ottenere gli edifici necessari alla sua attività. Dopo vari tentativi, poté finalmente stabilirsi nell'attuale via del Tritone, dove tuttora ha la sua sede. La lettura del libro del Croce scorre veloce, per l'abilità dell'autore di narrare le vicende di cui il pio sodalizio fu protagonista nel corso dei secoli, liete o tristi che fossero. Gli va inoltre riconosciuto il merito di aver saputo sottrarsi al tranello, in cui cadono tante pubblicazioni celebrative - il volume vede la luce in occasione del quarto centenario dell'erezione canonica dell'Arciconfraternita, avvenuta il 5 febbraio 1594 - che finiscono con il mettere in evidenza solo le luci degli enti di cui illustrano la storia, glissando sugli aspetti meno positivi. Infatti, pur prendendo atto che «le carte d'archivio raccolgono sovente più le ombre e i limiti di un'istituzione che i fervori individuali ed il silenzioso, talvolta sofferto, adempimento dei doveri e degli impegni personali», il Croce scrive che nel corso della sua esistenza la «confraternita dei siciliani si mostra piuttosto ripiegata su se stessa, gelosa della propria fisionomia "nazionale", povera di contatti e di relazioni con l'esterno, sollecita anzitutto di giovare ai propri membri [...], talora stanca e priva di zelo e di costanza nel raggiungimento dei suoi scopi» (pp. 45-46). Tuttavia, riuscì a sopravvivere anche in condizioni particolarmente difficili, come quelle determinate dalla Rivoluzione Francese e dalle vicende che fecero seguito

all'Unità nazionale. Per quanto riguarda in particolare il Settecento, conveniamo pienamente con il Croce, nel non ritenerlo «un periodo di grande floridezza né per l'arciconfraternita né per le altre compagnie romane, che non riuscivano più ad essere [...] "fermento di rinnovamento religioso e sociale per la città"» (p. 54). Il che giustifica la scarsa considerazione che nutrono per queste istituzioni molti dei contemporanei più preoccupati del vero bene della Chiesa, tra cui s. Alfonso. Egli fondava il suo scetticismo sulla constatazione che l'attività delle confraternite tradizionali si riduceva spesso alla gestione di patrimoni talora cospicui, che scatenavano le cupidigie dei confratelli, e la conseguente corsa all'accaparramento delle cariche sociali. Le preferenze del Santo - che, tra l'altro, fu promotore a Napoli delle «cappelle serotine» - andavano alle cosiddette «segrete», dotate di una struttura minima, senza quote associative, e quindi accessibili anche ai ceti più poveri della popolazione. Dello stesso avviso era il ven. Gennaro Maria Sarnelli (1702-1744), uno dei primi compagni del Santo, che - specialmente col suo *Mondo riformato* - fu uno dei maggiori teorici delle segrete, da lui definite «adunanze di uomini fervorosi, i quali, desiderosi di attendere alla perfezione, si ritirano nei giorni festivi in quei sacri ridotti, senza veruno fine terreno o motivo d'interesse; ma solo per servire Dio di vero cuore, e farsi santi». Egli aggiungeva: «Il primario motivo dello stabilimento di queste Segrete è, non farvi entrare ambizione, amministrazione, ed interesse; altrimenti diverranno come tutte le altre [...]. Interessi, monti, guadagni, preminenze non si nominino neppur fra loro». Come si è visto, Sarnelli si rivolgeva agli «uomini fervorosi»; tralasciando di inserire nelle segrete le donne. Sulla presenza femminile nell'Arciconfraternita dei Siciliani si hanno scarse notizie, anche se sappiamo che per un certo periodo - come il Croce ci informa - la sua dirigenza comprese una «priora» nella persona della Contestabilessa Colonna, Maria Mancini, nipote del card. Mazarino (p. 32).

Giuseppe Orlandi

NOTITIAE CRONICALES INSTITUTI HISTORICI
ANNO 1994

Cambiamenti:

Nel gennaio 1994 il p. Adam Owczarski (provincia di Varsavia) è venuto a far parte del nostro Istituto Storico e del consiglio di redazione dello «Spicilegium Historicum». In ottobre il p. Louis Vereecke ha lasciato Roma e la redazione dopo molti anni di lavoro. Lo ringraziamo per la sua collaborazione.

Attività:

Dal 3 all'9 luglio a Vienna (Maria am Gestade) si è svolto un convegno di storici redentoristi, impegnati nella redazione della nuova Storia della Congregazione. Sotto la direzione del p. Francesco Chiovaro i partecipanti hanno discusso l'impostazione e contenuti del secondo volume. Gli autori hanno presentato le parti loro affidate del primo tomo (storia degli eventi) e progettato il secondo (storia della spiritualità della vita quotidiana) e il terzo tomo (storia della pastorale). La visita dei luoghi dove visse s. Clemente (Vienna, Tasswitz e Znaim) sotto la guida esperta del p. Alfred Schedl, archivista della Provincia di Vienna, è stato per tutti i partecipanti un avvenimento indimenticabile. Al convegno hanno partecipato i padri: p. Jean Beco (Belgio del Sud), p. Marian Brudzisz (Varsavia), p. Francesco Chiovaro (Napoli), p. Fabriciano Ferrero (Spagna), p. Gilbert Humbert (Francia), p. Sabatino Majorano (Napoli), p. Joseph Oppitz (Baltimore, USA), p. Giuseppe Orlandi (Roma), p. Adam Owczarski (Varsavia), p. Santino Raponi (Roma), e Otto Weiss (per le provincie di Monaco e Vienna).

Il 9 settembre il p. Giuseppe Orlandi ha preso parte ad una tavola rotonda sulle "Missioni popolari", nell'ambito del X Convegno di Studio dell'Associazione Italiana dei Professori della Chiesa, celebrato a Napoli dal 6 al 9 settembre 1994.

Dal 15 al 20 settembre Otto Weiss ha partecipato a Weingarten (Germania) ad una settimana di studio sul tema "Kulturkampf oder Kulturkämpfe", organizzata dalla facoltà di

Teologia cattolica della Università di Tübingen e dalla diocesi di Rottenburg-Stuttgart.

Ad Astroga e ad El Espino (Spagna) il p. Emilio Lage ha tenuto due corsi di conferenze sul tema "Le Comunità Redentoriste dal 1732 al 1749. Storia e spiritualità". Hanno partecipato una settantina di padri, studenti e fratelli della provincia di Madrid.

In un raduno a Vienna, il 5 ottobre, il p. Adam Owszarski e Otto Weiss, con i padri Rolf Decot (Cologna), Joseph Heinzmann (Svizzera) e Hans Schermann (Austria), hanno progettato alcune settimane di studio su s. Clemente (pastorale - spiritualità - storia) per i padri di lingua tedesca, di tenersi l'anno. Queste sarrebbero celebrate l'anno prossimo a Eggenburg (Austria).

Pubblicazioni:

Il p. Giuseppe Orlandi ha pubblicato un saggio su *La missione popolare in età moderna*, inserito nel volume di AA.VV., *Storia dell'Italia religiosa, II (L'età moderna)*, a cura di Gabriele De Rosa e Tullio Gregory, Roma-Bari, Editori Laterza 1994, pp. 419-452.

I padri Noel Londoño e Emilio Lage hanno curato l'edizione di *Espiritualidad Redentorista*, vol I -II -III:

1) S. RAPONI, *El carisma redentorista en la Iglesia. Comentario a las constitutiones*, Roma 1993, 264 pp.

2) AA.VV., *La congregación y las constituciones renovadas*, Roma 1993, 280 pp.

3) AA.VV., *La intuición y la espiritualidad de San Alfonso*, Roma 1993, 292 pp.

Otto Weiss

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Vol. XV:

SANTE RAPONI, C.SS.R.

Il Carisma dei Redentoristi
nella Chiesa

Commento alle Costituzioni

Romae 1993
Collegium S. Alfonsi de Urbe

