The background features a large, stylized yellow star with a red line looping around it. The title is written in a bold, italicized, black sans-serif font.

COMPELLED TO SPEAK

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cassian j. yuhaus c.p.

a preface by † John J. Wright S.I.D.

COMPELLED
TO SPEAK



Centenary Edition
Canonization of St. Paul of the Cross

COMPELLED TO SPEAK

THE PASSIONISTS IN AMERICA
ORIGIN AND APOSTOLATE

by
Cassian J. Yuhaus, C.P.

Preface by
Most Reverend John J. Wright, S.T.D.
Bishop of Pittsburgh



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*For My Brothers
East and West*

*For we are compelled to speak
of what we have seen and heard.
Acts 4:20*

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List of Abbreviations

APF	Archivum Propaganda Fide, Romae.
A.G.	Archivum Generale, Romae.
A.G.: PSP	Archivum Generale, Romae, Provincia Sancti Pauli a Cruce.
A.G.: PSJ	Archivum Generale, Provincia Sancti Joseph.
P.A.	Pittsburgh Archives.
P.A.:M	Pittsburgh Archives, Monastery.
P.A.:N	Pittsburgh Archives, Novitiate.
P.A.:P	Pittsburgh Archives, Parish (St. Michael's)
P.A.:Dio	Pittsburgh Archives, Diocesan.
U.C.	Union City, New Jersey.
U.C.:P	Union City, Provincial Archives.
U.C.:M	Union City, Monastery Archives.
U.C.:C	Union City, Archives of the Provincial Chronicler.
U.C.:PR	Union City, Parish Archives (St. Michael's),
N.A.A.	Newark Archdiocesan Archives.
DKK:M	Dunkirk Monastery Archives.
DKK:P	Dunkirk Parish Archives.
B.A.	Buffalo Diocesan Archives.
FONTES I	Fontes Historicae Congregationis Passionis: <i>Regulae et Constitutiones</i> (editio critica textuum) Fabiano Giorgini, C.P. ed. (Romae, Commissione Storica 1958).
FONTES II	Fontes Historicae Congregationis Passionis <i>Consuetudines</i> (editio critica textuum) Fabiano Giorgini, C.P., ed. (Romae, Commissione Storica, 1958).
FONTES III	Fontes Historicae Congregationis Passionis <i>Decreti e Raccomandazioni dei Capitoli Generali della Congregazione della SS. Croce e Passione di N.S.G.C.</i> , Fabiano Giorgini, C.P., ed. (Romae, Commissione Storica, 1960).
HKB	The manuscript works of Rev. Hugh Kennan Barr, C.P.
CD	Catalogo Generale dei Religiosi Defunti.
CDM	Catalogo Generale dei Religiosi Dimessi.
CG	Catalogo Generale dei Religiosi Professi.
PC	General Catalogue of Vestitions and Professions (PA:N)
rv	Recto and verso (right-hand and left-hand pages)

Note: All translations are the author's unless otherwise indicated. Words in (parentheses) belong to the original: words in [brackets] are clarifications added by the author.

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Anthony Testa, C.P., and Very Reverend John Dominick Tarlattini, C.P. To Earl Hofmann for the frontispiece, and to Brother Robert McKenna, C.P., for the remaining illustrations.

To all the above, to my seminarian students, and to the many others who have been so kind, the writer expresses most sincere and lasting gratitude.

Foreword

The Passionist Fathers and Brothers are grateful for the privilege that has been theirs, to serve the People of God in the Church in America for more than a century. The bishops and priests, the sisters and brothers, and the innumerable number of laity who directly or indirectly have benefited by their ministry of work and worship know well the spirit that animates their lives and their apostolate.

As an institute, Passionists have no other reason for existence in the Church than that they continually proclaim by their persons and by their works the unlimited dimensions of Crucified Love. Hence, I feel certain that this book will be welcomed by all our friends, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. It provides at once an enjoyable and an enlightening opportunity to discover the origin and early development of the Passionist life and apostolate in the United States.

Caught up as we are in the universal program of renewal sweeping through the entire Church, we Passionists are bent upon a thorough reexamination of our life in community and in the world. But any restructuring we hope to achieve will be doomed to collapse unless it is built strongly on the firm foundations of the past, for, as Nicholas Berdyaev remarked, "A tie with the past and with what is sacred in it is one with the creative dynamism of life . . . one with the creative and dynamic process which is addressing itself to the future, determining the fulfillment and creation of a new world and life." Presently, when the religious life itself is under fire and the relevance of its apostolate subjected to severe criticism, a thoroughly scholarly work of this nature that seeks to examine the great objectives of life-under-vow and carefully scrutinize its apostolic value and objective accomplishment provides

that necessary research without which our judgment on present conditions would lack objectivity.

As in this year, 1967, the entire Passionist family pauses to honor the life and accomplishments of its founder, St. Paul of the Cross, on the centenary of his canonization, a work that reflects so much of his idealism in his sons in the midst of the most trying and adverse circumstances cannot but evoke our sincerest commendation.

It but remains for me to express my gratitude to the author who, while fulfilling many other duties, completed the arduous work of painstaking research and careful writing of this first volume of Passionist history.

GERARD ROONEY, C.P., *Provincial,
Province of St. Paul of the Cross*

April 28, 1967
Feast of St. Paul of the Cross
Union City, New Jersey

Preface

It is appropriate that this documentary of the establishment of the Passionist Order in the United States, from its foundation until its designation as a separate Province, should be published in this centenary year of the canonization of the Founder of the Passionists, St. Paul of the Cross.

St. Paul of the Cross had founded his "strict" Religious Order in Italy and for more than one hundred years it had flourished, although confined to Italy. It was widely assumed that so strict a Rule could not be adopted by other cultures and territories. The Most Reverend Michael O'Connor, first Bishop of Pittsburgh, with an innate ability to inaugurate and accomplish many things in the face of adverse criticism or contrary advice, overcame this general opinion that the Rule and work of the Passionists would be out-of-place and ineffective in the United States. Bishop O'Connor personally persuaded Father Anthony of St. James, then the brilliant General of the Order, to permit him to form the first foundation in the Western Hemisphere, the first foundation outside of Italy, in Pittsburgh.

Bishop O'Connor's house, then on Grant's Hill in downtown Pittsburgh, was the first "Monastery," for under the aegis of Bishop O'Connor, the pioneer Passionists faithfully observed the Rule of St. Paul of the Cross, beginning with the recitation of Matins at midnight. The Passionists were still guests in Bishop O'Connor's residence when they received their first novices and initiated classes in philosophy and Latin, and it was in the Pittsburgh Cathedral that they began their great Apostolate of the Word in conducting parish missions. Retreats for the clergy were begun almost immediately.

Anticipating the great Lay Retreat Movement of the present day, from its very beginning St. Paul's Monastery opened its doors

to the laity and thus laid the foundation for the modern flourishing lay apostolate. As early as 1880, Monsignor A. A. Lambing, famed historian of the Diocese of Pittsburgh, in describing the progress of the Monastery buildings, substantiated the open hospitality when he wrote that the "attractions of the place make it more agreeable for the community, and for those who, touched by divine grace, retire to this sacred retreat to devote a few days to the important affairs of salvation."¹

The era covered in this presentation was a very important period in the development of the Church in America. It coincides with the convocation of the First and Second Plenary Councils of Baltimore and encompasses the most significant time in which Catholicism was firmly and uniformly established in the United States. Firmly, by the stupendous work of dedicated clergy, diocesan and religious, and the unheralded but highly important achievements of numerous orders of sisters and brothers, all under the capable directions of an outstanding episcopate. Uniformly, as a result of the Plenary Councils of Baltimore which legislated for the entire country. The Passionist Order contributed greatly to this development and grew along with it.

The summary of the conditions of both the country and the Congregation at the middle of the 19th century forms the background, places the documentary in proper perspective, and illustrates how the Passionist Congregation weaves itself into the fabric of history: into the political, sociological, economic, and ecclesiastical setting. In this historical setting the American branch of the Passionist Order was born, in it the Order struggled, and through it the Order grew with the nation and the Church.

The first arduous days of the foundation of the Monastery on the south side of the city of Pittsburgh form a fitting backdrop for the drama of that decade which presents Bishop Michael O'Connor, Father Anthony Calandri, Father John Dominick Tarlattini, and the general, Father Anthony Testa. The meticulous care by which they developed the transplant of the Congregation to the new culture is a dramatic presentation. The formative years, 1854-1860, determined the success of the Passionist Order in the New

¹ A. A. Lambing, *The Catholic Church in the Dioceses of Pittsburgh and Allegheny*. New York, 1880, p. 481.

World. Rome did not expect much from the overseas effort, for there were many who still doubted seriously whether so strict a Rule could be adapted to so different a mentality and environment. Expected difficulties did arise, but the appeal that the life of a Passionist had for the American people and American youth was far beyond expectations. This appeal was manifested in three ways: primarily, by the great success of the missionary apostolate; secondly, by the great number of native vocations to the priesthood, and more amazingly, to the brotherhood; and thirdly, by the constant request for new foundations in other dioceses.

The prudent leadership of the pioneers is demonstrated in the fact that despite these most urgent and worthy requests to establish new foundations, the Congregation remained on the hill in Pittsburgh for almost ten years to become a well-established community before it was subdivided to form new foundations.

The Passionist Congregation is an apostolic missionary Order. The prescriptions of the Rule and the monastic regimen are directed toward one purpose: the sanctification of an apostle. Therefore, this primary work of the Apostolate of the Word was always emphasized. The "*cura animarum*" in the administration of parishes is not a work of the Passionist Order except under very restricted circumstances. The question of whether or not conditions in the United States would qualify for an exception was the center of long and serious reflection. The future of the Order in America would depend upon the course established in this first period. An exception once admitted would be difficult to reverse. Parishes accepted and developed would be difficult to relinquish. For this reason Father Anthony Testa proceeded very cautiously. Taking into account the missionary character of the Church in America, the shortage of native vocations, and the rapidly increasing Catholic population, he prudently established a set of principles regarding parochial organization and administration.

While permitting the Order to cooperate fully with the American hierarchy in the development of new areas of Catholicity, he gave his paramount attention to primary purposes, which induced him to accede to Bishop O'Connor's request. This enforced concentration on the primary work—the Apostolate of the Word, for which the Order became justly renowned in America, as it con-

tinued to draw its strength from the development of a strong monastic life of prayer and study—became the indispensable prelude to a successful apostolate.

When one realizes that the original success in the United States was achieved by men who, for the most part, knew nothing of the local language upon their arrival in the country, and that their labors extended over a territory more vast than Western Europe in a time when methods of travel were most primitive, their accomplishments demand even greater admiration.

In the *Decree on the Renewal of Religious Life*, Vatican Council II stated: "The up-to-date renewal of the religious life comprises both a constant return to the sources of the whole of the Christian life and to the primitive inspiration of the institutes, and the adaptation of the institutes to the changed conditions of our time. . . . It is to the benefit of the Church herself that institutes should have their own proper characters and functions. Therefore, the spirit and aims of each founder should be clearly recognized and faithfully preserved, as indeed should each institute's sound traditions, for all of these constitute the patrimony of an institute" (n. 2).

The historical recollection of the foundation, expansion and apostolate of the Congregation of the Passion in the United States of America as presented in this book should prove an invaluable contribution to any desired reevaluation or renewal of the spirit and work of the beloved Passionist Order in the land they have served so well, beginning at Pittsburgh.

✠ John J. Wright
Bishop of Pittsburgh

April, 1967

PART I

FOUNDATION

. . . be on fire with earnest zeal for the salvation of others. To obtain so great a good, no work is too burdensome.

The most efficacious means is a holy life. It is this that counts. If following our Blessed Redeemer the light of good example is resplendent in your lives, and if above all it is for this that you are known, you will be accepted by the people. They in turn will be moved to unite themselves to your way of life. At least they will listen with docility to your preaching and thus be converted.

Anthony of St. James
Superior General

(From the directives to the religious chosen to establish the Passionist Congregation in the United States of America. Rome: September 30, 1852)

1. The New World and Some Old World Problems

In the winter of 1852, at the urgent and repeated request of Michael O'Connor, the first Bishop of Pittsburgh, Anthony of St. James, the seventh Passionist general, sent three priests and a brother to America. Eleven years later in the springtime the first transmarine province of the Order was inaugurated. The year 1866 brought a plentiful harvest: fresh young faces peopled the novitiate; there was a house for philosophy and another for theology; in all three the strict observance regulated the lives of the religious. Negotiations were being completed for a fourth foundation. Invitations from ten other dioceses were in the provincial file. One hundred native vocations had been processed. This book is the documentary of that achievement.

When that first little band of Passionists arrived in the United States, they, like every other visitor, from de Tocqueville and Bedini to the half-starved Irish and German immigrant, were overawed by the immensity of their New World. Their early impressions are recorded in the opening paragraphs of the first chronicle of the Order in America.

Persons who were accustomed to see in Europe every foot of land in the tenacious possession of avaricious masters in arriving in America behold larger fields, hear about countries, territories and future states larger than many kingdoms in Europe, of which they may become the possessors, the political representatives and perhaps even the moral heads. For the farmer there are immense tracts of land to be cultivated; for the laborer there is every kind of work to be accomplished.¹

¹ Chronological Records of the Foundation of the Passionist Retreat at Birmingham near Pittsburgh, Penna., United States, North America, 1852-1868. Monastery Archives, Pitts., p. 3; hereafter referred to as: PA:M Chronicle.

By the mid-nineteenth century the United States had reached its complete geographical extension from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from Canada to Mexico, with the exception of that strip of land known as the Gadsden Purchase² which would be obtained in 1853. Its population had expanded from 3,929,000 in 1790 to 23,191,000 at mid-century. Some 3,204,000 of this total were negro. Another 2,210,000 were foreign-born immigrants. While it was a predominantly rural population, the increasing concentration of peoples in cities was nonetheless remarkable: from 9 cities with a population of 8,000 or over at the close of the Revolution to 141 such cities in 1850.³ These were no longer concentrated on the East coast but scattered throughout the country, greatly complicating the evangelization efforts and the administrative problems of the Church.

As the first Passionists set out to accomplish their apostolic work, they moved into a world seething with challenge, question and change. Fundamental postulates of the American experiment were being articulated in an unconventional manner. Was freedom the prerogative of race, wealth or economic position? Was education a strictly private concern? What rights did the poor and the immigrant have under the Constitution?

The first national figure to declaim race prejudice was William Lloyd Garrison. The true pioneer of the movement to free the slaves, however, was the mild-mannered Benjamin Lundy.⁴ Garrison's immoderate deprecations were but the vocalization of the principles formulated by Lundy. A vast network of over five hundred societies and more than a hundred newspapers flooded the

² Gadsden Purchase: a strip of land of some 50,000 square miles formerly in northwestern Mexico; considered vital for a southern railroad route to the Pacific and purchased by James Gadsden, Minister to Mexico.

³ The growth of cities was so accelerated in the next four decades that by 1890 there were 97 cities with populations of 50,000 to 75,000. Cf. Edwin D. Goldfield, Luther H. Hodges, Richard M. Scammon, dirs., *Statistical Abstract of the United States*. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1961 (83rd edition), Section 1, pp. 1-44.

⁴ Benjamin Lundy (1789-1839): philanthropist; active abolitionist; founded the Union Humane Society in 1815 and edited and published his own newspaper *The Genius of Universal Emancipation* until 1839; advocated colonization of freed slaves outside territorial United States. "Lundy," *Ency. Britannica*. Chicago 1964, Vol. 14, 485-486. William Lloyd Garrison (1805-1879): the greatest of the antislavery protagonists; met Lundy in Boston and was so impressed as to be immediately won to the cause; broke with him over the advocacy of recolonization. Published his own paper *The Liberator* which exerted strong influence among abolitionists. "Garrison," *Ency. Britannica*. Chicago, 1964, Vol. 10, 1-2.

country with propaganda, organized the "underground railroad" and agitated in Congress for official action against slavery. To their credit the membership was for the most part Protestant, especially Baptist, Quaker and Methodist.

Catholics kept apart from the movement, not because of any antipathy toward the negro whose lot they often shared, but principally because they had so many problems of their own. Furthermore, many of these noble-minded abolitionists who were so virtuous in their fight for the negro in the deep South refused to recognize any basic liberties for their Catholic neighbor in the North. "The Church, engaged in a struggle for its very existence with the anti-Catholic forces of the United States, had little time or energy to devote to the question. The unrestrained violence of the Abolitionists had little appeal for Catholics who were experiencing examples of Nativist violence; and the knowledge that large Abolitionist support came from the ranks of the anti-Catholic bigots was, in itself, enough to warn Catholics to caution."⁵

With the rapid growth of industry, the opening up of the mines and the iron and steel mills, and the fast-developing transportation systems, the condition of the white laborer in the North was not unlike the plight of his suffering brother in the South. Women and children were employed in the factories, and even young lads, as the first Passionist superior remarked woefully, were at work in the mines. The Southern slave owner bitterly contrasted the position of the Northern wage slave who had to buy his own food, provide his own shelter, and often make his own clothing, with the negro who at least did not have to worry about the basic necessities of life.

The movement for common education grew out of the labor movement. Working people, scarcely earning enough to maintain decent living conditions, were unable to provide even the most elementary education for their children. The children themselves were at work to increase family income. While labor favored free public education, religious groups desired to control the funds in order to assure the religious nature of this education. The controversies that ensued, especially during the forties and fifties, led to the establishment of an increasingly more secularist educational

⁵ Francis X. Curran, S.J., *Major Trends in American Church History*. New York, 1946, p. 109.

institution in the hands of the state. The Church reacted by creating the Catholic school system.

Nativist Madness

Two kinds of bigotry have severely afflicted the American people: race and religion. The latter has the longer ancestry.

One of the most damaging imports that the first English settlers brought with them to the New World was a hatred for Catholicism. Contradictory though it was to the most fundamental principles of the Constitution itself, nonetheless a deep distrust of and militant resentment toward the Church impregnated itself into the political, educational and cultural life of the country from its very beginning. Only in recent years has the baneful effects of religious prejudice upon the nation as a whole, as well as upon the Churches themselves, begun to be properly evaluated. Protestant Church leaders in England did urge the settlement of America, but "they were motivated not so much by a desire for religious liberty as by the fear that the Catholic Church would gain, by Protestant default, control of the whole New World."⁶

Protestants had claimed the land to be theirs by a particular act of Divine Providence. The Protestant historian Sweet spoke of the colonization of America by the English as a sort of holy Protestant Crusade against Roman Catholicism.⁷ The "crusade" reached its peak of violence and attack just before the middle of the nineteenth century.

The occasion for the new outbreak of bigotry against foreigners, and especially Catholic foreigners, was the rapid increase in immigration. In the early part of the century the troubles with France and England, the War of 1812 and the depression of 1819 forestalled any great migration. But from 1820 on, and especially as a result of the increased troubles in Europe, the tide of immigration rose enormously. The fever of the nativists rose with the tide. Immigrants themselves or the descendants of immigrants of an earlier age, nonetheless they hated and opposed the newcomers and blamed every social and political evil on them. The Irish

⁶ Curran, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

⁷ William Sweet, *Religion in Colonial America*, p. 12, as quoted by Curran, *op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.

immigrants were the special targets of the nativist attacks. Three reasons can be ascribed for this: they contributed the greatest numbers; they arrived impoverished, broken in health, a burden to the struggling urban communities; and they were for the most part, although not entirely, Catholic. By the end of the twenties more than 20,000 Irish had arrived. They settled in the big cities of the East—New York, Boston, and Philadelphia—and endured a miserable existence, working as laborers on the canals and railroads. The German immigrants who numbered 10,000 by 1832 were better off and could afford to move inland to the Midwestern farm lands.

The revolutions in France, Belgium, Italy and Poland in the thirties and the cholera epidemic that hit Europe brought on a new and larger wave of immigration. In the following decade the failure of the potato crop in Ireland added some 700,000 more Irish to the numbers already in America. Their lot was an unhappy one. The rise in crime and the increase in disease was attributed to them. Politicians preyed on them unscrupulously to increase the power of their political machines.

Between the years 1830 and 1860 about 18,000 individuals came from France, 1,500,000 from Germany, and about 1,800,000 from Ireland. The impact of these two and a half million immigrants on a population that was not above 30 million could hardly go unnoticed. The majority of these were Catholic. By 1850 they swelled the ranks of the Church in America to over 2,000,000. The added motive of anti-Catholicism increased the furor of the nativist against the foreigner.⁸

But even before this large increase in Catholic ranks, false calumnies had fed the flames of bigotry. Protestant ministers took the lead in this, and in 1830, in New York City, the launching of a bitter anti-Catholic newspaper, *The Protestant*, marked the beginning of the attack. The evils of the clergy and the immorality of convent life were exposed by bogus ex-priests and ex-nuns. The nativists formed into societies to propagandize against the foreigner, namely, the Catholic. In August, 1834, the Ursuline convent at

⁸ The best treatment to date on the Catholic immigration of the last century is Gerald Shaughnessy, S.M., *Has the Immigrant Kept the Faith?* New York, 1925. For the statistics of our period, consult Table XXIV, p. 145; Table XXV, p. 153.

Charlestown, Mass., was burned to the ground. Two years later, as if to justify the scandalous event, the infamous *Awful Disclosures of Maria Monk* was published, selling over 300,000 copies before the Civil War.

The most violent phase of the anti-Catholic movement came in the year 1844. Bishop Kenrick of Philadelphia had complained against the forced use of the King James version of the Bible by Catholics in the public schools. He was attacked in the Protestant press and from Protestant pulpits. Verbal beatings were followed by physical violence, and a riot broke out against the Catholics of Philadelphia. The result: thirteen dead, two churches burned, the seminary and whole blocks of Catholic homes destroyed. After this incident nativist madness declined. But the calm was the result more of external circumstances than of interior conversion. The country had become absorbed in the disputes over Oregon and Texas and was being drawn toward war with Mexico. But in the fifties anti-Catholic bigotry again shamed the name and character of the American people.

Each night before he went to bed, Anthony Calandri, the superior of the first band of Passionist missionaries, looked anxiously to Mount Oliver, the high hill in Pittsburgh, on which the little monastery was beginning to rise. In the morning he renewed the ritual as soon as he awakened. He had been warned not to proceed with his building program, unpretentious though it was. Bigots would burn down and destroy by night what was put up by day.⁹

Catholic Forbearance

Catholics did not retaliate. They formed no anti-anti leagues. There was no thought of creating a political party. Instead, their newspapers, which numbered twenty by 1842, tried to expose the errors and lies of their accusers by a presentation of the truth.¹⁰

⁹ AG II-17, Nov. 4, 1853, Calandri to Testa. Among the four major obstacles impeding the foundation of the Passionists in America, Rossi lists "the extraordinary bigotry and power of the Know-Nothing Protestant Party." *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 12. Felix Ward recounts the physical assault on Father Anthony by local bigots; cf. *The Passionists*. New York, 1923, p. 214.

¹⁰ John Tracy Ellis, "Old Catholic Newspapers" *Catholic Historical Review*. XXXIII (Oct. 1947), pp. 302-305.

Thus, when New York Protestants laughed at the reported cures of Calandri during one of the most successful missions the metropolitan area ever witnessed, McMaster ran a long series of articles on the nature, validity and meaning of miracles in the Church.¹¹ Catholics sometimes entered into public debates with their opponents. When Archbishop Hughes directed the attention of the authorities of the Public School Society to many instances of bigotry in the textbooks used in the schools, he succeeded in persuading them to agree to expurgate the offending books.

Despite the attacks of the nativists, despite the hardships Catholics endured as a despised minority group, they remained loyal to their adopted country. When their bishops assembled in First Plenary Council in 1852, they issued a pastoral letter that is truly magnificent for its marked forbearance, charity and prudence.

Show your attachment to the institutions of our beloved country by prompt compliance with all their requirements and by the cautious jealousy with which you guard against the least deviation from the rules which they prescribe for the maintenance of public order and private rights. Thus will you refute the idle babbling of foolish men and will best prove yourselves worthy of the privileges which you enjoy, and overcome, by the sure test of practical patriotism, all the prejudices which a misrepresentation of your principles but too often produces.¹²

That First Plenary Council, held in Baltimore from May 9 to 20, 1852, marked the transition of the Church in America from its nascent stage to a new epoch. Amazed as the fathers were at the rapid external increase and extent, they were more deeply concerned about the interior evolution and spiritual strength. The admonition of an anonymous writer was not lost on them:

The real prosperity of the Church in any part of the world does not consist merely in large or increasing numbers, in the multiplication of churches and institutions, or in the grandeur and beauty which our growing resources will enable us to bestow upon them. All this constitutes but the shell of religion. . . . It is a grave error, there-

¹¹ *Freeman's Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 31, Jan. 30, 1858.

¹² Peter Guilday, *National Pastorals of the American Hierarchy 1792-1919*. Washington, 1923.

fore, and a very common one in the United States, to estimate the progress of Catholicity amongst us from this outward standpoint.¹³

The fathers of the Council concerned themselves with the sound instruction of youth, the liturgy, the residence of bishops, the censorship of books, the building of schools, the adequate training of clerics for the priesthood and the conversion of the non-Catholic.

Fortunately, there is in existence a competent eye-witness account of the condition of the Church in the United States shortly after the close of the First Plenary Council. Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, the most perspicacious Roman prelate of the day, spent seven months peering into the workings of Catholicism in the New World.¹⁴ Although he was forced to curtail his itinerary and to sneak out of the country secretly under guard, he had been able to interview half of the American Episcopate and to visit almost every major see in the East and Midwest. His report was comprehensive and judicious. He was amazed at the vigor, the development and the organization the Church had attained. Her bishops almost without exception were outstanding men of zeal, prudence and integrity. Her priests, mostly young men from Europe, were required to do every kind of work from preaching (and much to his regret they were inferior speakers) to building and collecting and administering and teaching. Her people, while shy in the face of much criticism from bigots, were good citizens and good Catholics, cooperative and devout. Problems there were: nationalism and immigration, education and state aid, Church properties and ownership, the negro, the frontier and ecclesiastical training. But through them all the Nuncio saw a strong spirit of faith at work which caused him to conclude that the Church in America was destined "to take a big place in the great family of the Catholic World. . . ." The American people, he reported, "are bold in the

¹³ *Metropolitan V* (March 1857), p. 75, "American Catholics and Catholic Ireland." As quoted by John Tracy Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 117, n. 1.

¹⁴ Gaetano Bedini (1806-1864): after fulfilling several posts in the diplomatic corps, was named Nuncio to Brazil March 15, 1852, and raised to the rank of Titular Archbishop of Thebes. It was while in this position and presumably on his way to Brazil that he made his famous visit to the United States, June 30, 1853—February 4, 1854. In 1856 he was made Secretary of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide by Pius IX. In 1861 he was created a Cardinal after having been made Archbishop of Viterbo-Toscanella.

highest degree. In their undertakings this is a most happy quality. They are not satisfied with their present great condition. Therefore, in any estimation which you make of this singular nation, you must also conclude that its future will be greater.”¹⁵

Fulfilling a Need

Nine religious orders were represented by their superiors at the First Plenary Council of Baltimore in May, 1852. Of these, only three—the Jesuits, the Sulpicians and the Augustinians—had been in the country before the turn of the century. All of the others—Benedictines, Franciscans, Redemptorists, Vincentians, Trappists—had been established within two decades previous to the Council, with the exception of the Dominicans who had arrived in 1805. Thus another effect of the Great Immigration of the last century was the growth of religious orders in America.

The Passionists arrived at a time when most of these orders were in the initial stages of development. Parochial organization and administration was the principal apostolate, and with the exception of the Redemptorists, all the religious orders were involved in developing the Catholic educational system of the country. As the Roman author of the brief historical account of the establishment of the Passionists in America notes, “In that epoch of America there was yet no order dedicated to the conducting of missions.”

To fulfill this need the Passionists came to America.¹⁶

¹⁵ James F. Donnelly, *The Visit of Archbishop Gaetano Bedini to the United States of America*. (Analecta Gregoriana) Roma, 1960, p. 273; hereafter referred to as Donnelly.

¹⁶ AG:PSP I-2. Cenni Chronologici sulla fondazione degli Stati Uniti d’America, p. 1.

2. The General and the Bishop from Pittsburgh

Toward evening on Friday, November 22, 1720, the Bishop of Alessandria, Francia Arboreus di Gattinara (1658-1743), vested Paul Francis Danei (1694-1775) with a coarse black tunic. That simple ceremony externalized a conviction that had grown strong in the heart and mind of Paul Danei for many years previously, a conviction which he knew could never be brought to full realization unless he were brought into contact with proper ecclesiastical authority. Di Gattinara's vesting of Paul in a black robe established that contact. And from that evening on, step by step, through fifty-five years of trial and error, light and darkness, Paul Francis Danei gave his full attention with unmitigating zeal to establishing and promoting the Passionist Congregation. That he was chosen by God to do precisely that was his conviction. The Church approved, blest and ratified his work. She canonized the worker June 29, 1867 as St. Paul of the Cross.¹

¹ The Saint's most renowned biographer is his illustrious disciple, St. Vincent Strambi, *Vita del Ven. Servo di Dio Padre Paolo della Croce*. Roma 1786. The first English translation of this work was made in London by the Oratorians and published by Richardson and Son in 1853. Blessed Dominic Barberi contributed a very valuable introduction to this two years before he died. This is still the basic biography. The first critical study of the life of St. Paul was begun by Père Gaétan who published five monographs on the Saint and one on the Passionist Nuns founded by St. Paul. His only life of St. Paul is the unedited one used throughout this history. A new and definitive work in several volumes is now in preparation in view of the Saint's centenary of canonization, June 29, 1967. Two volumes have thus far appeared. It is being done by that competent hagiographer who has given us the definitive life of St. Gemma, Father Henrico Zoffoli, C.P., the foremost authority today on Paul of the Cross. For a bibliography of the Saint especially valuable for the listing of monograph studies and articles, see Basilio de

Rightly does the Congregation regard November 22, 1720 as the date of its birth.

"This Is a Sign"

The true origins of the Congregation, however, are to be traced in those profound mystical experiences that transpired in the life of the Founder several years prior to that Friday. These experiences were marked exteriorly by an increasing detachment from worldly desires and pursuits, a stronger inclination to penance and periods of long reflection and prayer. Interiorly they were marked by a higher form of contemplation, many consolations and particularly several visions which Paul, as he was careful to tell us, saw not in any corporeal dramatization but only in God.² A profound transformation was taking place in the heart of this great apostle. His life was being lifted out of the ordinary to be given a significance beyond his calculation. Gradually, despite his reluctance, he became convinced that his destiny lay in the performance of a special work for the Church, an enduring work of tremendous potential, as hazardous as it would be fruitful. All these extraordinary supernatural phenomena culminated in what Père Gaétan refers to as "La grande vision révélatrice."³ It took place in Castellazzo. It is related here in Paul's own words.

Last summer⁴ (I don't remember when—neither the month nor what day it was. I did not write it down, but I do remember well that it was harvest time and a week day) at Castellazzo in the church of the Capuchin Fathers, on this particular day I received

San Pablo, *La Espiritualidad de la Pasion en el Magisterio de San Pablo de la Cruz*. Madrid 1961. However, the most complete bibliography is to be found in the three volumes of Zoffoli.

The Oratorian edition of Strambi's life has this further value. The Supplement to Vol. III contains some fifty letters written to or by Dominic Barberi between 1830-1845 pertaining to the foundation of the Passionists in England. They were collected and carefully edited by Ignatius Spencer, C.P.

² Charles Almeras, the Saint's latest biographer, speaks of Paul as the greatest mystic of the 18th century (*St. Paul de la Croix, le Fondateur des Passionistes*. Bruges, 1857; English translation by M. A. Bouchard, New York, 1960, p. 256). In this he is but following the opinions of Villet, S.J., Pourrat, La Grange, O.P. and Brovetto, C.P., all of whom have made a particular study of the mysticism of St. Paul.

³ Gaétan mss. I, 48.

⁴ The time of this important vision still remains uncertain. Gaétan believes it took place in the summer of 1720: *op. cit.*, I, 47. Van Laer, *S. Paul de la Croix et le Saint-Siege*, Teramo 1957, p. xxxii, places it a year earlier on the basis that

Holy Communion although unworthy. I remember how deeply recollected I was. Then I left to return home, walking the streets still deeply recollected as in a time of meditation. Then as I turned the corner in the direction of my house, I was raised up in God in the deepest recollection. I was oblivious of all else and experienced the greatest serenity. And in this state I saw myself in spirit vested in black, the robe reached to the ground; over my heart was a white cross and beneath the cross was written the Most Holy Name, Jesus, in white. Then in that moment I heard these exact words spoken to me: "*This is a sign to show you how pure and innocent must that heart be that carries the Holy Name, Jesus, cut into it.*" And seeing and hearing this I started to cry and then I stopped. Then, afterwards, I saw how in spirit I was being presented with a black tunic. On it, in pure white, was the Most Holy Name, Jesus, and the Cross. I reached out and embraced it with great joy in my heart.⁵

This great supernatural favor removed any further hesitation. Paul directed his steps toward Alessandria and its bishop. After the vestition he began his great retreat: forty days of fasting and prayer during which he wrote the Rules and Constitutions of the Order.⁶ Again, the supernatural nature of his work was emphasized. In the introduction to the first Rule he declared that he wrote the entire document so rapidly and in so short a time, it was as though someone had dictated the entire matter to him. The whole work was finished in five days—December 2-7, 1720. He always regarded it as work of particular divine inspiration. The following November in Rome in the Borghese Chapel in St. Mary Major he took that vow which was to give the Congregation and its apostolate its distinctive form: to propagandize in the whole world the divine wisdom of the human non-sense: the Passion and Death of Jesus. Four years passed before he received permission "*vivae vocis oraculo*" from Benedict XIII (1724-1730) to gather companions

this passage was used by Paul as the introduction to the first edition of the Rule, and since the Rule was written in December, 1720, the vision would be in the summer of the previous year; but it seems he renders "*quest'estate passata*" too freely by "*pendant l'été de l'année passée.*"

⁵ P. Amadeo, *Lettere di S. Paolo della Croce*. Roma 1924, IV, 218-219. Hereafter referred to as *Lettere*.

⁶ For a more complete history of the Rules, their approvals and changes, and a critical edition of all the texts, see Fabiano Giorgini, *Regulae et Constitutiones Congr. SS. mae Crucis et Passionis D.N.J.C.*, Romae (Fontes Historicae Congregationis Passionis I) 1958. Hereafter referred to as Giorgini, *Fontes I*.

and instruct them in his way of life.⁷ Twelve more years of trials and contradictions awaited him before he was able to open the door of his first monastery, the Presentation of Mary on Monte Argentario. Eight candidates entered that day. A still greater joy was his when finally for the first time he received Papal approval of his Rule by a rescript of Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758) dated May 15, 1741. This was the first of many approvals following much close scrutiny by special pontifical commissions. It was the same Pontiff who again ratified the Rule, this time by an Apostolic Brief, *Ad Pastoralis Dignitatis Fastigium*, April 18, 1746,⁸ and, as heretofore, it was the Rule only which was approved, and not the Institute. The final approval, which was conferred in a most solemn manner, was not granted until some twenty years later after further study and emendation, mainly to ease some of the extreme rigor. First by Apostolic Brief, *Salvatoris et Domini Nostri*, Nov. 15, 1769, and then the following day by the Apostolic Bull *Supremi Apostolatus*, Pope Clement XIV (1769-1774) ratified, blest, approved in perpetuity the Rules and Constitutions of the Congregation of Discalced Clerics of Our Lord's Most Sacred Cross and Passion.⁹ The particular esteem and deep veneration Clement XIV had for Paul of the Cross is evident daily to the members of the Institute. It was this Pope who gave to Paul Danei and to his Order the magnificent basilica of SS. John and Paul on the Coelian in Rome together with the attached monastery and expansive gardens. A month before the Saint's death, another admirer and benefactor, Pius VI (1775-1799), visited him in his little tower cell and published another solemn approval of the Institute by the Bull *Praeclara Virtutum Exempla*, Sept. 17, 1775.¹⁰

⁷ *Fontes I*, p. XV, "Anno 1725 Paulus Romae ad Pontificem accessit prope ecclesiam vulgo Sancta Maria della Navicella ac vivae vocis oraculo facultatem obtinuit socios coadunandi sub ordinarii tamen jurisdictionis."

⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. XXII.

⁹ The complete text is in the *Bullarii Romani continuatio*, Romae 1841, t. IV, 66-72, and also in *Collectio Facultatum et Indulgentiarum C.P.*, Romae 1958, pp. 274-292. See also *Expositio Historica Juris Particularis*, p. 12.

¹⁰ Since the death of the Founder only two other emendations of the Rule were required in what will soon be two hundred years. One necessitated by the Codification of Canon Law on May 27, 1917, and ordered by a decree of the Sacred Congregation of Religious, June 26, 1918: "All religious institutes of Pontifical Right shall emend their Rules and Constitutions in accordance with pre-

Paul of the Cross closed his eyes on a flourishing congregation. He had established twelve foundations divided into two Provinces: the Northern Province of the Presentation and the Southern Province of the Addolorata. There were 176 religious; 114 of these were clerics; 62, lay brothers.¹¹

The history of the Order after the death of its Founder is divided into two epochs: the Peninsular and the Universal. The pivotal date is 1840. Prior to that date the Congregation had remained within the confines of the Italian peninsula, with the exception of a small mission in Bulgaria. The cause of this strange confinement is to be sought not in the intentions of the Founder nor in any positive legislation of his immediate successors, but principally in the political turmoil upsetting all of Europe at that time.

Michael O'Connor, First Bishop of Pittsburgh

How the Passionists came to America is a simple story. There were no involved negotiations. No prolonged discussions. No tedious exchange of letters. A request was made. Refused. Renewed. Granted. Three priests and a brother knelt for the "benedicite" and then quietly walked down the Coelian Hill on their way to the New World. That it was accomplished with such simplicity, so free of impediment or obstacle, was due to one man, the first benefactor of the Order in America, Michael O'Connor, Bishop of Pittsburgh.¹² In what has been referred to as his diary but which

scriptions of Canon Law and submit the emendated text for approval": *AAS* X, 290: *Fontes I*, p. xxix. The Passionist-amended Rule was approved April 28, 1928. Only after this first approval in accordance with Canon Law were changes permitted in the Rules for those religious who wished to introduce changes at the time. The Order submitted these changes in an emended text, December 15, 1929, and received approval, January 13, 1930. The second time the Rule was changed since the death of the Founder occurred by order of the XXXVI General Chapter in 1952 according to the desires and norms of the Holy See. The work of the Commission for the Emendation of the Rule took six years. The emended text was approved by the reigning Pontiff, John XXIII, by the Apostolic Brief *Salutiferos Cruciatu*s dated July 1, 1959. Since the close of Vatican Council II, a third revision has been inaugurated.

¹¹ Fabiano Giorgini, ed., *Decreti e Raccomandazioni dei Capitoli Generali della Congregazione della SS. Croce e Passione di N.S.J.C.* (*Fontes Historicae Congregationis Passionis III*), Romae 1960, p. 9. Hereafter referred to as *Fontes III*.

¹² O'Connor was born near Cork, Ireland, September 27, 1810. Sent to Urban College in Rome where he was ordained in 1833, he taught at the college for several years and then was recalled to Ireland. In 1839 he accepted the invitation of the Bishop of Philadelphia, Francis P. Kenrick, to teach at St. Charles Sem-

is in reality a very brief history of the diocese, O'Connor, speaking in the third person, recorded the event as unaffectedly as he had achieved it.

The Passionists were brought to Pittsburgh by Bishop O'Connor in the year 1852 and a piece of ground was given to them on which to erect a house of their Order with the bargain that it would revert to the Bishop in case they abandoned it. This clause is in the original grant under which they hold the property near Birmingham.¹³

O'Connor left Pittsburgh in July of 1852, carrying in his portfolio the Acta of the First Plenary Council of Baltimore which had closed two months previously and in which he had played an important role.¹⁴ He also had with him the rough draft of his report to Propaganda on the condition of his diocese.

Until 1843, Pittsburgh was part of the vast Diocese of Philadelphia which included the entire states of Pennsylvania and of Delaware, and sections of New Jersey. The burdens of Francis Patrick Kenrick were greatly lessened when the western half of Pennsylvania was removed from his jurisdiction. When Kenrick's repeated urgings to divide his diocese were finally accepted, O'Connor was in Rome to prevent what he knew was in the offing. He was Kenrick's vicar-general for the Pittsburgh territory. Few had a more thorough knowledge of the conditions of the Church there than he. That O'Connor should be named its first bishop was a surprise to no one. The man least eager for the appointment was O'Connor himself. Possessed of a brilliant mind, he had hoped to be able to continue what was his first priestly work: education. He was in

inary. Shortly after his arrival he became rector of the seminary. In 1841 Kenrick sent him to Pittsburgh as vicar general for western Pennsylvania. He arrived June 17 and noted in his "Diary": "Arrived in Pittsburgh on this day [Thursday] lodging at Mrs. Timon's at \$4.00 per week"; *PA: Diocesan Archives*, O'Connor Diary, p. 1. Unfortunately there is not a single biography of this great prelate. Bedini ranked him second only to Hughes of New York as the most esteemed and influential bishop in America. Cf. Connelly, *op. cit.*, p. 211. The most complete sketch of O'Connor, but still altogether inadequate, is in Andrew A. Lambing, *A History of the Catholic Church in the Diocese of Pittsburgh and Allegheny*, New York, 1880, pp. 53-84. Cf. Campbell, *Catholic Pittsburgh's One Hundred Years*. Chicago, 1943, pp. 25-37.

¹³ *PA: Dio*, "Diary," p. 7.

¹⁴ *APF: Kenrick to O'Connor*, July 13, 1852, *Scritture riferite nei Congressi America Centrale: dal Canada allo Istmo di Panama*. Vol. 16 (1852-54), f. 114 rv-145 rv. (The first Plenary Council was held May 9-20.)

Rome to obtain permission to enter the Society of Jesus. Gregory XVI, however, had no need to be informed of the talents and merit of young O'Connor. Since the latter's magnificent defense for the doctorate in theology at Propaganda College which the Pope had attended, until this day when he knelt before him in the hope of an affirmative answer to his request, Gregory had followed his career. It was a foregone conclusion that he would refuse the young priest. "You will be a bishop first and a Jesuit afterwards."¹⁵ Cardinal Frasoni, Prefect of Propaganda, consecrated O'Connor on August 15, 1843. The new bishop was thirty-two.

That morning he inherited the care of some 35,000 souls in 47 churches scattered over an area of more than 21,000 square miles. Only 16 priests were there to help him.

The report he turned in to Propaganda on September 30, 1852, just nine years later, was a magnificent tribute to his ability and zeal. In the interim he had opened 21 new churches, enlarged many old ones, initiated the construction of the largest Cathedral in the West, dedicated a new college and two academies, built the first hospital in the city, founded an orphan asylum, established a cultural society, started a weekly Catholic newspaper, opened his seminary and held the First Diocesan Synod. Instead of 16 priests he now had 62, most of whom he had obtained himself from Ireland and the Continent. Fifteen young men were preparing for orders in his seminary. His flock had increased from 35,000 to 60,000.¹⁶

Among the clergy of the diocese he counted seventeen religious. Twelve of these were Benedictines, four Liguorians, as the Redemptorists were called in those days, and one Jesuit.

At O'Connor's invitation, Dom Boniface Wimmer had arrived from Munich with six confreres in October of 1846. Their arrival marked the beginning of Benedictinism in the United States. Their first foundation, St. Vincent's at Latrobe, was recognized as a priory the month O'Connor left for Rome in 1852. Two years later, through the influence of Wimmer's friend at the Holy See, Ludwig I of Bavaria, the priory was raised to an abbacy, although

¹⁵ Many of the personal incidents in the life of O'Connor come from the reminiscences of Father Thomas McCullagh, the first seminarian O'Connor brought with him from Dublin on his return to Pittsburgh after his consecration, and the first priest ordained for the diocese. Cf. Lambing, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁶ *APF: Scritture Riferite nei Congressi*. Vol. 16, ff. 269rv-273rv.

O'Connor, who was a strong advocate of total abstention, had objected to this because of his opposition to the brewery operated by the monks.

But the first religious to establish themselves in the diocese were the Redemptorists who arrived in 1839 to settle the problems arising between the German and Irish parishioners at St. Mary's and St. Patrick's in Pittsburgh. The settlement resulted in the first successful foundation of the Redemptorists in America, St. Philomena's. The following year the Venerable John Nepomucene Neuman, the brightest light of the Order in America, received the habit.¹⁷

The only other order of male religious who had a house in the diocese was the Third Order Regular of St. Francis of Assisi. This teaching order of brothers, arriving from Ireland in 1847, took over an abandoned barn and brewery in Loretto and transformed it into a monastery. Out of this grew the College of St. Francis, one of the first educational institutions to receive a State Charter but not without great opposition and debate from Know-Nothing bigotry.

At the same time that he was discussing the condition of the Church in America at Propaganda, O'Connor had also initiated other discussions on another hill in Rome. The exact date when he first spoke to the general of the Passionists could not be ascertained. This first request met with a reluctant refusal.

He [Anthony Testa, Superior General of the Passionists] cordially thanked the bishop for the honor done his Congregation in selecting it for the American missions and manifested the gratification which he as General of the Institution (sic) should feel in complying with his pious and zealous request, but at the same time he was obliged with pain and regret to postpone the new American foundation on account of the difficulty in finding the necessary number of fit subjects willing to assume the responsibility of such an important and difficult undertaking.¹⁸

O'Connor could understand the general's preoccupation with many recent foundations, but he was not easily dissuaded. Resid-

¹⁷ John F. Byrne, *The Redemptorist Centenaries*. Philadelphia, 1932, pp. 262. 288-299.

¹⁸ *PA:M Chronicle*, p. 7.

ing at Irish College where he had been vice-rector under Paul Cullen, the newly-elected Archbishop of Dublin,¹⁹ he was but five minutes away from the huge door of SS. John and Paul. He would never be satisfied with a cordial thanks or manifest gratification. O'Connor wanted an answer.

The General's reluctance was born of more than preoccupation with recent foundations. He had been badly hurt. There was much of that caution that remains after the acceptance of colossal failure. An Australian adventure had been a bitter disappointment.²⁰ In England four of nine foundations had already been abandoned. But then these objections were offset by the spontaneity, generosity and reassurance of the youthful bishop. The monk-chronicler concluded the account of the interviews, "The prudence and caution of our Father General, however, were overcome by the zeal and energy of Bishop O'Connor."²¹ Before he sealed his report to Propaganda he had secured another religious community for his rapidly-growing diocese.

The agreement was signed in the afternoon of September 28, 1852, the birthday of the Congregation in America. The document manifests the shrewdness of two great minds willing to accept the risk of new adventure, but each equally determined to forestall the possibility of failure. The prudence and caution of the general were aimed at securing himself against a repetition of the Australian fiasco. O'Connor's zeal and energy were coupled with a practical sagacity born of years of experience on the ecclesiastical frontier. Since it is so basic to the foundation in America and its future development, the complete text is given.

¹⁹ One of the most learned prelates of the last century, Paul Cullen was born in Prospect, Ireland, in 1803 and died as Archbishop of Dublin in 1878. From 1832 to 1850 he was rector of Irish College; in the latter year he was nominated to Armagh and two years later transferred to Dublin. He invited the Passionists to Dublin in 1858. *Cath. Ency.* IV, 564-566.

²⁰ The first mission to the Australian aborigines herded together on Stradbroke Island in Moreton Bay off the northeast coast of Australia was begun in the summer of 1842. From its infelicitous beginning to its tragic ending five years later, it is the story of one reversal after another. For the general it was a crown of thorns; for the missionaries, a veritable crucifixion. It remains the saddest episode in the history of the Passionist foreign missions. The first attempt to unravel this complicated story has been made with excellent results by Osmund Thorpe, C.P., *First Catholic Mission to the Australian Aborigines*. Sydney, 1950.

²¹ *PA:M Chronicles*, loc. cit.

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT ²²

In the Name of the Lord. Amen.

Monsignor O'Connor, Bishop of Pittsburgh in the United States of America, having requested from me, the undersigned Superior General of the Passionists, some religious of our Congregation to establish a foundation or retreat of our Institute in his diocese and having judged it proper to accept the project, we are by common accord agreed upon the following:

First

The Superior General of the Passionists willingly entrusts two priests and one brother of his Congregation to the good prelate. The Bishop for his part agrees to take charge of them during the voyage. To defray the expense of the voyage and also to obtain help for building the monastery and church, he will petition the Central Council of Lyons and of Paris for financial assistance. If the Central Council should not pay their passage, the Bishop is obligated to do so and to maintain them entirely at his own expense until their arrival in the city of Pittsburgh.

Second

Since they do not know either the language or the customs of the country, they will not be able immediately to work for the good of souls or to procure for themselves a place to live or sustenance. Hence the Bishop further promises to lodge them in his own residence for one year and to maintain them there at his own expense. He will also obtain for them facilities to acquire the language of the place and to become proficient in it so that they might the better discharge their duties with fruit for the good of souls. In the meantime the religious will not spare themselves but most willingly they will do all they can according to their respective states as priest and brother to help and to assist his excellency, their benefactor.

Third

During the year with the help and counsel of the Bishop they shall endeavor to acquire or construct a church and a monastery in

²² The General gave his copy to the parting religious, but not before he made a careful copy for his own archives. The Monastery Archives yielded nothing, but the Diocesan Archives have the original which we translate here. The copy in the General Archives in Rome agrees with it.

which they shall be able to live according to the tenor of the Rule they have professed and in accordance with that same Rule work for the spiritual advantage of their neighbor. Thereafter they will sustain themselves by their own diligence so as not to further burden the charitable prelate. But he, as a loving father, will follow their progress, and in case they are in need, will come to their aid.

Fourth

When they shall have their own church and monastery let them work with all diligence and with a ready will in the fulfillment of the Sacred Ministry. In all those things that concern the spiritual welfare of the neighbor they shall be dependent on the bishop of the diocese according to the Sacred Canons. As far as is possible to them let them render the help that is requested. However they are not to be forbidden to exercise their Apostolic Ministry in other dioceses when this shall be requested of them. This is in accord with the purpose of our Institute. However the preference shall be given to the Bishop who has established them in his diocese. And he, for his part, will let them know in good season the ministry in which he intends to engage them so that they will be able to arrange their schedule when called to work outside the diocese.

Fifth

We are altogether confident that the subjects we are now sending to America will succeed in establishing the Institute in the Diocese of Pittsburgh and will remain there accomplishing much good for the spiritual welfare of their neighbor. We hope moreover that they will prepare the way for other religious who will be sent from Europe or who may join them in America to work with them in the vineyard of the Lord. They are the small seed which will grow into a large tree in that vast region. However, if for causes which we cannot foresee, these religious should be obliged to return to Europe, the Bishop will not desert them. If they have not the wherewithal to pay for their passage, he will defray the cost of their voyage to Rome or at least to England.

These articles having been agreed upon by the Bishop of Pittsburgh and the Superior General of the Passionist Congregation and having been written out in two exact copies, they now sign each.

The one copy will remain with the Bishop and the other in the hands of the Superior General.

Signed: ✕ Michael O'Connor
Bishop of Pittsburgh

Anthony of St. James
Superior General of
Passionists

Rome, SS. John and Paul
September 28, 1852

The general was making certain that the primary purpose of the expedition would be achieved. His men were being sent to establish the Congregation in the United States not merely to do auxiliary work in the diocese nor even to conduct missions. Their first thought and first preoccupation were to open a house of the regular observance wherein the Rule would be fulfilled and the Passionist ideal made manifest. Only then would they be able to commence their apostolic labor in preaching missions and retreats. That O'Connor agreed precisely to this is to his great credit. Otherwise the work would have faltered from the start. Although it cost him much both in dollars and in physical and mental effort, he did honor his contract. Even more amazing is the time limit within which this primary object had to be accomplished. Surprisingly, it was not the general, but O'Connor who imposed this restrictive clause. O'Connor knew the conditions and the possibilities of the diocese. He also knew what for the present was his own secret. He had already petitioned at this time for the formation of a new, small diocese (Erie) in the northern end of the state to which he would have himself transferred.

The document clearly evidenced the great poverty of the Order. O'Connor needed men and money for his diocese. The general lacked both, but especially money. Of men he was willing to sacrifice two priests and one brother. Of money he had none. Not even enough for the voyage. In fact, three of his men were still stranded in Australia because they were unable to raise the money for the trip to Rome. To prevent a repetition of this triply unhappy circumstance, the general inserted in the fifth clause, "If for causes which we cannot foresee these religious should be obliged to return to Europe, the Bishop will not desert them." So the entire financial

burden fell upon the bishop. And nothing more manifested his magnanimity. He accepted, although he himself was constantly on the beg. A note hurriedly scribbled by O'Connor on the reverse of his copy revealed the bishop's suspicions of possible misunderstanding of a fundamental point that could put him at a disadvantage.

Agreement with General of Passionists. Rome 52. The only point *now* (sic) practical referred to in this agreement is that the Passionists shall be bound to give to the diocese of Pittsburgh any service they can in accordance with their Rules in preference to any other place in case they receive timely notice that such services are required from them.

While the bishop thus correctly interpreted the Fourth Article, it was later to become a stumbling block to him and the Order.

By initiating the work of the Order in America the general was realizing the sentiment he expressed before Pius IX that very morning. The occasion was the publication of the decree *Supra Tutum* in the Sistine Chapel, bringing to a successful conclusion the process for the beatification of the venerable Founder, Father Paul Danei. There remained but the issuing of the brief and the fixing of the date for the solemn ceremonies. The gratitude and joy of the whole Congregation was expressed by the general who was also the postulator of the cause. He repeated the words of the Holy Father, "Rightfully are the honors of the altar to be granted to the servant of God, Paul of the Cross, who throughout his life offered himself as a pure victim to the honor of God and the glory of Christ Crucified." He added, "Nor was he content with this [giving of his life for God], but prompted by such great love for Christ he desired his work to be perpetuated by his children to whom he gave the command to preach Christ Crucified and to make Him known throughout the world."²³

To be certain that the precise spirit and proper apostolate would be implanted in the New World, Anthony Testa carefully drew up a list of faculties and directives to guide the religious he was sending there. They represent the fruit of long years of administrative responsibility.

²³ The entire discourse is contained in Testa's *Discorsi e Tracce*, Vol. II, f. 46 (unedited manuscript preserved in the General Archives).

Anthony of St. James: Father of the American Provinces

The tremendous influence of Anthony Testa on the history of the Passionist Congregation in Europe as well as in the Americas demands a brief study before continuing.^{23a} Not only is he the Father of the American Provinces but the whole Order justly acclaims him as Second Founder, a title first accorded him by Cardinal Luigi Lambruschini.

Born at Marciana on the Island of Elba, Anthony Testa was a mere boy when he first climbed the mountain to gain admittance into the Order. At Monte Argentario, the cradle of the Order, he was trained in the religious life of a Passionist by the men who were formed by Paul of the Cross himself. The effectiveness of that training can be gauged by the constancy with which he worked until his death to realize the ideals of the Rule. Extraordinarily gifted by nature and grace, he blended the austerities of the religious life and the practice of the virtues with an ease and affability, a naturalness of conduct, a fraternal firmness and illumined condescendence, that quickly won the admiration and respect of all who came to know him. Possessed of a superior intellect, well disciplined, alert, always receptive, there were few who were his intellectual equals, with the exception of Dominic Barberi, the apostle of the Second Spring who received Cardinal Newman into the Church and who was recently beatified by John XXIII.

While yet a deacon, Testa was appointed lector of philosophy. Then came his ordination—and disaster. The year was 1810; State-Church affairs between Napoleon and Pius VII worsened rapidly. First, there was the trouble over the appendage to the Concordat which equivalently negated the entire agreement. While discussions on the offending clauses were being carried out, the Emperor put pressure on the Papal States by proclaiming the Kingdom of Italy, in the North in 1805, and, after the conquest of Naples, in the

^{23a} Apart from the brief synopsis of his life written by order of his successor, Pius Cayro, and used as the official necrology (AG: *Diario Necrologico*, pp. 299-306), no formal study has been made. A collection of his voluminous correspondence was begun under the direction of the former archivist general, Rev. Paolino Alonso, C.P. The General Archives preserves seven manuscript volumes averaging two hundred folio pages, each written by Testa from the first days of his superiorship and containing for the most part his discourses. There is need for a thorough study of the letters, writings and life of this man who, after Paul of the Cross, exerted the greatest influence on the Passionist Congregation.

South the following year. Then from his Schönbrunn retreat came the proclamation of May 17, 1809: the annexation of the Papal States. What was feared most was not long in coming—the suppression of “all religious corporations and ecclesiastical establishments and association.”²⁴ The Passionists were at the peak of their progress. The edict of suppression reduced everything into confusion. Monasteries were closed. The religious were imprisoned, exiled or dispersed by force. Some sought refuge as sacristans in the churches that remained open; others took up chaplaincies or teaching posts; still others were forced into various forms of manual labor. The novitiates and scholasticates were discontinued. The purge affected every monastery, involved every religious. Dispersed, the religious did not hesitate to carry on their apostolate when the opportunity presented itself. Some were particularly courageous in defiance of the military even in the face of death. But the total effect was disastrous for the youngest order in the Church at that time.

Anthony Testa was just beginning his retreat for ordination when the iniquitous law of suppression was promulgated. Dominic Barberi was a young man tending his father's shepherd in Palazana, while attempting to resolve his problem of vocation.

Testa was ordained at Paliano. With the sacred oil fresh on his newly-consecrated hands, he found out quickly what it means “to suffer many things”²⁵ for the sake of Christ. He fled from Paliano to Pontecorvo. Here, in the little monastery of the Annunciation, he and a handful of his co-religious determined to hold on to that outpost of the Congregation despite Napoleon's ubiquitous Army of Occupation. It was here that he was tagged with the nickname “Little Tony” (Antoniuccio) to distinguish him from big Anthony Colombo whom he was destined to succeed years later as superior general of the Order.

The confusion of names lasted only two years. As the food supply dwindled, some of the community were asked to leave in order to make it possible for the rest to continue to maintain the Retreat. Antoniuccio volunteered.

In disguise he traveled north. At Naples his wholesome personality and his many talents won him the respect of a Prince, a job

²⁴ Naselli: *Soppressione II*, 296-304.

²⁵ Cf. Acts 9:16.

and a refuge. He tutored the children of Prince San Gallo in their own home.

When the storm passed, Pius VII returned in triumph to Rome on May 24, 1814. A month later he approved the rescript which authorized the immediate reunion of the Passionists and the reconstitution of the Congregation, the first to be restored.

Anthony Testa said a hurried good-bye to San Gallo and his children and directed his steps to the one home he wanted on this earth: the cloister. As his first biographer noted, "The war against the Church was scarcely ended and even before the immortal Pius VII decreed the reestablishment of religious orders, the fervent young religious, without changing his secular dress, left at once and with all haste returned to this Eternal City where he rejoined those saintly men who were the first to robe themselves anew in our sacred habit."²⁶ He was immediately designated vice-master of novices at the monastery in Paliano.

Meanwhile, Dominic Barberi had made up his mind. At 22 he entered the novitiate as a lay brother. That he was within the year transferred to the cleric state is attributable to the keen mind and the quick, instinctive judgment of the vice-master of novices—qualities that were to make Anthony Testa so successful in later years. Certainly this was the beginning of a long friendship that ended on this earth only when, at his desk in the office of superior general, Anthony of St. James received the hard word that Dominic Barberi had died at a railroad station in England, assisted by Father Aloysius Pesciaroli who had just returned from Australia. Testa had sent both men off to these distant posts. It was 1849. In three years he was answering letters from his men in the New World and the lessons he had learned from Dominic and Aloysius were guiding his pen.

It is to Dominic Barberi that we are indebted for the only contemporary description of the Second Founder thus far discovered.

In all the long span of years I have known Father [Anthony] I could not but notice his great love for the Congregation and his anxiety for its advancement. Toward this end, he did everything in his power instructing the youth not only in spiritual matters but in other knowledge as well. . . . He manifested great prudence in cor-

²⁶ *Diario Necrologico di tutti i religiosi defunti della Congregazione dei Passionisti dal 1745-1879*. General Archives, Mss., p. 300.

recting faults. . . . When it was necessary to reprimand, he did. But he did it with such sincerity and strength, even the giants among us shook. But what is really noteworthy is the fact that he himself while correcting was not emotionally disturbed interiorly as he himself said. He disliked correcting and did it solely through conviction it had to be done. Once the correction was over, he was his usual jovial self and acted as if nothing had happened.

Even though by temperament he was inclined toward the choleric, I can honestly say I have never seen a milder-mannered man. He reminds you of St. Francis de Sales whose writings he knew very well.

. . . I noticed in him a remarkable ability to discern motives and intentions, etc., but at the same time equally remarkable longanimity in putting-up with the weaknesses of others and a fine dexterity in healing their wounds. . . . One time he told me, "The attempt to remove all the faults of a community is itself the greatest fault. Superiors must, indeed, observe everything but they need not correct everything."

He had a great love for the youth of the Congregation. He did all in his power to prevent them from being harmed; often he defended them before their superiors. He even put me on my guard against those who would speak harmfully about the young students. . . . He wished to see them always joyful and moderately playful.

His goodness and gentility was such that whenever it was brought to his attention that someone thought evilly about him, he would reply, "Son, that is not a rash judgement. There is every reason to think wickedly of me."²⁷

A man of such remarkable goodness and prudent judgment, of devotion to duty and unlimited zeal, was destined to be called to accept higher responsibilities. They were not long in coming. Once shouldered, they were never put down. At 34 he was made rector of SS. John and Paul; at 37, provincial of the larger and more important Presentation province. He was exactly at the halfway mark of his life. For the next 37 years he was the leading light in the Congregation and moved it out into the world. After four terms as provincial and one as consultor, he was unanimously elected supreme moderator by the capitular fathers united in Rome for the XVII General Chapter in 1839.

For twenty-three years Anthony Testa ruled the Congregation.

²⁷ Postulation Archives Rome, Mss/Dom, Vol. 23, f. 27 rv.-28 r.

As general, he established twenty new foundations, bringing the total to forty-one. The membership increased from some 300 to over 700. At the time of his death in August, 1862, the Order had expanded to Belgium, England, France, Holland, Australia and the United States. He indeed initiated a universal epoch in Passionist history. The forces he engendered continued to operate throughout the century. By its close the Order had been established in thirteen countries and had grown from two to ten provinces.²⁸

In order to have a better understanding of the situation of the Order during its establishment in the United States, it is necessary to note the development from 1839 to 1852, the year the Passionists came to America. In this period negotiations for foundations in France, Belgium and England were undertaken in addition to that most arduous mission in Australia mentioned previously.

The Order first attempted negotiations for a foundation in France, and when that failed, accepted an establishment in Belgium and from there crossed over to England. But both Belgium and France had been considered from the outset as steps that would eventually lead to the Order's establishment in England. And the reason behind this is as old as the Order itself. Although Paul of the Cross had never seen England, had never spoken a word of English, in fact had met few if any Englishmen, uniquely he had made England the altogether special object of his prayer and penance. He bequeathed this intention to his Institute. Not only is prayer for the return of England to Catholic unity as old as the Order, it antedates the opening of the first foundation and the vestition of the first religious. Paul of the Cross prayed intensely for England in the infancy of the Institute, when he alone made its first retreat in the angular anteroom of the sacristy of San Carlo in Castellazzo. He recorded in his spiritual diary, for November 23, 1720, "I had great desire for the conversion of the heretic, especially those of England and the neighboring kingdoms, and I prayed for this intention in a special manner during Holy Communion." And again, for December 29, "I have been moved to pray in a special manner for the conversion of England."²⁹

This was 1720. It was 1840 before the first Passionist set foot on English soil. Venerable Dominic Barberi (1792-1849) was

²⁸ *Fontes III* v. charts on pp. 26 and 52.

²⁹ *Lettere I*, 14, 16.

chosen by God for that task. He had a long, troublesome time reaching there. As early as 1814 he was sure that God had singled him out for that work. While at prayer in the monastery church of St. Michael the Archangel in Monte Fogliano near Viterbo, he received a certain "clear notion with a kind of infallible assurance" that England was to be the field of his special apostolate. He further told that "he could not doubt about the issue of the promise" and that "rather would he doubt his existence than doubt this assurance."³⁰ It was in that very same church that Paul of the Cross exclaimed in great joy during his thanksgiving after Holy Mass, "I have seen my sons working in England."³¹

Barberi was not yet ordained when the first request for an English foundation was registered at the Generalate in Rome. But in 1817 the Order had not yet recouped its strength after the bout with suppression, and Dr. Milner's request for missionaries for his Vicariate Apostolic had to remain unfulfilled.³² Many years later a seemingly unimportant event took place which was to lead to a series of circumstances that would finally bring Dominic and the Passionists to England.

In June, 1830, Cardinal Odescalchi asked the general, Anthony Colombo, to appoint a priest to teach the rubrics of the Mass to his good friend, Sir Henry Trelawney, who was to be ordained at the age of 50, a convert from Anglicanism. The general asked the theology lector, Dominic Barberi, to perform this task. As Barberi could not yet speak English, Trelawney secured help,

³⁰ F. Menegazzo C.P., *Traccia della Divina Misericordia per la Conversione di un Peccatore*. Treviso 1948, pp. 80ff.

³¹ Barberi, in the preface contributed for Strambi's *Life of Blessed Paul of the Cross*, pp. 6 and 7. Ward, in discussing this vision, adds: "Indeed, he saw his sons wherever the English language is spoken; and America too came within the range of his prayer and charity and the vision of that fair morning. . . . Pius IX and Father Anthony of St. James, the Second Founder, thought so; and we cling to this tradition of the Congregation": Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 77-78. Somewhere between 1923 (the date Ward's work was published) and today this tradition has been entirely lost. For no one whom we interrogated, especially among the older members of the Order in Italy and America, had the least idea about it. The writings and the letters of Anthony Testa did not yield the slightest clue. Perhaps Ward took the phrase "con quei regni vicini" for an ethnic rather than a geographic proximity. Cf. *Lettere I*, *loc. cit.*

³² The story of Dominic Barberi and the foundations of the Order in England has been the object of a special study by Conrad Charles, C.P., *The Foundation of the Passionists in England*. Rome 1961, an unpublished doctoral dissertation, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana. His work is based almost entirely on hitherto unused manuscript material. We are indebted to him for many points of our brief summary here. This work will be hereafter referred to as *Charles*.

naturally enough, from the English College in Rome in the person of George Spencer,³³ another convert and son of the well-known Earl George Spencer, First Lord of the Admiralty. Spencer in his turn brought along a third convert, Ambrose Phillips. Phillips and Spencer resolved to do all in their power to establish the Order in England. In 1836 another important figure was added to the group, the Abbé Charles Bernard of Lille, France, through the cousin of the younger Spencer, Louisa Canning. For two years Bernard had worked to establish the Order in France. When these attempts failed and when nothing definite could be seen immediately in England, the entire group agreed that a foundation in Belgium might be a better base of operations for further foundations in both England and France. The Bishop of Tournay, Caspar Labis,³⁴ at first reluctantly because of a squabble over financing the endeavor, but then wholeheartedly upon reassurance by Bernard, agreed to admit a foundation in his diocese. Finally, toward the end of May, 1839, four Passionists, Dominic Barberi, Peter Magagnotto, Seraphin Giammaria and Brother Crispin Cotta, left Rome to establish the first house of the Order outside the Italian peninsula at Château d'Ere in the Diocese of Tournay in Belgium. Thus began the new epoch.

A year later the ardent desires of George Spencer and Ambrose Phillips were fulfilled when Bishop Wiseman³⁵ of the Midland District in England offered a house to Barberi. It took two years to complete the negotiations and gently evict the incumbent vicar. In February of 1842, the Apostle of the Second Spring began the

³³ George Spencer is one of the greatest lights of the Order. His father was First Lord of the Admiralty from 1794-1800. His brother John Charles was Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1830. The Honorable George Spencer took orders in the Church of England. He entered the Church in 1830 and went to Rome to prepare for the priesthood at the English College. Wiseman, the future cardinal, was rector at that time. Spencer was ordained in 1832 and returned to England. In 1847 he became a Passionist. He died in 1864. Cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 105ff. Pius Devine, *Life of Fr. Ignatius of St. Paul*. Dublin 1866.

³⁴ Labis, Bishop of Tournay from 1835 to 1872, saw the work in Belgium progress with the establishment of a separate province in 1854. He became very devoted to the missionaries.

³⁵ Nicholas Patrick Cardinal Wiseman (1802-1865) was one of the most eminent churchmen of the last century. A member of the first class at the opening of the English College in Rome, he became its most famed rector (1828-1840); nominated bishop-coadjutor to Bishop Walsh of the Midland District by Gregory XVI in 1840 when the latter raised the vicar apostolic from four to eight, Wiseman succeeded Walsh in 1847. He was elevated to the cardinalate in 1850 on which occasion he wrote his well-known pastoral "From Outside the Flaminian Gate." Cf. *Cath. Ency.*, XV, 670-674.

regular observance of the Passionist Rule at Aston-Hall. Before his premature death in August, 1849, he had founded four houses in England and one in Belgium. The general, Anthony Testa, decreed the erection of the Anglo-Belgian Province under the patronage of St. Joseph at the XIX General Chapter.

The following year he dispatched his men to the New World. Although they were novices in the fine art of implanting religious life on new soil, there stood behind them an expert in the technique of the expansion and development of the monastic life. The directives with which the general fortified them gave eloquent testimony to his wisdom and experience.

Faculties and Directives for the Superior and the Religious
whom we are sending to establish a foundation of the Order in
the Diocese of Pittsburgh, U.S.A.³⁶

I

The purpose of this expedition is to establish a house or retreat of our Congregation in that diocese so that as far as circumstances permit the observance of the Rule and the Regulations will be carried out and the other directives of our Congregation will be observed, and above all that the true spirit of our Institute will flourish in that country. The purpose is not merely to send men for missionary work in America.

II

The monastery and all places that shall be erected in the future in America will be immediately subject to us until such a time as we determine otherwise. For the suffrages, the religious will be considered as belonging to the Province of the Presentation of the Most Holy Virgin Mary.

III

For the present we are designating as Superior of the Mission, Father Anthony of St. Peter, and we assign to him as Vice-Rector or Vicar, Father Albinus of the Incarnate Wisdom. The Vice-Rector will depend completely upon the Superior and he will have such

³⁶ Unfortunately, the only extant copy of these directions is the one that the general, Anthony Testa, made hurriedly for himself to be kept in his Archives. Our translation is made from this copy. *AG:PSP* II-2.

faculties as the Superior grants him. The Superior himself enjoys all the faculties which the Holy Rule accords to a local superior, and beyond this, because of the difficulties of communication, we hereby grant him the faculties which a Provincial enjoys. However, he is not granted the title Provincial nor that of Vice-Provincial, but for title, let him simply be called Superior.

IV

Since it depends upon the General and his Consultors to designate a house of the Novitiate, and since we do not want you to delay the acceptance of novices as soon as any present themselves, we are designating the first house you shall open as the Novitiate House. In the meantime, any temporary residence and even the Episcopal residence itself, where according to the contract you are to be received, can be considered as the Novitiate. The acceptance of novices belongs to the Superior. However, in the preliminary investigation before receiving them, let him associate with himself the Vice-Rector, and another priest. The Superior will not accept any novice who does not receive at least two favorable votes. For the present we are designating as the Master of Novices the same Superior and to him we are giving faculties to designate a Vice-Master to help him. We caution against the mania to grow too quickly. Do not admit any who have not given the signs of a good will and a true vocation. Moreover, you must be careful to turn away from religious life those who have not manifested the true spirit of our Institute. A sound formation is all the more necessary in a non-catholic (sic) environment.

V

Inasmuch as the acceptance of any who are over twenty-five years of age is reserved to the General, we hereby give to the local superior the faculties for two years to dispense with the age limit.

In the beginning we understand that the novices will not be able to have that complete separation from the rest of the religious as the Rule prescribes. However, let the Superior in every way provide for the correct education of the novices.

VI

We do not accept responsibility for the exactness of the various lists of faculties and privileges that are making the rounds; none the less we do intend you to enjoy all the privileges that have been

granted to the Congregation.³⁷ In those cases where the delegation of the Major Superior is required we hereby communicate to the local superior the faculties to so delegate in our name. Furthermore, to all of the priests we grant the faculties to bless the Five Wound Beads. To the Superior we grant the faculty to bless three thousand rosaries or Beads of St. Bridget each year and three thousand crucifixes or little crosses and three thousand medals. Other priests have this faculty but are limited to one thousand five hundred annually.

VII

Most likely in the beginning it will not be possible to wear the religious habit because of local circumstances. Accordingly, we leave it to the prudence of the Superior with the advice of the others to determine what will be most proper. In this regard let them be attentive to the opinion of the Most Reverend Bishop who knows best the local situation. Especially in the beginning let them follow his directives. For the rest, let them always desire to conform as much as possible even in their outward dress to the observance of the Holy Rule. The prescriptions of the Rule wish to inculcate even in our attire the spirit of penance and of poverty.

In everything else let them conform as much as possible to this same spirit of penance and poverty. If they do not do this at the commencement, they will open the way to a relaxation of our spirit, and once this has been introduced, it will be most difficult to rehabilitate the exact observance and to renew fervor.

VIII

As regards the regular observance in Choir, until the time that they shall have opened the first house, let them keep as much of it as possible and in the best manner possible. However, they shall never omit the prescribed meditation in common according to our Rule.

IX

As regards the works of the ministry for the good of our neighbor, let them follow the prescriptions of the Order to whatever degree possible, always being guided by prudence. Here especially let

³⁷ The various faculties and privileges of the Congregation were promulgated by circular letter. From these, individual religious gathered "abstracts." Many of these were not exact. The general, Peter Paul Cayro, fulfilled the need expressed by so many superiors and ordered an official Compendium drawn up. This was done and promulgated in 1867 (*UCA:P* Letters of Fr. General); the latest revision was made in 1958. *Collectio Facultatum et Indulgentiarum Congr. SS. Crucis et Passionis D.N.J.C. Romae* 1958.

them be docile to every counsel of the Bishop so that they will not in any way place obstacles or make difficulties in the accomplishment of God's work. If it should happen that when they have their own church it should become necessary to exercise the office of pastor, we leave this decision to their prudent judgment and especially to that of the Superior. In such case the responsibility for the parish will devolve upon the Superior, and he will perform the functions either by himself or through another whom he deems competent. You must be attentive to prevent and to avoid the difficulties that can proceed from the exercise of parochial responsibility.

X

The glory of God is the purpose of this expedition and the salvation of so many souls who are lost because they have no one to invite them to enter upon the way of salvation or to show them the path they must pursue in order to attain it. Obligated as we are to achieve our own sanctification, be on fire with earnest zeal for the salvation of others. To obtain so great a good, regard no work as too burdensome.

XI

The most efficacious means will be a holy life. It is this that counts. If following our Blessed Redeemer, the light of good example is resplendent in your lives, and if above all it is for this that you are known, you will be accepted by the people who in turn will be moved to unite themselves to your way of life or at least to listen with docility to your preaching and thus be converted.

To say much in a few words, always have at heart the "facere et docere" (Mt. 5:19) of the Gospel.

XII

Because there may be difficulties in finding subjects sufficiently instructed in Latin to pursue their studies in the Order, we deem it advisable that you take youths who show an aptitude for study and who can be instructed in Latin, and with time, as a true vocation is manifest, they may be aggregated to the Order.

XIII

You will keep us altogether informed and with all sincerity you will advise us on the things that concern the proper spirit of the Order and the advancement of the work of God. Thus being properly informed, we shall be able to decide and to do what is best.

XIV

Concluding these directives, we recommend unity, concord, charity. If you are united and if among you true love of Christ Jesus reigns supreme, then God indeed will be with you. With God you will be able to do great things. But if true charity is absent, there will be no peace nor will you be able to do much good. "All that you do, do in love" (1 Cor. 16:14).

Given at Rome Retreat of SS. John & Paul
September 30, 1852

Anthony of St. James
Superior General

To Liverpool without Wallet

The Passionists who were destined to carry out that command in the New World had already been chosen. Two priests and a brother had been agreed upon. The primary purpose of the expedition was emphasized by the selection of two outstanding missionaries, Anthony Calandri and Albinus Magno.³⁸ Since their ordination, they had been engaged in the missionary apostolate.

There is a description of the two missionaries written by their contemporary, Gaudentius Rossi, a few years after their arrival in America. By that time both were sufficiently instructed in the language to conduct missions in English.

The Superior, Father Anthony, is tall and thin in person; the features of his face are very pale and sharp; his gait is erect and grave without affectation. He naturally speaks with warmth and rapidity. He has studied with ardour and perseverance the English language, but like many other foreigners at his age, which at his arrival in America was thirty-five, he has found great difficulties to overcome in learning it. His accent and pronounciation (sic) and grammatical

³⁸ Anthony (of St. Peter) Calandri: born in Lisio, diocese of Mondovì, May 25, 1817; entered the Order at Lucca (Presentation Province, North Italy); professed July 19, 1837; ordained at Recanati, March 27, 1841; died at Dunkirk, New York, April 27, 1878. Cf. *HKB* IX, 17; X, 28.

Albinus (of the Incarnate Wisdom) Magno: born at Orsogna, Italy, June 25, 1816; entered the Order at Paliano (Addolorata Province, South Italy); professed there, October 19, 1839; ordained in Rome, April 1, 1843; died in West Hoboken, New Jersey, September 12, 1887. Cf. *HKB* IX, 63; X, 29.

construction discover his foreign birth. Under an appearance of simplicity and pliancy, Father Anthony has a large amount of shrewdness with great firmness of purpose. He has an ardent zeal both for regular observance and for the good of souls. He ignores the tyranny of human respect. His external appearance conveys the idea of great bodily austerities and of more than ordinary holiness.³⁹

His assistant, Albinus Magno, was stationed for several years at the Generalate. He was trained by the most famous missionary in the Order in those days, Pius Cayro, the first consultor general. It is not improbable that Cayro suggested Magno for the new foundation. Rossi's description of him is engaging.

Father Albinus in external bodily appearance is the very reverse of Father Anthony. He is small in size, of a full, rudy (sic) and healthy complexion. He is intelligent, studious, has a good taste and aptitude for business, with great zeal and activity. He has by practice quickly learned to speak the English language and consequently has soon and often been employed in the exercises of our sacred ministry. He has proved himself a fit and useful assistance (sic) to the superior.⁴⁰

After the signing of the contract and only a few days before the departure, a third priest was added to the group—Stanislaus Parczyk, who spoke German flawlessly. This fortunate addition could only have come about through the power of persuasion of Bishop O'Connor who had emphasized to Propaganda his "urgent need" for German-speaking priests to care for the large and growing community of German immigrants in his diocese. This eleventh-hour recruit proved to be a most valuable asset, not only to the bishop who put him in charge almost immediately of a large German congregation, but also to the religious who came to depend upon his denarius a day to keep them from hunger.

The brother chosen was taken from SS. John and Paul, in Rome, Lawrence di Giacomo, who at twenty-six was the youngest of the four. As Rossi relates, he "is the smallest of the four. His physiognomy indicates an African or Sicilian origin. By trade he is a tailor. He has acquired in our Retreat in Rome some little

³⁹ *PA:M Chronicle*, p. 7.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

knowledge of domestic medicine. He has a quick, active disposition; as a religious he is zealous, fervent and exact in the regular observance. In the office of begging he is active and successful.”⁴¹

Previous to their departure, O'Connor arranged an audience with Pius IX. Always of a ready wit, when the Pope saw the tall, emaciated figure of Anthony Calandri, he turned to O'Connor and chided him on his choice, “You do not intend to take him to America. I doubt he will last half the voyage.”⁴² We do not have O'Connor's reply, but we know that Calandri must have felt that the prediction was close to fulfillment when on the very first day out of Liverpool he was seized violently with seasickness.

On Sunday, October 10, 1852, the little group set out quietly. There was no ceremony. The chronicler of SS. John and Paul who was very exact in all else made no note of it.⁴³ The following morning they sailed from Civitavecchia, arriving at Toulon, France, on the afternoon of the twelfth. They spent the night at Marseilles, and the next day, after visiting Avignon, they proceeded to Lyons. Here they were graciously received by the Hospitaler Brothers of St. John of God, the “Fate Bene Fratelli.”⁴⁴

Since its inception at Lyons in 1822, the *Oeuvre de la Propagation de la Foi* had aided the Church in America. Two American bishops were instrumental in founding and forwarding the Society, Du-Bourg of Louisiana and Flaget of Bardstown.⁴⁵ O'Connor had hopes of getting a subvention from the *Conseil Central* to establish the Passionists in the country. Armed with commendatory letters from Cardinal Barnabò, Secretary of Propaganda, and the Passion-

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² HKB XI, 8.

⁴³ Over a year later the omission was noted; a brief account of the expedition was inserted at the end of the year 1853, but it must have been written much later, since it speaks of the novitiate having been opened and the monastery built. *Platea di questo Ritiro di SS. Giovanni e Paolo dell'anno 1830*, Vol. II, f. 43.

⁴⁴ Ward, *op. cit.*, was incorrect when he stated that both in Lyons and Paris the missionaries stayed with the Christian Brothers. His error was due to copying the original error related by Barr, who in turn was misinformed by Thomas O'Connor who, while general consultor in Rome, wrote a brief account of this famous first voyage without consulting the archives. Cf. HKB XII, 266; *PA:M Chronicle*, p. 7.

⁴⁵ For a history of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, see Edward J. Hickey, *The Society for the Propagation of the Faith, Its Foundation, Organization and Success, 1822-1922*. Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1922. For a thorough study of Flaget's part from original documents at Propaganda Archives in Rome, cf. Robert Trisco, *The Holy See and the Nascent Church in the Mid-Western United States, 1826-1850*. Rome, unpublished dissertation: P.U.G., 1959.

ist general, O'Connor presented the missionaries to the Council and gave an account of their penury and his needs.⁴⁶ As the general explained, his Congregation was unable either to defray the cost of the transoceanic voyage or to allocate any funds for the opening of the monastery. Since the Council held to its strict ruling to subvene only a missionary bishop or the head of a mission, neither O'Connor nor Calandri received a sou in spite of the warm commendatory letters they carried. As this instance illustrates, Rome could recommend but could not command the Council. It had been founded by laymen and was ably directed by them—and it was their judgment, based on the subsidies received and the commitments made, that was final. The Lyons office could give nothing, but it offered to send the letters, together with a recommendation of its own, to the Paris office. The two Central Councils operated independently, although they agreed on general policy and communicated information.

Paris was changing governments again when the group arrived there. Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, the "Prince-president" who had ascended to power on the revived popularity of his famous uncle, was now itching for that same uncle's crown and title. He encouraged the acclamations "vive l'empereur" that welcomed him on his triumphal entry into the city on October 17. Before the enthusiasm could die down, he applied the "Vox Populi, Vox Dei" and proclaimed himself Emperor in December. The letters of the missionaries from Paris revealed their apprehensions.

Once again, it was the "Fate Bene Fratelli" who opened their doors to them.⁴⁷ O'Connor, with Calandri and Magno, called at the Paris office of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith. Lyons had forwarded their petition with the various letters. Their case was heard and decided. They were given a promise. As at Lyons, the Council proposed to defray the expenses of the passage at a later date. Once the mission was established, the bishop and the superior should apply again for aid.

⁴⁶ *APF: Lettere e decreti della S. Congr. e biglietti di Monsig. Segr.*, Vol. 342 (1852), Barnabò to Central Council at Lyons, September 30, 1852. This letter also speaks only of *two* priests and a brother. The addition of Parczyk was certainly a last minute decision or, rather, concession.

⁴⁷ This was at Rue Oudinot, the only foundation that the Hospitallers had in Paris at this time. It was opened in 1851. It became the usual stopping-off place for the early Passionists on their trips to Rome. For a popular account of the Brothers of St. John of God, cf. Norbert McMahon, O.S.J.D., *The Story of the Hospitallers of St. John of God*. Westminster, 1959.

O'Connor, thus left empty-handed by the Propagation Office, but bound by the Rome Agreement to bear all the expenses of the trip, dipped into his own resources to supply those items which were in his opinion indispensable, not alone for their arrival in America, but even for their short sojourn in England. Up to this point, the only clothing the missionaries had worn were their monastic habit and sandals. Now, no matter how strange and awkward, they would have to wear secular dress.⁴⁸ O'Connor bought them shoes, two pairs each, and hats and topcoats. The general had only been able to supply them with a suit each and some underclothing. Calandri never liked secular dress and never completely became accustomed to it. Albinus Magno had no such difficulty.

In order to economize, O'Connor proposed that Calandri and his three companions leave directly from France for the States. But the Passionists had to await the arrival of the superior of Tournay, Serafino Giammaria, for whom they held letters from the general and special relics of the Founder, Venerable Paul of the Cross. In the meantime, O'Connor, as the delegate of Pius IX, was designated to confer the pallium on the new Archbishop of Dublin and his personal friend, Paul Cullen. He could not delay his journey to England. In London he also hoped to interest Ignatius Spencer in the American foundation. However, since Calandri, who knew not a word of English (in fact, he had never been outside Italy), was frightened at the prospect of separation, this suggestion that he and his companions travel alone was withdrawn. O'Connor agreed to meet them in Liverpool.

Spencer had been alerted to expect them on Sunday, October 24. All day long he waited, interrupting a busy retreat schedule to watch for them at the dock. Finally, close to midnight the Dun-

⁴⁸ In England it was forbidden by law to wear the religious garb publicly. Ignatius Spencer considered the law unjust and insisted on going out publicly in the full habit with the exception of the sandals which he put aside for shoes only under obedience. His appearance caused much discussion and brought complaints against him before the hierarchy. Spencer himself was molested by ruffians. The procurator of the English bishops wrote to Propaganda reprimanding Spencer. Barnabò, the secretary, informed the Passionist general of the situation and requested that the religious in England be told that they were not to wear the habit publicly. Cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 451-473 *passim*. The anti-Catholic sentiment present in America from the beginning prohibited the wearing of religious dress in public. O'Connor had all the more reason to see to it that the religious would adopt secular dress in view of the increased bitterness and even violent attacks in recent decades. Cf. Curran, *op. cit.*, pp. 93-106.

kerque steamer jogged into Irongate Wharf near London Tower. A tired Spencer greeted them and conducted them directly to Ford's Hotel.⁴⁹ The following day they went by rail to Birmingham in a heavy rain, and from thence to Liverpool. Since the bishop had not yet returned, Spencer hurried Father Anthony and Father Albinus into a coach for Sutton, leaving Father Stanislaus and Brother Lawrence at the Grecian to receive O'Connor. St. Anne's Monastery at Sutton had been opened the previous year after long negotiations. Here they had hoped to meet Eugene Martorelli (1810-1881), the provincial of the newly-formed Anglo-Belgian province, the first outside Italy.⁵⁰ In his absence, Honorius Maggini (1823-1857), the rector, welcomed them. The visit was brief but important. It was the first contact that was to establish a close relationship between the English and American provinces. As the conditions in both countries were similar—the organization of the Church, the Protestant environment, the need of mission preaching—the experience of the old could prevent errors in the new.

Hurrying back to the Grecian toward evening, they were surprised not to find O'Connor. But the same fierce wind that had delayed them between Sutton and Liverpool had kept the Dublin Mall, a small tender, in turbulent waters on the Irish Sea. At ten the next morning, a half hour before departure, with the bishop still missing, Spencer made the decision which Calandri feared to face. Despite all their apprehension, they had no choice but to board the vessel and make the trip alone. To do anything else would be contrary to poverty. O'Connor would lose the entire investment. Spencer himself promised to write instructions about procedures for awaiting his arrival in the United States. To calm the unhappy superior, Spencer pleaded with the captain to delay the sailing for ten minutes. At the last moment the first Bishop of Pittsburgh did a fast half-mile from one dock to the other.⁵¹ The Passionist Order turned to the New World.

⁴⁹ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 106, was in error when he had the four stay at London. Further, the Highgate property had not yet been purchased so it was impossible for them to have gone there. A foundation had been established at Woodfield House with Spencer as superior. Cf. *Spencer Diary*, October 26, 1852.

⁵⁰ The Anglo-Belgian province was erected at the XIX General Chapter, in 1851, just three years after the death of Barberi. Although he recommended that Spencer take over, the Provincial Chapter elected Martorelli. *Fontes III*, p. 89. Spencer was made first provincial consultant and rector of London.

⁵¹ Spencer preserved a very concise but yet fully detailed account of these days in England (Oct. 24-27, 1852) in his diary. This very valuable document has never been thoroughly studied. It is unpublished. Not only does it contain

That evening, October 27, Spencer immediately wrote to the general. The account of the last day is very interesting.

All the night long, strong, contrary winds raced across the sea. The Dublin steamer was unable to reach port. Since the tickets had all been paid for, the bishop would have lost his 70 lire sterling if they were not able to depart, so we decided that the religious would set out alone and await his arrival in America. They were already aboard and it was past ten-thirty when just then we heard the Dublin ship had arrived. We had commissioned a dock-hand to wait at its wharf (it was about a half-mile from our place), to tell the bishop not to waste a moment, but to come immediately to the place of embarkation. After some insistence we succeeded in getting the captain to hold up the departure for ten minutes. In these ten minutes, the bishop arrived and they all departed together. Their anxiety was completely changed into joy. Even the skies began to clear. After the night's tempest there followed a most beautiful calm to make the first day of the great voyage a happy one.⁵²

Their happiness was all too short-lived, however. Before the darkness could conceal their embarrassment, the pioneer missionaries were miserably sick at sea. "More than once the sea demanded its tribute with great disturbance to our stomachs."⁵³

Episcopal Prophecy

Twenty days later on a Saturday night, the City of Glasgow⁵⁴ edged into its Philadelphia berth too late to clear for disembark-

a wealth of information on the Passionist Congregation but likewise has much to contribute to an understanding of the Church in England during this critical period of restoration and renewal. The manuscript is preserved in the Archives of the Passionist House of Studies at Blythe Hall, Ormskirk, Lancashire.

⁵² Spencer to Testa, Oct. 27, 1852, *Postulation Archives*, Rome.

⁵³ *AG:PSP* II-5, Calandri to Testa, Nov. 25, 1852.

⁵⁴ The trip was supposed to last 15 days. The group was happy to be done with the ill-fated vessel. Although one of the best in its time, it was lost at sea in April, 1854, with the loss of 400 lives and over \$1,000,000 in cargo: *HKB* XI, 9. It is worth noting the first impressions made upon the new arrivals, especially upon Calandri. They were very much impressed by the cleanliness of the people and of their city. Calandri felt it was a mania with them, although he did wish that the churches in Italy were kept as clean and given as much care as the front stairs of the homes in Philadelphia. Later he insisted that new subjects sent to America be noted for diligence on this point. During his twelve years as master of novices he inculcated an exact observance of cleanliness with greater insistence than the Americans themselves. A further impression was the good will and generosity of the people for which they were constantly grateful. Cf. *AG:PSP*, II-5, II-10, II-13, II-18, etc.

kation. The passengers remained aboard until Monday, November 15. O'Connor was at home in the big city and welcomed everywhere. William O'Hara,⁵⁵ his successor as rector of St. Charles Seminary then located near the Cathedral in Logan Square, gave him and his friends lodging. The Vincentians in charge of the seminary were particularly kind to the Passionists.

The recently-consecrated John Nepomucene Neuman, C.S.S.R., fourth Bishop of Philadelphia, welcomed and encouraged them and forwarded their work. He was the first to allow collections to be made in his diocese for the building in Pittsburgh until the repeated objections of the local clergy prevented him. He prophesied that the Order would one day have a house in Philadelphia, a prophecy that is yet to be fulfilled. It might have been, had not the saintly bishop died so suddenly in 1860.

Among the problems Neuman had inherited, none had as long an ancestry or as entangled a relationship as the perplexing trusteeship at Holy Trinity German Church.⁵⁶ The trouble had begun practically at the time of its founding in 1788. Just before he was advanced to the Metropolitan See of Baltimore, Archbishop Kenrick had placed the parish under interdict for a second time. The trustees refused to pay the salary of the appointed pastor, Oberhaltzer, nor would they accept the new arrangement whereby the Jesuits were assigned to the parish with Burchard Villiger, S.J., as pastor and mediator in the dispute.

The church was still under interdict when the Passionists arrived. Bishop Neuman, delighted with Parczyk's command of the German language, saw at once in this newcomer an angel of reconciliation to relieve the tension at Holy Trinity. Parczyk began immediately to preach to the German congregation and to hear confessions. Neuman was so pleased that he petitioned Parczyk to remain in Philadelphia for as long a time as possible, at least until the first Passionist foundation would be completed. An inexperienced superior, Anthony Calandri, considering the request beyond his jurisdiction, refused. O'Connor intervened to settle his scruple.

⁵⁵ William O'Hara became the first bishop of Scranton, Pa., 1869-1899.

⁵⁶ For a treatment of these problems regarding Holy Trinity Church, cf. John Gilmary Shea, *A History of the Catholic Church in the United States*. New York 1892, pp. 46 and 62, and Michael Curley, C.S.S.R., *Venerable John Neuman, C.S.S.R., Fourth Bishop of Philadelphia*. Washington 1952, pp. 222-227.

The bloodshed and destruction wrought by insane bigotry only eight years previously in this very city was too vivid to him. He had no intention of exposing the Passionists to ridicule or of inciting nativist anti-Catholic feeling by a procession of three foreign, large-tonsured monks and a brother, headed by a bishop, passing from Philadelphia through Baltimore to Pittsburgh. Furthermore, it was practical prudence for the superior to go ahead to prepare a place for the others. Calandri bowed to the bishop's decision.

While Parczyk worked with the estranged German congregation, Magno began the study of English at the seminary and thus became the first to learn the new language. Of the founding fathers, no one spoke it more fluently. One of the most glorious works ever accomplished by the Order in America was achieved in these early days in Philadelphia. It will be treated later in its proper place.

Francis Patrick Kenrick of Baltimore had appointed O'Connor his spokesman before Propaganda in Rome for the review of the Acts of the First Plenary Council of the Church in America, urging the acceptance of all its recommendations, especially in regard to the erection of new sees.⁵⁷ Before returning to Pittsburgh, O'Connor was determined to make his report to Kenrick. It was another piece of good fortune for the Order since O'Connor gladly introduced Calandri to the archbishop. The meeting ended not only in prophecy but also fulfillment. After doing much work in the Primate's See and receiving help financially, the Passionists were established there under the successor of Kenrick, Martin J. Spaulding (1864-1872).

During the all-night trip on the "land steamer" from Baltimore to Pittsburgh, Calandri spoke enthusiastically of the reception accorded him by the two bishops. O'Connor assured the young superior that the success of the Order in America would never be impeded by a lack of good will. Nor was it primarily a question of finances. The first need was fit subjects. "Give me the men and in five years you can open twenty foundations."⁵⁸ The bishop's judgment was sound, as Calandri was soon to discover.

⁵⁷ *APF: Scritture Riferite nei Congressi*, Vol. 975, ff. 783 rv.-784 r.: F. P. Kenrick to P. F., July 22, 1852.

⁵⁸ *AG:PSP II-5*: Calandri to Testa, Nov. 25, 1852.

3. Beginnings: Infelicitous but Secure

It was still very dark at four in the morning on November 20 when the "land steamer" docked at the Pittsburgh station. Calandri was wide awake. The walk to the bishop's house was short. After serving the bishop, he began his own Mass with utmost devotion at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the bishop's chapel on Grant's Hill in downtown Pittsburgh. As it was the vigil of the Presentation, the anniversary of the opening of the first monastery by Paul of the Cross on Monte Argentario, he hoped that the first monastery in America would in like manner be named in honor of the Virgin Mary under the title of the Presentation. The following day, Sunday, the figure of a Passionist, soon to become an inseparable part of the Pittsburgh story, was seen for the first time in its Cathedral.

One after another, O'Connor had fulfilled the articles of the Rome Agreement. At his own expense he had conducted the missionaries from Rome to Liverpool, and from there to Pittsburgh. He had lodged them in his own house. He had provided an instructor to enable them to learn the language, often teaching them himself. Now, after making the long trip back to Philadelphia, personally, to pick up the two priests he had left there with Bishop Neuman, he addressed himself to the realization of the Third Article: "Within a year, with the help and the wise counsel of the Bishop, they will acquire or construct a church and a monastery in which they will be able to live according to the Rule."

"Broccoli . . . Bread or Cabbage"

At opposite ends of the city were two large parcels of land owned by the bishop. To the south, across the Monongahela River

in the borough of Birmingham, he had purchased a hundred acres on Mount Oliver when the diocese was created. On this property he had already located his seminary and episcopal residence, the orphanage, and a church for the German people—St. Michael's. He was making a good profit on the remainder, but offered the fathers a small section at the very top of the steep hill. It was the best lot on the entire site. He was not eager for them to take it but did not constrain them in their decision. It was ideally located, offering a magnificent panorama of the river and the city. But the disadvantages that Magno pointed out in his letter to the general were serious. There was no water; the ascent was very steep and inaccessible, since there were no roads; there was no woodland and no space for a vegetable garden which they considered a necessity.¹ Moreover, the property tunneled with coal mines could prove unsafe for a church and monastery. To all these objections he added one final argument—since sale of the land was a major source of income to the diocese, "it does not seem right to allocate a goodly portion of it to a community that will not be able to care for the spiritual needs of the Church by establishing a parish which is already needed for the American population, since the Germans alone have a parish here."² Calandri was of the same opinion.

At the north end of the city, O'Connor had purchased a large tract of land for the diocesan cemetery. Twenty of the fifty acres were set aside to be sold in order to defray the cost of the entire purchase. Here at Lawrenceville, near the Allegheny River, they were offered a choice location. The property formed a wedge between the Protestant and Catholic cemeteries. Open only on one end, it provided the solitude their Rule required. There was water, foliage and easy access to the city on new roads. This was the site O'Connor wanted them to accept. The matter had already been discussed with the general in Rome prior to departure. The general, however, was unsympathetic toward the cemetery offer. After surveying the property, Albinus Magno strove to correct any false apprehensions the general might have about his men beginning their lives in the New World in a cemetery.

Although the Bishop leaves us completely free in selecting the land that seems best to us, he himself is inclined to the cemetery prop-

¹ AG: SPS II-6, Magno to Testa, Dec. 28, 1852.

² *Ibid.*

erty. It is not like San Lorenzo. There are no large common burial vaults. Rather, it is set off into various little valleys and small hills. Everywhere is to be seen myrtle and cypresses. . . . Really it looks more like a villa.³

Calandri and his assistant agreed to the property except for one point. They still insisted on having more land for farming. O'Connor was a bit disturbed at this and replied, "The Americans are a practical-minded people. They would not permit the Church to lose the interest on thousands of dollars they could put in the bank just so you could have a place to plant your broccoli. Content yourselves with a house and a little piece of land, and when the people come to know your way of life, you will not want for bread or cabbage."⁴

He himself wrote to reassure the general. They could not start their work in a better location from every possible point of view—spiritual and material.

If it is only solitude that you are looking for there are many places. But as I see it both for their temporal as well as their spiritual well-being the house ought not to be established too far outside the city.

As I have already described to you at Rome, there is a nice location near the cemetery which is more in the style of a villa and although you might be held back because of pecuniary difficulties yet I think it is the place where you can best combine solitude with the opportunity at the same time to become known. Not only will they be able to do good work but they will also secure the means to support themselves.⁵

His mention of "pecuniary difficulties" was a reference to the fact that, unlike the property on Mount Oliver which was without debt and could therefore be given to them without cost, this property carried a heavy debt. Its administration was in the hands of a board of laymen who demanded that the Passionists pay at least the annual interest on their portion. The matter seemed small to everyone but Calandri to whom 150 scudi was a great amount to be paid even once, let alone assumed as an annual obligation.⁶

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *AG: PSP II-7, O'Connor to Testa, Dec. 29, 1852.*

⁶ The scudo was worth approximately one dollar. We judge this from the Mass stipends the religious remitted to the father general. Calandri sent the full

O'Connor was so convinced that this was the site on which the Passionists should build that he attempted to persuade Calandri to disregard any anxiety about so small a sum of money. Brother Lawrence could collect twice that amount on one visit in the city. Moreover, in two or three years the cemetery debt would be paid and then the Passionists would be relieved of any further annual payments. Nonetheless, Calandri pressed the bishop for a better settlement. Not until the bishop promised Calandri that he would intercede with the Board of Directors to have the property given outright was the superior willing to accept it. Even more pleasing was the promise of an additional piece of land for the monastery gardens.

In reply to the bishop's letter the general first expressed his complete satisfaction with all that O'Connor had so far done, and he added sentiments "of most cordial gratitude for the truly paternal care and interest you have shown my religious. Neither they nor I could expect more." He continued, regarding the properties:

I am in accord with you on the location. It ought not to be too far from the city. In this way the people can avail themselves of spiritual help through the ministry of the religious and once they realize the good work being done for them they will give their support.

Of the two positions, which have been detailed for me in Father Albinus' letter, taking everything into consideration, I am of the opinion that the cemetery site is more adaptable. However, in this matter, I trust myself to what they, with your counsel and help, will judge to be best.⁷

A nod from Rome was all that was needed for Calandri to determine definitely upon the site—at least he thought the final decision was made. Under cover of helping to defray the large debt on the new cemetery but also with a clear assertion of his needs in commencing the first foundation of the Order in the States, he began questing. The funds came in very slowly in small

stipend, which at that time was fifty cents for a Low Mass. Hence he remitted 15 scudi for 31 Masses, at another time 25 scudi for 50 Masses. In the beginning of 1854, the general permitted half the stipend to remain in America, so Tarlattini remitted 25 dollars for 100 Masses. Cf. *AG:PSP* II-17, Calandri to Testa, Nov. 4, 1853; II-33, Tarlattini to Testa, Nov. 22, 1854.

⁷ *PA: Dio*, Chancellor's Files: Religious Orders: Passionists, Testa to O'Connor, Feb. 27, 1853.

offerings. Anxious for the Passionists to begin construction at once, O'Connor assigned his own architect to aid Calandri in drawing up the plans.⁸ Yet, from December to March, Calandri delayed for the most part, because of inexperience. He was a new superior, with little or no understanding of the complexities of the art of building and with no knowledge whatsoever about finance. As a result, he leaned heavily on the bishop who was a first-class administrator, a builder on a grandiose scale and an expert in financial matters.⁹ And in a short time he manifested these outstanding talents all at once in such a way that he disconcerted the young superior and forced Calandri to assert his independence. Although Calandri depended on the bishop and constantly sought and accepted his counsel, he proved himself to be firm when that counsel conflicted with the purposes of his assignment.

O'Connor was a man of action. Calandri was timid and indecisive. While he hesitated to commence operations, the Catholic population of Lawrenceville, which was increasing daily, was pressuring the bishop for a parish and school. The bishop had hoped that the opening of the Passionist church would satisfy their needs for a while, particularly their Sunday obligation. When his repeated urgings to make a beginning produced no results, he took the matter into his own hands. He proposed the construction of a complex which would combine church and school on the ground floor, with the monastery and novitiate on the second—and the Order would not be obliged to pay a single scudo. He expected that this plan would resolve many difficulties. The Passionists would be provided with a monastery and church, free from all financial worries; at the same time, the Lawrenceville people would have

⁸ The architect was Mr. Charles Bartberger who built O'Connor's Cathedral which was consecrated June 24, 1855. Measuring 220 × 140 feet, it was one of the largest in the country. Cf. Lambing, *op. cit.* pp. 67-68, 73-78. Among the O'Connor papers in the diocesan archives was found this note, dated Pittsburgh, August 4, 1853.

Order of Passionist: (sic)

To Charles Bartberger for several visits to the building ground . . .	\$6.00
For Plan of foundation	3.00

TOTAL \$9.00

⁹ Lambing reports a profit of over \$200,000 on a \$16,000 investment in property on Mount Oliver: ". . . after perhaps \$100,000 worth of building lots had been sold, the balance was assessed before the panic at \$162,000": *op. cit.*, pp. 64-5. The panic referred to is that of 1873 when a too rapid industrial expansion caused thousands of business firms to fold during the previous five years. Cf. Abell *et al.*, *A History of the United States of America*. New York, 1951, pp. 353-356.

their parish and school. Furthermore, the need for questing, always somewhat distasteful to the bishop, would be obviated.

"My Blood Ran Cold"

Delighted with this solution which he felt should satisfy all parties, the bishop was stunned into speechlessness by Calandri's sudden and flat refusal. By giving the Passionists the parish in Lawrenceville at the cemetery site, O'Connor felt he could not have been more generous. Their work would have an immediate and propitious beginning; they would become known throughout the city; and most important of all, they would be assured of sound financial support for the future and that from two good sources. The wealthy class was moving in this direction and would be able to give greater assistance. The location near the cemetery would bring in many requests to have Mass offered so near the remains of the one for whose soul it was intended. O'Connor's reasons were sound and his offer magnanimous. He had already done more for this new Order than he had done for any of the others he had brought into his diocese. Now he was doing even more, and he was rebuked.

It was hard for Calandri to decline. A man of less spiritual insight or with less understanding of his Rule or grasp of the ultimate purposes of his Institute would have graciously accepted. It would have helped, however, had he declined with less heat. As he told the general, "Once I heard the proposition I spoke rather strongly to his Excellency. By God's grace I have never been a victim of vain human respect once I feel it is a question of God's honor and the good of the Congregation."¹⁰ He explained the impossibility of taking over not only a church but a school on what would become a permanent basis, since both would be an integral part of the monastery. Furthermore, it would be impossible to observe the monastic life in the midst of lively children all day at school and play. "We have agreed to come here to establish a monastery which would serve also as the novitiate house where the young novices would be trained in our way of life and would learn how to observe perfectly the Passionist Rule."¹¹ With that he left the bishop.

¹⁰ AG:PSP II-10, Calandri to Testa, April 10, 1853. The incident occurred in the bishop's house on Grant Hill.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

For days—silence. The bishop, offended, had nothing further to offer. Calandri stumbled to find something to say. Then, when he might well have begun to feel that he had lost everything, O'Connor came to him. "You were right in what you said to me the other day. I can understand your position. In making my offer I was motivated only by the thought of how the Passionists were going to be able to support themselves."¹² Father Anthony realized the importance of this point but felt that as long as they planned to build at Lawrenceville and since they were yet few in number, the Mass offerings would be enough for a while. Again O'Connor's particular goodness to the Order was manifested. He transferred the site to the far end of the property, an even better location for its natural beauty and greater solitude. Then he himself pledged \$2,000 toward the construction of the novitiate. The former site, nearer the homes, was designated for the new parish in Lawrenceville.¹³

Shortly after this gratifying interview, Calandri picked up his pen to announce the "Magnum Gaudium." Free from the burdens of a parish and the noise and distractions of a school, they would have their little church and monastery in an even more beautiful place near the Allegheny. With the advice of the architect he planned a three-winged structure, one for the church and the other two to house fifty or sixty religious. There would also be a special room for the bishop who "wishes to spend the greater part of his life with the Passionists."¹⁴ Construction began at once.

It ended almost as quickly. How it came about is no mystery, although one wonders at its necessity. A series of unexpected financial reverses caused Calandri to abandon the property alto-

¹² *Ibid.* Despite O'Connor's disapproval of many of Calandri's decisions, he never lost his high regard for him as a man of integrity and genuine virtue. However, this unfortunate episode could have been avoided had the superior not delayed uselessly in commencing the building once the decision had been made. Had O'Connor permitted it, Calandri would have liked to have stayed in the bishop's house until they were prepared for and had begun the preaching of missions. For the sake of the other priests in residence with him, O'Connor could not accept so indefinite an arrangement, especially as it included the opening of the novitiate in his house. Cf. *AG:PSP* II-5, Calandri to Testa, November 25, 1852.

¹³ "A meeting was held by the Catholics in Lawrenceville . . . to plan and build a church and school confined to a single building. It was finished and dedicated on January 23, 1854": *PA:Dio*, Section: Parish Histories, Lawrenceville, St. Mary's.

¹⁴ *AG:PSP* II-10, Calandri to Testa, April 10, 1853.

gether. He was in a strange land, learning a new language; he had no competence in financial matters. Forced to assume what he considered a large debt, he became frightened and alarmed.

As of January 1, 1853, a debt of \$26,061.42 on the cemetery burdened the diocese. After the bishop had transferred the Passionists to the new location, a meeting of the Board of Directors, "li dodici deputati," raised the interest from \$150 to \$400 annually. Furthermore, the Order was asked to pay an initial \$3,000 for the new parcel. To complicate matters even more, O'Connor could no longer provide the \$2,000 which he had pledged, since the two men from whom he was to receive it in exchange for a small piece of land near the former Passionist site had reneged. Again it was necessary for the poor bishop to break the news to his friend. When Calandri heard this, he related, "My blood ran cold and I said straightforward, 'It's impossible.' We are a poor family just beginning. We have a house to build and to furnish from top to bottom. We cannot take on such a debt. The general would never permit me to do such a thing."¹⁵ But the general never had a chance to decide. Calandri heard a rumor that the Protestants from whom O'Connor had bought the property were waiting to pounce on him just as soon as he faltered in the payments—and he would lose everything, including the Passionist land and buildings. This report persuaded the easily excited and inexperienced superior to reject any thought of a foundation on the cemetery site at Lawrenceville. He imagined himself walking out the gate with nothing but his debts. Lest such misfortune befall him, he returned to Mount Oliver in Birmingham.

During the months when all these plans and counter-plans concerning the North End had been under consideration, slow but solid progress had been made toward a foundation on what was eventually to be known as South Side, with the knowledge and approval of Calandri. The simple prudence of Stanislaus Parczyk must be commended for initiating it. To him and to the German people he served so well, the Passionists owe their presence on Mount Oliver.

German Generosity

After bringing Father Stanislaus back from Philadelphia,

¹⁵ AG:PSP II-10, Calandri to Testa, April 10, 1853.

O'Connor's first thought was to have him work among the German Lutherans. But the absence of Father Nicholas Hoeres from the German parish of St. Peter's, McKeesport, caused him to send the young Pole there. After some six weeks he recalled him to join the language class at the bishop's house in preparation for the English missions. And in order to provide the little community with some means of income, and at the same time to settle the unhappy situation among the German people in St. Michael's parish, Birmingham, where he had appointed six administrators within four years, he turned the young congregation over to his eleventh-hour recruit, Stanislaus Parczyk. The zeal and energy of this Passionist and, not least of all, his musical talent soon won him and his Order the respect and esteem of the people. The first thousand dollars for the building of the monastery came from them. Against their wishes it was at first designated for the house at Lawrenceville. But the Germans offered to assume the entire debt for both church and monastery if the Passionists were willing to build on Mount Oliver. However, it was most improbable that the condition they added to this proposal would win the approval of Calandri. For, in return, they wished the Passionists to assume the care of the Germans in Birmingham until such time "as there should be but ten families on the hill."¹⁶ This would be forever, Calandri was convinced, because the older families were all large, the younger ones were growing in size, and more were arriving from Europe every month. He could not accept. It was contrary to his Rule to assume parochial responsibility. But neither did he forget their generous offer, and when Lawrenceville was definitely a dead issue, he reconsidered. Then they no longer made any specific stipulations. Meanwhile, the bishop was determined not to offer any further plan for the construction of the church and monastery. When Calandri placed before him the German proposal, O'Connor replied, "If you find the means to build church and monastery, I will give you without cost whatever land you need. I will give you every help possible."¹⁷

On May 27, 1853, Bishop O'Connor executed the document officially admitting the Congregation into the diocese. At the same time, he had the deed concluded which transferred to the Passion-

¹⁶ *AG:PSP* II-12, Calandri to Testa, June 3, 1853.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* The land O'Connor referred to is the Mount Oliver site in Birmingham.

ist Order, for the sum of one dollar, 2 acres 3 rods and 4 and $\frac{3}{4}$ perches of land valued at \$4,000.¹⁸

Before the excavation was begun, one more detail had to be cleared—a determination as to whether the property was safe enough to support a large building, since the entire area was above the coal mines. It was O'Connor himself who engaged an engineer to accompany Calandri on the investigation. The mines had been closed about a year previously, but the shafts were still open. After three hours in the mines, the engineer discovered that the only place left secure was the very site which Calandri and O'Connor had decided upon for the monastery and church. Father Anthony hesitated no longer. Within three days the excavation for the foundation began.

The switch in properties he explained to the general in his letter of June 3:

It [the new site] is none other than that same place about a mile and a half outside the city of Pittsburgh, the very piece that Father Albinus and I visited first before we went to see the English cemetery property. Even though we did not accept it then because we hoped for something better, the fact is, as we now realize, you could not find a place more beautiful and more adaptable for the observance of our Holy Rule. It is a gracious hill that rises or rather reigns over the city of Pittsburgh located below it. It is very much like Monte Argentario with Orbetello at its base because there is a big river, larger than the Tiber in Rome, that passes us not far from the foot of the hill. Oh how much I would like Your Paternity to see it. I am sure you would say, "This is the place chosen by our Blessed Founder."¹⁹

The cost of the first wing which was already under construction was \$6,232. If the general thought to ask where he was to

¹⁸ "Omnibus quorum interest notum facimus et testamur. . . . Nos permisisse et per has praesentes permittere ut Congregatio SS. Crucis et Passionis Domini Nostri Jesu Christi domum erigat in fundo quam illi hunc finem hac die dedimus tenore conventiones inter Nos et Patrem Generalem ejusdem Congregationis Romae instituimus consentimus ut in domo (sic) sic erecta praedicta Congregatio omnibus juribus et privilegiis gaudent quae illi de jure competunt. In quorum fidem has litteras dedimus Pittsburgi (sic) die 27 maii anno 1853": *PA:M* Papal and Episcopal Documents. This is a copy here. The original could not be located either at the monastery archives or in those of the diocese: *PA:M* Records of Deeds.

¹⁹ *AG:PSP* II-21, Calandri to Testa, June 3, 1853.

get the money, "I would reply from the same place we obtained what we now have: Divine Providence."²⁰ That alone they took with them in abundance when they left SS. John and Paul. Paul of the Cross began the building of his first retreat on Monte Argentario with less than fifty cents. Calandri began his first on this new Argentario without much more. The German people had already come to his aid and added a second thousand to their first, in addition to building materials and labor. A wealthy Protestant American whom Anthony met by chance donated all the windows for the building and promised further help.

By the seventh of August the cornerstone was laid. It was a day of triumph. Calandri's description of it is engaging in its simplicity.

Perhaps your Paternity has read in the journals that the cornerstone of the new retreat has been blessed. However, I think it my duty to give you a more exact account of this our first solemnity. It succeeded not only to our great joy but to the satisfaction of the Bishop and to all those who were present numbering about 6,000, including Protestants as well as Catholics. . . . The cornerstone in which there were placed and sealed a likeness of our Blessed Founder and a relic of his holy habit became my duty to bless as the least of the sons of Blessed Paul.

The function was carried out in this wise. . . . On Sunday morning the ceremony was announced in all the churches of the city and published in the newspapers. At the head of the procession was Brother Lawrence with the processional cross. He was followed by the various societies with their banners. Then followed four strong men carrying the cornerstone on a small platform, and then the writer and Father Stanislaus, both of us wearing the habit and mantle with the mission crucifix and the Sign and sandals, in one word, as Passionists. Three other priests followed us. Two of these spoke, one in English, Father Reynolds, and the other, Very Rev. Father Seelos, the Superior of the Redemptorists, in German. The American band played as we arrived at the summit of the hill and the hill reverberated with the sound so that it was heard as far as the city of Pittsburgh. The two priests then gave their talks, after which the writer, having put on the necessary vestments, gave the holy blessing, not without tears. The procession was reorganized, and we returned to the church where with benediction of the most Blessed

²⁰ *Ibid.*

Sacrament the function came to a close. It was a most beautiful day and how beautiful it was to see the standards fashioned in the style of the American flag all along the way and waving in the breeze. But how much more beautiful was it to sing the *Te Deum*.²¹

But if Calandri could rejoice, it was Parczyk who triumphed. He had given thought to no other location except this. There was no room for discussion. "The Retreat is located in a most beautiful place. I doubt if you could find a better place in all of America. It is on a mountain and can be seen by all. It is not far from my parish and yet is in solitude."²² Soon after his arrival he had won the cooperation of the German people. When the opportunity presented itself, he was prepared, and he easily persuaded the worried superior. O'Connor, although somewhat displeased (and perhaps that was his reason for refusing the invitation to bless the cornerstone),²³ nevertheless forgot the differences of opinion and continued to assist the foundation. About this time he wrote to the rector of St. Ann's in Sutton:

The Passionists here are likely to do very well. They have made arrangements for the erection of a house which will accommodate twenty or more persons very conveniently. There will be some difficulty in supporting it but the thing, I believe, depends on themselves for success. If they pursue a proper course I think they will find no difficulty and of their doing so I have every confidence. There is no doubt but that they can do an immensity of good. We have our difficulties here as everywhere.²⁴

However, one man was entirely displeased—Albinus Magno—but his attempt to halt proceedings came too late. He had been sent to St. Michael's in Loretto in March after everyone had concurred on the Lawrenceville site: the bishop, the general, Calandri,

²¹ *AG:PSP* II-15, Calandri to Testa, August 25, 1853.

²² *AG:PSP* II-18, Parczyk to Testa, Nov. 9, 1853.

²³ Although O'Connor told Calandri he felt that it was the superior's privilege to bless the cornerstone of the first foundation in America, he had no other appointment that Sunday and did not intend to be present. Cf. *AG:PSP* II-15, Calandri to Testa, Aug. 25, 1853. However he did not change in his intentions to forward the work.

²⁴ Honorius Maggini was one of the early missionaries selected to assist Barberi in England. He became rector of St. Ann's at its opening in 1852. *Monastery Archives*, St. Joseph Retreat, London: *Letters*, O'Connor to Maggini, June 30, 1853.

and he himself. Parczyk had made no objection. Suddenly, in early May, Magno was recalled by his superior, and when he arrived back in the city the deed for the Birmingham property had already been signed and registered. His letter to the general listed many objections and expressed his bitter disapproval because he was slighted in the transaction that effected the reversal.²⁵ The whole affair widened the rift between himself and the superior.

"I Fear, and I Say This from My Heart"

It has not been mentioned previously, but this increasing difference of opinion weighed heavily on Calandri, deepened his natural diffidence and caused him to renounce his office. Calandri took himself and his superiorship far too seriously. He insisted upon every detail of the Rule immediately, without first recognizing the transitional period that must intervene in a new and entirely different nation before the Passionist ideal could be made operative in this New World. This failure to appreciate the cultural differences between the two worlds was discomforting not only for himself but for the others also. Applying too immediately and too rigorously the general's directive, ". . . in everything else there should be conformity as far as possible to the poverty and penance prescribed by our Rule. Otherwise, you will begin in laxity, and once this is introduced it will be most difficult to return to an exact observance and true fervor," he often mistook an exception for an abuse and burdened his conscience with the violation. Father Albinus, practically opposite to Father Anthony in temperament, and possessing a stronger, more assertive and better-balanced personality, kept himself open to discussion, adaptation and, if necessary, change. A clash of ideas was bound to happen as in any pioneer experiment. The astute Testa in selecting two men of such divergent personality not only expected but intended this. The one should complement the other. Magno's relaxed, joyful nature would temper Calandri's strict discipline. On the other hand, Magno's liberality would be kept in tow by Calandri's exact observance. But this did not come about because dialogue between them was impossible. Magno rightly considered that his appoint-

²⁵ By the general's order the decision was not to have been made without Magno's concurrence. Cf. *AG:PSP* II-34, Magno to Testa, June 9, 1853. The difference of opinion was also noted by Rossi. Cf. *PA:M Chronicle*, pp. 13-14.

ment as vice-superior conferred upon him some deliberative or at least advisory capacity—that the relationship should be one of superior-assistant, which is quite different from that of superior-subject. The former relationship never prevailed. Calandri never admitted Magno to such a position. There was no room for discussion. Ideas were not exchanged; they clashed. The opposition began aboard ship, intensified in the bishop's house, where Calandri gave Magno the most severe public penance in use in the Order in those days,²⁶ and endured until the arrival of a new superior.

They differed on a number of points. Calandri considered each one equally serious: the use of secular dress, the wearing of sandals, the chanting of the office, the retention and disposal of very small sums of money, the acceptance of postulants and the training of novices. In all these things Magno never carried his opposition to the point of disobedience, but neither did he relinquish his opinion. He accepted correction with difficulty, even though he never believed that it was prompted by personal animus. Calandri, however, was affected physically, mentally and spiritually. He lost confidence in his own ability and feared the whole work would fall to pieces in his hands.

Most Reverend Father, I have explained everything as best I could and I promise you that I will do all in my power to secure the good of the Congregation whose unworthy son I am. But I fear, and I say this from my heart, I fear greatly that I will not succeed in this great undertaking because of the things I have already told you with absolute sincerity. For this reason I beg your Paternity to send here as soon as possible one of the major superiors, one who will obtain the exact observance of the rule of our Holy Founder. Here we need a religious superior who is not only capable but far more we need one who is humble and most exact.²⁷

His reports to Rome represented his assistant as seriously wanting in respect for authority and in the observance of poverty. A major part of his letters treated with the difficulties he experi-

²⁶ In the presence of the other religious at the evening sentiment, Magno was made to draw three lines on the floor with his tongue. This very unhygienic penance was in use in Italy up until the early part of this century. It was imported to America but rarely used. Cf. *AG:PSP* II-10.

²⁷ All through July and August Calandri was ill. He spoke of this as being quite serious. Cf. *AG:PSP* II-18, Calandri to Testa, March 12, 1854.

enced from this quarter, difficulties that he considered near hostility. Taken at their face value, these accusations would have sufficed to cause the immediate removal of Magno. But the general was too experienced a superior to do this. His store of wisdom in government and prudence in direction had been long harvested. For thirty-two years as superior he had dealt with every type of subject. During the last fourteen years consecutively he had ruled the entire Order and inherited every provincial's problem. He bided his time, studied the reports of each of the men and solicited the opinion of O'Connor. Calandri was a good religious and a model of exact observance. Was he also a leader? While the general respected his integrity and sincerity, he put him to the test. Could he handle the assignment? At first he urged the superior to patience, the others to unity.

Concord brings growth to little projects. To the contrary, where there is no unity, even the programmes of the great are brought to complete ruin. For my part I wish to see among you that spirit that animated the first Christians: *Cor unum et anima una*. . . . May God bless you and Father Albinus and Father Stanislaus and Brother Lawrence and may he grant you the fruits of concord and unity and the charity of Christ.²⁸

A Horrified Report and Resignation

When the general wrote this letter, he presumed that the location was settled, that the monastery at Lawrenceville was nearing completion, that soon the regular life in community would begin. But it was at this very time that Calandri's troubles were multiplying. All his former plans were scuttled; his alternate plans were hampered by insufficient funds, as the lack of water and the inaccessibility of the new location on Mount Oliver were adding to the costs. To aggravate the entire situation, his disagreement with Magno had reached its worst stage. Physically and mentally he was exhausted. During July and August he was seriously ill. Toward the end of August he resigned. While his letter emphasized his weakness as a superior, it was at the same time a tribute to his sincerity and humility.

²⁸ *UC:P Letters I*: Father General and Roman Congregations, Testa to Calandri, June 9, 1853.

Your Paternity, I do not know what to say. I am horrified at the report I have had to make [his disagreements with Magno] and I fear greatly that when he [Magno] does return from Loretto to begin community observance there will not be among us that unity and concord and charity that are so necessary and that you yourself have so much recommended. To preserve the same I have done all I could, often acting more like the subject than a superior. . . . I have explained everything exactly as it is, adding nothing, omitting nothing. I would not write differently even were I in your presence. What I have done I have done only for the good of the Congregation. From all that I have said, your Paternity will know how to regulate things, and if you believe it will be for the greater advantage of the Order and will more assuredly preserve unity and concord and peace to elect another from there, do so unhesitatingly. I am most content to be a subject. My confessor, Father Stanislaus, has given me the same counsel. Hence I renounce in your Sacred Hands (sic) the office that holy obedience has imposed upon me.²⁹

In the next paragraph Calandri referred back to the difficulties with Magno, which greatly disturbed the superior because they offended charity. He frankly stated Magno's opinion, "He does not believe that I am capable to be a superior," and continued in complete sincerity, "If I cannot be a superior, very well, I will be a subject. And if your Paternity thinks it best to make him [Magno] the superior, I have no objection and I hope with God's grace and the help of Mary, most holy, I will be able to obey him and to continue in fraternal charity."³⁰

As the general read this disconcerting report, he had on his desk another received only a short time before. It was from Albinus Magno. In none of his letters did Magno lodge a complaint against his superior. In this letter he was giving an answer to a request for his opinion:

If your Paternity desires that our affairs go along better when we are united in community, ready to begin the observance, it is better that you send here at least two other men: the one for the office of lector, and for this post I think Father Basil,³¹ the librarian, would

²⁹ *AG:PSP* II-15, Calandri to Testa, August 25, 1853.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Father Basil had been Father Albinus' lector in philosophy and was still teaching while holding the post of librarian.

be very good for us and the other for superior. The superior must be a man not only with right spirit but also must have great prudence. He must be able to fulfill the duties of superior not only as regards the governance of the religious family but also in respect to the external affairs of the monastery, particularly in an Episcopal City of some 90,000 people most of whom are Protestant.³²

He asserted that he held no personal animosity toward Father Anthony; rather, "for my part, I hold Father Anthony to be a saint." Nor did he consider himself to be in disagreement with the superior. Nonetheless, he recommended a replacement, principally because of the criticism he had heard from others, including the bishop, regarding the decisions and resolutions Calandri took "concerning things external to the observance." Just what these decisions and resolutions were, Father Albinus hesitated to report, although he knew they followed upon the problems which harassed Calandri when he began the quest.

The general did not accept the resignation for two reasons. First of all, he desired to hear Bishop O'Connor's judgment. Moreover, the man who he felt would be most capable for the task would not be free to leave for another year. He assured the superior in America that when the retreat was opened and they were ready to begin the full observance of the Rule, he would send other subjects. Again, he urged him to patience.

But while these internal problems were taxing the young superior's patience and creating doubts as to his capability, two external circumstances, the opposition of the clergy and the loss of O'Connor, greatly tried his limited experience and convinced the general to accept his resignation and send a new superior.

Questioned on Questing

The opposition of the clergy was caused by Calandri's success as a fund raiser. The right to quest was granted with the approval of the Rule, and while it has remained in the Order ever since, in America it was soon to undergo a significant change, a circumstance which O'Connor foresaw. But he was unable to convince Calandri that this change must come about. From the start the bishop tried to prevent this door-knocker operation by supplying

³² AG:PSP II-34, Magno to Testa, June 9, 1854.

other means of support. He knew well the opposition it could provoke. The Passionists were completely unknown in America. The religious he brought from Italy spoke little English, and that very poorly. Moreover, in a city where nativist sentiment against the Church was growing, these foreigners could hardly be expected to promote peace.³³ It was for these sound reasons that O'Connor had been desirous for them to accept the cemetery property and support their work by the income he was certain they would obtain there—the voluntary offerings of the faithful—since in reality the ruling on poverty in mendicant Orders requires them to live by alms. Once located at Lawrenceville, if they had subsequently found it necessary to continue questing, they would have had an acceptable reason ready at hand: the monies received, while indeed supporting the fathers and their apostolate, were also to be used in part to defray the heavy debt on the diocese for the cemetery. It was for these reasons, too, that he had sent Stanislaus to Birmingham as pastor of St. Michael's. Later he had intended to place St. John's, the new parish for the English-speaking people in the same locality, in the care of the Passionists.

Thus, from these sources he had hoped that the Order would be able to resolve its debts, support a novitiate and prepare to take up its primary work of preaching in a short time, without disturbing the whole diocese in a search for funds. As reasonable as these plans were, Calandri could not accept them. They were too insecure, too remote for a man in immediate need. Furthermore, in conscience he could not accept the responsibility for another parochial charge. He argued in his report to the general that if the good people of Pittsburgh had contributed within one year over \$80,000 for O'Connor's new cathedral, would they not in a very short time offer some five or six thousand to establish the work of a missionary Institute among them? Before the bishop he argued that until they were ready to preach, this personal door-to-door contact was the one way they could make themselves and their work known, while at the same time obtaining some little support. Questing was so ordinary a procedure in Italy, it was difficult for the superior to relinquish the idea.

³³ "Bigotry in the Days of Bishop O'Connor," in *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, March 16, 1944, p. 49 (this was a large, special edition for the centenary of the diocese).

Reluctantly, in May, 1853, O'Connor gave his permission. By the end of July Calandri had collected over \$500. But that was the end. Complaints from the pastors in the city reached the bishop's house. Monsignor McMahon, the vicar general, in the absence of O'Connor on visitation of his vast diocese, ordered Calandri to stop. Calandri refused. The vicar general was countermanding an order that had come directly from the bishop. On demand, the young superior produced the written permission of O'Connor to proceed with the quest. McMahon withdrew his prohibition and even contributed twenty dollars, but the inevitable happened. O'Connor returned and "pro bono pacis" the quest was quashed.⁸⁴ Calandri ceased at once and would have kept the peace, had he not lost his closest friend in America. O'Connor was transferred to Erie.

Even before he signed the Rome Agreement, O'Connor had petitioned Propaganda to have his see divided, and he was certain that Rome would give assent to his request. Indeed, this was another reason for his anxiety that the Passionists be established quickly and firmly. Rome did accept his proposal and on April 29, 1853, created the Diocese of Erie. Geographically the new diocese was half the size of the old, but its Catholic population was only one-third.⁸⁵

"They Weep This Great Loss"

Archbishop Hughes called the new see-city a village in comparison to Pittsburgh. To this village and this small portion Michael O'Connor had himself transferred.⁸⁶ The convert, Josue M. Young, a priest of the Cincinnati Archdiocese, was chosen to succeed him in Pittsburgh. Organized efforts by clergy and laity alike to prevent O'Connor's departure and to induce Young to refuse the nomination failed. O'Connor was determined to leave. He arrived in Erie

⁸⁴ AG:PSP II-14, Calandri to Testa, July 7, 1853.

⁸⁵ Lambing, *op. cit.*, pp. 68-70.

⁸⁶ Cf. Connelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 89-95. The author was incorrect in his statement regarding O'Connor's reluctance to leave Pittsburgh. He wanted to be relieved of the burdens of so large a see. Hughes put it plainly in writing to Cardinal Franzoni: "I regret exceedingly that the learned and zealous Bishop O'Connor should have thought it proper to request his translation from the most important See of Pittsburgh, where he was so well known and so universally respected by Catholics and Protestants alike, for the comparatively unimportant village of Erie": *PFA, Scritture riferite*, Vol. 16 (1852-54), ff. 798-799.

in mid-October. Calandri, who had deluded himself with confidence in the successful issue of the efforts to reverse the decision, was stunned! The loss was incalculable. He wrote to his superior in Rome:

With greatest dissatisfaction I must tell you our devoted father, our benefactor, Monsignor O'Connor, is no longer the Bishop of this city of Pittsburgh. He has been transferred to another part of this very vast diocese. They say he renounced this See and I believe that to be true but for what motive I cannot say. He was loved and respected here even by the Protestants for his great talents. And how much was he loved and honored and respected by the Catholic population! With me they weep this great loss.³⁷

Indeed, few felt the departure as personally. Upon no one, neither cleric nor secular, not even upon his own religious, did Calandri lean so heavily. Now he was alone. O'Connor advised him to quit the episcopal residence and move in with Father Stanislaus at Birmingham. Before he himself left the residence, O'Connor gave one final manifestation of his munificent regard for the Order by consigning to it many of his personal effects. Beyond this he paid the expenses for the room and board for the postulants living with Magno at Loretto.³⁸

Josue Young did refuse the nomination, and he returned the Bulls to Rome. McMahon remained administrator—and so the bans on the quest continued. Meantime, as the little monastery high on the hill across the river was nearing completion, Calandri's funds gave out, and with them his patience. He was over \$2,000 in debt, and worried. The poor German people in St. Michael's could give no more, nor could he in conscience accept anything from them. In this predicament he seized upon an altogether unexpected opportunity: the visit of the Apostolic Nuncio.

The Nuncio Says "No"

Gaetano Bedini, the most memorable ecclesiastical visitor to the Church in America, arrived in Pittsburgh on the tenth of

³⁷ AG:PSP II-16, Calandri to Testa, Sept. 18, 1853.

³⁸ Besides paying the board for the postulants at Loretto, O'Connor gave Calandri some beds and tables for the novitiate, a bell to be used for the observance, a large clock, much of his library, several other little objects and his good horse.

December and left on the fifteenth. O'Connor accompanied him. The magnificent reception was as much a tribute to the former bishop as a welcome to the nuncio. During his stay Bedini deigned to visit the little Passionist community at St. Michael's. Calandri was prepared. He had drawn up a *supplica* which he wished Bedini to sign. It was a simple statement of the fact that the Order by papal grant had the right to quest and in its present need this privilege should not be restricted. The petition further explained that O'Connor was reluctant to permit them to continue mainly because of pressure from the local clergy. There was no simple answer. The nuncio informed the superior about the formal complaints that had been registered with him against the Passionists for this very thing. Pastors were simply not willing to see money poured into a house on the hill when their own parishes were in debt. The collections being taken up in their territories reduced their own incomes and made it difficult for them to meet expenses. Some of them were being personally impoverished since they, too, depended for their sustenance on the free offerings of the faithful. Calandri was startled. Most of the clergy were doing very well and in all his journeys he had not met one in dire need. He would be the first to help them if that were the case. If there was a clergyman in dire need, the nuncio was looking at him. The Order was in debt and he had not two pennies in the bank. All this was related in the presence of O'Connor. And in the presence of O'Connor the archbishop made no comment. Neither did he put his pen to the *supplica* overriding the decision of the local ordinary.⁸⁹

Some little comfort came to Calandri before the nuncio left. The day previous to his departure, Bedini met Parczyk in downtown Pittsburgh. He explained to him that it was impossible for him to do anything other than what he had done. He was in the United States only as Envoy Extraordinary to the Government, carrying the personal message of Pius IX to the President, Franklin Pierce. As far as the Church in America was concerned, he was a friendly visitor who was deeply interested in all that concerned it, open for discussion and consultation on its problems, ready to give what counsel his training and experience supplied, but devoid of any direct or indirect authority. Although he recognized the Passionists' right and did not think the complaints were valid, still

⁸⁹ *AG:PSP* 11-15, Calandri to Testa, August 25, 1853.

it was not his place to arbitrate. Furthermore, he would not violate the hospitality so graciously accorded him by siding with the Order against his hosts.

Whatever Calandri hoped to gain by some sort of justification from Archbishop Bedini cannot be surmised. The plan was poorly conceived. Even if he had won the signature and renewed the quest, *sede vacante*, he could not but have aroused even greater displeasure. Nor did the interview have a good effect on O'Connor. He determined to write to the general directly. Before doing so he consulted with the Bishop of Philadelphia, John Nepomucene Neuman, who had been in Pittsburgh shortly after the nuncio's departure. He had inspected the building, discussed the difficulties Calandri faced in completing it and presided at services in St. Michael's. His impressions influenced O'Connor's decision. Despite his personal admiration for Calandri, whom he regarded as a man of extraordinary virtue and great penance, O'Connor deemed a new superior imperative for the success of the Passionists in America.

Even though I have written to you but a short time previously, I take the liberty of writing once again to recommend that you name another superior for the Community in Pittsburgh and to say that I believe it to be of the maximum importance that this superior be a new person. A few days ago I spoke with the Bishop of Philadelphia. He came to Pittsburgh and being German he was able to understand more things than I regarding Father Stanislaus. From the manner in which he spoke it seems that some great imprudence has been found in his preaching. All the more so, then, does it seem better to me that a new superior be nominated.

It is not necessary for me to say that this one ought to be a person with good practical sense, a person of maturity who knows how to adjust to the various difficulties that can arise.

I am sure, too, that it will be superfluous for me to add that it will be better if none of the Fathers are told that it was I who suggested this change.

Even though I have left Pittsburgh I will none the less continue to maintain a vital interest in the success of the Community and your fathers.⁴⁰

Prayer at Midnight—Possession at Noon

The letter was written in Erie during the month of January.

⁴⁰ *AG:PSP* II-19, O'Connor to Testa, January 19, 1854.

By the end of February the accumulated pressures for the return of O'Connor to Pittsburgh, including the powerful intercession of Archbishop Bedini, succeeded. Young accepted Erie. O'Connor returned to Pittsburgh. While the rejoicing was universal, there was particular joy in the heart of Calandri who had been praying daily for this favor. The return of his friend and benefactor gave him renewed courage. He felt more certain of fulfilling the expectations of the general.

I believe your Paternity already knows about the reappointment of Monsignor O'Connor to Pittsburgh. To me this is about the greatest blessing God could have given us. We owe it to the intercession of Blessed Paul, our Founder, who makes us see clearly how much he wills that his Rule be carried out in the American Province as well.

His Excellency is most affable toward us, just as much, if not more, than when he brought us here from Rome. I have every reason to hope that all things will again be put in order so that there will be nothing contrary to the observance of our Rule. If a new bishop had taken over here we would have reason to fear as I learned from the experience that occurred during the visit of the Apostolic Nuncio.⁴¹

By the time this reassuring letter arrived at the Generalate, the decision had already been made. In his directives to the First Provincial Chapter of the Pietà Province, the general withdrew the right of passive suffrage from Gian Domenico di Jesu Bambino, the Rector of St. Augustine's Monastery in Pievetorino, reserving him for an unnamed special assignment.⁴² Calandri did not receive news of the appointment of a new superior until he had already taken possession of the monastery.

This occasion was preceded by another of significance to the Order in America. The Founder, Paul of the Cross, had been beatified by Pius IX on May 1 of the previous year. Within a year from that date, the solemn observance of the feast of the new Beatus was to be observed in each monastery on the day designated by the local ordinary. Calandri wanted this to be held in the new monastery. Although the rest of the building was not ready, he saw to it that the public chapel, which served at the

⁴¹ AG:PSP II-21. Calandri to Testa, March 4, 1854.

⁴² AG: *Atti del primo Capitolo Provinciale*: Provincia della Pietà, 1854, Aprile 22-23.

same time as the monastic choir, was prepared. On April 30, 1854, the feast of Blessed Paul of the Cross was observed for the first time in America with the offering of the first solemn Mass in the little Passionist chapel on Mount Oliver in Birmingham on the Monongahela.⁴³

Less than five weeks later, shortly after midnight on the feast of Pentecost, June 4, the rattle aroused the community for the night office of Matins, thus inaugurating the regular observance which from that day to this has gone on without interruption in what proved to be the most successful of all the American foundations. On the afternoon of that day, Bishop O'Connor had blessed the monastery and had placed the fathers in formal possession of it. The brief sermon delivered by Father Anthony on this occasion has been preserved by Hugh K. Barr. It was the second time he spoke publicly in English. The sermonette which Calandri prepared very carefully indicated how much the Order is indebted to the first Bishop of Pittsburgh. As here reproduced it testifies to Calandri's proficiency in what he always considered the most difficult language.

Behold, oh beloved companions, the day has come wherein the Most High, by His infinite mercy and bounty, has accomplished our desires as well as the desires of Bishop O'Connor, our greatest benefactor.

I will not on this evening speak of his virtues which shine before all men, but in fulfilling my duty, let me remind you of the object for which the Passionists were brought to America by him.

Moved by that hearty love which every good pastor ought to have for his beloved flock and desirous that it should always have in abundance the daily food of eternal life, he sought whilst in Rome about two years ago and obtained from our Superior General, Father Anthony of St. James, the permission of taking to his diocese some of his worthy children. We came to America at his expense and under his protection. Everybody knows how assiduous were his labors for our establishment. Not satisfied on giving us the ground whereon the monastery is built, he also furnished

⁴³ O'Connor returned from Cincinnati where he had preached at Young's consecration and refused several other appointments to get back in time to assist at the solemn Mass. Cf. *AG:PSP* II-22, Calandri to Testa, April 5, 1854. Calandri made a mistake in dating the letter, writing April in place of May, since he gave a complete description of this occasion in the letter.

the monastery with suitable furniture and provided us with the necessities of life. Behold him this day ready to place us in possession of the new house to live according to our Rule, that we may labor for those souls which the Most High has committed to his care.

What then must we do to show our gratitude? We must do that which is manifest and determined in the first chapter of our Rules where it is said that the Religious of our poor and most humble Congregation ought in the first place provide for their own salvation in the manner prescribed by our Constitutions. Next they must devote themselves with diligence to offices of charity towards their neighbor by Apostolic Missions and other pious exercises, by teaching the people by word of mouth to meditate devoutly on the Mysteries, sufferings and death of our Lord, Jesus Christ, from Whom as from a fountain proceedeth all our good.

If in our life we follow the example of our Blessed Founder and practice his virtues we also shall be partakers of his glory. Amen.⁴⁴

The community numbered five: Father Anthony, Father Albinus, Brother Lawrence and two postulants. On June 25 the first vestition ceremony was conducted as a Theodore Loebmiller of Birmingham received the habit from Father Anthony and was given the name and title: Bernard of the Most Pure Heart of Mary.

To this date Calandri had not given a name to the monastery. He waited for the approval of the general on the two titles he suggested: The Monastery of the Presentation (because that was the title given to the first foundation by Paul of the Cross on Monte Argentario and also because on the eve of that feast the Passionists had arrived in Pittsburgh) or The Holy Cross (because of the location above Mount Oliver). The general accepted neither. The new superior brought with him the title for the first Passionist monastery and province in the new world—Paul of the Cross.

⁴⁴ *HKB*, Vol. I, 161-162. The somewhat polished account in Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 112, is based on this same source.

4. The Organization of the Passionist Life in America

To no other man is the Order in America more indebted for its success than to John Dominick Tarlattini. From the date of his arrival in the summer of 1854, he became the leading figure in the development of the Province until his sudden and unexpected death in Toluca, Mexico, thirty-two years later. For the first twelve of these years as commissary general and first provincial, he was singularly responsible for the development of the Passionist life in the United States. Its shape, its vision, its spirit, the attitudes it adopted and the adaptations it accepted were his responsibility. It was he who regularized the observance of the Rule, stabilized the common life, organized the novitiate, opened the first houses of study, established new foundations, commenced and directed the apostolic ministry, and won for the Congregation a reputation for excellence in external work and diligence in monastic observance that brought to his desk, before the end of his first term as provincial, requests for ten new foundations and an ever-increasing demand for the services of his men in conducting parochial missions and clergy and religious retreats. Although history has been hard on him, and his life and accomplishments are but little known, John Dominick Tarlattini is the Founder of the Passionists in America.¹

¹ Greatly contributing to this obscurity is the treatment Tarlattini received in Ward's writing. Ward set out to extol Calandri. His high personal regard for him from whom he received the religious habit and his rightful persuasion of Calandri's sanctity caused him to force Calandri into a position which he did not hold and to accredit him with a leadership which was not his. Tarlattini, on the other hand, was given little attention beyond a recognition of the fact that he was a very good superior, although a very poor missionary. Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 117-156, 187-192, *passim*. For further details on Tarlattini, cf. *HKB*, Vol. IX, 53-56; Vol. X, 62-63.

A Man from Limano

Father John Dominick was born in Limano, Italy, February 23, 1816. At the age of twenty he entered the order at Lucca and professed his vows January 11, 1837. He was ordained in Rome at St. John Lateran by Archbishop Vespigiani on December 19, 1840. For the first decade of his priesthood he did missionary work as an adjutant, hearing confessions and giving the instructions but not the principal discourse.² Suffering a slight impediment of speech, he was prevented from becoming a regular missionary. His talents were in another direction. Toward the end of this period of his life, he was made vice-rector, and in the XIX General Chapter, May 1851, he was elected rector of the ancient monastery of St. Augustine at Pievetorina.³ In two particulars he recommended himself to the general as capable of handling the new foundation in America. During his triennium at Pievetorina, Tarlattini made the exact training of the young religious, spiritually and intellectually, his primary concern. Secondly, his administration was marked with prudence and charity in handling the external affairs of the monastery. He had inherited an old jurisdictional dispute over burial rights. While completely vindicating the rights of the monastery, he neither alienated the local clergy nor displeased the bishop—no small accomplishment.

² AG: Libro dei Ministeri del Ritiro dei SS. Giovanni e Paolo 1828-1869, p. 72.

³ St. Augustine's monastery at Pievetorina in north Italy had a long and checkered history. It was founded in 1254 by the Hermits of St. Augustine. It had been suppressed and reopened three different times. Closed by the Bull *Instaurandae* of Innocent X in 1653 which ordered the suppression of all retreats where less than six religious lived, it was reopened through the persistent requests of the people in 1672. In 1776 it was abandoned. Ten years later it was accepted as a Passionist retreat and remained such until the Napoleonic laws suppressing religious corporations in 1810. From 1814 to 1840 it was reinhabited by the Fathers of the Precious Blood. After great difficulties, discussions and agreements, it was accepted again by the Passionists on June 29, 1840. In 1862 it was one of the first to be suppressed by the Italian unification movement, although a small group of religious remained there until 1894, at which time the monastery was finally abandoned. It remains vacant today and is in a bad state of deterioration. It was hallowed by the life of St. Gabriel who spent a year of his seminary student life there, 1858-1859. The archives of the monastery have been transferred to the Provincial House of the Pietà province at Recanati. There is no history of St. Augustine's but very valuable information in the *Platea del Ritiro di S. Agostino della Pievetorina* and in the manuscript history of P. Egidio dei SS. Cuori, *Saggio di Storia della Provincia dei PP. Passionisti Chiamata della Madonna SS. della Pietà*, 1902.

His regard for the poor made him known as their father, especially during the winter famine of 1853 when he practically turned the monastery into a bakery and himself distributed bread to the hungry.⁴ The general made no error when at the opening of the First Provincial Chapter of the Pietà Province, held at Recanati in April, 1854, he ordered that John Dominick Tarlattini be reserved for the American foundation.

To accompany the new superior he selected a priest and a brother. Both were to make notable contributions to the progress of the foundation. Father John Luke Baudinelli was the first of the three Baudinelli brothers to go to America. Brother Jerome Mazzantini had been trained in carpentry and fine woodwork in Rome. Signs of his extraordinary craftsmanship are still to be found in the early foundations. This second group of Passionists left Rome in early June and arrived in Pittsburgh July 22, 1854. The installation of the commissary general took place a few days later. Calandri was the first to make his obedience and "gave an address analogous to the circumstances."⁵ Tarlattini brought with him further directives from the general for the Passionists in America.

When in October of 1852 we sent you to Pittsburgh, we gave you the promise that as soon as you would have a house in which you would be able to live according to the norms of our Institute, we would give you a Superior.⁶ The time has passed and now with the help of God and under the guidance and extraordinary co-operation of his Excellency, Bishop O'Connor, you have built a monastery sufficient for a religious family. God, the giver of every good gift, be glorified.

To our good brother, Bishop O'Connor, our sentiments of most sincere appreciation. To all of you we express our satisfaction by this letter. . . .

I am sending to govern you, in the capacity of Superior, the Very Reverend John Dominick of the Infant Jesus. For the past

⁴ Recanati, Monastery of the Pietà, Provincial Archives: *Platea*, 57-58.

⁵ *PA: Chronicles*, p. 15.

⁶ There can be no doubt that Calandri would have been confirmed as superior of the new house had he succeeded in the first two years. But his own letters and especially the opinion of O'Connor made it imperative to send another. Testa was being gracious in relieving him of office and was deeply impressed by his humble acceptance of the order. Cf. *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, Sept. 7, 1854.

three years he has ruled very laudably our retreat at Pievetorina. Being well qualified he would have been reelected had we not made known to the Fathers Capitular our intention to keep him free for the charge we now place upon him. We have every reason to expect that with God's help he will fulfill his office well. In each of you we are certain he will find ready docility.

This foundation, the very first of our Congregation in America, will be in all things thoroughly conformed to the spirit of our Institute which by his Rule and example our Blessed Founder has handed down to us. Thus will it find God's good pleasure, will be resplendent in good for the edification of the neighbor and will serve as the norm for the other foundations to be made in that country. May the Lord increase even in that far-off land the number of those destined to preach the glory of Christ and Him crucified.

Let each one consider that the success or the failure of our Congregation in that country depends upon this first attempt. Therefore, let each one feel duty-bound to so cooperate in this effort so as to establish this first house in a way that will secure the two ends of our Institute, namely, our own sanctification and the salvation of our neighbor. By the regular observance and by our attention to prayer, we are sanctified. By the example of our lives and by our apostolic ministry we sanctify others. Make no mistake here. Do not suppose you can fulfill the second end of the Institute efficaciously and lastingly if you have not carefully attended to the first.

Our life as it has been formed by our Blessed Founder is contemplative and active. It is both. If these two become disjointed the blessing of God is not upon us and neither the one nor the other end is obtained. Constant experience makes this clear to us. Just how much is to be given to the contemplative aspects of our life, and how much to the active apostolate beyond that which the Rules and Regulations prescribe, belongs to the superior to determine in individual cases. In deciding this he will listen to the opinions of the others and with them take counsel. The duty of the subject is obedience, recognizing in the will of the superior the will of God.⁷

In the next section of the letter the general discussed the question of the religious habit. He acknowledged the difficulties of the country and accepted the necessity of secular dress outside the monastery, but its style and quality were to be the same for

⁷ *AG:PSP* II-25, Testa to Religious in the U.S.A., June 16, 1854.

all. However, in the house and on the missions, and even outside in those places where it might be tolerated, they were enjoined to wear the religious garb. The general then concluded his directives with the admonition:

Let each one bear in mind how important a spirit of poverty is to our Institute. Remember that the Holy Rule or, more exactly, our Blessed Founder predicts the disastrous consequence of the violation of poverty: "Insane cupidity will throw all things into confusion." You must jealously guard and carefully observe in every detail that inestimable good, the common life.⁸

This letter marked the beginning of a new phase in the history of the foundation. With it the general, Anthony Testa, commenced to take a very close and a very direct part in the formation of the Order in America. Hereafter, he demanded frequent and exact reports. In his replies he revealed an amazing comprehension of the situation overseas and guided it with a sure hand. The success of Tarlattini's efforts is inconceivable apart from the constant and perspicacious guidance of Anthony Testa. If Tarlattini is rightly the Founder of the Order in America, its Father is Anthony of St. James, seventh successor of Paul of the Cross.

On the day of his installation or on the day following, Tarlattini presented himself to O'Connor with a letter of recommendation in which the general again expressed his particular joy at the return of O'Connor to the See of Pittsburgh, considering this as nothing less than a special dispensation of Divine Providence in favor not only of the people of Pittsburgh but also of the Passionists whom he had introduced into America. He continued:

According to the advice which I received in your valued letter wherein you apprise me of the necessity to appoint a new superior for my religious, I have selected and sent him to America. He is the bearer of this letter. Allow me to thank you from my heart for all the good which up to this moment you have done for my religious and at the same time I beseech you to continue to manifest your guidance and your help so as to bring to perfection a work which is truly yours and which I am in full hope will result in greater glory to God.

⁸ *Ibid.*

With Father John Dominick I am sending a young priest of good promise and a good brother. Now that we have a sufficient number to begin the regular observance proper to our Institute, I am confident, their being all united in one house and everything being well ordered in community life, there will be terminated those imprudences or little faults which occurred when they were separated and outside the advantages of regular observance. As the Lord will send young candidates of good will and as they have now two more to carry out the work, the novitiate can be organized, and thus the good to be done for others will in time be achieved and its fruits remain for the welfare of your diocese and that of others.⁹

Testa then took great care to emphasize a point he considered of primary importance. Taking into consideration the condition of the Church in America in this period of rapid expansion because of the ever-increasing flow of immigration, he feared the demands for regular parochial duty would prohibit the formation of the monastic life and thus render impossible the attainment of the primary ends of the Order. The point was discussed with O'Connor before the latter left Rome. The general would not neglect this opportunity to accentuate it.

I am pleased that the establishment of our religious in America is being made under your good auspices and I recall the sentiments which were expressed in our meeting, namely, that if they are to do well the religious must be permitted to live according to the tenor of their Institute. The novices have already begun the life by our Rule and I hope that they will be a consolation and a help to you.¹⁰

O'Connor took the measure of the man before him. He was pleased with the choice. In reply to the general's letter, he reassured him that the change was necessary and expressed confidence in the success of the foundation. He greatly regretted that the work which he so desired, the conducting of missions, had not yet begun. He endeavored many, many times to start that apostolate. He wrote:

As yet they [the community] have not begun the preaching of

⁹ *AG:PSP* II-26, Testa to O'Connor, June 17, 1854.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

missions because they still do not have a sufficient command of the language. None the less they have rendered themselves useful in many ways and their good example has been a source of edification to many. An important future is opening for the Church in this country, a future that is not without its dangers and reasons to fear but still one in which there is much to be gained for God. Our boasted lovers of liberty ply their trade here as elsewhere resolved to bring harm to religion but I have no doubt that the Church shall make great conquests. Your zealous community, I am sure, will have a great part in the accomplishment of this important work.¹¹

But at that particular time their part was very small and very difficult. This the general was soon to know from the reports of his new appointee.

Retrospect and Prospect

Before leaving Rome the new superior was charged to remit a complete detailed report on the internal and external circumstances of the community in America. He did this in a series of letters from July to November, 1854.

The general's first concern was the spirituality of his religious and the nature of the accusations of imprudent conduct. Tarlattini conferred with each of the men individually. He found that none of them had lost the religious spirit. The faults that had been committed had been exaggerated and concerned an expressed displeasure with the diocesan clergy for their opposition to the quest. No harm had been done either to religion or to the Order. Actually the Passionists were greatly esteemed by the people, particularly in Birmingham where the German people were giving them every possible aid.¹²

As for the language study, the situation was anomalous. For two years they had been giving their full attention to the struggle with English, which all, including the new arrivals, considered "a most difficult and blessed language." Now when they had made some little progress in it, especially Magno, they were surrounded by Germans. The Irish in the neighboring parish, St. John's, had

¹¹ AG:PSP II-30, O'Connor to Testa, Sept. 24, 1854.

¹² AG:PSP II-27, Tarlattini to Testa, July 26, 1854.

been forbidden to go to the monastery.¹³ Tarlattini directed Luke Baudinelli to defer the study of English and to learn German immediately in order to help the overburdened Parczyk at St. Michael's and to take care of the increasing crowds that were attending the monastery services. Furthermore, instructions in English were expensive. A good teacher worthy of the fee was difficult to find.¹⁴ Tarlattini proposed that a Passionist from England be obtained for this purpose, an objective far more difficult to fulfill than he had imagined.

His report contained little praise for either the location or the house. Both were far too small. "We have very little land and if the bishop does not give us more we will in a short time lose what solitude we now have."¹⁵ The situation was twice complicated by the lack of water and a proposed housing project which would bring homes adjacent to the monastery. Among the lots for this project was the one with Calandri's well, the only source of water on the hilltop. If the property went to the builders, so would the monastery's only supply of water. Tarlattini's first thought was to move outside the city and open a new foundation on a large and adequate tract of land.

Another situation which greatly disturbed him and also inclined him to this decision was the discovery that the contract with O'Connor for the property now possessed stipulated that should the Order abandon the location, the house and the land would revert to the diocese. Tarlattini, who feared that the increasing power of the nativist Know-Nothing party might result in open persecution of the Church and force the closing of the monastery, considered the stipulation prejudicial, since whatever they would have added to the buildings or the property would be lost. For these reasons he considered it wiser to move to a place where the danger would be less and where the solitude would be secure and the land abundant. The general considered the proposal altogether inadvisable. Similar proposals carried out in England had led to the saddest consequences.

¹³ *AG:PSP* II-29, Tarlattini to Testa, August 28, 1854. This was a new parish. O'Connor had offered it to the Passionists first but Calandri had refused.

¹⁴ The cost was a dollar a lesson. *AG:PSP* III-5, Tarlattini to Testa, June 4, 1855.

¹⁵ *AG:PSP* II-27, Tarlattini to Testa, July 26, 1854.

That the Bishop included in the contract the stipulation that the property is to revert to him should we leave, seems to me only a prudent precaution to keep the land in the hands of the Church and prevent its falling to the civil authorities. What you must be sure of is this—and I feel if you represent the matter to the Bishop properly he will hear you—namely, that the clause would not give a pretext to his successors to induce you either directly or indirectly to leave the property so that they could use it for a seminary or some other ecclesiastical institution. That would be the injustice and we do not want the Bishop to leave the door open to it.¹⁶

Nothing could be more discouraging to improvement of the land and monastery than an uncertain guarantee of retaining either. Once this was clarified, the superior was instructed to request additional property, and, if necessary, buy it. But under no circumstances were they to consider moving to another location. Such a move would endanger the entire program.

You must not think of building another house outside the city. How will you live? With what will you build it? For the present the proposal is not prudent. The same situation occurred in England and caused a decadence in religious spirit, the necessity to close one house and to reduce some others to simple residences without the regular observance.¹⁷

O'Connor was unable to donate any further property. Tarlattini was amazed to discover that from the sale of the fifty small lots on the parcel adjacent to the monastery the bishop would realize \$10,000. The Order could never equal that sum. However, O'Connor's continued and genuine interest in the progress of the foundation led him to hand over the property at a loss of some \$6,000.¹⁸ By the purchase, the superior secured solitude and obtained the much-needed water.

As for the monastery itself, while it had thirteen bedrooms, only eight could be used as such. One of the remaining rooms was reserved for the bishop, and the other four served a variety of needs—sacristy, reception and recreation. The religious family

¹⁶ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, March 17, 1855.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ *HKB*, Vol. XII, p. 837.

already numbered eight, and there were three postulants, two of whom were boarded with Fr. Stanislaus at St. Michael's. It was imperative to build. But this was impossible. Until the cathedral was completed they were prohibited from questing. From the Germans they could expect no further help since they were in the process of enlarging their church and hoped to open a school.

To add to their trials, the struggling community suffered a serious financial loss. Hoping that the situation could be remedied quickly and quietly, neither Calandri nor Parczyk, who was chiefly responsible, said a word about it to the new superior. When that hope dimmed, the fact was revealed—they had lost over \$4,000. No small sum in any day, it was an enormous loss to mendicants already in debt and without funds even for tomorrow's dinner. Tarlattini was greatly disturbed. He had suspected something was wrong but never imagined it could be so serious.

From the beginning I was never able to find out exactly how much money Father Stanislaus had put in the bank. In as much as the banks frequently fail in America I advised him not to put everything in one bank but keep a third at home, another third in one bank and the remainder in a second bank. But to no avail. All the more did I urge this arrangement since his banker had already been jailed once. . . .¹⁹

It was not that the admonition fell on deaf ears. It fell too late. Parczyk knew he was unable to rearrange his account—the bank had failed a second time. Had all the money been theirs, the misfortune would have been grave enough, but \$2,000 belonged to the poor German people from whom Father Stanislaus had borrowed it at 3%. As the bank was giving him 6%, he could use the money at a 3% gain. Tarlattini hesitated to have the banker jailed a second time and to take legal action against him. News reports of the incident would be to the detriment of their good name. Moreover, since the banker was a Protestant, anti-Catholic bigotry could make capital of a situation involving not only foreigners and Catholics, but beggar-priests. Threats had already been made to prevent the Passionists from opening on Mount Oliver. This was no time to shake a hornet's nest.

¹⁹ *AG:PSP*, Tarlattini to Testa, January 12, 1855.

The general, who regarded the unhappy result of the investment as a manifestation of God's displeasure over what he, Testa, considered an attempt to establish a fixed income (an arrangement contrary to poverty), urged action to be taken only if there were any hope of safeguarding the parishioners' account. At the same time he cautioned the superior against undue harshness with Father Stanislaus, since the latter, acting in good faith and pressed for funds, had hoped to improve the meager resources of the community. The experience was a lesson to all for the future.²⁰

"A Woman with Eggs on Her Head"

As a result, no action was taken. The Order sustained the loss, but the lesson was rather expensive. And the community got the point in the pit of their stomachs. Part of the money had been set aside to provide for the winter. Now they were completely dependent upon alms. Tarlattini reported:

Just right now we are living in some ways like the Theatines in the time of St. Cajetan. We are completely dependent upon Divine Providence. But God does not forget us. To give you an example—this very morning, Wednesday, the brother came to my room to tell me we have nothing for dinner. A few moments later a lady came to the door carrying a basket of eggs on her head. Later in the day our portion for tomorrow arrived. Still we suffer not a little in this regard. All we had besides the eggs was some red cabbage with a little salt and vinegar made from beer. Oil? I haven't had a taste of it since I left our monastery near Liverpool. The one condiment in use in these parts is butter, something I haven't had since we had dinner with the Pope at John and Paul's. The Germans are good and they bring all they have but, they themselves are poor.²¹

And, as he had remarked in a previous letter, there are no fixed hours for donations of food. Nor could poor men predetermine quality or quantity. Many times, even on holidays, the community was content with a plate of soup. They were completely deprived of wine which was no little hardship to Latins. He asked permission to supply for this lack with the use of beer, especially

²⁰ UC:P Letters I, Testa to Tarlattini, February 24, 1855.

²¹ AG:PSP II-29, Tarlattini to Testa, August 28, 1854.

since the water was very poor. Furthermore, it was necessary to serve meat once or twice during Advent when other foodstuffs were lacking, since fish was not readily available and was expensive when it could be bought. He hastened to disabuse the general of the idea that everybody had everything in America.

Your Paternity may think that we live in abundance here but it is not so. Not once on a feast day have we been able to have the three meat pittances and on some we have to be content with a plate of soup. And in view of the very bad harvest the Germans who have been bringing us food have to think of themselves. We are fourteen persons, and we are without provisions for tomorrow.²²

Some relief was found when Albinus Magno was sent for the second time to collect monies in Philadelphia. Bishop Neuman supported the collection until he, like O'Connor, was prevailed upon by the local pastors. At any rate, Tarlattini was soon convinced that the quest would not be successful in America. The people here were of an entirely different mentality. This mentality was partly engendered by Protestantism, especially Calvinism, which regarded wealth as the sign of God's blessings for the industrious. Where work was to be had for all, only the lazy man begged. There was practically no appreciation of the renunciation of worldly affluence in favor of a life of total spiritual influence based on voluntary poverty. Tarlattini wrote this opinion to Rome:

Some are of the opinion that poverty is a sufficient title for making the quest. This is wrong. I think you can quest from one end of America to the other under the title of poverty and you will not pick up a hundred scudi. Reasons for making a collection have to be connected with some public good like colleges or churches.²³

The American wanted to see some actual result. Practical-minded, he was concerned with an individual's work only as far as it brought some benefit to himself or his family. A further thing Tarlattini noted was that, contrary to the practice in Italy, here "once you appeared in one place for a collection they did not want

²² *AG:PSP* II-31, Tarlattini to Testa, October 28, 1854.

²³ *AG:PSP* II-4, Tarlattini to Testa, May 13, 1855.

to see you back again, at least not for awhile (sic).”²⁴ But his chief reason for his misgivings about the quest was this:

What I fear most about so much questing is that it will bring religion itself in ill-repute. A priest who is very close to us told Father Albinus if we want to keep our good name we should especially in the beginning quest as little as possible. And another who likewise holds us in high esteem told me just the other day not to make the quest but seek to manage by what we get from the parish and our church and other spiritual works. I told him that I cannot change the setup of the Institute. This is the way we have been established and rather than introduce fixed sources of income I will return to Italy. But why are the priests and bishops displeased if we seek assistance by begging? They themselves live in no other way but by the free alms of the faithful and whatever there is of religion in America, their churches, their seminaries, it all comes the same way. I feel this problem is going to be a bit hard on us and hold back our work.²⁵

Nor did it help the work when, without seeking his opinion, the provincial in England, Vincent Grotti,²⁶ in the summer of the following year announced that he was sending Brother Alphonsus Zeegers to America precisely to take up the quest. “Patience,” cried Tarlattini. “God knows how great is our need, and do we have to have some one come from England to take up a collection?”²⁷ Again he protested to the general that neither in England nor in Italy did they seem to understand the American mentality, nor did they seem to comprehend anything of the enormous burden laid on the shoulders of the poor Catholic people who were the sole support of the Church. And what displeased him most was that the American bishops were unappreciated and “taken for lightweights and seekers of wealth.”²⁸

He did not blame the fourteen bishops who refused Zeegers permission to collect in their dioceses nor the bishop who threatened to excommunicate him if he set foot in his territory.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ Vincent Grotti succeeded Eugene Martorelli in 1854. For his early career in England with Dominic Barberi, cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, Chapters VI-IX *passim*.

²⁷ AG:PSP III-4, Tarlattini to Testa, May 13, 1855.

²⁸ AG:PSP III-6, Tarlattini to Testa, September 17, 1855.

Of course the correct solution of their problem was in their proper apostolate: the conducting of missions and retreats. O'Connor had urged this from the time of their arrival. While the general agreed with him, he found it impossible to send the men from England whom O'Connor requested. The alternative was greater attention to language study and sermon preparation for the missions.

It was decided that the quest would take the form of a collection for the building of the church and the retreat, but would not be considered a regular means of support as in Italy. Brother Alphonsus Zeegers was not allowed to quest except in the company of a priest or brother from the American foundation and then the collection could not be specified for England, but simply for the Passionist work in the States. After one year, when he returned to England, the superior promised to give an offering for the monasteries there which would not be less than one-third of the total amounts collected. Meanwhile, as he was an experienced carpenter and had already aided in building the houses in England, Tarlattini found Zeegers a valuable assistant in completing the work on the new wing which was in progress when the latter arrived in Pittsburgh.²⁹

These were the problems and this the situation John Dominick Tarlattini inherited that hot summer morning in July, 1854, when Calandri acknowledged his credentials and installed him as superior of the new foundation. The future of the Order in America would be determined by Tarlattini's approach to these problems and his comprehension of the American setting. That the beginning would be extremely difficult, that there would be much opportunity for penance and sacrifice, he had no doubt. With all the more reason could he write six months after his arrival, "Only God knows with what reluctance I left Italy. But I am here. That I stay here is His Will. Hence I will remain doing what little good I can."³⁰ But however great the difficulties, he was not blind to the possibilities; while he had long moments of deep discouragement he did not doubt that the work would succeed. He assured the general:

²⁹ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, May 15, 1856. Tarlattini experimented with a farm as a means of lessening the financial burdens. It was in operation for a year and merely complicated matters. Cf. *PA:M Chronicles*, pp. 49-50, 51-52.

³⁰ *AG:PSP III-2*, Tarlattini to Testa, February 4, 1855.

The Rule of Blessed Paul of the Cross can be observed in America just as much as it is in Italy and as a matter of fact just at the present we are keeping it with somewhat greater hardships than you have there. But that does not matter. What does matter is that the Rule be observed. Here there is a different manner of doing things; the mentality is different. To know just how things will go we simply have to learn by experiment.³¹

Neither did Calandri feel that the obstacles were insurmountable, although he was much more inclined to depression. Still, he expressed his conviction to the general stating that "there is a vast field of opportunity opening before the Passionists in America. Establishing ourselves here according to the Rule we profess, we shall be able to accomplish a great amount of good. In fact we can do more than is possible to us in Italy itself."³²

Testing the Spirit of American Youth

When the Passionists made their first appearance in America and declared their intention of establishing themselves in it, they were looked upon, we will not say, as fools, but as persons destitute of prudence. The question was often asked, "How will they ever be able to persuade the American youth so much imbued with the spirit of independence, so much opposed to the spirit of penance and mortification, so much intent on self-aggrandizement, and so prone to look upon anything that would tend to debar them the pleasures of this world as the height of folly, to follow in their footsteps, to embrace their Institute, to deprive themselves of all the means left at their disposal to acquire riches and honors?" It was considered an impossibility.³³

This cheerless sentiment so uncomplimentary to American youth was recorded by Gaudentius Rossi in 1861. Not quite seven years had passed since the first recruit had been vested in the Passionist habit. In the interim, fifty-three others had followed him and twenty-four had pronounced their religious vows. Two additions to the house on Mount Oliver had been deemed necessary.

³¹ AG:PSP II-38, Tarlattini to Testa. The letter has no date, but from internal evidence it had to be written between January 12 and February 7, 1855.

³² AG:PSP II-8, Calandri to Testa, March 12, 1853.

³³ PA:M Platea, p. 26.

A third foundation had been opened and the fourth was under consideration. No one had expected this, neither Rome nor Pittsburgh. Not only did it prove the early pessimism unfounded but it disproved conclusively that "the Passionist with his sandled feet and rough habit might suit the Italian taste but never that of an American."³⁴ Yet it was no exaggeration to say that everything depended upon the reaction of the American youth to the Passionist way of life. The general was never overoptimistic. It was for this reason that he asked O'Connor to agree to accept the expense of the return passage for all his men should the expedition fail. At the same time, in order that they might not miss a single prospect, he expressly ordered Calandri to begin the organization of the novitiate immediately.

Since it depends upon the General and his Consultors to designate a house of the novitiate and since we do not want that you should delay the acceptance of novices as soon as any present themselves, we are designating the first house you shall open as the novitiate. In the meantime, any temporary residence and even the Episcopal Residence itself where according to the contract you are to be received can be considered as the novitiate.³⁵

As a matter of fact, the first postulant was accepted in the bishop's house—the twenty-one-year-old English instructor O'Connor had provided for them. He used to walk eight miles a day back and forth from his home to O'Connor's residence in order to teach and to be taught. Since he knew Latin fairly well, Magno began the philosophy studies while Calandri gave instructions on the religious life.³⁶ By March of 1854 there were four young men coming daily to the bishop's house on Grant Hill where they followed some of the acts of the monastic observance and were instructed in Latin. Two of these aspirants were sent with Father Albinus to Loretto when O'Connor transferred him there from Harmon's Bottom, where he had been instructing one of O'Connor's theologians.³⁷ At Loretto the first preparatory school was

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ Faculties and Directives, No. IV: see footnote 36 in Chapter II.

³⁶ We do not have the name of this interesting and zealous young man. Unfortunately he did not persevere in his desire to join the Order. Cf. *AG:PSP* II-6, Magno to Testa, December 28, 1852.

³⁷ *PA:Dio, Letters*, O'Connor to Heyden, March 5, 1853.

begun. The postulants lived in the rectory with Magno and the pastor, Joseph Gallagher, following a fixed horarium of study and prayer; O'Connor himself paid their room and board.³⁸ Meanwhile, two others joined Calandri in Pittsburgh. At this time he determined to open the novitiate and give these youths the Passionist habit.

His first thought was St. Michael's in Birmingham. He had several reasons for wishing to locate the novitiate there. He would in this way be able to gather all his family together, since Parczyk was already there as pastor, with Brother Lawrence assisting him. They would be nearer the site where the monastery was to be erected, they would have somewhat more solitude than in the city, and they would be supported by the German people who had already asked for them. Furthermore, Calandri objected to the training Magno was giving the postulants at Loretto. Believing him too accommodating to American taste because he permitted an American breakfast in place of the piece of bread and bit of wine prescribed by the Rule, Calandri wished to unite them in the same discipline and training under his vigilance as master of novices.³⁹ After making the habits and sending some furniture to Birmingham, he was disappointed when, on closer inspection, he found the rectory inadequate. A man who always feared a debt, he would not permit the thought of repair but turned back to the bishop's house.

I went myself to the rectory where Father Stanislaus and Brother Lawrence live to arrange things for the Novitiate. There are difficulties. The rooms (eight in all) are not very good. The chapel? It would take a good sum of money to furnish it. I informed the Bishop of all this and he does not oppose our beginning the novitiate in his house. For my part I think it is better to begin there. The rooms are better and he has a good chapel. If your Paternity is in accord with this, send, I beseech you, as quickly as you can, another priest and a brother to help me.⁴⁰

³⁸ These two were Aloysius Gregg and Patrick McCarthy; Calandri spoke of sending at least two others later in the year but we have no evidence that he did.

³⁹ Calandri, faced with the expensive quality of the wine which was a rarity in the area, proposed to give a "little bread and a cup of beer" for breakfast: *AG:PSP* II-16, Calandri to Testa, September 18, 1853.

⁴⁰ *AG:PSP* II-14, Calandri to Testa, July 7, 1853.

This was in July. He fixed September for the vestition of the six postulants. But in August the superior's plans were frustrated once again—this time by the departure of O'Connor for his new Diocese of Erie. Calandri himself had to leave when the bishop did. He moved in with Parczyk and decided to wait for the opening of the monastery, which after all had been promised for Christmas, before installing the novitiate. Had he known that this occasion would be delayed until the following June, he probably would have assumed the expenses of repairing the rooms and chapel in St. Michael's, Birmingham. The delay was discouraging to the postulants as well as to their master. In March, the mutual murmuring between the Irish and the Germans caused Calandri to lose his "English" postulants.⁴¹

There remained only the two postulants with Magno at Loretto and a German cleric-novice, Theodore Loebmiller, who was Father Stanislaus' recruit and lived with him at St. Michael's while preparing to enter the novitiate. There was hope also that the two orphans, the Felden twins, Thomas and William, who were also living at St. Michael's, would eventually apply for entrance as brothers.⁴² One other postulant sought admission to the brotherhood, John Feld. When the monastery was finally opened, he and Theodore Loebmiller were the first native vocations.

On June 25 Calandri held the long-awaited ceremony, when he vested Theodore Loebmiller as Bernard of the Pure Heart of Mary. The ceremony was public and solemn. It was a day of triumph for the German people of Birmingham who had from the start so generously contributed to the progress of the foundation. They crowded into the little monastery chapel. Father Stanislaus preached in German. They sang the litany and the Te Deum in the same language. Thus did the Passionist novitiate begin in America.⁴³

When Tarlattini arrived he was surprised to find but one novice. The general, however, was not disappointed and he warned the new superior against haste in admitting subjects.

⁴¹ AG:PSP II-27, Calandri to Testa, March 24, 1854. Cf. PA:M, *The Chronicles*, p. 16.

⁴² Loebmiller was vested and left within the year. The Felden twins were taken from the overcrowded orphanage maintained by the Sisters of Mercy on Mount Oliver. William Felden was vested as a cleric and left within the year. Thomas entered as a brother and was professed but left after several years.

⁴³ *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, Vol. XI, 117-132, July 1, 1854.

That they have but one novice is no shame. And do not you be too easy in admitting subjects. If they do not know Latin be sure that they at least have the capacity to learn it, at least the essentials. But above everything else see to it with the greatest solicitude that they get hold of the spirit of the Institute.⁴⁴

Calandri was named master of novices, with the youthful Luke Baudinelli as vice-master. Tarlattini experienced difficulty in persuading Calandri to accept the post. His reluctance was prompted by a genuine sense of inadequacy for the responsibility of that office and an ardent desire to return to the mission field. Only through the intervention of the general did he accept and remain in office until the Province was created. In October the first brother was vested, John Feld, as well as Magno's two cleric novices from Loretto, William Gregg and Lawrence McCarthy.

Once the missions were initiated, the applications increased. The missions and the example of the missionaries proved to be the only means the Order had for obtaining recruits. Both the numbers received and the diversity of localities from which the novices came give testimony to the effectiveness of these Passionist assets.⁴⁵ Within five years forty-five had been received and twenty-one of them professed. Still, although it was imperative to expand, the general would not permit it until he was certain that this first community was firmly established. Pittsburgh was still a pilot project. Not until he was sure of their maturity and experience would he permit them to start other foundations. He wrote to Albinus Magno in a letter intended for all:

Do not be in a hurry to increase members. Few but good. In England they committed two errors: they admitted the youths quickly without sufficient trial and education, and they opened too many houses. The result of the first mistake was that many left the Order once they were required to do some work. The second error must now be rectified. Two houses have had to be closed and perhaps a third.⁴⁶

Few men learn as much from error as did Anthony of St. James. Just as he had prevented the possible abandonment of his

⁴⁴ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, September 7, 1854.

⁴⁵ In this period recruits came from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, New Haven, Hartford, Louisville, St. Louis, Pittsburgh and Toronto (Canada).

⁴⁶ *UC:P*, Testa to Magno, September 29, 1855.

men in America (as had happened in Australia) by a precise formulation of terms in the contract with O'Connor, so now he precluded the sad consequences of the mistakes made in England by insisting on exact and careful training before any thought of expansion. He instructed Tarlattini to hold up admissions to the novitiate if necessary until the first subjects were well founded in the spirit of the Institute. He went so far as to suggest that the brother-novices be sent to England for their training rather than to hazard another foundation without adequate proof of the soundness of the vocations already received. Pius Cayro, vicar-general under Anthony Testa, summed up the teaching of the general on novitiate training in a letter to the superior in America, in which he cautioned him to use all diligence to prevent the admission of any who were unfit for the strict observance of the Passionist Rule:

. . . examine well the vocation of the young men; study their nature, their inclinations, their ability. Try them hard in the novitiate. Be rigorous in testing their spirit. Make a good selection without human respect.⁴⁷

And when the novitiate was scarcely a year old and there were but five or six novices, the greatest of the Passionist generals after the Founder himself admonished the superior and all his subjects in America:

We are not Italians. And beginning with this principle they commenced to drop out various observances of the Rule and other practices which they considered minutiae. This but brings relaxation, a severing of dependence and a pretentious liberty. In a word—decadence.

Keep far from such thinking as from a blight. The Rule is for the entire world. Vows are bonds. They hold us in place no matter where we are. If we break loose, if we fail in what is our duty before God, He will take away His grace in whatever part of the world He finds us. If God takes away His grace—then what?

The further you are away from the center, the more you are exposed to dangers. Fidelity is all the more necessary. Only thus will God be propitious.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ *UC:P. Letters I*, Cayro to Tarlattini, October 23, 1862. Pius Cayro had become acting general upon the death of Testa the previous August.

⁴⁸ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Magno, September 29, 1855. The general stated that he intended the letter for the superior and all the religious.

At the same time that he insisted on the observance of the Rule, the general never intended that the principle of adaptation be discounted. It was he who took the Order outside of Italy. From the beginning of this international movement he clarified the principle for himself and for the entire Order. The occasion for the clarification arose as a result of a letter from Seraphin Giammaria, the master of novices in the first non-Italian novitiate at Château d'Ere in Belgium.⁴⁹ Giammaria accused Dominic Barberi before the general of too great a laxity in accommodating the Rule and customs of the Congregation to the new novices on the grounds that "we must adapt ourselves to the nation."⁵⁰ What was important, according to Giammaria, was that we make the novices adapt themselves to the Rule and not trim the Rule to their size. Otherwise they would never become true Passionists. Anthony Testa's reply was a masterpiece. He made certain the necessity of understanding both principles: observance of the Rule and adaptation to the nation. It was not a literal observance of the Rule that mattered but rather the comprehension of its spirit and the importance of instilling this into the minds and hearts of the young. But this had to be done without destroying national character or temperament.

I do not think [he wrote to Giammaria] you understand well the principle "we must adapt ourselves to the nation" nor the other principle "we must keep intact the system and the spirit of the Order." Both are true. Only if they are misunderstood do they seem to be opposite as if one destroys the other. The truth of the matter is to the contrary. Rightly interpreted they accord in perfect harmony.⁵¹

In order to understand them correctly, Testa urged the master to reflect well on the intentions of the Founder. Paul of the Cross certainly did not intend to limit the Congregation to the confines of the Italian peninsula. Nor did the Church in approving the

⁴⁹ *GA:P.S.J.* VI, Giammaria to Testa, April 4, 1841. Giammaria was selected to accompany Barberi on this first experiment. He later became secretary general and died in that office. For the history of this period in Belgium, cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 201-239.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ Testa to Giammaria, April 24, 1841. The letter is edited in *Fontes II*, pp. xii-xiii from which we make our translation.

Order impose any such restriction. The world is its limit. "He [Paul of the Cross] intended that there should be French Passionists, English Passionists, Flemish Passionists, Russian and even Laplanders. . . . Those who intend to keep the Order inside Italy are opposed to the mind of the Founder and have not the Spirit of God." Having clarified this point, the general proceeded to explain the principle of adaptation with admirable regard for ethnic and cultural diversity.

Intending that there be Passionists in every country in the world, did he [the Founder] intend that in each nation they adopt Italian ways and customs? That they eat Italian food? Think like Italians? Speak Italian? Act like Italians? Certainly not! Just as Christ wills Christianity to be extended to the whole world not by destroying what is proper to each nation but by perfecting it, so too our Venerable Founder does not intend to make Belgians into Italian Passionists, but rather that Belgians be Belgian Passionists, and French, French Passionists. He wishes too to perfect not to destroy what is proper to each. You cannot destroy the national character. Your work will be useless; you will fail if you intend to make only Italian Passionists. You will never make them Passionists at all.⁵²

But how was this to be accomplished? Testa immediately forestalled Giammaria's next objection. "Must we change the Rule and make other Regulations? No. This too would be a mistake. Christ did not make one law for the Europeans and another for the Americans. No matter where we are we must keep His law, but in all those things that are not contrary to His law Christ adapts Himself to the nature, the manner of thought, the usages, the genius, the culture of each nation. In other words He seeks to make men truly Christian everywhere and nothing less." So, too, with the Passionist Rule. It must be observed by everyone, everywhere. In those things that do not pertain to the observance of that Rule, adaptation is necessary. It would be foolish to think otherwise. But should it so happen that a particular point of the Rule could not be observed in certain countries, then what would be the procedure? The general's reply to this objection was pointed: "That is why we have superiors!" He reminded the master of novices that the Rule is in the category of positive, not natural, law. No indi-

⁵² *Ibid.*

vidual may take it upon himself to change a single point of the Rule. That belongs to the lawfully constituted authority. The superiors, especially the major superiors, in consultation with the religious, will determine when and to what extent a dispensation is necessary and whether or not the Order should continue to expand in a specific locality.

Testa concluded this lengthy and important letter by returning to an insistence on the importance of the spirit of the Rule, particularly in the training of novices of other nations.

You must not restrict yourself to the letter of the Rule. You must insist on the spirit. See to it that they catch hold of the spirit of the Order. . . . In doing this great charity is wanted, much discretion, a know-how that will enable you to blend this spirit with the genius, the traits, the education, the national character of the novices.

If this sounded like weakness, if it appeared too condescending, too ineffective, if it seemed to lessen the opportunities to mortify the novice, to test and try him, the general countered by presenting the one formula for success in the important office of master: "When the master has won their hearts he may do what he wills with them. . . . He may humiliate them, mortify them, but above all he will get them to take hold of the spirit of the Rule and the Institute."⁵³

In initiating the Order in England, Belgium, France and America, Anthony of St. James was guided by these two basic principles: that the novices be trained in the system and the spirit of the Congregation, and that the founders in all these countries adapt to the nation. From the beginning to the end of his long regime of almost twenty-four years, he worked to have these principles understood and applied. Thus in the very year of his death, in one of his last letters to America, he declared,

You must select as Master of Novices one who knows how to communicate the spirit of the Congregation, making adaptation as far as possible to the genius of the nation, not offending or harming the national character but blending it with the Passionist spirit.⁵⁴

⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, January 24, 1862.

Bungling the Primary Purpose

For the information of posterity let us at least mention, if we cannot fully describe, some of the principal difficulties which our first Italian Religious pioneers had to encounter at their first arrival and settlement in this country. In the first place we must mention their total ignorance of the English Language which is the language of the country of their adoption. . . . Not one of them could understand or speak a single word. . . .⁵⁵

And yet, as Rossi continued, "these three religious were brought by the bishop into his diocese as missionary priests." Their primary object was to preach. That this total ignorance of the language was no small obstacle and caused considerable pain and inconvenience "can only be appreciated by those who have in similar circumstances experienced it."⁵⁶ Although they began language classes at once, almost three years passed before they had acquired a sufficient fluency to permit them to ascend the mission platform. Nevertheless, there never was any doubt in the minds of either Calandri or O'Connor that the conduct of missions was the dominant fundamental purpose to which they had to dedicate themselves. The same object was underscored in the Rome Agreement drawn up by the general. In his first report Calandri informed Testa: "The city of Pittsburgh is anxious for the preaching of missions. . . . The most sure way to avoid the danger of having to close down our houses as happened in England is to make this foundation and build our monastery by means of the missions. Once the people know us and come to see that we want nothing else but to work for their spiritual advancement they will not make any scruple about handing out the necessary means to build our Church and monastery."⁵⁷

When O'Connor saw the great difficulties they were having with the language, he offered them on more than one occasion three good parishes.⁵⁸ Calandri accepted only one, St. Michael's, and

⁵⁵ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 10.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ *AC:PSP II-5*, Calandri to Testa, November 25, 1852.

⁵⁸ The three parishes: St. Mary's in Lawrenceville, St. Michael's in Birmingham and St. John's in the same locality. The story of these parishes has been told in the previous chapter. St. Mary's and St. John's were founded in 1854, St. Michael's in 1847. Cf. Lambing, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-158, 129-132, 219.

that because these people were in real need, devoid of a pastor who could speak their language. Rather than accept parochial duties, he proposed to remain in the bishop's house until they were prepared to begin their apostolate. Only then did he expect to consider building plans. Previous chapters have detailed how he became involved in that hazardous work so contrary to his ability or inclination. O'Connor himself was sincerely desirous for the Passionists to begin their proper work. He proposed a carefully prepared plan to Testa in December 1852—a plan which was commendable on several points. It would enable him to provide for the annual retreat for his clergy about which he always took particular care. He would also invigorate the spiritual life of his diocese, and at the same time offer the new Order an excellent opportunity to make itself and its work known to the Church in America. One further purpose prompted his program: he would avoid what he could never wholeheartedly accept—the quest.

I do not think there is a better way [he wrote to the general] or one more certain of success than to send here two missionaries from England who know the language well and the customs of the people. They will conduct a round of spiritual exercises beginning with the retreat for the clergy. After this they will give a mission in the Cathedral and follow it by missions in the various parishes throughout the diocese. In this manner not only will they accomplish great good but will also fix the attention of the people on the Order. Once this work is done, there will not be the least difficulty not only to obtain the financial help to build the house but once built to maintain it.⁵⁹

To clinch the proposal and prevent any hesitation on the general's part, O'Connor offered to bring the missionaries over at his own expense; and if the general did not wish them to remain permanently in the States, he would also cover their return passage. But neither was he selling himself short. He requested men of the first quality. Not only must they possess outstanding ability as preachers, "veramente bravi," but they must likewise be religious of genuine merit. He suggested Ignatius Spencer. "His name, his character and his piety augur much good." But O'Connor knew Spencer was no Lacordaire. His fame and his piety attracted the

⁵⁹ *AG:PSP* II-7, O'Connor to Testa, December 29, 1852.

crowds more than his eloquence. Spencer should be accompanied by a man capable of "preaching with vehemence and power."⁶⁰

The bishop's plan was to get under way during Lent of the following year. Nothing was calculated to do the Order more good at that particular time or to save Calandri from much trouble and embarrassment. There is no record, however, that the general ever discussed the matter with Martorelli, the provincial in England. He was wary of sending Spencer who he felt would use the occasion to propagate his Crusade throughout America.⁶¹ While he agreed the plan had genuine merit, unfortunately, for the American project, he vetoed it.

Your idea to begin the foundation with the Spiritual Exercises and the mission is an excellent one but I do not see how I can send anyone from England. Circumstances are such there that were we to let go even a couple of men there would be the danger of having to abandon the whole Island or at least to close two or three houses. As for Ignatius Spencer, he is the superior of one house and provincial consultor. He cannot absent himself; besides, he is not much of a preacher.⁶²

For his religious in America there was destined to be no easy way. Both Magno and Calandri wrote to urge the acceptance of O'Connor's program. The general had nothing more to offer them than his advice to apply themselves more assiduously to language study. It was after he received this disappointing refusal that O'Connor appointed Parczyk to St. Michael's, sent Magno to Loretto and did all in his power to persuade Calandri to accept the school and parish at Lawrenceville.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹ In 1850 Ignatius Spencer began contacting Protestants everywhere, urging them to make a special effort at prayer for unity. Later he organized "The Association of Prayers and Good Works for the Conversion of Those Who Are Separated from the Holy Catholic Church but Especially for England" and obtained Pius IX's special blessing and indulgences for the association. From 1850 to 1864 he traveled through Europe and England and Ireland, preaching his "Crusade." The ecumenical spirit and work of Spencer would make an interesting study for our times. There is nothing on the subject except a little section in Pius Devine, C.P., *Life of Father Ignatius of St. Paul, Passionist*. London 1866. For some references to the first years of Spencer's apostolate for unity, cf. Charles, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 449-477, *passim*.

⁶² *PA: Diocesan Archives*, Chancellor's Files: Passionists, Testa to O'Connor, February 27, 1853.

In the following year, when it was expected that the monastery would finally be available, he expressed his intention to designate it as the center for the annual clergy retreats. The first one was to open immediately after he gave the Passionists the possession of the new building. Magno and Calandri were to share the direction and preaching. At the last moment, however, neither they nor the monastery was ready. O'Connor invited Bishop Timon of Buffalo and the retreat was conducted at O'Connor's residence in Pittsburgh. Magno was retained as retreat director. One of the permanent results of the retreat was the friendship which developed between the Bishop of Buffalo and Father Albinus. It led to the opening of the second foundation at Dunkirk, New York.

In November of that same year, O'Connor arrived in Rome for the declaration of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and again he strongly urged the general to send missionaries from England. His experience with the clergy retreat had convinced him that the men in the States would not be ready for some time to begin the work for which he had brought them to his diocese. As his cathedral would be consecrated the following year, again he presented an excellent opportunity for the Order in America: to prepare both the clergy and the laity for the occasion by diocesan-wide retreats and missions. The final mission would be in the new cathedral and end on the day of consecration. As Tarlattini indicated to the general, since almost all of the American hierarchy would be present for the consecration, the cathedral mission offered a unique occasion to interest other bishops in their work and prepare the way for a greater apostolate and further foundations. The general did not give O'Connor a definite reply but wrote immediately to England requesting two men. At the insistence of O'Connor, Spencer was one of them.⁶³ In January O'Connor came home—alone. When he told Tarlattini that the general had again refused him, the superior wrote bitterly to Rome:

Just yesterday the Bishop told me of your resolve not to send the missionaries. . . . Patience! Disappointment upon disappointment! . . . Would it have been such a great difficulty? Twelve days to come and twelve days to return and one month for the work. In less

⁶³ Cf. *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, March 17, 1855.

than two months they could have been here and back again and not have one worry about expense.

Send Vincent [Grotti] to Corfú and it will take much more time with much less good for the Congregation whereas here the advantage would be very great. In the critical circumstances in which I find myself I placed all my hope in this event . . . as Monsignor O'Connor himself said it would have been a splendid occasion to make us known and esteemed and wanted.⁶⁴

The general replied that he had not denied O'Connor's request but had written at once to England. Before he had a reply the bishop had already left Rome. Testa had hoped O'Connor would himself speak to Grotti in Liverpool to make some definite arrangements. He explained his own position further: "Since neither do they have an abundance of men, and they have their obligations to the bishops there, I could not impose on the provincial and order him to send the men. I made it conditional. I could not do otherwise."⁶⁵

When he did have his answer from England, it was not favorable. Grotti could free no one until May at the earliest and perhaps not until June. Since Testa did not want the cathedral mission to slip from his hands, he instructed Tarlattini to inquire if it would be possible to hold up the consecration until the man could get there from England. Meanwhile Grotti was directed to inform Pittsburgh about the exact time the missionaries, Spencer and Rossi, would arrive. Grotti procrastinated. He had not the least comprehension of the pressures which Tarlattini was enduring. By the time he finally wrote, it was too late. O'Connor had turned elsewhere. The mission was scheduled for June 10-24 and the Redemptorists were engaged to conduct it.

Grotti's letter enraged Tarlattini. He could not send the missionaries but he was sending Brother Alphonsus Zeegers to take up a collection! And the real reason for his writing was to tell the superior that Zeegers was on his way.⁶⁶ Disgruntled, impatient and discouraged, Tarlattini put matters clearly to the general. Nothing

⁶⁴ AG:PSP III-2, Tarlattini to Testa, February 4, 1855. Tarlattini was thinking only of the cathedral mission.

⁶⁵ UC:P Letters I, Testa to Tarlattini, March 17, 1855.

⁶⁶ AG:PSP III-4, Tarlattini to Testa, May 13, 1855.

grieved him more than all this writing, these promises, these reversals. The opportunity was lost, the future dim.

Unless we have someone from England who knows the language well we cannot begin our work. . . . I cannot even hear confessions yet. Father Anthony confesses but. . . . Father Albinus is the only one who can begin to do some little work but he is alone and, like me, discouraged. Father Luke [Baudinelli] preaches in German and is more eagerly listened to than Father Stanislaus. But I cannot have him [Father Luke] start on the English until he is more proficient in the German. Except for him I would have no hope of our ever beginning the English missions. But as I have urged previously, if at least one could come from England, then with Father Albinus some kind of a beginning could be made. Otherwise we are going to sit here for years before we give a single mission.⁶⁷

And that was exactly what they were being accused of: doing nothing. Tarlattini had more reasons than one for wanting to begin the work—and to thwart calumny was not the least. They had been in the country for almost three years and had made a poor showing. They were preparing to build a second and third wing on the monastery. They wanted a church. For what? In order “to silence the voice of calumny and remove a prejudice which existed in the minds of many otherwise well-disposed persons, by means of which they greatly underrated the value of having a religious community in their midst,” it was urgent to begin. The monastery chronicler continued:

As this is an utilitarian age in which everything is turned into account—these persons could not understand what so many persons were doing in that “big house” on the hill. . . . Hence the oft-repeated calumny of Protestants was echoed by Catholics: that we were “lazy monks.”⁶⁸

Testa was as disappointed as his commissary. He expressed

⁶⁷ *Ibid.* Luke Baudinelli had a phenomenal command of language. He became as fluent in English as he was in German. His younger brother, John Baptist, likewise did well in both, and the third brother, John Philip, took up Spanish as well as English. Magno eventually learned to speak without a foreign accent. Calandri always had a bit of difficulty.

⁶⁸ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 18. Cf. also pp. 10-12.

displeasure because O'Connor had withdrawn the cathedral mission from the Passionists. He doubted that the bishop had really intended it for them; otherwise he would have insisted more forcefully. This surprised Tarlattini. He defended O'Connor and clarified a very important point for the general. "The American way is not to insist upon a project but simply to put the proposition forward and let it go at that . . . and so much is it true that he wanted us that when I told him it was still possible they might come he was ready to cancel the arrangements he had already concluded with the Liguorians."⁶⁹

And if the general wondered why Calandri and Magno were not prepared to take the mission, he begged him to "realize we are surrounded by Germans. Rarely do you see the Irish in our chapel. And the steep hill we are perched on does not help matters."⁷⁰ They had no opportunities to practice and no one to train them. With the strongest insistence Tarlattini repeated the old request: "It is indispensable that some one be sent here to teach us and to work along with us until we are prepared to take over by ourselves. Otherwise—we are going to be left behind."⁷¹

This plea was followed by another letter from the bishop that should have removed all doubt from the general's mind about his intentions. Should the men still be able to come, they would be welcome and could conduct missions outside the city, but especially did he wish them for the clergy retreat which he planned to hold in September. September came and passed. Not a word from England. Rome was silent. When a letter finally did arrive, it offered nothing but grief and disappointment. After reading this letter from Spencer and Rossi, Tarlattini cried, "A bundle of excuses! All excuses that lead to nothing. . . . A fine figure I am cutting with the Bishop!" With full justification did he add, "I know of nothing that has caused me more grief than this affair."⁷² The general who acted too weakly and too tardily and whose trust in Grotti's judgment and cooperation was misplaced finally commanded that Gaudentius Rossi be sent to the States during the off-season.⁷³

⁶⁹ *AG:PSP* III-6, Tarlattini to Testa, September 17, 1855.

⁷⁰ *AG:PSP* III-5, Tarlattini to Testa, June 4, 1855.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

⁷² *AG:PSP* III-7, Tarlattini to Testa, October 15, 1855.

⁷³ We can hardly agree with Ward: "They now had recourse to the Most Rev.

He arrived December 8, 1855. With him the Passionists in America began their proper work: the apostolate of the Word. A few years later, Rossi, assigned to write the history of these days, ended his account of the year 1855 with a choice understatement: "Here our records close for the year 1855, a year of alternate sunshine and clouds for the Passionists in America." Then he added, "Benedictus qui venit in Nomine Domini."⁷⁴

Education: A Revolutionary Solution

In the organization of the novitiate the fledgling Order in America faced a diversity of problems. In the organization of studies one problem seemed paramount: the need for competent professors. At first the teaching had been attempted by men who had neither training nor experience. Neither Magno nor Calandri was prepared for teaching. Tarlattini would have made a first-class professor, and for a number of years had taught theology in Recanati, but the duties of his office made too many demands on him to permit adequate preparation of the lectures. The one subject they could teach well was Latin. Since the youths who applied for admission knew little or no Latin, the general permitted that regular classes in Latin be conducted at the monastery for any young men who wished to attend. In this manner they became better known. They hoped that some vocations would be realized from the classes.⁷⁵ But the need for lecturers free from all other occupations was urgent.

Like Calandri before him, Tarlattini repeatedly requested the general to send trained professors to organize the philosophical and theological education of the students. When no help was forthcoming, he proposed sending the students to Rome, at least at the beginning.

Father General to send them an experienced missionary from England. Father General *promptly* sent them Father Gaudentius Rossi. . . .": *op. cit.*, p. 115 (emphasis added).

⁷⁴ *PA:M Chronicles*, *loc. cit.*

⁷⁵ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, February 24, 1855. It is interesting to note that besides this Latin day-school the general, out of consideration for O'Connor's goodness, permitted that Tarlattini take in two of O'Connor's seminarians at a time, when the need arose, and instruct them together with the Passionist students. This was not to be for more than periods of fifteen days and the fathers were to avoid any semblance of starting a boarding school for theological students. Cf. Testa's letter of May 15, 1856.

. . . being convinced that the future prosperity and success of our humble Congregation in America depended in a great measure on the education which the first American novices would receive—and as yet, there was no formal study here—and moreover, our priests were too few and were otherwise too much engaged to devote all that attention which is required in the education of our young men, hence it was that our superior with the consent of the Father General determined to proceed to Rome and bring with him three young men who had finished their novitiate.⁷⁶

The general's consent was given with little enthusiasm, although he felt the trip was opportune because he desired to have a first-hand, exact account of the progress in America in view of the XX General Chapter which was to be held in the spring of 1857. The youths had to be carefully selected.

We will not have difficulty in receiving even three students but our retreats in Italy have been pressed for sustenance because of the blight that has attacked the vines.—But be sure the youths are above-average ability. If they do not surpass the mediocre both spiritually and intellectually it is not worth bothering to bring them. The expense back and forth is too great and the trip can well prove to be a great distraction.⁷⁷

Of the three chosen one, Aloysius Gregg, Magno's disciple, had made his novitiate. The other two, Thomas O'Connor and Henry Egler, were not yet fourteen years old.

Tarlattini spent a month in Rome with the general and succeeded in obtaining one professor, Francis Xavier Ciaccia, and one helper for the overburdened Parczyk, James Hoffzugott Sperandio Welch.⁷⁸ Both these men were unhappy choices for the American mission. The one left the Order within a year after his arrival. The other was threatened with dismissal. Both were murmurers, undisciplined, imperfect in obedience and sowers of dis-

⁷⁶ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 23.

⁷⁷ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, May 15, 1856.

⁷⁸ He usually signed himself Jacobus Hoffzugott. He was a convert from Judaism. Born in Altenstadt, Bavaria, he was received into the Church by the vicar-general of Pisa, Pietro del Testa, and was given the name Sperandio. From 1842-52 he was assigned to the Bulgarian mission and did excellent work there. After these initial difficulties in America and doubts about his vocation, he accepted correction and made a positive contribution to the work of the Province. Cf. *HKB*, Vol. X, 88.

content. Welch's story does not enter here. His abuse of poverty and his loose tongue were almost his complete ruin.⁷⁹ Ciaccia, from the time he took the wrong train out of New York, thus delaying the party's arrival in Pittsburgh by several days, until Tarlattini dismissed him from the Province, grew increasingly bitter and intolerant of the conditions he found in the new monastery. He manifested a singular dislike for the superior. The little teaching he did was worthless. The spirit betrayed the man. As Rossi noted of him, he had considerable talent and manifested an external piety. "Had they been joined to a prudent and sound mind, there is no doubt he would have been of great assistance to the Congregation here. But unfortunately he was fickle-minded and of a very suspicious nature through which he rendered himself miserable and unhappy and annoyed all those who came in contact with him."⁸⁰ Ordered back to Italy, he interrupted his journey at London and there left the Order with a threat to join the Protestants who would know how to treat him with respect and charity. Through the efforts of the general he was accepted by the Bishop of Gubbio. Tarlattini was still without a solution to his studies program.

To send any more students to Rome was out of the question. The general would not accept them. Two of the three already there were most disappointing. The experiment was premature. Aloysius Gregg developed into a dissatisfied hypochondriac. He became more and more incommunicative and silent, "a deep well."⁸¹ Reminiscent of Ciaccia's dislike of America, Gregg's nationalism prevented him from appreciating anything Italian. The general doubted his vocation. The second youth was of an opposite nature. Henry Egler was too free and too open and too worldly. "In every sense of the word he is just a boy."⁸² The third, Thomas O'Con-

⁷⁹ In a city where there already was enough trouble from nationalism with the Irish-German antipathies, Hoffzugott Welch was turning the Germans against the Italians. For the general it was enough to expel him from the Order and it was only the general's patience that saved him from that tragedy. Cf. *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, April 9, 1859.

⁸⁰ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 27; cf. p. 30 for further reasons for his dismissal.

⁸¹ The general could not have been more understanding or have taken greater personal interest. He wrote to Gregg with kindness and patience, changed lectors because he could not get along with the one with whom he had begun, and invited him to Rome to discuss his situation. Cf. *AG: Province of St. Joseph, Letters*, Basil Luggero to Tarlattini.

⁸² *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, April 8, 1859.

nor, although the youngest of the three, was the most mature. Intellectually superior to the others, he likewise surpassed them by far in his spiritual and religious attainment. It was no surprise to anyone that he should return years later as general consultor. O'Connor's good behavior did not compensate for the problems caused by his two companions, however. Testa was displeased with the entire venture. In a letter to the provincial in England he expressed his views.

It was a hazardous undertaking for Father John Dominick to send these three youths here. Two were mere boys and the third a melancholic lad. You could never get to know what he was thinking. Here is the first bitter fruit of the adventure. Pray for the other two that they persevere. They have been professed recently.⁸³

And so once again Tarlattini was forced to undertake the tasks of lector. And again he appealed to the general. Testa suggested that Rossi, who possessed a very fine mind, be appointed. But Rossi was indispensable for the primary apostolate—missions and retreat work. He also proposed that one of the better professed clerics act as assistant to the master. Thus Luke Baudinelli could be released for teaching. To Tarlattini's insistence for help from Rome the general replied briskly.

Your Reverence must think that we are surfeited with excellent professors here. It is all to the contrary. I find it very difficult to find lectors for the young men coming out of the novitiate now. At this very moment, as a matter of fact, I have no one to send to the last class. I set four men aside for teaching. One died. The other is too sick to teach. So there remain two and these are occupied. France and England are after me for a lector. I simply haven't anyone to send.⁸⁴

⁸³ London Archives, St. Joseph Monastery, *Letters*, Testa to Vincent Grotti, June 8, 1858.

⁸⁴ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, April 8, 1859. All through his long reign as general, Testa took particular care in the selection of men for instructing the students. As early as 1844 he wrote Barberi in England: "Here we have a great number of young men; between students and clerical novices we have more than a hundred. But we lack good lectors capable of teaching them well or with wisdom enough to direct them. Not being able to do what one might wish one must do the best one can. In comparison with many others . . . we are not badly off": *GA:Postulation Testa/Barberi Correspondence*, March 3, 1844, as quoted by Charles, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269.

A bit later he warned him not to be too insistent unless he wanted the general to send him all the malcontents. "It is well for you to remember that I did not want to give you Father James [Hoffzugett Sperandio Welch], for I had reasons to fear. . . . Nor did I wish to give you Father Francis Xavier [Ciaccia] because as I told you clearly he was apprehensive and cagey. Your Reverence erred in such insisting and I erred in such condescending."⁸⁵ But he did condescend again. And this time there was no error. The two men he chose began as professors, were elected superiors, and each in his turn ruled the Province—John Baptist Baudinelli and John Thomas Stephanini.⁸⁶ Both had been destined to teach had they remained in Italy. It was a genuine sacrifice on the part of the general, on behalf of the Order in America. Under the direction of these two young men, Stephanini in particular, the student life was planned.

In October of 1860, Tarlattini dispatched Albinus Magno in all haste to Rome. He was motivated by a genuine desire to come to the assistance of his fellow religious who were in danger of being dispersed because of the threatened suppression of all religious houses during the national uprisings under Cavour and Garibaldi. At the same time, Roman and diplomat that he was, he seized this providential opportunity not only to solve his educational problems but also to augment his mission band.⁸⁷ Magno's arrival was completely unexpected. The situation was not as precarious as had been presumed, even though the general had written before the arrival of Magno.

For the time being at least, there is peace. The French forces are here. But the Holy Father no longer possesses either the Legation or the Marches or Umbria. The king of Naples has lost practically

⁸⁵ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, May 28, 1858.

⁸⁶ Testa took this opportunity to send Gregg back to the States. In London the three met Albinus Magno who had been in Ireland at the request of O'Connor collecting for the Pittsburgh Cathedral. The four returned together to America.

⁸⁷ "At this time rumors were everywhere current to the effect that all monastic institutions in Italy were in danger of being suppressed by the Sardinian government which had invaded the Kingdom of Naples and the Papal States. Some religious houses had already been suppressed and it was feared that all the members of religious orders would be dispersed. . . . Our Superior Father John Dominick considered this a favorable opportunity for obtaining some valuable help for the rising Congregation in America, by offering a refuge to our brethren of Italy who had been driven from their homes by the rapacity of the usupers (sic)": *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 47.

the whole of his realm. What will come we do not know. In case of dispersion there will not be a few who will want to go to America. But where shall we find the money for the passage? Help us by your prayers.⁸⁸

But the sudden appearance of Tarlattini's delegate forced the general to a decision he hesitated to make. The situation had not yet crystallized. There was speculation that religious corporations would not be touched. The general doubted the wisdom of exporting a number of religious when the needs of the Order in Italy, as well as in other European countries, were just as pressing as they were in America. He complained to the superior in America after the interview with Magno.

Your sending Father Albinus here in these trying times and at this bad season for travel was inopportune. From the newspaper accounts I see you must have believed that we were about to be disbanded if not already dispersed and that we were on the point of imprisonment and exile. Neither the one nor the other calamity has befallen us. By God's grace our religious in all of Italy even in the places of actual persecution have been able to remain in their monasteries and have not been molested.⁸⁹

He stated, moreover, that there was no thought of abandoning the monasteries. Nor were there great numbers eager to migrate to America. "Among the good religious of sound training and virtue, there are none. Among the young, the unreflective, there you will always find some. But these are attracted by any kind of novelty and I could not permit these to go, but of course, if you want them. . . ." ⁹⁰

However, the danger of dismemberment was not unreal. In order not to miss the opportunity to ease the burdens of such an eventuality, he called a meeting of the provincials of the northern and southern provinces. At this meeting the general's opinion carried great weight: no one should leave. What turned the sentiment in favor of the American foundation was a clarification of the con-

⁸⁸ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, October 27, 1860. For a good brief account of the Italian Risorgimento, cf. Bihlmeyer-Tuechle, *Storia della Chiesa* (Morcelliana-Brescia 1959), IV, 143-149, 215-223. Also Edward Hales, *Pio Nono*, Kenedy, New York 1954.

⁸⁹ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, November 26, 1860.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

dition of the retreat at Aversa in the already-disrupted kingdom of Naples. The possibility of a forced abandonment was becoming daily more evident. This realization led to the decision to send the entire class of students, together with their professor, Victor Carunchio, from this monastery to Pittsburgh with Magno.⁹¹ At the same time Testa satisfied another demand of Tarlattini by sending him a man qualified to take over the office of master of novices. Calandri had reluctantly accepted the office in the first place, and now his increasing success in the mission field took him away from the novitiate too frequently. From the Scala Sancta in Rome, the general selected Liberatus Bonelli for the post. To complete the expedition, Josephat Valentini, a brother-instructor at Monte Argentario, was chosen to train the novice-brothers.

The group, the largest ever sent to a single foundation, arrived in New York on Christmas Day, 1860.⁹² With these reinforcements the Order in America had eighteen seminarians and three qualified professors. Nine of the students would be ready for Sacred Orders within the year. There were seven in the novitiate, four clerics and three brothers. All—the two classes, the cleric and laic novices, the missionary band—were still housed under the one roof on Mount Oliver in Birmingham near Pittsburgh. It was imperative to expand. If this occurred, there would be two complete classes of students with professors, ready to pursue their studies in the new foundations. However, before considering this expansion further, it is necessary to examine another effort in every way laudable, but fruitless because inopportune—the attempted foundation of Passionist nuns and sisters.

⁹¹ The monastery at Aversa was founded by Anthony Testa through the intervention of the King of Naples in November, 1853. The revolution did cause its abandonment in 1866. It has never been reopened. Cf. *AG:Ritiri Soppressi*. The six students were: Arcangelo Russo, Eusebius Sotis, Timothy Pacitti, Vitalian Lilla, Nilus Mastrojanni, Faustinus Sergente.

⁹² The remark of the general's secretary, Father Basilio Laureri, to the provincial in England, Ignatius Paoli, is very interesting: "I do not know if you have heard about Father Albinus coming here unannounced to get some religious. He supposed we were all dispersed. Father General gave him a class of six clerics with their lector and Father Liberatus and a brother. One or other among the young lads have talent but for the most part as far as I can judge Italy has lost little and America did not gain much": London Archives, St. Joseph Monastery, *Letters* Laureri to Paoli, December 25, 1860. This hasty judgment was proved to be erroneous. It is true that with the exception of Brother Josephat, who died in Pittsburgh four years after his arrival, none of the group remained in the Province. But of the eight priests, only one really failed. Arcangelo Russo was ex-

Visions: Cloistered and Uncloistered

For Father Gaudentius Rossi, leaving England was a very bitter ordeal. Yet, in his letter to the general shortly after his arrival in Pittsburgh, he only hinted at the real reason:

Humanly speaking there are many reasons which induce me to prefer England to America. I was very well known there and many people esteemed me beyond my merit. The Lord deigned to use me as his instrument in various works for His glory and the good of souls.⁹³

What he had in mind in a particular way, besides his outstanding career as a missionary,⁹⁴ was a work for which there was little sympathy among his superiors at the time but which was destined to come to full maturity as a fruitful and well-established Congregation in the Church. Gaudentius Rossi is the founder of the Sisters of the Cross and Passion.⁹⁵ He directed the very arduous be-

pelled because of serious misdemeanor. Another, Faustinus Sergente, requested dismissorials because of continuous ill-health. The remaining six had excellent records.

Sotis, after 25 years in the Order almost completely engaged in parochial work, was taken into the Diocese of Newark by Archbishop Wigger in 1887 and for another 25 years served as pastor of Rockaway and Hibernia, New Jersey. Cf. Joseph M. Flynn, *The Church in New Jersey* (Morristown 1904), pp. 370, 394, 446. The other three students, Pacitti, Lilla, and Mastrojanni, served the Congregation well in the States, Mexico and South America. Pacitti died in the Argentine in 1904 and Mastrojanni in Cuba in 1915. Lilla, one of the most heroic foreign missionaries the Order knows, after almost 40 years in Mexico, returned to Monte Argentario to prepare for his death. He died there in the novitiate in 1921. Bonelli, after serving as master of novices and several times as rector, joined Lilla in Mexico in 1887 and died at the El Rancho de la Virgen, Toluca, in 1893. Cf. in addition the references in footnote 75.

Bollettino della Congregazione della SS. Croce e Passione di N.S.G.C. III, 357-368; IV, 110-123; V, 268-276. The most illustrious member of the 1860 expedition was Victor Carrunchio who, after serving as lector and many terms as superior, became provincial in 1878; shortly after this term he returned to Italy where he died at Falvaterra in 1895. Cf. *HKB* X, 131-132.

⁹³ *AG:PSP* III-8, Rossi to Father General, January 12, 1856. This letter also contained a beautiful eulogy of Ignatius Spencer whom Rossi attempted to bring over to the American Province.

⁹⁴ One of the most brilliant in the Restoration Period, Rossi began at Stoke-on-Trent in October, 1844, and finished in Manchester in November, 1855, giving over 200 missions and retreats. For the early part of his career, see Charles, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-457 *passim*. Cf. also *Pittsburgh Chronicles*, p. 18.

⁹⁵ Together with Elizabeth Prout, an Anglican convert brought into the Church by Dominic Barberi. Rossi met her shortly after his arrival in England in 1842. He became her director and confessor. In November, 1852, with her he founded

ginnings of the infant community, wrote the first Rule, opened the first convent and prepared the first six members, under the leadership of Elizabeth Prout, for their first vows. When he was ordered to leave for America, they had been professed but one year. Neither the general nor the provincial, Vincent Grotti, had much hope for the prospects of the struggling institute. Hence Rossi made no mention of it or of his connection with it in his letters to Rome. It is a tribute to his true religious spirit that he accepted without complaint a separation from a work so close to him.

The sacrifice cost him much. One hope softened the parting: to establish as soon as convenient a foundation of the new Order in America. In this, although his ambition came near to fulfillment, he was completely disappointed. As early as 1865 he urged the superior, Mother Mary Joseph, to consider the project: "I most ardently wish to see the Sisters of the Holy Family in America. I assure you that they would succeed well and do a great deal of spiritual good so much needed in this country, particularly in regard to sound religious education. . . . Do not let the first opportunity pass of a foundation in this country."⁹⁶ To encourage the foundation further, he sent three postulants, Miss Swain, Miss Lang and Miss Brigid Flanagan, to England, expecting that, when professed, they would return to begin the Congregation in the New World.⁹⁷

Rossi was convinced that the time was ripe—and he was right. With the great debate over religious education in the public schools being argued in the press and in the courts, he foresaw the development of the Catholic answer in the parochial school system. The pressing need then, and still more in the future, was for com-

the Catholic Sisters of the Institute of the Holy Family. It was not until 1874, after a complete revision of the Rule under the direction of Ignatius Spencer which brought it more in conformity with the Passionist Rule, that the Institute was affiliated with the Congregation and its title changed to that of the Sisters of the Cross and Passion. A brief history, but well done except for its inadequate and incomplete references, has recently appeared. The sisters still retain the custom of not signing their works. In some ways it is convenient, but ought to be abandoned: *Sisters of the Cross and Passion*. Dublin 1960.

⁹⁶ *Sisters of the Cross and Passion*, pp. 51-52 (hereafter referred to as *Sisters CP*).

⁹⁷ Miss Swain, Miss Lang and Miss Brigid Flanagan. The last named persevered, and as Sister Anne Joachim was among the first chosen for the mission to Bulgaria in 1873 at the invitation of a former director of the Institute, Bishop Ignatius Paoli, C.P., who succeeded Ignatius Spencer in direction of the Institute at Spencer's death in 1864; cf. *Sisters CP*, pp. 109-115.

petent and saintly teachers. He discussed the matter with Tarlattini who made a weak proposal to Rome. Instead of recommending either the formation of a new order of teaching sisters or at least the transfer of Rossi's little congregation of Catholic sisters to America, he merely requested permission for a few pious women, under his supervision, to begin instructing children who were indirectly his responsibility both at St. Michael's and at the recently-formed foundation at Dunkirk. Otherwise they would receive no religious training. While this is all Tarlattini intended, Rossi contemplated the establishment of a new Order in the States since he was unable to obtain the help he had anticipated from England, where his community was experiencing very troublesome times and was even in danger of suppression.⁹⁸

The general was not adverse to the idea proposed by Tarlattini—indeed, he went beyond it and suggested the outline of an effective program which would inevitably lead to a new Order. Contained in a letter quickly written, which dealt with other matters, the plan even today manifests that solid wisdom of a great mind that had matured during four decades of the highest responsibility.

With the approval of the bishop they [the prospective members] should be brought together in one house and a superior appointed who has both the proper spirit and administrative ability. The habit should be simple, modest, long. At least in the beginning they would not wear the Sign.⁹⁹ Theirs will be the active life: working for the good of the neighbor. But at the same time they will blend in as many of the elements of the Rule of the Passionist Nuns as possible. Through their work of education they will be self-supporting. When the group has grown and is sufficiently developed the steps necessary to forming a community could be considered.¹⁰⁰

For Mass and sermons and confessions, too, he advised them to go to the parochial churches. If, however, they decided to go to the monastery for confessions, his instructions were that they were to be treated as any other penitents, "in fact with even greater

⁹⁸ In 1858 the sisters faced a severe trial. Criticism against them and the Passionist Fathers was bitter. The bishop was advised to suppress the Institute. After a thorough investigation they were justified; *op. cit.*, pp. 56-58.

⁹⁹ The Sign is the emblem given by St. Paul of the Cross to his followers and bearing a cross surmounting a heart within which are written the words: *Jesu XPI Passio*.

¹⁰⁰ *UC:PSP Letters I*, Father General to Tarlattini, October 27, 1860.

reserve so as to prevent gossip and criticism and avoid ruining the whole endeavor. The new group must be an aid to the Congregation and not an obstacle.”¹⁰¹ The general provided for two other active works: a boarding school for girls and houses of retreat for women. These endeavors, while enabling them to do much public good, would likewise advance their community.

The plan was an excellent one. That it was never realized was due in large measure to the fact that the man who was charged with the responsibility for its execution was simply unable to take on any further obligations. Rossi was eliminated. Calandri was not capable. Tarlattini remained.

The affairs of this foundation or better of this sketch for a foundation I entrust to your reverence (sic) and no one else is to get mixed up in it. You may use others for counsel but *you* yourself are to regulate all. If it is opened in Dunkirk then you will have to go there.¹⁰²

At the same time he was expected to remain as superior of the Pittsburgh house, supervise the development of the new monastery at Dunkirk, carry forward the program for establishing the Passionist Nuns in America, and negotiate for the New York house. Moreover, the general charged him: “. . . return to Blessed Paul’s whenever you think necessary. Be vigilant and see to it that the education of the young students and the training of the novices is done well. Upon this all our good depends.”¹⁰³ And if all this were not enough, he was also assigned the full responsibility for the administration of the parishes entrusted to them. Anthony of St. James could do all these things and more and do them well. Tarlattini could do some. The general himself eventually closed the door he had opened.

Had the plan been committed to Rossi, it would have been successful—and, as a result, the first Congregation of Passionist Sisters completely aggregated to the Order and growing with it in America would have been established. But Gaudentius Rossi was passed over for three reasons. He was still claimed by the provin-

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.* The letter contains many other specific directions, as, for example, with reference to the building of their convent at a distance to prevent its being seen from the monastery.

¹⁰² *Ibid.* The emphasis is in the Italian original.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*

cial in England and was expected to return there, a claim which was later settled in favor of the American province. Moreover, he was fully employed on retreats and missions, the initiator of that apostolate in the States. But the real reason for his exclusion was the general's lack of complete confidence in him. It was his conviction that Rossi was not endowed with the qualities requisite for a superior in the Passionist Congregation. "Father Gaudentius does not have either the gifts or the virtues to govern. I fear he would be much too quick to believe in and to approve extraordinary things." ¹⁰⁴

The judgment was an unfortunate one and not altogether well founded because Testa hardly knew the man. Rossi had been ordained only eighteen months when he sent him to England. The general based his impression on the reports of Dominic Barberi who vacillated in his opinion of his co-missionary. For the most part Barberi considered Rossi to be too liberal. Yet almost every one of the ideas of Gaudentius Rossi was subsequently adopted, some of them long after his death. Rossi advocated either a closer scrutiny to determine the intellectual rating of candidates or a lengthening of time for study in order not to minimize the attention to the regular observance by sacrificing it for study; he proposed lessening the long night-office and also the fasting; he was against the wearing of sandals in public. All of this was advocated to favor a more effective active apostolate by more thoroughly trained missionaries. ¹⁰⁵

It is necessary here to clarify the position of Rossi because the unfavorable judgment has pursued him through history, minimizing his accomplishments both in England and in America and obscuring his true character for posterity. His direction and counsel with regard to Elizabeth Prout and the new Community (of which neither the general nor Dominic Barberi knew anything) were marked by tact, prudence and deep spirituality. Therefore, there is every reason to believe that the general's plan in his hands would not have faltered.

Rossi was a realist. Knowing that he could not have a hand in a work he so much wanted to see accomplished, he sought to per-

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.* Also cf. the letter of Anthony Testa to Ignatius Paoli in England, *London Archives: St. Joseph Monastery*, November 1, 1860.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. Charles, *op. cit.* II, 280-283, 353, 372.

suade Ignatius Spencer, provincial consultant in England, to interest himself in it. Rossi was aware that Spencer's reputation in Rome was flawless and secure. It was not likely that the general would oppose his rendering even temporary help to the American province, especially in view of the repeated requests Bishop O'Connor had made for his services. And once Spencer arrived in the States, Rossi intended to have him take over the direction of the project at Dunkirk for the founding of the new sisterhood. He could at the same time be superior of the house recently accepted there.¹⁰⁶ He felt that Tarlattini would not object to this, since neither he nor Rossi was able to do the work. However, before Spencer had time to make up his mind, the general became aware of the proposal and immediately directed the English provincial, Ignatius Paoli, to dissuade his subaltern from even dreaming of such high adventure.

The success or failure of the affair therefore rested with John Dominick Tarlattini. In him the general had total confidence. Ordinarily a man of decision and dispatch, Tarlattini, although he favored the establishment, was too tired and overworked to think through the possibilities of the project.¹⁰⁷ Unwittingly he brought an abrupt end to everything when he rushed Albinus Magno off to Rome to rescue his brethren from the onrush of uncontrolled Italian nationalism.

Contemporaneous with the development of these plans and counterplans for the establishment of a Passionist sisterhood in the United States was the attempt to introduce the strictly cloistered Passionist Nuns into the country. Founded in 1771 by St. Paul of the Cross as a totally contemplative order, the Passionist Nuns remained for one century a tiny community in a small convent in

¹⁰⁶ The proposition was mentioned in both of the general's letters cited above, where Testa likewise declared that neither was Spencer, for all his qualities, fit to rule a community. The general had named him vice provincial at the death of Dominic Barberi, only to fulfill the expressed will of the latter.

¹⁰⁷ Toward the end of 1859 he asked to be relieved of the superiorship, at least temporarily. He wanted a respite. He offered as his reason more time to study the language, to prepare retreats for religious and to associate more with the pastors and people in order to better understand the Church in America and the Passionist apostolate there. In a Curia meeting the general turned down his request. He was pleased with the development of the foundation under Tarlattini's direction and simply would not risk change: *AG:PSP* III-II, Baudinelli (John Baptist) to Testa, January 5, 1860; *UC:P Letters 1*, Testa to Tarlattini, January 24, 1860.

the little town of Corneto.¹⁰⁸ Their first move outside Italy was to Mamers, France, in 1872. It could have been Dunkirk some twelve years earlier. Again the promoter was Gaudentius Rossi. This time he had much fuller cooperation from his local superior. Both men appealed to Rome.

In a beautiful letter to the Mother President at Corneto, Rossi presented two postulants from Pittsburgh: Isabelle Lynch and Rose McCabe. The former he claimed had received extraordinary graces and visions and was miraculously cured at the monastery through the intercession of Blessed Paul. Both practiced great austerities and were exemplary in every way. While he was willing to send them to Italy, the times were against it (Isabelle's mother also opposed the transfer). He urged a foundation in England, or preferably in America.

In these circumstances [revolutionary conditions in Italy] and even apart from them, it seems to me altogether prudent and desirable that you make a foundation of Passionist Nuns in England or in the United States of America. Being requested by an American bishop . . . would you be able to send two or three of the best subjects here for that purpose? In a short time you will find a goodly number of excellent postulants. I already have eight or ten prepared to begin. . . . You will not lack for food and maintenance. . . . In the event you are not able to send anyone, you could apply to Rome for permission to begin an American Foundation directly which would be affiliated with your convent and Institute at Corneto.¹⁰⁹

He sent the letter to the procurator general who was asked to forward it to Corneto. The procurator general turned it over to the general. The general read the word "visions" and demanded an explanation from Tarlattini. Testa had known about these two

¹⁰⁸ Corneto is present-day Tarquinio, north of Rome. There is no history of the Passionist Nuns in any language. The famous Passionist historiographer, Père Gaétan, did a small work on their founding: *S. Paul de la Croix et la Fondation des Religieuses Passionistes*. Tirlemont 1936. There is a very brief sketch in Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 413-428.

¹⁰⁹ AG:PSP III-10, Rossi to the Mother President of the Passionist Nuns at Corneto, December 20, 1859. Inasmuch as this is the original letter in the General Archives in Rome, we have reason to doubt that the procurator sent it to Corneto. However, the general did take up the matter with the Mother President as we learn from his later letters.

postulants a few years earlier and had simply directed Rossi to have them apply for admission at Corneto. Now there was talk of an American foundation. Tarlattini replied.

Until the present I took no part in this project although I knew that someone had been writing and Your Paternity showed no disapproval. At first I did nothing because I could foresee all the troubles involved. But then I began to become convinced that this was God's will—that there be a foundation here. I did not think it right, therefore, for me to withhold my poor cooperation even though I am convinced that it must be the effect more of prayer than of human prudence. Nonetheless as far as our human misery permits we must study to unite that serpentine prudence with dove-like simplicity. For the present there is no room for suspicion; rather, there are definite signs that the Lord wants the foundation. . . . I'll write up my ideas later; for now send me two copies of the Passionist Nuns' Rule so I can start translating it and also see if it can be put into practice literally or if some changes will be necessary.¹¹⁰

That was in March, 1860. In June he received word from the vicar general, Pius Cayro, that the general favored the project. Meanwhile, even before the arrival of this encouraging news, he had spoken to Bishop Timon of Buffalo who had already given approval to the first program for the sisterhood. Timon did not hesitate this time either. The Passionist Nuns would be welcome in the Diocese of Buffalo but the Order would have to provide for them.¹¹¹ In his promised letter Tarlattini explained his ideas.

¹¹⁰ *AG:PSP* III-12, Tarlattini to Testa, March 19, 1860. Tarlattini and Rossi were classmates and always on the friendliest of terms. Tarlattini knew well all the intentions of Rossi with regard to the sisters and also the foundation of the Passionist Nuns.

¹¹¹ We might ask, "Why Dunkirk and not Pittsburgh?" For two reasons. O'Connor objected to the Passionists moving out of the diocese into the second and third foundations at Dunkirk and West Hoboken. Although he had no grounds for the objections he believed that they ought to remain within the Pittsburgh diocese. He misinterpreted the clause in the Rome Agreement which spoke of the Order as bound to render him service first before going elsewhere. This service referred to the ministry of missions and retreats and was not meant to limit the foundations to the Pittsburgh diocese. Cf. *AG:PSP* III-13, Tarlattini to Testa, January 9, 1861. See also the Articles of Agreement, No. 4. Because of this the relations between the two men were distant. Secondly, there could be no thought of a foundation of nuns in Pittsburgh at that time because O'Connor had announced his resignation in June, 1860. Cf. *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, Vol. 17, No. 17, p. 132 (June 23, 1860) and No. 25, p. 196 (August 18, 1860).

In my earlier letter I wrote that I feel it is God's will that the Passionist Nuns be established in America. Now I want to add to that: I am *certain* the Lord wants it. For their financial support there is still some obscurity. But that must not worry us, even though we must be concerned about it. Still, it is not such an important matter as in Italy.

To me, the real difficulty is this. Their Rule requires they be subject to the Bishop immediately. I don't think this should be done. My plan would be to keep them under our guidance for two or three years until they are well formed and on their way and can follow their own programs. The reason for this is that here the Bishops are hard pressed for help and they will employ them at once, before they have a chance to attend to their own spiritual development. This is why the greater part of religious communities are in such poor shape spiritually. . . . I know well that in this plan there are many difficulties and obstacles. . . .¹¹²

The general's reply was not long in coming. To Tarlattini it was disappointment; to Rossi, hope; to both, challenge. Father Anthony of St. James was even more of a realist than Rossi. He began encouragingly and then softly prepared Tarlattini for an examination of conscience.

I too desire from my heart to expand the Institute of the Passionist Nuns . . . but I see great difficulties and an even greater danger, namely if the enterprise does not succeed instead of accomplishing good, it will, through the artifice of the devil, work evil.¹¹³

Testa's chief preoccupation was financial. Who would build their monastery? Their church? Who would support them? The nuns could not do it themselves, and how could the Passionists in America do it, since they were still in debt and needed money for the new foundation at Dunkirk as well as the contemplated foundation in New York? He cautioned his delegate: "Our Holy Founder

¹¹² Taken from a fragment of a letter or rather the notes for a letter found in the Provincial Archives in Union City. The letter was actually sent as we see from a comparison of the fragment with the letters of March 19 (Tarlattini to Testa) and the reply of the general, dated October 26, 1860. In the March 19 letter Tarlattini speaks of writing up "my ideas later." And the general's reply refers to Bishop Timon whom Tarlattini mentions for the first time in this fragment in relation to the actual foundation of the nuns.

¹¹³ UC:P Letters I, Testa to Tarlattini, October 27, 1861.

gave no thought to establishing the nuns until he found a wealthy family who were able to and did build their monastery and church and made them the heirs of all the estate." Then the general reminded Tarlattini that Paul of the Cross next considered the problem of providing adequate leadership. For this he required not only a good, holy and virtuous woman but one who had a talent to govern. Contrary to the plan Tarlattini presented, the Founder placed the nuns directly under the bishop and he so arranged matters that his religious were entirely free from either temporal or spiritual administration of the new Congregation. He continued:

With all this as premise, having prayed over this very much, I fear the undertaking cannot succeed the way you have started. . . . I fear that someone and perhaps more than one of you will lose our spirit and bring our vocation into discredit. You will lose much time in looking after the affairs of the pious women and you will have to let go our own proper ministry so important for the salvation of souls especially there where the need is so great.

Do not be quick to put your faith in visions and schemes. Often they are the fruit of pious fancy and sometimes from the devil himself who under cover of such good works seeks to ruin everything. We have so many examples of this.¹¹⁴

This was gentle, paternal admonition compared to what was coming. It was in this same letter that the general submitted his magnificent plan for the foundation of a new Order, the Passionist Sisters. He presumed Tarlattini had already begun work for the foundation of the nuns and he wished to reshape the project in this new direction. Although he had great esteem for Bishop Timon whose wide experience should aid the new order, Testa was disinclined to Dunkirk for its realization. Pittsburgh was preferable. Just as soon as Tarlattini saw that things were not progressing well in Dunkirk, he was directed to conclude the undertaking at once and begin again in Pittsburgh.

This is how things stood in the fall of 1860. The possibility for a foundation of Passionist Nuns remained. The establishment of an entirely new Order of sisters was proposed. Both were doomed, however, when Tarlattini dispatched Father Albinus Magno to Rome in the face of exaggerated accounts of Italian insurrection.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

When Father Albinus arrived at headquarters, the general, who was not nearly as excited about the revolution in Italy as he was about the evolution in Pittsburgh, cross-examined him. Unfortunately, he was interrogating a man who had not the least interest in either project. Magno painted a sad picture. The Passionists themselves had no house in Dunkirk. They had no money. There was thought of giving up the foundation itself. How were they to provide for the nuns or sisters? Furthermore, there was an order already in Dunkirk, the Sisters of St. Joseph. Their work was adequate. Then the questions of visions. . . .¹¹⁵

This report strengthened the decision of the general to discontinue these undertakings. His letter was the strongest he had ever sent to his superior in the States. Magno was with the general when he wrote.

From one of your previous letters I got the impression that you had already started the foundation for the Passionist Nuns. That is why I wrote and asked if you had the means to see the project through and ordered that if you did, you alone were to take complete charge of the work. No one else was to be involved. From Father Albinus I learn that nothing has been begun. Thank God. I prohibit you to begin anything in this regard. I believe it is a wile of the devil to ruin you. Monsignor O'Connor wrote from Paris. He is of the same opinion. I should not permit you to go ahead with such a foundation because it will only result in harm to all of you. He knows the conditions in America better than you do and can see the consequences. Do not give ear to visions. . . . What folly! To take on yourselves the obligation to build their monastery and to maintain it! No! Absolutely no! Neither with cloister nor without cloister. And I forbid every one of you to get mixed up in things like this.¹¹⁶

¹¹⁵ All this is evident from the letter the general composed while Magno was with him in Rome and which made a complete reversal of his earlier position, even regarding the sisterhood which he sincerely favored—a fact which is indicated in the very last letter we have of his on the subject a year before he died. See footnote 120. Magno's opposition need not have been the result of bitterness but rather a sincere conviction that the projects simply could not work. Yet it is necessary to mention two facts that strongly influenced his thinking. He had had a serious disagreement with Gaudentius Rossi about three years previously, and he did not wish to relinquish the organization of the Dunkirk foundation which was his achievement. This would have happened were Tarlattini to begin the establishment of the nuns or sisters there. Cf. *AG:PSP* III-11, Baudinelli (John Baptist) to Father General, January 5, 1860.

¹¹⁶ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, September 27, 1857.

The blow was softened for Father John Dominick because Magno who delivered the letter personally also brought a splendid gift: nine new religious—six students, two priests and a brother. His reply was calm.

I have no hard feelings regarding the nuns. In fact I am most satisfied. Be sure I will not take a step in this affair and if anything turns up I will write to your Paternity at once. I trembled at the very thought of it but I also feared I was running away from the cross because of my self-love. Now that your Paternity has spoken I have no further qualms. . . . Human prudence and reason notwithstanding, I repeat I am in perfect peace on the matter and if the Lord wills we do something in this regard He will have to make His will better known to us.¹¹⁷

And so, reassured that peace was restored in Pittsburgh, the general encouraged his delegate and again summed up his reasons for rescinding both plans. For the nuns, there were no funds. For the sisterhood, there were no fit candidates.

For the time being then we cannot think of establishing the Passionist Nuns there. To open a cloistered convent you have neither the money nor the elementary needs; and to start an active Order, the type that our century rightly tends to, I do not think that among the aspirants who wished to be Passionist Nuns¹¹⁸ the Lord has given us one who is capable of taking up such a work and carrying it forward. Other Orders receive help from such an aggregation of women, but for you, what can you hope for? Expense. Difficulties. Dangers. Criticism.¹¹⁹

So ended another episode in the history of the Passionists in America. Tarlattini was relieved; Rossi, frustrated; Isabelle Lynch and Rose McCabe, disappointed.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ *AG:PSP* III-13, Tarlattini to Testa, January 9, 1861.

¹¹⁸ The reference is to Lynch and McCabe.

¹¹⁹ *UC:P Letters 1*, Testa to Tarlattini, no date, but there is a clear reference to the letter of Tarlattini dated January 9, 1861; it was written before the acceptance of the West Hoboken foundation, which took place in April, since it is in this letter that the general gave the approval for that move.

¹²⁰ In a letter dated June 3, 1861, the general again returned to the idea of beginning a sisterhood to teach the children in the parishes for which the Order was responsible. What prompted him strongly was the need of Catholic education in a Protestant country. He still was not greatly enthusiastic about the project,

A Numerous Community Well Founded

No foundation in America, North, Central, or South, has been so continuously successful, so advantageous to the Order, so fruitful in the accomplishment of the works of the Passionist apostolate, as the foundation in what is now South Side, Pittsburgh. Few have been founded with greater sacrifice, suffering and prayer. None has had the benefit of a more experienced hand or a more mature and prudent mind. Pittsburgh is the only foundation in America established by Anthony of St. James. For a period of ten years he directed its growth through a long series of letters.¹²¹ The first is dated September 28, 1852, "To the Religious we are sending to America"; the last, dated May 7, 1862, was sent to Andrew McGurgan, a young priest worried about losing the spirit of his vocation, together with one for Tarlattini, detailing the attitude he should take toward the young man. Less than three months later Anthony of St. James was dead. But his work was done. How well is revealed by a study of his letters.

In the beginning the general moved slowly, wrote briefly, corrected little and encouraged much. His emphasis was on unity, cooperation and, above all, love, without which failure is inevitable. Once he was sure that the project could succeed, his directions became increasingly more frequent and specific. His first task was to find the right superior. By the end of the first year he was convinced Calandri was not the man. His confidence in the man he selected to replace Calandri was fully justified.

In the beginning of Tarlattini's superiorship, Testa constantly stressed the final purpose to which everything must be directed.

but he put Tarlattini in complete charge, and ordered that it be made clear that the whole thing must be on a trial basis. Isabelle Lynch and Rose McCabe were approved to begin the work with the title, *Maestre Pie*. This is the last reference we have to them and to the entire program. The Passionist Nuns came to America from Corneto in 1910. Father Gaudentius Rossi's sisters came from Bolton, England, to Providence, Rhode Island, in 1924. Cf. Ward, *loc. cit.*, and *Sisters C.P.*, pp. 184-186.

¹²¹ We have some forty extant letters for this period alone. The exact number of letters we do not know since Testa did not keep a register. That this number represents only a minor portion of his correspondence to the States is seen from the fact that for the first two years of the period there are ten missing letters. All of the letters of this great general are now being collected and edited in Rome under the direction of the former general archivist, Father Paulino Alonso, C.P.

Always keep before your mind this twofold aim: to form the religious solidly in the proper spirit of the Order and to prepare them to be useful for the good of their neighbor. To the degree that you attain these two ends will you prosper—even in temporalities.¹²²

The general insisted on its being a *twofold* aim, not two separate goals. The distinction was important. One was not to be exaggerated at the expense of the other. "The one must help the development of the other, not destroy it."¹²³ In this same letter, while he rejoiced that things were progressing "passably good," he again insisted that the religious be imbued with the resolution for genuine personal sanctity and at the same time prepare themselves to do "as much good as they possibly can for their neighbor." In all of his references to the final purpose he was careful to add, in one form or another, "according to the Institute," "according to the system of the Congregation," or "conformed to our Order." Adaptations to the customs of the country, changes in the dress of the religious, in the food, in the schedule of hours for the observance—all these he not only permitted but advised. But in regard to the attainment of the twofold aim of the Order in conformity with its system, he was adamant. This will be perceived more clearly in the chapters which treat with the apostolate of the Word and the care of parishes. In the beginning it was fundamentally important that the superior clearly see and be guided by the ultimate purpose, and Anthony Testa did make the vision sharp and the guidance sure.

In the acceptance of novices he affirmed that there must be no hurry: "Beware of the mania to grow fast." Two qualifications were demanded. The youths were required to have adequate intelligence as well as the capacity to be assimilated into the spirit of the Order. There was to be no hesitation in turning away the unfit. An equal firmness in rejecting both novices and professed who proved unformable was insisted upon. "For the good of the Congregation the door must be kept open. . . . Once you have done all that you can to lead them back to the right way and you see that to hold on to them is not going to help them and is harmful to the others, it is better that you do not waste any time in

¹²² UC:P Letters I, Testa to Tarlattini, October 28, 1854.

¹²³ UC:P Letters I, Testa to Tarlattini, May 15, 1856.

putting out the infected members.”¹²⁴ And to be certain that those who had been admitted to profession were well formed, Tarlattini was advised to hold up acceptance of further candidates when, because of lack of space or of adequate facilities, their acceptance would endanger the work already done or prevent its being perfected.

To Tarlattini's constant requests for more help from Rome, Testa replied by demanding more hard work, more study and more application from the men who were already there. They had to rely on their own resources, for the general was not going “to draw the well dry lest the whole Order suffer drought. . . . For now and for several years it will be altogether impossible to send more men from Italy. In England and in the French-Belgian Province they need lectors and directors. . . . Arrange things as best you can and let them do all that they possibly can.”¹²⁵ Tarlattini needed a lector in philosophy. The general told him to select the best mind among them (he suggested Rossi), free him from other work and put him to the task. He needed an infirmarian? A tailor? He was told to train them there.

As the vocations came and the community grew, a second and, later, a third and larger wing were added to Calandri's little red brick monastery. Invitations to other dioceses were pressed on the superior. The appeal to Rome for permission to expand brought a firm negative. “New foundations? NO! Unless you want to bring everything to ruin.” When Tarlattini complained that a majority of the professed students were from the Greater Pittsburgh area and that this proximity to their families was a distraction, the general replied, “If they have not enough detachment to handle that situation they should not be admitted to profession.” He was determined to refuse permission to open another foundation until he was certain that the first foundation was well established, the religious well formed, the administration sound and the spirit genuine. He summed up his expectation in writing to Albinus Magno:

While I write this to your reverence (sic) because the occasion is opportune, I intend it for the Superior, the Master and for all. Let this be your rule: one numerous community well founded in which

¹²⁴ UC:P Letters I, Testa to Tarlattini, February 11, 1860.

¹²⁵ UC:P Letters I, Testa to Tarlattini, September 26, 1857.

the observance is well kept and discipline is maintained is preferable to three or four little communities where everything is languishing. One such community will be resplendent. It will prove itself in good works for God and neighbor. You will not want for sustenance.¹²⁶

The general sent this regulation when his religious were not yet three years on Mount Oliver. He restricted them to that hill until his ideal was a reality. It took six years more. In the meantime, patience, work, and prayer. From Rome came encouragement and the assurance of confidence.

Be careful not to give in to discouragement because you seem unable to realize all your good desires. Be dedicated to doing all for God's glory. In a short time you have accomplished more than we could expect of you. This is the time for planting, for seeding well. The development of the tree, the growth of the seeds, you must await in patience. Instead of going ahead with other planting and further seeding give your attention to cultivating what you have already planted. When the plants have matured and you made a good harvest then you can move on to further cultivation and in a larger field.¹²⁷

Testa had already called attention to an important fact in the history of the development of the entire Order. It was he, Testa, who took the order out of its peninsular prison and made it universal. It was imperative that neither he nor his delegate should jeopardize that expansion by impatient eagerness.

Growth takes time. And we must give it that time. Realize that for almost one hundred years the Congregation made very little and hardly noticeable progress. In the past twenty years it has grown. I must be careful to keep that growth in proper proportion. Do you expect to grow to an adult state, do you expect to become great over there in half that time? ¹²⁸

This was September, 1857. Tarlattini waited two years. He felt there was an urgent need to build. "I and the religious of the community are of the opinion that we cannot defer any longer the establishment of a new foundation. The religious family numbers thirty-two. Your Paternity knows that for a family so large a

¹²⁶ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Magno, September 29, 1855.

¹²⁷ The letter of March 19, 1858.

¹²⁸ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, September 26, 1857.

change is necessary, not only for their physical well-being but also for the morale.”¹²⁹

But Tarlattini made a mistake by adding that, if the general were in accord, he should send from Rome a qualified superior for the new place and some brothers to staff it. He hoped that his superior would accede to his request more readily because of the revolutionary conditions in Italy at the time. “Given the critical conditions in which Italy is now immersed it seems to me your Paternity would be inclined to get as many religious as possible out of Italy. Things may become so bad that we will end up with priests and brothers massacred.” Anthony of St. James was never swayed by oblique reasoning. Without considering the revolution, the fact that Tarlattini had not prepared a superior who could take over a new house or brothers to maintain it was sufficient indication they were not ready to expand. His reply was to the point.

Do not delude yourself with the expectation of having anyone sent to you from here: neither a superior or (sic) any other priest. Thank God we are not yet in danger of massacre. . . . Think well before you take on yourself the responsibilities of a new foundation. Calculate only on what you have there; don’t count on subjects you will not receive.¹³⁰

However, in order not to discourage him altogether, he allowed him to convene the local chapter to examine the various sites proposed. The vote of the chapter was merely consultative. Rome would decide “if it was deemed advisable.” This detained the community in Pittsburgh for another year. During all this period the general’s only concern was for the spiritual solidity of the community. “Nothing is more urgent than that they [the new religious] take hold of the right spirit; otherwise we are digging a hole in water. Everything will end in disgust.” He did not think of developing anywhere else, nor would he permit his commissary to do so. When he was convinced he had “a numerous community, well founded,” he began to deliver detailed instructions with regard to the establishment of a new foundation. These conditions will be considered at the beginning of the next section. At last, in January of 1860, Anthony Testa conceded: “The religious family is united and at peace; now you can consider expansion.”¹³¹

¹²⁹ *AG:PSP* III-9, Tarlattini to Testa, July 15, 1859.

¹³⁰ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, August 13, 1859.

¹³¹ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, January 3, 1860.

PART II

EXPANSION

Let this be your rule: one numerous community well founded in which the observance is well kept and discipline is maintained is preferable to three or four little communities where everything is languishing. One such community will be resplendent. It will prove itself in good works for God and for neighbor. You will not want for sustenance.

Anthony of St. James

5. "In the Name of God Give Me a Favorable Answer"

As Tarlattini continued to press for permission to expand, the general countered with directions concerning standards and details to be studied when commencing a new foundation. Three points were to be considered carefully: location, financial support and architectural style.

The brief chapter of the Rule, entitled "De Locis Ubi Fundandae Sunt Domus Congregationis," makes but one specific prescription for selecting the site: it must be "in locis remotis" or, as the earlier editions put it, "in solitudine." Other chapters stress the necessity of developing a spirit of solitude, one of the principal elements in the formation of the Passionist ideal or what the general continually referred to as "the spirit of the Institute." The external remoteness in which the houses of the Order are to be founded is at once a sign of and a support to this spirit of solitude. "To neglect solitude and place a Passionist family in the midst of the city cannot but be harmful. Our religious will lose the spirit of the Order and you will not be able to educate the youths in the way proper to our Congregation."¹ However, Anthony Testa would not have his men, whether in England or Belgium or America, make any mistake about the "remote places." The solitude they were to seek was not that of hermits. The Order is active as well as contemplative. To locate themselves so far away from the city as to render themselves inaccessible would be as contrary to the ends of the Institute as to build in the public square. While

¹ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, June 3, 1861.

supporting the spirit of solitude, the location must also bespeak the combined life.

Sufficient solitude and yet a location that permits you to help the neighbor and in turn to be helped by them in sustaining yourselves, this is what you must seek. Any other foundation that does not combine these qualities you must not accept unless on a temporary basis.²

The monastery, then, was to be near enough to the people to enable them to benefit from the spiritual administration of the religious, particularly through the sacrament of penance. Likewise, the edification inherent in the regular monastic observance would elevate the spiritual tone of the neighborhood. But, as the general was at pains to note, it was the combination they had to seek. A balance had to be maintained between the two: solitude and apostolate. They were to foresee and forestall the possibility of being swallowed up by the city. This could come about either because the property was too small or because it was situated in the direction in which the city was moving. Should this eventuate, they were simply to abandon the property and move elsewhere without hesitation. This was so clear a procedure to Testa that it almost seemed self-evident.³

In addition to the exercise of the ministry, a further reason for being located sufficiently near the people was the practical necessity of their financial support. The poverty of the Order was extreme. Anthony Testa was unable to provide the religious whom he dispatched to America with anything more than the clothes they wore and a few books. They had to depend entirely upon the good will of the faithful. Their own critical financial condition and the special spiritual needs of the Church in America at that time were sufficient reasons for acceptance of a *parish* (but not *parishes*) in connection with a new foundation, as was the case in Pittsburgh. "Ordinarily, at least in the beginning," he informed Tarlattini, "it will be necessary to unite the two—the care of souls with the regular observance and solitude. The first is necessary

² *Ibid.*

³ Cf. *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, February 28, 1860. The general mentioned the procedure in a very matter-of-fact way as a principle well understood by both.

because we must be useful to the people and from them receive the means of sustenance. The second is necessary to preserve the spirit of the religious and for the proper training of the youths in solitude."⁴ But the acceptance of parochial administration was never to be taken with the obligation of perpetual care. In the very beginning, the agreement with the ordinary had to specify the liberty of returning the parish at the proper time.

In treating the third point, the manner of building, the general proposed a plan which would provide at once the necessary solitude and the means of support. He was inspired principally by the method followed by older apostolic orders when they built their foundations. "They marvelously united the help for their neighbor with the acquisition of religious perfection."⁵ And, as Testa explained, they accomplished this objective by the wise selection of a good location. They would acquire a rather vast tract of land. On the most remote section, the one best suited to the religious life, they would construct their monastery. Here, in solitude, they devoted themselves to study, prayer and perfection. On a far end of the property, as near to the people as possible, they placed their church, with a small unit for the priests who would administer it. These priests would be still in the confines of the monastery and share its peace and solitude. The other religious would come to their aid when necessary, and the monastic solemn services would be conducted in the church for the benefit of the people.

The arrangement at Pittsburgh with St. Michael's parish at a distance from the retreat was satisfactory. It would have been ideal were the parish actually located on the monastic property. He urged Tarlattini to keep in mind that in a short time they should be prepared to relinquish this parish. In the meantime he directed Tarlattini to designate a piece of land for the monastic church at a distance from the monastery itself. Testa presented the arrangement at Monte Argentario as a model. The Monastery of St. Joseph which houses the novitiate is located at a distance from the little Monastery of the Presentation, to which is joined the monastic church for the use of the people. The religious and novices from

⁴ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, September 11, 1861. Testa considered this a very important letter. It was written with great care and prefaced by the remark that he believed the truth it contained was in a particular way a special divine grace.

⁵ *Ibid.*

St. Joseph's go regularly for the public functions to the church and then return to their solitude.⁶

At the time the general was writing these lengthy instructions, which he considered as "from God and which could not but have good results both for the foundations that were being made and those that will be made in the future," Tarlattini was negotiating with the bishops of Buffalo and Newark concerning the establishment of the Passionists in their dioceses. Testa charged his delegate to include in these transactions the plan outlined above. He hoped he was not too late.

If there is still time on the Dunkirk and Hoboken foundations, you should figure on this system and include in the project the prospect of building two separate constructions at a distance one from the other. Acquire a rather large property and one that arrives sufficiently near the faithful. But always be careful that it is not in the direction in which the city will extend itself; otherwise you will lose solitude.⁷

One other consideration must be added to all these admonitions—and the general gave it a priority. "What is more pressing still if we are to have the blessing of God is that at the earliest moment the regular observance be started in the new foundation and by good example we contribute to the sanctification of the people."⁸

From Leavenworth with Candor

Soon after the completion of the Pittsburgh house Bishop Neuman of Philadelphia was the first American bishop to express a desire for a foundation in his diocese, and his proposal was followed by similar ones from the Archbishop of Baltimore, Francis Patrick Kenrick, and Bishop John Hughes of New York.⁹ Still, the first *formal* petition came from what seemed to the Italian

⁶ *Ibid.* Tarlattini had already built a little church adjacent to the monastery. Testa felt that this could serve well as a monastic choir. He desired that another church, on a grander scale, be built entirely separate from the monastery unit on a far end of the property.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, August 7, 1860.

⁹ Cf. *AG:PSP II-5*, Calandri to Testa, November 25, 1852; *II-32*, Magno to Testa, November 8, 1854.

founders the other side of the world, Leavenworth, Kansas Territory.

In 1849 the Seventh Provincial Council of Baltimore petitioned the Holy See for the creation of a vicariate apostolic for the Indian Territory east of the Rocky Mountains. The following year Pius IX granted the petition and named John Baptist Miège, S.J., as its first vicar apostolic.¹⁰ The vicariate embraced a vast tract of land which today includes the States of North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, Montana, Wyoming and Colorado. Despite his great reluctance to accept the post (he returned the nominating papers once and tried to evade reappointment), Miège proved himself a capable administrator over this enormous and difficult territory.¹¹ When he arrived in 1851, there were but two organized missions: St. Mary's Pottawatomie Mission on the Kansas River and St. Francis Hieronymo's Osage Mission in Neosho County.¹² However, the primary purpose of the vicariate—the evangelization of the Indian tribes—was voided by the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 which opened the territory to white settlement. Miège's problems multiplied as he undertook to organize the Church among the white population. In 1855 he succeeded in obtaining a group of Benedictines headed by Father Peter Henry Lemcke from St. Vincent's in Latrobe. It probably was from Lemcke that he learned of the Passionist community on Mount Oliver.

The vicar apostolic urged Tarlattini to accept a place among

¹⁰ *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori Habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849*. Baltimore 1851, p. 275.

¹¹ John Baptist Miège: born at la Foret, Savoy, September 18, 1815. Entered the Society in 1836; forced to leave Italy because of the revolutions of 1848; came to America and taught at the University of St. Louis. Consecrated in St. Louis, Sept. 18, 1851. In 1872 the vicariate was elevated to a diocese; two years later Miège resigned; he died at Woodstock, Maryland, in 1884. The most complete account of Miège's work: Sister Mary Paul Fitzgerald, *Historical Records and Studies XXIV* (1934), 284-362: "John Baptist Miège, S.J., 1815-1884, First Vicar Apostolic of the Indian Territory." His reluctance to accept his nomination was in accord with the general policy of the Society to avoid bishoprics; the general, John Roothaan, strongly expostulated with Propaganda for such nominations. For an excellent presentation of this entire situation, cf. Trisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-183. Peter Beckman, O.S.B., *The Catholic Church on the Kansas Frontier, 1850-1877*. Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1943.

¹² These two famous Jesuit missions among the Indians were founded by Peter John De Smet, S.J. and John Shoënmarker, S.J. The interesting diary of one of their most outstanding collaborators, Christian Hoecken, S.J., who was connected with the Pottawatomie Mission, will be found in the appendix of Thomas A. Kinsella's *A Centenary of Catholicity in Kansas, 1822-1922*. Kansas City: Casey Printing Co., 1921.

the new settlers around Leavenworth, to which "city" he himself had but recently transferred from the Pottawatomie Mission. Accordingly, in December, 1857, he wrote:

My sincere desire of seeing the Catholic population of Kansas properly attended induces me to ask of your Reverence if it would not be possible for me to obtain some members of your holy Order. Belonging myself to a religious Society, I can well enough appreciate the advantages of such societies in the more or less wild missions of this far West. I will be frank and candid. Kansas and Nebraska are an immense field and will eventually give a consoling crop, but this can be obtained only by hard work and privations.¹³

Miège continued to speak frankly. His terms, which included opening a school and taking charge of the German as well as the English congregation, were too difficult for Tarlattini to accept. Furthermore, while he promised every assistance possible, he would not have the superior entertain any illusion regarding financial help. "I fear it shall be very little as I have been under heavy expenses ever since Kansas is (sic) organized."¹⁴ But he assured him that the Catholic settlers were generous and would support him willingly. Moreover, in Miège's opinion the location was the best in the Territory. It has not been possible to locate Tarlattini's reply, but the refusal it contained was prompted not so much by any personal persuasion of the sender as by a direct order from Rome. Miège's letter arrived in Pittsburgh at a bad time. It had been preceded by a letter from the general in which Testa had absolutely forbidden Tarlattini to think of making another foundation for some time. By a strange providence under entirely different circumstances the Order was established in Indian Territory, but Miège was denied "the hope . . . to introduce into Kansas the Sons of Blessed Paul."¹⁵

¹³ The original letter, dated December 22, 1857, Leavenworth City, Kansas Territory, is preserved in the Chicago Monastery, Provincial Archives: Section 19: Proposed Foundations. This archive is hereafter referred to as *Chicago: PA*.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* He averaged more than two new churches a year, built a hospital and orphan asylum and opened several schools and two academies. Shea says Miège attended the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore (1866) "with perhaps the strangest report to make of the transformation of the district confided to him": *op. cit.*, p. 659.

¹⁵ The Passionists accepted the Osage Mission on March 25, 1894, at the invitation of Bishop Fink, Miège's successor: *HKB IX*, 1-35.

Walla-Walla and Nesqually Long for You

One of the most famous of the western trails began at Independence, Missouri, took a northwest direction through the Indian Country and then, following the Columbia River, ended at Fort Vancouver close by Astoria on the Pacific Coast. From Fort Vancouver, Augustin Magloire Alexandre Blanchet, Bishop of Walla-Walla and Nesqually,¹⁶ made repeated urgent requests for Passionist missionaries to take the Oregon Trail to the Far West.

The ecclesiastical organization of Oregon Territory was as exciting as its political vicissitudes and final conquest by the United States. Originally claimed by four countries, only two remained at the time the Church entered the territory—Great Britain and the United States. Spain and Russia had sometime earlier relinquished their claim.¹⁷ This confused civil jurisdiction had its counterpart in the ecclesiastical administration. The Canadian Catholic settlers who accompanied the first governor of the territory, John McLaughlin, appealed to the Archbishop of Quebec for priests, while the Flatheads and other Indian tribes approached the Bishop of St. Louis. As a result, Archbishop Signay appointed a Canadian, Francis Norbert Blanchet, as his vicar-general¹⁸ for the entire Oregon Territory. Bishop Rosati, who considered the territory his jurisdiction, was finally able to obtain Jesuit missionaries, led by Peter John De Smet, to evangelize the Indians. Blanchet and De Smet relayed a joint petition to Rosati for further help and for

¹⁶ Augustin Magloire Alexandre Blanchet: born August 22, 1797, on his father's farm near Saint-Pierre, Rivière du Sud, Canada; studied at the seminary in Quebec; ordained in 1821 and for some 20 years did missionary work in Canada; he was a canon of Montreal Cathedral when named Bishop of Walla-Walla in 1846; after 32 years of arduous work he resigned his see and died eight years later, February 25, 1887, at Fort Vancouver. *Cath. Ency.* II, 594; cf. Edwin O'Hara, *Pioneer Catholic History of Oregon*. Paterson, St. Anthony, 1939.

¹⁷ The vast territory was originally claimed by Russia, and then by Spain as well as by Britain and the United States. In 1819 the Adams-Onís Treaty settled the differences with Spain in favor of the United States; in 1824 Russia withdrew to the Alaskan Territory. Cf. Abell *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 243-245.

¹⁸ The older brother of Augustin; born September 30, 1795; studied in Quebec; ordained in 1819; worked among the Micmac Indians and Acadian settlers in New Brunswick for eight years; pastor of St. Joseph's in Montreal from 1827 until his appointment as vicar-general in 1837; he was the first priest to visit the region; at the time of his nomination the territory extended from California to Alaska and from the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific, an area of some 375,000 square miles: *Cath. Ency.* II, 573; cf. Letitia Mary Lyons, *Francis Norbert Blanchet and the Founding of the Oregon Missions, 1838-1848*. Washington, Catholic University, 1940.

a clarification of their status. Rosati cited the need and explained the confusion over jurisdiction at the Fifth Provincial Council of Baltimore in 1843. The Council appealed to Propaganda to have Oregon Territory declared a vicariate apostolic and confided to the Jesuits.

But Signay had different ideas. Francis Norbert Blanchet was to be made vicar apostolic. The territory remained British; ecclesiastically it still pertained to the Quebec province. Signay was heard. Blanchet traveled 22,000 miles for his consecration in Montreal.¹⁹ Since he was unable to use the river-lake route, he took the long way back to Oregon, which gave him the opportunity to seek aid in Europe and to present himself, his work and his plan to the Holy Father, Gregory XVI. So successful was he in presenting all three—himself, his work and his plan—that, without inspection, his vicariate was raised to a metropolitan province. Francis Norbert Blanchet became the first Archbishop of Oregon City! Seven suffragan sees were created. At first only two were filled. His first companion to Oregon, Modeste Demers, was named Bishop of Vancouver Island. The archbishop's brother, Augustin Magloire Alexandre Blanchet, was named the first Bishop of Walla-Walla.

It was all a colossal blunder. That same year (June, 1846) the United States and Britain settled their differences in the territorial disputes, which left the diocese of Vancouver Island to Canada and the Walla-Walla and Oregon City dioceses to the United States. Augustin Blanchet never reached Walla-Walla because of the Indian massacre. The see was suppressed and Nesqually named in its place. But as Nesqually was nothing more than an enlarged camp, Blanchet resided at Fort Vancouver on the Columbia River.²⁰ The grandiose plan of the archbishop was further disrupted by the discovery of gold in California. The rush lured away many of his promising Catholic people, and with them a number of his priests and nuns.²¹

¹⁹ Blanchet left for Montreal on December 5, 1844, via the Cape and Liverpool, England. He arrived in June, 1845. His consecration was delayed by the absence of the Bishop of Montreal who was on visitation. Cf. O'Hara, *op. cit.*, pp. 142ff.

²⁰ Walla-Walla was suppressed in 1850; Bishop O'Dea (1896-1932) transferred the see to Seattle, Washington, in 1907. Cf. O'Hara, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

²¹ It was not a vain ambition but immature judgment that prompted Blanchet; the westward migration indicated a happy future for the territory but that future was far off.

In 1853 the elder Blanchet appointed Father J. Croke to tour the entire territory and report to him. His first letter offered little consolation to the archbishop: "Through all this country, with very few exceptions, the state of morality is at its lowest ebb. Even the few Catholics that I met are so in name only and I assure your Lordship that the prospects for a missionary are discouraging in the extreme." When he completed his inspection and had a "pretty correct idea of the religious prospects of the country," he was a bit more hopeful.

Though not so bright and cheering as a missionary may desire, still they [the prospects] are not altogether hopeless, and I feel sure that in the course of time with patience and persevering exertion, aided by a reasonable amount of money, some good may be effected in this part of the country. A permanent missionary post with at least two priests should be established in some central position from which all the country could be conveniently and regularly visited."²²

The conditions in Nesqually were not much better. In 1853, the Washington Territory was established and the diocese made co-terminus with it. In the entire diocese there were no more Catholics than in St. Michael's Parish in Birmingham under the care of Stanislaus Parczyk.²³ But the tribes were numerous with but a handful of Oblate and Jesuit missionaries to convert them.

The Bishops Blanchet must have learned of the Passionists in America from Bishop Miège and Father De Smet. From the same sources they could have known that the superior in Pittsburgh had no authority to inaugurate new work. Nor did they expect any results from a direct appeal to the general. Since they were subject to Propaganda, they decided to ask the cardinal prefect to use the influence and prestige of his office to persuade the Passionist general to dispatch some missionaries to this outpost of civilization where help was so urgently needed. The archbishop wrote to Cardinal Barnabò from Oregon City,

We have our eyes on the Passionists who are already established in the United States and who know English well. They would be for the two dioceses, Oregon and Nesqually (sic). For the present they

²² As quoted in O'Hara, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

²³ There were about 1,600 white Catholics in the diocese of Nesqually and some 2,000 Indian converts. Cf. Shea, *op. cit.* IV, 698.

would take charge of the savages [Indians] which the government is placing in great numbers in reservations. In default of the Passionists your Eminence could seek the aid of the Lazarists or Trappists.²⁴

In a long letter written three months later from Fort Vancouver, the archbishop's brother detailed their desperate situation and urgently renewed the plea for assistance. The Oblates had found it necessary to recall some of their men; the Jesuits could spare no more. Meanwhile the Indian population rose rapidly, not only by the increase in the birth rate but also by the government policy of transporting other Indians from white-occupied territory. There was no possibility of opening new missions. Not even the old had been properly attended. Consequently, many Indians were reverting to paganism, while others were swayed by the Protestant ministers who were increasing their efforts in the territory.

In this state of affairs, after deep reflection before God, I have taken the resolution to introduce a new religious order into my diocese. They would have to accept circumstances that are often quite difficult in new missions, and they would take charge of various missions among the natives without distinction. Having discussed the matter with the Archbishop of Oregon City I think the Passionists are well suited for this work. I beseech you to request them for him and for me. His Grace has already asked your Eminence to obtain them for us . . .²⁵

Cardinal Barnabò did intercede for the two bishops, sending along his own appeal with the letter from Vancouver. The general had to reject this entreaty, not because he wished to avoid a difficult assignment but because he simply did not have either the men or the monies to open a new mission. "I would very willingly second the zeal of the worthy prelate and that of your Eminence which so edifies me, but I cannot see how I can send any religious from Europe, and our men in Pittsburgh in the United States can not help out since they have just begun another foundation or mission and are in the process of commencing other work for the bishops

²⁴ APF: *Scritture Originali Riferite nei Cong. Gen.*, Vol. 19 (1861) ff. 28 rv. 29 rv., Blanchet to Barnabò, Oregon City, June 11, 1860.

²⁵ APF: *Scritture riferite nei Congressi Generali*, Vol. 18 (1860) ff. 1610 r. 1613 r.; A.M.A., Blanchet to Barnabò, Vancouver, October 15, 1860.

of that region."²⁶ Barnabò immediately relayed the discomfiting conclusion to the bishop of Nesqually: "As for obtaining the Passionists I did all that I could to persuade the Father General to send some members to work in your diocese but as I feared he only recently told me it is all but impossible."²⁷ Both bishops renewed their plea for some kind of help, but to no avail. The last record of this correspondence between Propaganda and the Blanchets in this affair showed the archbishop almost in despair: "There is no religious order to look after our missions among the tribes. We, my brother and I, have beseeched, have demanded the Holy See to send us some religious order, *the Passionists* or *the Lazarists* or *the Trappists* mais hélas le Saint Siège est si occupé."²⁸

Both Francis Norbert and his brother Augustin Magloire continued their arduous, heroic efforts with what meager resources they had in most trying circumstances. Rightly do they merit the title, "The Apostles of Oregon and Washington."

Finotti of Brookline

While the Bishops Blanchet were pressuring Cardinal Barnabò to obtain a contingent of Passionist missionaries for their poor Indian tribes in the Far West, an energetic pastor in Boston acted with much more dispatch. He purchased a site for a Passionist monastery and invited the superior in Pittsburgh to occupy it. Protestant Boston of the fifties tried desperately in the courts, in the schools, in the downtown shops, by unjust legislation, by unfair practices, by ribald writing and street-corner harangue, to choke the growth of Catholicism in New England.²⁹ All in vain. In the same decade the diocese was divided a second and third time as the Sees of Burlington, Vermont and Portland, Maine were created. Each year saw the foundation of new parishes. Holy Cross College

²⁶ APF: *loc. cit.*, Vol. 19 (1861) f. 78 r., January 27, 1861.

²⁷ APF: *Lettere e decreti*, Vol. 352 (1861) f. 72. See Barnabò to A.M.A. Blanchet, February 5, 1861.

²⁸ APF: *Scritture riferite nei Congressi Generali*, Vol. 19 (1862) ff. 734 rv. Cf. Vol. 19 ff. 574 rv.-575 rv.

²⁹ In January, 1855, the State Legislature, controlled by the Know-Nothing Party, named a "Nunnery Committee" which was charged "to visit and examine . . . seminaries . . . nunneries, convents and other institutions of a like character" in the name of moral righteousness. In 1859 the court upheld the right of a teacher in the public school to flog a child who did not recite the Protestant form of prayer and commandment. Cf. Shea, *op. cit.* IV, 508-514; Curran, *op. cit.*, 104-106.

in Worcester was already well established and struggling for its charter. Boston College was manipulating for a good location. In the metropolitan area the Church was gaining rapidly. The Waltham, Brookline and Brighton congregations were organized. It was to Brookline that the Passionists were invited.

Father Michael O'Beirne, the proto-pastor in Brookline, opened its first church, Our Lady of the Assumption, in 1854. He was succeeded two years later by one of the most talented and interesting clergymen of the period, Joseph Maria Finotti.³⁰ With the opening of the new church in Brookline, the Brighton Catholics were detached from Waltham and assigned to Finotti. In July, 1856, Finotti built the first St. Columba's Church for them and took charge of both congregations.³¹ Rossi, who probably met Finotti when he himself arrived in Boston from England in November, 1855, testified to the ability of the Brookline pastor:

. . . he is an intelligent, studious and active priest, with great capacity for business. To all appearances he manages these two congregations with great skill and a strong hand. These two congregations are almost exclusively formed of poor working Irish people, with a good proportion of servant girls particularly in Brookline. This priest is fond of study and books. He has translated some works from the Italian language.³²

Finotti's desire to establish the Passionists in Boston was not prompted by mere practical motives or by his own need for help but by a genuine devotion to the Sacred Passion, to the Founder of the Order and to the mission apostolate. Prior to his appoint-

³⁰ Finotti: Born in Ferrara, Italy, September 21, 1817. Became a Jesuit in Rome in 1833; left the Society in 1852; taught in various colleges; held pastorates in Alexandria, Va., Brookline and Arlington, Mass. and Central City, Colorado; editor of the Boston Pilot; wrote, edited or translated a dozen works of asceticism and fiction. Died in Central City, January 10, 1879. Cf. John J. Delaney and James E. Tobin, *Dictionary of American Biography*. New York, Doubleday, 1961, p. 421.

³¹ Robert H. Lord, John E. Sexton and Edward T. Harrington, *History of the Archdiocese of Boston in the Various Stages of Its Development, 1604 to 1943*. 3 vols. New York, Sheed and Ward, 1944, Vol. II, 488-490.

³² *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 37 v. Perhaps Finotti's most valuable contribution to American scholarship is his *Bibliographia Catholica Americana: A List of Works Written by Catholic Authors and Published in the United States. Part I, From 1784 to 1820, Inclusive*. New York 1872: ". . . it encountered so indifferent a public that Father Finotti did not have the courage to add the second volume which his learning and his private collection of books would have uniquely fitted him to write": Lord *et al.*, *op. cit.* III, 405.

ment as pastor he had conducted missions, and he wished to advance this work. "He also for some time has been engaged in writing a compendium of the life of our Blessed Founder, Paul of the Cross, towards whom and towards our Congregation he professes (sic) to have much esteem." ³³

In the fall of 1859 he launched his plan. He invited Tarlattini to look over the property he had purchased, assuring the superior that the bishop was well disposed to receive the Order into the diocese. At the same time he asked for Gaudentius Rossi to conduct a two-week retreat for both parishes during the Christmas season: December 16 to 31. When Rossi arrived, Finotti was ill. The missionary not only conducted the retreat but took complete charge of both congregations.

Meanwhile, delegated by Tarlattini, he investigated the possibilities of the foundation. It would have been a great advantage to the young Order in America to be established in Boston at so early a date. That it was not was no fault of theirs. John Bernard Fitzpatrick, third Bishop of Boston, decided against it.³⁴ There is no record of the previous arrangements Finotti had made with the bishop, if any. The record of Rossi's investigation is available, however. Fitzpatrick was prejudiced. "And this for two reasons—first because he considered them too enthusiasts (sic) or causing too much excitement (sic) in their missionary labours." ³⁵

This can only refer to the remarkably successful series of

³³ *PA:M Mission Record*, loc. cit. Finotti's *Life of Blessed Paul* was published by Donohue in Boston in 1860. Finotti explained in a letter to Thomas Heyden, pastor of St. Thomas', Bedford, Pa., why he published the book as written by "A Layman." The letter also tells us more of his ability and his character: "You have no idea how hard it is for an Italian to write pure English, and what I find very singular is that I experience more difficulty now than I did thirteen years ago when I could pen an article for Brownson's Review or any of the Boston dailies and the editors would scarcely correct a phrase in them. . . . After Easter I will send you one or two more books that I have published. One is the "Life of Blessed Paul, Passionist" which was published ostensibly by a layman for whom I wrote it to let him have the profits of the sale for the benefit of his family": *PA: Diocesan*, Letters No. 1197, Finotti to Heyden, Brookline, Mass., April 18, 1867. Previous to the *Life of Blessed Paul*, Finotti had translated and published Archbishop Bedini's *Tract on the Passion*. Cf. *APF: Scrittura Riferite*, Vol. 17 (1855-1857) f. 895 rv, Finotti to Bedini, Brookline, Mass., April 3, 1857.

³⁴ Bishop Fitzpatrick: born in Boston on November 1, 1812; attended Latin School, Grand Seminaire at Montreal and St. Sulpice, Paris; ordained June 13, 1840; served at the Cathedral and at St. Mary's, East Cambridge; coadjutor, March 24, 1844; succeeded August 16, 1846; died on February 13, 1866. Cf. Shea, *op. cit.* IV, 145, 152.

³⁵ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 37 v.

missions the Passionists had conducted the previous year in New York. The success did cause great excitement among Catholics and non-Catholics alike. The Catholics crowded their sick before the fathers to be blessed with the relics of Blessed Paul of the Cross. The Protestants were aroused to a controversy over miracles; they staged a "revival" campaign for the unregenerate in the metropolitan area. Boston's bishop was unimpressed. The effect on Finotti was all to the contrary. He had but recently taken over the editorship of the *Pilot* and reported the event with conviction and enthusiasm. It probably was the immediate reason for the invitation. However, for the bishop who had no direct information on the style and method of the missionaries, it was enough that they aroused controversy. The last desire Fitzpatrick had was to give bigotry a wider berth in Boston.³⁶

The second reason was financial. The bishop refused to recognize the right to quest, nor was there any prospect that he would permit the Passionists to make a collection in his diocese. Since he already had some seventy-five churches to support and in addition was planning (after much prodding since the time of the Bedini visit) to build a cathedral, Boston's third bishop could not agree to the establishment of a monastery of mendicant monks. Thus ended the Finotti plan. The disappointed Rossi on his return to Pittsburgh concluded his report with this small consolation: "Moreover, the place Father Finotti offers is not adapted to the foundation of a Passionist monastery."³⁷

Exspectans Exspectavi in Sandusky City

The apathy of Bishop Fitzpatrick toward a foundation in Boston was more than offset by the enthusiasm of the Bishop of Cleveland.³⁸ Over a period of three years Amadeus Rappe worked

³⁶ It is interesting to note that the Passionists gave only two missions in the Boston Diocese during Fitzpatrick's lifetime, one at St. Joseph's, Chambers Street, in March, 1864 and the other at Immaculate Conception, Malden, in April of the same year. The former was extraordinarily successful. On no night was there sufficient room for the crowds. Twenty-five converts were received. The newspaper account, which may well have been contributed by Finotti, stressed Rossi's "simplicity, gentleness, etc.": *Boston Traveler*, March 21, 1864. Inserted in the *Freeman's Journal*, Vol. 24, n. 52, April 9, 1864.

³⁷ *PA:M Mission Record*, loc. cit.

³⁸ Amadeus Rappe: born at Andrehem, France, February 2, 1801; studied at Boulogne where, after his ordination in 1829, he became chaplain of the Ursulines; while at this post he met Bishop Purcell of Cincinnati who invited him to

assiduously to obtain an establishment of the Passionists for his diocese. When he assumed charge of this new see in 1847, there was but one church in Cleveland, St. Mary's on the Flats. Scattered throughout the diocese were forty others, mostly small wooden chapels. There were twenty priests to help him. Just twelve years later there were fifty priests attending over eighty churches and chapels. The most recent historian of the diocese records that Bishop Rappe was "a great advocate of missions and retreats for the laity as a powerful means of reviving faith and bringing them to the sacraments. He encouraged missions at every opportunity."³⁹ From a study of Rappe's letters the same historian asserts:

It seems to have been his ambition to found a community of priests who would give missions throughout the year in the parishes and who would in addition have the spiritual direction of the religious communities and the seminarians. . . . He also did much to promote the spiritual retreats for the clergy, even holding them himself in his own home.⁴⁰

He had hoped that the Passionists would realize this ambition, at least in conducting missions and retreats. During their first years in America, particularly while the negotiations were being carried out for the foundation, Cleveland, after Pittsburgh, was the most frequent scene of their apostolate. It was because of this apostolate that they were given the warm invitation to locate permanently in the diocese. The work began with a series of retreats to every ecclesiastical and religious community in the city of Cleveland. Accordingly, from June to September, 1859, Rossi gave seven consecutive retreats, including the annual clergy retreat, which the bishop attended, and the retreat for the ordinandi.⁴¹

During this period Rappe discussed his plans for the foundation

America; in 1847, at the erection of the Diocese of Cleveland, he became its first bishop; died in 1870. Cf. Shea, *op. cit.* IV, pp. 184-185; Michael J. Hynes, *History of the Diocese of Cleveland. Origin and Growth, 1847-1952*. Cleveland, Chancery Office, 1953, pp. 93ff.; also George F. Houck, *A History of Catholicity in Northern Ohio and in the Diocese of Cleveland, 1817-1887*. Cleveland 1903.

³⁹ Hynes, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ The other retreats were to the boarders at the Ursuline Convent, the orphan girls at St. Mary's Orphan Asylum and the students attending school there, the Daughters of the Sacred Heart of Mary (Nardins), the Ursuline Nuns, and the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine. For a full account of these retreats, cf. *PA:Mission Record*, ff. 34ff

and deputed Rossi to represent him before the superior in Pittsburgh. The Bishop of Cleveland did not know, however, that Rossi had received the same delegation from Bishop Timon in Buffalo. Rossi, still ardent in his desire to establish a new congregation of teaching sisters, personally favored Buffalo, since the bishop had included in his plans a proposition for a foundation of Passionist nuns or sisters. Bishop Rappe asked Rossi to return for two missions in October, hoping that the missionary would bring with him some assurance from Tarlattini. Since no favorable word was given, Rappe wrote immediately after the close of the second mission.

Six months ago, or about, I took the liberty of communicating to the Rev. Fr. Gaudentius my desire of having your excellent Order established in our Diocese; he promised me to submit my request to your consideration. Now that the good father has given a mission in the very place I offered to him for a foundation, he will be able to give you a more correct account about the prospect of the holy undertaking. I hope that the good father (sic) Gaudentius has advocated the cause of our Diocese and obtained from you, Very Rev. father (sic), the proper authority to sanction my proposition. Should you require that I should go to Pittsburgh, would you prefer to come to Cleveland, where we could have an understanding about the matter, I would comply with your wish. But I desire to come to some conclusion, because I feel the importance of such an institution for the Diocese of Cleveland, as soon as possible.⁴²

Rossi had given the two missions at Wooster and at Canton. The letter did not specify which place the bishop intended nor was there any mention of it in Rossi's journal. However, it probably would not have been Wooster because there were only a few hundred Catholics in the area, mostly Irish immigrants working on the railroads. At Canton there were two congregations, one German and one English, numbering over two thousand. Two other reasons would also induce the bishop to secure an establishment at Canton. The two previous pastors had been not only incompetent but scandalous. The last one had attempted marriage, apostatized and had become a Protestant minister. The adminis-

⁴² *Chicago: PA*, Section 19, Amadeus Rappe to John Dominick Tarlattini, November 9, 1859.

trator during the period under discussion, while a good man, had little ability and less appeal.

During the following Lent Rappe invited the Passionists to give the mission in the Cathedral, and in the summer Rossi conducted a series of five more retreats. But nothing definite was decided with respect to the foundation. While Rossi was in Cleveland, Rappe left for Rome with the intention of arranging conditions and obtaining the direct approval of the general. However, Testa would not commit himself except to what he supposed was an indefinite agreement that the next foundation in America would be in the Cleveland diocese. This was unfortunate since the bishop misunderstood his intention about it and later expected Tarlattini to abide by a pledge which he considered had already been given in Rome. Shortly after the interview Testa hurriedly wrote to Pittsburgh:

It is only a couple of days since the bishop from Ohio asked for a foundation, and he told me he had already taken up the matter with you. He claims that the foundation requested by the Bishop of Buffalo will not be carried through. I told him I cannot send him anyone from Europe and that he will have to arrange things with your Reverence. Briefly, I allowed him to entertain the hope that the next foundation would be his but I did not promise anything. You look into it.⁴³

When he returned to the States, Bishop Rappe contacted Tarlattini again, hoping for a favorable reply to his proposals to begin the work immediately. Nothing happened. In early March of the following year he wrote urgently: "I must repeat with the Prophet: *exspectans exspectavi* a foundation of your Order in my Diocese; so often have I begged for it and I have been promised in Rome last year that the first foundation of Your Society (sic) in America would be in the Diocese of Cleveland."⁴⁴ He proceeded to outline a new plan at a new location. Since Canton did not seem suitable,

⁴³ UC:P. *Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, August 7, 1860.

⁴⁴ *Chicago: PA*, loc. cit., Amadeus Rappe to John Dominick Tarlattini, March 3, 1862 (emphasis in the original). The date of this letter is erroneous; the year can only be 1861 since Rappe speaks of being in Rome the previous year which is corroborated by Testa's letter of September 7, 1860; he returned to Rome again in 1862 for the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, but not in 1861. Cf. Shea, *op. cit.* IV, 557.

he offered Sandusky City which is just sixty miles from Cleveland on Lake Erie. Here he wished them to take charge of both the German and the English congregations. Here he hoped they would build their monastery, and if the responsibility for both congregations immediately seemed overwhelming, he offered them the English congregation alone for a period of time. He recommended the spirit of the people as magnanimous and the location as ideal. The letter concluded with the suppliant plea, "In the name of God give me a favorable answer." However there was no favorable answer. Bishop Timon of Buffalo, who had obtained a similar promise from the general in Rome five years previous to Bishop Rappe's visit, held the priority. In fact, when Rappe's letter arrived, Albinus Magno was already preparing the program for the laying of the cornerstone of the monastery at Dunkirk.⁴⁵

⁴⁵ *PA:M Chronicles*, pp. 47-48. At this same period, prior to the opening of Dunkirk, foundations were also proposed for various dioceses in Canada and also for Galveston, Texas. For these we were unable to locate any correspondence. Cf. *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 48; *UC:P Letters II*, Albinus Magno to Peter Colgan, March 29, 1860.

6. Dunkirk: Chautauqua County

With possible choices of sites ranging from Texas to Toronto and from Brookline to Seattle, a small hamlet on Lake Erie in the Diocese of Buffalo was selected for the second foundation of the Order in America. Its beginning was infelicitous, its continuance uneasy, its success dubious. Anthony Testa, the general, hesitated to grant the permission. When he finally conceded, it was given on a temporary basis. His plans for the foundation were never fulfilled. Tarlattini was opposed to the move from the start and only subsequently reconciled to the accomplished fact. Almost all the religious resisted it. That the Passionists are established in Dunkirk is due to a determined religious and an eloquent bishop.

The real origin of the Dunkirk foundation can be traced to the clergy retreat for the Diocese of Pittsburgh which Anthony Calandri was engaged to preach and which was expected to coincide with the opening of the new monastery in Birmingham in the spring of 1854. As has been noted previously, neither preacher nor monastery was prepared in time. In the predicament O'Connor called upon his episcopal friend, the itinerant retreat preacher, John Timon, first Bishop of Buffalo.¹ Just before the retreat opened,

¹ John Timon: born in Conewago Creek, Pa., February 12, 1797; when he was five, the family moved to Baltimore; attended St. Mary's College; later the Timon family moved to St. Louis; John Timon's vocation was determined through a meeting with Bishop DuBourg, S.S., who brought the Vincentians to America. Timon was professed in 1823 and ordained two years later at The Barrens by Rosati. For twelve years he was provincial of the province; before being appointed to Buffalo he gave the first organization to the Church in Texas acting first as visitator and then as prefect apostolic from 1838-1847. He died at Buffalo after 20 years of indefatigable labors, April 16, 1867. There is no critical biography of this holy and truly great prelate. Cf. Charles G. Deuther,

Albinus Magno replaced Calandri as retreat director. The Dunkirk monastery is the lasting result of the close friendship that developed between the bishop and the director during those eight days. It was then that the invitation to the Diocese of Buffalo was first offered. For the next six years, with varying degrees of insistence and disappointment, Bishop Timon renewed his offer. Each of his pleas was seconded by Father Albinus. Thus, when Timon left for Rome for the definition of the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception, Magno hurriedly dispatched a letter to the general in favor of the new foundation. After a few words on the progress in Pittsburgh, he continued:

The Archbishops of New York and Baltimore and the Bishops of Philadelphia and Buffalo are in Rome together with our own beloved O'Connor for the Council. I urge your Paternity to arrange a visit with each of them to obtain their assistance for the new foundations and their permission to collect in their dioceses. I have already been in Philadelphia. . . . In the spring we intend to make the quest in Baltimore and New York for the building of our church; both these Archbishops hold the Passionists in high esteem. . . . The Bishop of Buffalo, Monsignor Timon, is a man of great zeal, filled with the Spirit of God. From the time he came to Pittsburgh to give the clergy retreat, the one at which I was made director, he urged me to write to your Paternity to request that you send some subjects to make a foundation in his diocese. Now you have the opportunity to talk things over with him and to draw up the conditions. At any rate this is a good chance to send over some priests with the returning bishops so that we can make arrangements to open a new house which we must do within a year. We cannot all be sustained here. Furthermore we will need a house of study so that this monastery can be reserved for the novitiate.²

The Life and Times of the Rev. John Timon, D.D. Buffalo, The Author, 1870. For Timon's apostolate in Texas, cf. Ralph Bayard, C.M., *Lone-Star Vanguard, The Catholic Re-Occupation of Texas*. St. Louis, Vincentian Press, 1945. For the history of the Buffalo Diocese, see Thomas Donohue, D.D., *History of the Catholic Church in Western New York, Diocese of Buffalo*. Buffalo, Catholic Historical Publishing Co., 1904. Timon himself wrote a history of the diocese, but it only goes up to his first year as bishop: *Missions in Western New York and Church History of the Diocese of Buffalo*. Buffalo 1862. He promised a second volume, but even a hurried examination of his busy life makes one wonder how he had found time to write the first. However, the information he provided in his carefully kept diary is far more valuable than any history he could have written: see footnote 5 below. Regarding the efforts of the American hierarchy to make Timon accept a bishopric, cf. Trisco, *op. cit.*, pp. 155-158.

² AG:PSP III-32, Magno to Testa, November 8, 1854.

"Promises!"

Father Albinus had his reply in a letter Tarlattini received from Rome on the twenty-first of that same month of November. Again the general repeated that no one would be sent from Rome. Nor were they to rest their hopes for further foundations upon the prospect of such aid. And Timon in Rome did not meet with much better success. Although satisfied with the interview, like Bishop Rappe subsequently, he put a stronger interpretation on the promise of the general than the latter had intended. Testa assured Timon of his appreciation for his interest in extending the work of the Passionists in America, but he redirected him to Pittsburgh. On his visits to Pittsburgh the bishop reminded the superior of the general's promise and insisted that the second foundation be in his diocese.

The Vincentian Bishop of Buffalo, convinced that religious orders were indispensable to the development of the Church in America, sought to establish as many as possible in his diocese. When he first arrived in Buffalo as its first bishop he noted:

In the new diocese there were sixteen priests and sixteen churches, though most of these churches could be called huts or shanties. . . . There were but four Catholic schools taught by seculars, generally in a poor state; no religious ladies of any order for instruction or charity except one house of the Sisters of Charity, in St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum in Rochester. The Redemptorists had a house in Rochester and another, poor indeed and miserable, in Buffalo with a church that surely did not deserve the name of a church. . . . No other religious bodies were in the diocese.³

One after the other, new orders were introduced into the area. At the time he was negotiating for the Passionists, Timon had already secured the services of the Franciscans, the Marists, the Jesuits and the Oblates, besides his own Vincentians and the Redemptorists. Seven orders of women were established in the diocese and the bishop himself founded a new order of brothers.⁴

³ The Bishop of Buffalo, *Missions in Western New York and Church History of the Diocese of Buffalo*. Buffalo 1862, pp. 235-236 (hereafter referred to as: *Timon, History*).

⁴ I. Frank Mogavero, *Brief History of the Diocese of Buffalo*. Buffalo 1956, pp. 36-40.

This niagara (for those days) of religious orders in one diocese was the principal reason for Tarlattini's objection.

What brought matters to a head and caused Buffalo's bishop to force Tarlattini to accept or reject the invitation was a visit Timon made to Cleveland in March of 1859. There he learned of the intention of Bishop Rappe to establish the Passionists at either Canton or Wooster that very year. From Cleveland Timon went directly to Pittsburgh and to Father John Dominick. That night he scribbled one word in his diary after a reference to the discussion about the foundation in Buffalo: "Promises!"⁵

Almost immediately after his return to his diocese, he appealed directly to the general. If Pittsburgh could give only promises, and this for the last five years, could not the general introduce another foundation of the Order into America by dispatching a new contingent directly to Buffalo from Rome? This letter was followed by one to Paris and Lyon for a subvention from the Conc  il Central to initiate the project.

The general replied with two letters on the same date. To both his delegate in Pittsburgh and the Bishop of Buffalo he repeated the impossibility of making another beginning from Rome. The Order in America had to develop out of Pittsburgh. He remonstrated with Tarlattini over the deficiencies in Rossi and Magno and even Calandri. None of them was considered sufficiently prepared to take over the organization of a new foundation or the office of superior. And Testa could not suffer the loss of able men from either the Italian provinces or from England. The general's grateful and encouraging reply to the frustrated bishop meant nothing more than—promises! The foundation would be forthcoming from the Pittsburgh monastery *eventually*.

⁵The most valuable manuscript in the Buffalo Diocesan Archives is the *Diary of the First Bishop of Buffalo, John Timon C.M.* Written in two ledgers, it is very poorly preserved. The first and smaller ledger begins with a schedule for the priests attached to the Cathedral; then there follows a list of priests on retreat in 1849. The diary proper begins with November 9, 1855. The first ledger ends November 7, 1857. The second begins November 8, 1857, and the last entry is dated February 24, 1867. Timon died seven weeks later. It seems quite evident that he kept the diary from the beginning of his episcopate. The *ex abrupto* entry of Nov. 9, 1855, indicates a continuation from a previous ledger. Moreover, his *History of the Diocese* is drawn from a detailed source: number of confirmed, places visited, conditions, etc. Our reference here is to his entries for March 18, 19 and 20, 1859. Hereafter we refer to this work as: Timon, *Diary*.

In answering the general's letter, Tarlattini revealed his mind regarding Timon's invitation.

The foundation in Buffalo under some aspects is good but from other points of view it is not and these are very serious. For one thing almost every religious order is established in Buffalo. . . . There are also a sufficient number of diocesan priests. Furthermore the place we are being offered is very far from the city. Now while it is true that we are to seek a location outside the cities, we do not have to be *that* far away. I am not attached to any one place in particular, but we must look to what will be best for the glory of God and the welfare of the Congregation.⁶

Tarlattini was referring to the Dunkirk property which Timon preferred that they accept. However, when Rossi was conducting a mission at the Cathedral in June, the bishop did show him a second site, more centrally located, which most probably was at Rochester.

When no decision came from Pittsburgh concerning either location after Rossi had made his report, Timon pressed the superior to action:

I am very anxious to hear from you on this subject of your colony of your Holy Order in my diocese. I thought that our much esteemed Fr. Gaudentius was satisfied with the second post which I offered. In it you would have a central position, do much good and have sufficient revenue for a small community from the start. Please let me know your views and hurry the good work. . . .⁷

No Similar Record of Antagonism

This letter brought Tarlattini to Buffalo with Rossi. At the meeting, for unknown reasons he rejected the second offer and determined to accept the Dunkirk site provisionally. Two con-

⁶ *AG:PSP* III-33, Tarlattini to Testa, July 15, 1859 (emphasis in original). In the same letter, however, Tarlattini urged that a new foundation be considered at once since the community already numbered 32 and there was no room to accept further candidates.

⁷ *UC:P Letters II*, Timon to Tarlattini, September 26, 1859. Timon offered three locations: Rochester, Buffalo and Dunkirk. His reference to a "central position" may well mean Rochester, particularly so if it was the entire diocese he had in mind. His preference was Dunkirk. Cf. *St. Mary's Record*, No. 6 (July, 1904), p. 129.

siderations held him from a final decision: a better understanding of the locality and the approval of Rome. Timon regarded this as a mere formality. As far as he was concerned, the foundation was an accomplished fact. It was only a question of time—and, he hoped, a short time. Soon after the interview he insisted on this, expressing at the same time his disappointment over the delay.

I thank God all is so far and so well advanced for the good work of a colony in this diocese. I consider it now *a fixed fact*, but as to the time, I must remark, by the delay one good opportunity of providing for the present incumbent has passed away. It will require now a month or two before I can so provide *as not to create murmers* (sic). This may also be the providence of God for the complete success of the holy works.⁸

Timon knew he was going to have considerable difficulty in removing the resident pastor of St. Mary's in Dunkirk, Father Peter Colgan. And indeed his fear of creating "murmurs" was well founded. The opportunity for a quiet transfer had passed. Furthermore, the Dunkirk winter weather was another obstacle—and he did not wish the superior to entertain any illusions regarding it. "To begin about Christmas time [as Tarlattini proposed] is to begin with difficulty from nature itself." Instead he advised them to be ready to take over by the first of March.

When he was informed of these latest developments, the general, who constantly had to moderate Tarlattini's desire to begin new foundations, merely agreed that it might be necessary to accept the administration of the parish in the beginning. However, in no wise could it be a permanent obligation, particularly if the place should not prove to be suitable for the transfer of a community and the building of a complete monastery. The general would not give any permission until he was given more certitude on these points. He followed up this directive with another within the month. It was more restrictive than the first one. "I have discussed the matter with my consultors and they are of the opinion that it is still too soon to make any definite commitment. It is better to wait until you ordain the students so that you will be able to have their help. You did well to visit the place and to have Fathers Anthony and Albinus to look into it. In general I am not

⁸ Same to the same, November 14, 1859 (emphasis in original).

opposed to your plan. Be sure the climate is healthy and sound.”⁹

Albinus Magno did look into it. After closing the retreat in the Cleveland cathedral, he proceeded directly to Buffalo where for three days details were worked out with the bishop. Tarlattini urgently requested the general:

For my part the time has come to open another house; the Bishop of Buffalo is very anxious that we accept the foundation. . . . We have determined to give a mission there commencing the Sunday after Easter. After the mission we must make up our minds. If you think it well that we accept, then send me the necessary faculties. . . . In the event that we do accept, it is my intention to go there in the beginning with Father Albinus and one brother to determine how well we can arrange the little house that is on the property. Then I will have the three theology students come up, who by that time will have been ordained, and also a lay brother. Then we will do what we can to begin the regular observance.¹⁰

Still, he indicated his own lack of conviction with respect to the suitability of the location, and for this reason he requested that no superior be appointed “because things may not turn out as well as we expect . . . inasmuch as everything there is quite precarious.” How precarious he was soon to learn.

Meanwhile Magno, who was Timon’s choice to administer the Dunkirk parish, wrote to the pastor of St. Mary’s, the Reverend Peter Colgan.¹¹

It has been the wish of the Right Rev. Bishop to establish the Passionists in his diocese and he has cherished this wish in his heart to my own knowledge for eight years. Now it seems that the same Divine Providence which permits us to open a second house in this country has destined Dunkirk for that purpose. Although the saintly Bishop Timon has been the first to invite us in his diocese, yet several other Bishops from Providence,¹² from Philadelphia, from

⁹ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, February 28, 1860.

¹⁰ *AG:PSP III-12*, Tarlattini to Testa, March 19, 1860.

¹¹ Peter Colgan: born in Ireland ca. 1823; arrived in America before the completion of his theological studies; one of the first priests ordained by Bishop Timon, Dec. 16, 1850; assigned as pastor of St. Mary’s, Dunkirk, April 24, 1851; after a short period at the Cathedral in 1860, he was given charge of the church at Corning, New York, where he labored for 36 years and died there May 26, 1896. *Corning Journal*, Jan. 10, 1900, carried a brief article on his life and work: cf. *HKB II*, 1-3: 87.

¹² Magno has reference to a foundation in the city of Providence, Rhode Island, which was then part of the Diocese of Hartford.

Texas and Kansas, and most urgently from Cleveland, have not only offered us the place for a new foundation in their respected (sic) dioceses but even assistance and help, yet I can truly say that not at our own request but by God's disposition we are invited to go there [to Dunkirk].¹³

Magno had never met Colgan. He had no idea how unwelcome both he and his letter were. His request for pertinent information about the parish and for some introduction fell on deaf ears. The letter was dated March 29. Two weeks later Timon entreated Tarlattini not to delay any longer. Finally Father Albinus Magno, "to whose zeal and activity the new foundation is chiefly indebted,"¹⁴ arrived in Dunkirk on Friday, April 20, 1860. That day his troubles began. "Suffice it to say," wrote Hugh K. Barr, "that no foundation in America has a similar record of antagonism."¹⁵

"That Is My Successor"

When Timon stopped at the little farming village of Dunkirk during his first episcopal visitation of the diocese in 1848, he noted the scarcity of Catholics, their poor condition and his inability to find a place to offer the Holy Sacrifice.¹⁶ Then came the railroad, a new and important line from New York to Dunkirk, the first great trunk line that connected the Great Lakes with the Atlantic and the lake cities—Cleveland, Toledo, Detroit and Chicago—with the rest of the world. With the railroad and shipping came a new port and jobs and shops and industry—and the Church.

In the same year that the New York and Erie Railroad inaugurated the new line, St. Mary's Church was founded. After the temporary residence of a Father William Lemmon and two other priests who were there for but a very short time, the bishop appointed the newly-ordained Peter Colgan as first pastor. During

¹³ *UC:P Letters II*, Magno to Colgan, March 29, 1860.

¹⁴ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 46. The date of Albinus Magno's arrival has been variously reported. There is no doubt about it. In his own account of the early history of the foundation, he clearly states he arrived Friday, April 20, 1860. Cf. footnote 18 in this chapter.

¹⁵ *HKB II*, 2.

¹⁶ Timon, *History*, p. 256; Thomas Donohue, *History of the Catholic Church in Western New York, Diocese of Buffalo*. Buffalo, Catholic Historical Publishing Co., 1904, pp. 136-138. Hereafter this work is cited as *Donohue*.

the nine years he was in charge, Father Colgan did excellent work: he built the first church, opened a little school, started an orphan asylum and arranged several mission posts. While Timon was quite pleased with his work, he was not pleased with his conduct.¹⁷ Thus, it was not merely a desire to find a place for the Passionists that determined the bishop to transfer him, because he had decided to move him in any event. However, this decision did provide an opportune occasion, since Timon was convinced that the Dunkirk location was best suited for the foundation. To ease the situation, Timon offered to make the young priest one of his vicars-general and assigned him to the cathedral staff where his conduct could be better regulated. He requested him to prepare a place for his successor and turn the deeds and the parish books over to him. Colgan did neither.

Albinus Magno expressed it mildly in beginning his long, detailed account of the troublesome transition: "Mr. Colgan was not very glad to see him [Magno]; he complained for not having delayed little longer his coming (sic). It was indeed very trying for our Father to meet with the present difficulties. He had no home, no friends, no acquaintance, nor any encouragement or introduction to the people."¹⁸ On the Sunday after his arrival, Magno was asked to take the high Mass. Colgan preached. After expostulating with the congregation over his accomplishments and his disappointment with the decision from Buffalo, he pointed to Magno who was at the sedilia and announced, "That is my successor." With that, he turned briskly and left the sanctuary. Magno intoned, "Credo in unum Deum." And even though Magno was thus "introduced" as pastor, Colgan continued to perform his regular duties, paying no heed to the intruder.

Showdown at the Widow Swind's

Meanwhile, with the help of Captain Patrick Barrett¹⁹ the new

¹⁷ Timon, *Diary*, April 24, 1860.

¹⁸ Albinus Magno, "The Account of the Establishment in Dunkirk" (Manuscript), p. 1. This most valuable account was found by accident in a book supply room of the Union City Monastery and identified at once as the work of Albinus Magno.

¹⁹ Captain Patrick Barrett: born in Ballynook, County Mayo, March 17, 1832: settled in Dunkirk in 1850 where he became a leading citizen; formed the Jackson Guards, an independent company taken into the Third Regiment at the outbreak of the Civil War; he was killed at the Battle of Williamsburgh, May 8,

administrator found lodging with the widow Swind and her son. Subsequently he bought the widow's house, which thus became the first monastery of the Order in Dunkirk. When Magno inquired about the deed to the church and property, he was referred to the bishop with a warning from Colgan that he did not intend to relinquish anything until the Order paid him some \$5,000 which he claimed he had invested in the parish out of his own funds and for which he held a mortgage on the property. At Buffalo, Timon searched through his papers with the help of Magno but found no deed. Disgruntled, he came to Dunkirk personally. The three men met in the Swind house. Facing his bishop, Colgan admitted that he had the deed but that it was made out in his own name. That brought an end to Timon's patience. "How in your name?" he demanded. "You know well that the deed should have been made out long ago in the bishop's name and handed to me."²⁰ He immediately filled in a new deed and ordered Colgan to sign it. Colgan refused. He would put his signature to nothing until the money supposedly owed to him was paid. The bishop, discovering the mind of Father Colgan, replied to the disrespectful and insulting proposition with a firm and imperative voice, "I do justice to every man. I will do justice to you. Sign the deed which you in conscience should have signed long before this."²¹ Magno gave the same assurance. His claim would be respected. Colgan signed and left Dunkirk. But as Magno remarked, "The trouble had just begun."

Timon returned to Buffalo with Colgan's books containing the accounts of his administration of the parish for the nine preceding years. After examining them himself, he appointed two priests,

1862. He welcomed the Passionists to Dunkirk and quickly became their benefactor and friend, a fact which served to deepen Colgan's opposition to their arrival; Colgan believed Barrett was instrumental in bringing the Order to Dunkirk through his influence with Bishop Timon. Cf. Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 2; on Barrett's life, cf. Felix Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 270-272. See *HKB* II, 59-62.

²⁰ Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 10. Colgan opposed, harassed and embarrassed Magno from the day of the latter's arrival. A farewell address tendered to Colgan by the teachers and children of the school, but which he himself composed and later published in the Dunkirk paper, read in part: "Who shall soothe our own little fears and apprehensions? The voice of a foreign stranger—a priest of God, it is true, but not our own father. His voice will grate harshly on our ears, his words drop coldly on our hearts. . . . If we yield . . . it is because we are compelled to." The complete article is preserved in *HKB* II, 2; cf. Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 3 (original manuscript).

²¹ *Ibid.* Cf. Timon, *Diary*, April 28, 1860.

Early and Gleason, to review them. Their report was "to let Colgan off equal." Colgan had no claim. But Timon could not convince him of this. The former pastor proposed that upon receipt of the \$5,000 he would return part of it as a gift to St. Mary's and the rest he intended for various charities. Now his honor was at stake and he demanded payment. Timon replied, "This will not do. We must first be just; then, if we can—generous."²²

In the meantime, Tarlattini received a reply to his letter of March 19 requesting the faculties to accept the Dunkirk foundation. Timon expected a definite decision after the close of the mission at St. Mary's on June 24. He arrived at the Swind house on the 28th and found Tarlattini, Rossi, Calandri and Magno there for a discussion which lasted until late that night. The Colgan affair complicated the situation. From Rome Tarlattini was instructed through Pius Cayro, the first consultor, writing in the general's name:

Regarding the foundation at Buffalo he [the general] remits everything to your prudence, wisdom, judgment, shrewdness and zeal. Your Reverence knows well our spirit. You know well our Rule and the end of the Congregation. You know the quality of the subjects you have for the foundation, and, finally, you know the circumstances of the place and the times. Keep all these things in mind; consider the matter thoroughly before God in prayer; get the opinion of the Local Chapter and then decide as you think best what will most be for the glory of God and of the Congregation, what will most be for the good of souls and will not bring any harm to the religious. This in brief is what the General ordered me to write in his name. My own sentiment is to go slow on new foundations. . . .²³

Tarlattini heeded the advice. Until the question of the \$5,000 which Peter Colgan claimed was owed to him was settled, no decision could be made. Timon ordered Magno to gather a committee from among the better-informed parishioners and review the case. The resulting verdict was unanimously against the former pastor. When Timon represented this to Colgan and ordered him "to continue to obey and leave me to do what God inspires me to,"

²² Timon, *Diary*, April 30 and May 10, 1860.

²³ *UC:P Letters I*, Cayro (Pius) to Tarlattini, May 10, 1860.

Colgan accused Magno of selecting only those people who would be opposed to him and demanded a reexamination by unprejudiced parishioners. The saintly bishop who did his utmost to observe justice and charity toward both parties admitted Colgan's request. A commission of four, composed of two members chosen by Magno and two by Colgan, was established. Accordingly Colgan wrote to his successor:

At the suggestion of the Right Reverend Bishop I am sending you the names of two gentlemen of the parish to act on the committee of four to examine the books and accounts of St. Mary's Church of Dunkirk during the time that I had charge of that parish. . . . It is hoped that after a careful examination of all the facts bearing upon the misunderstanding between us in relation to my claim on the parish they will arrive at such a conclusion as will be mutually satisfactory.²⁴

The two men Colgan chose were John Hayes and Charles Donoghue: "These are friendly to you and have always been friends of the church." Magno was expected to select two men who were not unfriendly to Colgan. Magno called on Thomas Holland and Patrick Mallone. Colgan directed the investigation that Hayes and Donoghue made by dictating to them from the ledgers the figures they were to write down. When they had made the tally, the expenditures amounted to \$12,753.31 and the receipts to \$8,917.46. Colgan asserted he would settle for the balance of \$3,836.05. He drew up a statement to that effect and had the two committee men sign it. Magno's deputation on the other hand reached an entirely negative conclusion:

We the undersigned in behalf of the Congregation of St. Mary's Church certify that we were called as a committee to examine the accounts of Rev. P. Colgan. We found the books mutilated and incorrect according to any system of bookkeeping and in behalf of the Congregation we entirely repudiate the books and the debt Mr. Colgan claims.²⁵

²⁴ The letter is quoted in the Magno manuscript, p. 10, without a date, but from Timon's Diary we date it about August 23, since that was the day Timon gave him the order to select the men.

²⁵ Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

Magno sent the report to Buffalo together with twelve other individual testimonies regarding the administration of the parish under Peter Colgan, as well as the statement signed by Hayes and Donoghue. Timon was satisfied with the testimony of the twelve and the judgment of Holland and Mallone, but not with the statement of Hayes and Donoghue. He wrote to Magno:

Mr. C. Donoghue and Mr. J. Hayes have sent the following, "We certify that according to the figures in writing in Rev. P. Colgan's book we acknowledge that there was \$3,856.05 paid over and above the receipts of the church and that is all we know of the debt that St. Mary's Church owes Mr. Colgan." This is no judgment! No decision! As judges these gentlemen should say, "We solemnly declare before God that we believe the church owes to Mr. Colgan \$3,856.05, and this we believe after duly examining. . . ."²⁶

Magno was charged to have them do so. After interrogating Hayes and Donoghue, Father Albinus wrote back to Timon that they would not in conscience give sworn testimony and further expressed the hope that Colgan "would do justice to himself and remove the imminent scandal from this community."²⁷ Colgan again pleaded discrimination. He begged for another reexamination, this time by a committee which would exclude anyone from Dunkirk; he suggested instead four priests from Buffalo. And he also asked Timon to arrange a meeting in the bishop's house between Magno and himself. When Magno was asked to submit the whole matter to another investigation (six had already taken place), he flatly refused. Nor would he come to Buffalo for a meeting with Colgan. Furthermore, under direction from Pittsburgh he informed the bishop that the Order would have nothing more to do "with Fr. Colgan's claims or banishment or books."²⁸ And if Colgan continued to insist on payment, the Passionists would leave Dunkirk.

Rush to the Epistle Side

At this point Timon wrote to Tarlattini, proposing a compromise solution suggested by the first two priests who had studied the

²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 16.

²⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁸ Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 17.

case, Early and Gleason. The Order should settle with Colgan for a thousand dollars in a mortgage, payable over a five- or six-year period. The bishop was as tired of the situation as were the Passionists. But he pointed out that they were not without fault. If, instead of making so many preliminary visits to Dunkirk, they had followed his advice and had simply taken possession at the time the bishop first recommended it, the problem would have been avoided. During the delay:

Human passions were aroused by words that discovered an act which would have been more successful had it been known only after the thing was accomplished. I have had hard struggling against the consequences . . . and I think we may all thank God that we have been freed at so little cost. You no doubt are aware that Mr. Colgan had at first claimed about \$5,000 and afterwards reduced it to \$3,836.²⁹

Furthermore, the bishop assured the superior that in their preliminary discussions there had been no misrepresentation of the situation at Dunkirk. He knew that there would be difficulty in removing Colgan, but he did not suspect there would be trouble over the deed or that Colgan would demand reimbursement. Apart from this claim, however, the offer proved to be even better than the original invitation to the diocese had specified, for since that time he had obtained for them a large lot and could include in the package deal the convent property which he himself had cleared "*by late arrangement*" from all debt.³⁰

As for the Colgan affair, the bishop presented the compromise:

The final arrangement with Mr. Colgan I cannot but think just, considering all that he has done for that place. \$1,000 on mortgage without interest for several years is a small return to him; the payment of it will not be felt and further I told Father Albino (sic) in order that he might cordially cooperate in the settlement that I would give him permission to collect for that through the diocese

²⁹ *UC:P Letters II*, Timon to Tarlattini, September 25, 1860.

³⁰ The convent property and the extra lot were of special interest to Tarlattini, for at this very time he, with Rossi, was contemplating the establishment of the Passionist Nuns or the founding of a new Order of Passionist Sisters. Timon had given his approval of the project. Emphasis in original.

and that the result for his society of such a friendly arrangement would be far more than the amounts required which also would undoubtedly be paid by the collection. I hope that your Reverence will on reflection before God concur with me in this judgment. Please do pray for it. Very Rev. and dear sir, your most humble and obedient servant.

John, Bishop of Buffalo.⁸¹

Although Timon was convinced that Colgan had no case, he sought an amicable settlement. Then an event occurred the day after he wrote to Pittsburgh which was to change his "final settlement!" He was in Dunkirk that evening for Confirmation. Father Albinus assisted him. During the ceremony the bishop determined to hold a "people's court" right then and there. Albinus Magno's account is very engaging:

. . . soon after the ceremony was over he [Bishop Timon] requested all the men present to remain in the church as he had something to say, particular business of the church to transact with them, and discharged the rest of the congregation. Women and children having left and the men being collected together toward the sanctuary, the Rt. Rev. Bishop addressed them on the impending controversy between Rev. P. Colgan and the congregation. He brought to their recollection what the Catholic congregation was a few years ago before they had any church, the wants of the clergy, etc. He put before them all that the Rev. Colgan had to suffer in their midst for eight or nine years as well as in the erection of the present church.

He explained then the nature of the claim which Mr. Colgan had on the church and requested the assembled congregation whether they would be willing to pay Mr. Colgan one or two thousand dollars after a year so as to put an end to the trouble. Those who would be for paying should signify by saying, "aye," contrary, "no." The motion was put and more than half of the present (sic) answered, "no," while the rest remained silent so that no one expressed the willingness to pay by the sign "aye." This was enough to understand that the congregation did not acknowledge Mr. Colgan's claim. However, the bishop, to bring the decision to a clear point . . . as haf (sic) had not given no (sic) verbal sign, request (sic) that all those who were for paying the claim would move and go toward the gospel side and those who were not for paying to go on

⁸¹ *UC:P Letters II*, Timon to Tarlattini, September 25, 1860.

the epistle side. Most all the men rushed on to the epistle side with the exception of seven or eight.³²

If Timon needed any further convincing, he got it on the following two days. John C. Devereaux, a leading citizen and one of the first Catholics to settle in Dunkirk, whose friendship with Timon dated from the latter's arrival in Buffalo, discussed the financial affairs of Peter Colgan from the time of his arrival in Dunkirk until the coming of the Passionists. Timon, whose vacillation can only be attributed to his disinclination to offend personal feelings, finally took a determined stand. "Tell Colgan no," he wrote in his diary shortly after his return from Dunkirk. Meanwhile he had written to Magno:

From what I saw and heard at your place I think I shall decide as you wish but say not so to anyone unless you think it fit to tell it to Fr. Dominic. In the meantime pray to God that he will guide me to do what will be right and most for His glory. Should anything new occur write to me. . . .³³

Something new did occur which left Magno no time to write. Tarlattini telegraphed, "Return at once." In strict obedience Magno left Dunkirk immediately, taking nothing with him. He had one sad thought in mind—"the end of the Dunkirk foundation." He arrived in Pittsburgh on October 17. To his relief and confusion he was told to leave for Rome the next day. It was during this period that Tarlattini had become overalarmed at the insurrection in Italy, and fearing for the lives of his brethren, had dispatched Magno to offer them exile in America. Rather than spoil the foundation at Dunkirk, this unexpected circumstance saved it.

Father Albinus was aboard the *Vanderbilt* in the company of Bishop O'Connor, well on his way to Europe when Timon's verdict reached St. Mary's. "I have arrived at sufficient certainty after long examination to know my duty and the Will of God to be able to announce to your reverence (sic) that I have informed the Reverend P. Colgan that I will not allow anything of his claim

³² Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 18: *Diary*, September 26, 1860. Timon's entry for September 26: "Held meeting of men for Colgan's case, the meeting very large; 2 or 300 against giving him anything; 8 or 10 for him."

³³ *UC:P Letters II*, Timon to Magno, September 30, 1860.

to burden the church at Dunkirk.”³⁴ His hesitancy, he explained, was the result of his desire to be perfectly just with Colgan who did “work hard there.” But, Timon concluded, “on weighing the case well before God I decided as above that I would not grant the mortgage or any incumbrance. God be praised. He [Colgan] seemed to submit with a good and generous spirit. Please pray for him.”³⁵

From Rome: Accelerated Confusion

Father Albinus arrived in Rome on the night of November 7 and “although the darkness of the night prevented him to take a glimpse of St. Peter’s Cross yet with his heart beating with joy [he] offered an act of adoration and thanks to the Merciful Providence.”³⁶ His history of the litigation with Peter Colgan and the first months at St. Mary’s ended abruptly with the incomplete sentence, “A carriage was hired to accelerate the way to SS. John and Paul before the religious would go to rest, and happily arrived—”

And happily arrived, he accelerated the general’s thinking about the Dunkirk foundation. It so happened that just a few weeks before Magno had been called to Pittsburgh, Tarlattini had received a favorable answer from Bishop Bailey of Newark accepting a foundation in his diocese at West Hoboken, New Jersey. Not only the location but all the other conditions were much more advantageous there than at Dunkirk. But Albinus, who was a good preacher in his acquired English, was eloquent in his native Italian. How well he spoke is clear in the letter he carried back to his superior in Pittsburgh from the general in Rome. Testa minced no words: “As for foundations—for the present you are not to begin any except one and that is the one at Dunkirk which is already started and to which you are obligated; I am not giving you permission for any other and don’t get yourself involved in

³⁴ *UC:P Letters II*, Timon to Magno, October 23, 1860.

³⁵ Still, to save Colgan’s reputation, he permitted that his claim be considered a “donation” to the church in Dunkirk; Timon wrote a letter to that effect and ordered it read from the altar; Colgan saw to it that it was published in the newspapers. The letter read: “I am edified at the generous donation which the Rev. P. Colgan makes to your church. I have known the state in which he found that church and the blessed change effected during his ministry, of which your beautiful church and convent are evidences. I trust God will reward him and the faithful will pray for a pastor who has done much for them.” Cf. Timon, *Diary*, Nov. 9, 1860; *The Corning Democrat*, Dec. 26, 1860; *Freeman’s Journal*, Vol. XXI, No. 29 (Jan. 12, 1861), p. 1.

³⁶ Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

any and be very cautious about taking on any obligation for one." ³⁷

Although this was a well-earned victory for Magno, it was bad news for Tarlattini and the community at Pittsburgh. Man that he was and firm in his convictions, a superior dedicated to his duty, even when that duty was misconstrued by others, he did not hesitate to write directly back to the general:

Father Albinus spoke very well while he was there but he is the only one who is satisfied: all the other religious are dubious about Dunkirk and are of the opinion that, although for the present we will not abandon it, at the same time we will not make any more definite commitment about it—not until we have proven it a while longer. To the contrary, there does not seem to be any reason for fear about the New York foundation. There is no basis for the same kind of troubles that we have had at Dunkirk. If Your Paternity were here and if you had first-hand knowledge of the affairs of that place I would have no difficulty in conforming myself completely to your ideas but in as much as we are so far away and I cannot keep you fully informed about the circumstances I wrack my brains to do what I can and still I do not know just how things will turn out. Enough of this. All I know is that before God my intentions are right. I seek His glory and the good of the Congregation.³⁸

Tarlattini had been accused of being ambitious to be a builder, to establish more foundations. In this same letter he assured the general that the reverse was true. "Only God knows what tribulation and worry they cost me. I have no other desire than to return to a purely private life." He asserted that he would not have asked about beginning in New York if there were some sort of house at Dunkirk where he could transfer at least part of his numerous community, or if he felt the least bit assured that he was right in building there.

This was exactly the kind of letter Anthony Testa was delighted to receive: forthright, clear and sincere. His reply manifested his own magnanimity. He did not hesitate to retract his former firm decision. He proved that distance was not a barrier to understanding his delegate or the difficulties in which he was involved. "You must not be discouraged but, confident of the

³⁷ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, November 26, 1860.

³⁸ *AG:PSP III-13*, Tarlattini to Testa, January 9, 1861.

divine help, with holy courage move forward." He calmly explained why he had taken the previous stand.

When the Master, Anthony, wrote to me about the foundation near New York, I was still under the impression that you were going to make a complete, permanent and, as it was believed, a quite advantageous foundation at Dunkirk. Furthermore it was not decided whether or not you would get the valuable help you have received from here.³⁹ For these reasons I told you not to accept it [the New York foundation]. Then when I was better informed [by Albinus Magno] and after I determined to send you nine more religious, I advised Your Reverence to concentrate on the Dunkirk foundation first. . . . Now do what you think is best. For the time being only do what is necessary so that the place will be sufficient for the religious to live there without danger either to body or soul so that they will be able to do good work. I think that you should accept it only temporarily as a mission. After a while when you get to know the place well you can either build there permanently or transfer to another place if you think it best.⁴⁰

This exchange of letters, while renewing Tarlattini's confidence and strengthening his authority, also confirmed his program for the foundations. The priority was given to the newer location in the Diocese of Newark. It was decided that for the time being the Order would retain the administration of the parish at Dunkirk and the responsibility for the missions attached to it. John Baptist Baudinelli,⁴¹ who was in charge of St. Mary's during Magno's absence, returned to Pittsburgh. Magno resumed his former duties as pastor with the assistance of Fathers Andrew McGurgan and Aloysius Gregg, his first postulant at Loretto. Spiritually and materially the parish was greatly improved.⁴²

³⁹ The reference is to the nine religious he sent back with Magno.

⁴⁰ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, February-March, 1861.

⁴¹ John Baptist Baudinelli, from this early date, became an inseparable part of the Dunkirk story; he contributed much to its development, and even after his terms as provincial and general consultor he returned to his beloved St. Mary's to spend the last days of his life there.

⁴² While Colgan built a substantial brick building, he left the interior quite unfinished. The floor had sunk some six inches; the gallery was unfinished, windows were out and the basement was flooded; the only equipment in the sacristy was a patched alb and two sets of vestments, one of them unusable. Cf. Magno, *op. cit.*, p. 3. Magno's first entry in his expense book, which he learned quickly to keep carefully, reads, "Two holy water fonts for the church . . . 5.00": *DK:M Expense Book*, p. 1. For the spiritual development of the parish through the organization of various societies, see Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 269ff.

The Permanence of the Temporary

There is no need to be surprised that, after the receipt of the general's letter rescinding his order to develop the Dunkirk foundation, Tarlattini authorized the construction of a very small house there. From a study of his directives and letters up to this point, it is clear that he was never convinced of the advisability of such a move. It is most probable that he never would have located a community at Dunkirk if unexpected circumstances had not forced his decision. What determined him to do so was a practical necessity that resulted from Magno's successful trip to Rome. Magno returned with a professor and his class of six students in the last year of theology. At Pittsburgh another class of six students, all native vocations, was likewise in the final year of study. Since the community at Pittsburgh at this stage totaled forty, including the novices, and there was not an extra room in the house, it became necessary either to hold up the reception of candidates or to transfer the students to another location. Of course a large monastery was contemplated for West Hoboken, but this would not be completed for a few years. In the meantime, since it was imperative to build a parish house at Dunkirk, would it not be practical to so construct it as to permit the transfer of the students there—at least temporarily? With these thoughts in mind, Tarlattini wrote to Rome.

As for the superior's intention of locating the students at Dunkirk, Testa replied with a warning about the danger to the spirit of the Order that would result if he were "to place a Passionist family in the midst of a city or town and not take sufficient account of solitude."⁴³ Nor did the general believe the students could be properly educated according to the system of the Congregation in such circumstances. With regard to the construction at Dunkirk, the general advised that the house be built in such wise that "there would be room for a number of religious to take care of the spiritual needs of the people and still maintain the observance. Meanwhile you can give your attention to a permanent establishment according to the aforementioned norms."⁴⁴ The same

⁴³ *UCP:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, June 3, 1861. Tarlattini's letter, to which this is the reply, has not been found.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* The aforementioned norms were that the monastery be built in a place that would assure solitude and yet not be too distant from the cities, and,

provision for keeping the observance was to be considered in enlarging the parish house at Pittsburgh.⁴⁵ But these houses, built adjacent to the churches, were only temporary establishments and not monasteries in the full sense as intended by the Rule. "To locate a class of students in these provisional houses can be considered a necessity in the present circumstances since you are so pressed for space. I remit the matter to your prudent judgment. If you find that you must do it, then take every precaution that the youths do not lose the spirit."⁴⁶

Before finishing the letter, the general recalled an item in Tarlattini's latest report about Dunkirk that had not been mentioned before and that could "considerably change things." The Chautauqua County vineyards produced good grapes for making wine, and olive oil was also available in the area—two items that were by no means minor to an Italian stomach. But by no means were they essential either.

A small, inexpensive building, seventy feet by thirty feet, primarily intended as a parish house, was permitted to be constructed at Dunkirk. Although dedicated to Our Lady under the title of the Seven Dolors, it has always been known simply as St. Mary's. Bishop Timon, who gave permission to quest in the diocese to defray the cost of the building,⁴⁷ officiated at the laying of the cornerstone on May 26, 1861. This was an occasion for the greatest religious observance the town had ever witnessed. At the same time it gave abundant testimony to Father Albinus Magno's complete acceptance by the people of Dunkirk, Catholic and Protestant, despite the earlier attempts to discredit him.⁴⁸ A year later,

secondly, that wherever the foundation is begun in connection with a parish, the monastery be built at a distance from the parish church and rectory.

⁴⁵ When the parish house at Pittsburgh was built (for St. Michael's), these directives were followed; the tiny choir, a miniature of the monastic choir, is still there on the second floor although no longer in use.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷ One of the reasons for Tarlattini's misgivings about the Dunkirk foundation was the opposition he expected to questing in a diocese where there were already so many religious institutions. The opposition was not long in coming despite Timon's recognition and approbation of the Order's right to collect. A month after the cornerstone ceremonies, Timon noted: "Rev. Gleason speaks of his threat[en]ing to denounce the Passionists; he is angry; I tell him that he must let them collect, that they may perhaps get little, certainly noth[ing] to hurt him. . . .": Diary July 26, 1861. But when Magno proved too successful, the bishop, after receiving information that "Albino has 395 instead of 95," called him in for an explanation. Cf. Diary, December 18-19, January 1 and 6.

⁴⁸ For an account of the two-day celebration, see *HKB* II, 5. Barr concludes

on July 20, the little "monastery" was ready for occupancy and blest by Father Albinus in Timon's absence.

Tarlattini transferred the six American students there with their professor, John Thomas Stephanini. The following September Bishop Timon⁴⁹ performed his first ordination in Dunkirk when three of these students received priesthood: the twin brothers, Charles and Frederic Lang, and Martin Meagher. Two others, Basil Keating and William Geoghan, were ordained in the Buffalo Cathedral the following spring, March 28, 1863. The sixth student, Philip Birk, the future historian of St. Michael's Parish, although he had completed his theological studies, was at twenty too young to be ordained. Brothers Boniface Feld, Mark Mannion and Richard Clark completed the community.

The future of the Dunkirk foundation was as uncertain as its beginning. For twenty-five years no improvements were made in the tight, little, incommodious building which became increasingly inadequate for use as a monastery. The advisability of abandoning the foundation was frequently proposed. Its enigmatic continuance was determined unhappily by the visitor general, Father Lorenzo, who in September, 1887, directed that it be enlarged and converted into a preparatory school.⁵⁰

his account with: "A good collection was taken up and that finished the celebration. . . ." A fuller account is given in *St. Mary's Record*, No. 9 (Oct., 1904), pp. 107-109.

⁴⁹ September 7th, 1862 was a busy day for Timon in Dunkirk; he noted in his diary: Mass, ordain three priests at 8 A.M. Preach at High Mass and give Papal Benediction—at German Church for Vespers; give Papal Ben[ediction]. Speak in German—again to Sisters; hear confessions; app[oint] Fr. Thomas [Stephanini] ordinary confessor, Father Albino (sic) Extraor[dinary]—preach at night.

⁵⁰ Hugh K. Barr, who was acquainted with St. Mary's from the beginning and stationed there for a number of years, wrote of it in 1887: "This retreat has always been too small for a Passionist Monastery and as a consequence they have never enjoyed during the past twenty-seven years a fit room for Library, Choir, Refectory, Kitchen, Tailor Shop and Washing Room. Add to all this a cellar too frequently filled with water, as I have seen the water up to the fire or doors of the boiler. . . . The very best thing that could be done is to sell out, go to another place or failing this, to grin and bear it. Our good religious are doing the latter with commendable forbearance": *HKB II*, 6; *St. Mary's Record*, No. 6 (July, 1904), pp. 129, 211; *Supplement* (March, 1905), pp. 15-19.

7. The Passionists in New Jersey: Realization of an Ideal

To Father Anthony Cauvin¹ more than to any other individual ecclesiastic, the Catholic people living between the Hudson and Hackensack Rivers in New Jersey owe a lasting debt of gratitude. This learned yet simple priest gave the Church its first organization in that area, forming the first parishes, inaugurating the Catholic school system and founding the first hospital and asylum. When he arrived in New York toward the end of 1847 from Genoa, the last scene of his priestly ministry in the Old World, Cauvin assisted Father Lafont at St. Vincent de Paul's on Canal Street, New York City, for three years. After a short period at West Point and Cold Springs, he was directed

¹ Anthony Cauvin: born at Sclos, near Nice, in the Kingdom of Sardinia, August 23, 1810; ordained in Rome, October 12, 1834; in 1845 he was private chaplain to Count Cavour whose son, the famous minister, he tutored; for twenty-seven years he worked in the Hoboken area; twenty-three of these years he was pastor of Our Lady of Grace Church which he founded. In 1873 he returned to Sclos and the following year, on the fortieth anniversary of his ordination, offered solemn Mass with his two brothers who were also priests: Sixte, who was eighty-two at the time, and Eugene, seventy; Cauvin was just sixty-four. He died at Nice, France, May 26, 1902. Cf. Peter Condon, "Rev. Anthony Cauvin, Founder of the Church of Our Lady of Grace, Hoboken," *Historical Records and Studies* III (1903-1904), 155-167; Joseph M. Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey*. Morristown, The Author, 1904, pp. 150-169. Flynn incorporates the entire account written by Cauvin on the founding of the church in West Hoboken and in Hoboken. It is perhaps the best part of his book and the only first-hand source extant for the early period of the Church in Bergen County. See also *HKB* II, 14; XII, 299ff. Other Passionist sources include *St. Michael's Monastery Parish Calendar*, a monthly bulletin begun in 1906. Beginning with Vol. IV, No. 11 (August, 1910), Father Andrew Kenny, a native of West Hoboken who entered the Order in 1873, contributes a history of the Passionists in West Hoboken, commencing with the arrival of Father Cauvin and continuing through to 1912. We refer to this work as Kenny, *Monastery History*.

by Archbishop Hughes² to take over the Hoboken mission in July, 1851.

Before he came, the Catholics of Hudson and Bergen Counties from Bergen Point to Fort Lee had to attend Mass either by boat at Old St. Peter's on Barclay Street in New York, or by a circuitous route, around the ridge that runs through the counties and through the marshes, at New St. Peter's on Grand Street in Jersey City.³ While Mass was said intermittently in Hoboken, beginning about 1836, by a priest from Jersey City, with interruptions for as long as two years at a time, no attempt to open a permanent chapel had ever succeeded. Father Walter Quarter from New St. Peter's made an appeal in 1844 to the people of the Hoboken area, and he began a collection for that purpose. After sixteen months the grand total amounted to only \$148.24. This was deposited in a bank in the name of the future church of Hoboken and forgotten until Cauvin crossed the Hudson.

The Church in New Jersey Comes of Age

Cauvin wasted no time in beginning his ministry. Despite their long dispute over the administration of funds for St. Mary's Hospital,⁴ Bishop Corrigan acknowledged that Cauvin "was a good administrator and had all his accounts in excellent order." At the public school in Church Square, Hoboken, he offered Mass, organized catechetical instructions and conducted Sunday school each week until 1855. During the month following his arrival, he started the construction of the first church for the entire area. Oddly enough, it was built not in Hoboken, the most populous settlement as well as the place where Cauvin himself had a large apartment, but in "the charming village an arm's length away . . . overlooking the majestic Hudson."⁵ In those days West

² John Joseph Hughes: born in Ireland, 1797; ordained in Philadelphia by Bishop Conwell, October 15, 1826; consecrated coadjutor bishop of New York, 1838; succeeded in 1842; named Archbishop of New York, 1850, when the New York Province was created; died January 3, 1864. Cf. Code, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

³ Old St. Peter's Barclay Street, New York's mother church, was founded in 1786; New St. Peter's in Jersey City was established in 1836. Cf. Flynn, *The Catholic Church in New Jersey*, pp. 48-49, 96-100.

⁴ The dispute was over the disposition of \$8,000 collected at a fair in 1869 for St. Mary's Hospital which Cauvin founded. Cf. Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-169.

⁵ "History of West Hoboken," *Fiftieth Anniversary of the Incorporation of the Town of West Hoboken*. West Hoboken 1911.

Hoboken was nothing more than that, a village, and, from contemporary descriptions, quite charming with its many splendid estates, expansive farm land and a scattering of small homes. The decision to build on "The Hill," as the village was popularly called, came not from Cauvin, who would certainly have preferred Hoboken, but from across the river. Archbishop Hughes had two good reasons for initiating the organization of the Church in Hudson and Bergen Counties at West Hoboken. It was central to the entire district for which Cauvin was responsible and, more important, Hughes was given a parcel of land on "The Hill" and a grant of five hundred dollars for the purpose. The benefactor was the most successful tanner in little old New York, James Kerrigan.⁶

James Kerrigan arrived in New York from County Donegal, Ireland, with five dollars, genuine faith and a good head. All three he put to good use. Some thirty years later he was a man of affluence and influence, the owner of a factory for processing leather and a holder of properties in New York and New Jersey. The New Jersey property was a vast estate of several hundred acres on the heights of the Palisades, across the Hudson, where the fashionable New Yorkers were building their summer homes.⁷ The piece Kerrigan gave Hughes was located at the far westerly end of his lands on a tract which the villagers called Kerrigan Lane.⁸ While he

⁶ James Kerrigan: born in Meencargagh, Stranorlar, County Donegal, Ireland, in 1789; arrived in New York ca. 1810; married Eleanor Cecilia McLaughlin in 1817; twelve children were born of this marriage. Kerrigan was a trustee of St. Peter's, Barclay Street, one of the founders of the Emigrant Industrial Savings Bank and a personal friend of Archbishop Hughes and Bishop Bayley; he died in New York in 1876. Cf. Sara M. Murphy, "James Kerrigan, Merchant," *Historical Records and Studies*, XXVIII (1937), 136-158.

⁷ Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 140, describes the Kerrigan property as extending with few exceptions "from what is now Hudson Boulevard to Palisade Avenue and from Hill Street (now Thirteenth) to a little north of St. Michael's Monastery." (The monastery property extends to Twenty-First Street.)

⁸ Kerrigan Lane became High Street when the town of West Hoboken was incorporated in 1861; in 1912, when the town was reincorporated as Union City, High Street became Fifteenth. Kenny is in error when he states: "The land on which St. Mary's was built in West Hoboken was granted to Archbishop Hughes by James Kerrigan for the purpose of a college or university. But the archbishop had just about completed his arrangements for the building of St. John's College, Fordham, and it was decided to build a church on the site"; Kenny, "History of St. Michael's Monastery Parish," *Parish Calendar*, Vol. V., No. 1 (October 1910). The author confused this grant, which was merely a half acre, with the offer of a large tract of land made some ten years later not for a university but for a seminary when Hughes decided to detach St. Joseph's Seminary from Fordham. Cf. Arthur J. Scanlon, *St. Joseph Seminary*, Monograph Series VII,

was waiting for the church to be completed, Father Cauvin said Mass in Kerrigan's fancy barn.

When the church was dedicated, Sarah Kerrigan, the eldest daughter of the family, was thirty-three. For the next fifty years she noted in her journal many of the events connected with her father's church and the Passionist monastery that was to succeed it. Her first entry in this regard reads:

The Church of Our Lady of Mercy, West Hoboken, New Jersey, was consecrated to the service of the Almighty on the 23rd of November, 1851, by the Rev. Mr. Lafont, assisted by the Rev. Messrs. Quind and Cauvin. The Most Rev. Fr. Hughes preached upon the occasion to a large number of people.

The Sunday School commenced in December, the average number of children about thirty every Sunday.

James Kerrigan gave five lots of ground, also five hundred dollars toward the erection of said church.

Rev. A. Cauvin, a native of France, is the pastor—the first pastor—it was he who built it.⁹

Cauvin's own devotion to Our Lady presaged the name of his first church. But, beyond that, he had received from his friend, Cardinal Brignole-Sale, the prelate who had ordained him and in whose seminary he had taught before coming to America, a fine reproduction of the famous painting at Rimini, Our Lady of Mercy.¹⁰ The canvas formed a magnificent altarpiece and determined the title of the small frame church, the mother church of the entire county. As in Dunkirk, so here, the people referred to

United States Catholic Historical Society. New York, 1922. See Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

⁹ As quoted by Murphy, *op. cit.*, p. 141; unfortunately we were unable to locate the complete journal of Sarah Kerrigan. In her old age she ordered boxes of family letters and papers to be burned before her eyes. Cauvin tells us that the little church with the "vestry and fence around the ground cost \$3,829. The people of West Hoboken gave 424 dollars, of Hoboken 114, and the Rev. A. Cauvin collected in New York \$1,824.75": Cauvin, "History of the Church in West Hoboken," in Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹⁰ The painting was a gift of an Italian layman of Rimini, Paci Ippoliti, who gave the painting to Cardinal Brignole-Sale for the American missions; the cardinal in turn sent it to his friend Cauvin. Paci Ippoliti claimed to have been miraculously saved from death while experimenting with gunpowder through the intercession of Our Lady of Mercy venerated in the little church in West Hoboken. Cf. *Freeman's Journal*, November 27, 1853. The painting was taken to the monastery when the basement church replaced Old St. Mary's.



*MOST REVEREND ANTHONY TESTA C.P., THE SECOND
FOUNDER. FATHER OF THE PASSIONISTS IN THE AMERICAS*



RT. REVEREND
MICHAEL O'CONNOR, D.D.
FIRST BISHOP OF PITTSBURGH

Rt
CPT



— THE PIONEERS —

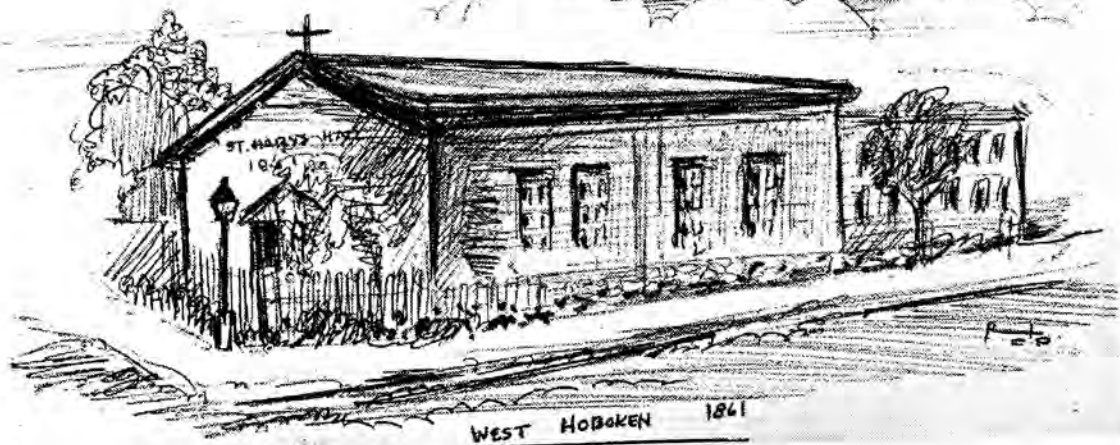
ANTHONY CALANDRY

STANISLAUS PARCZYK

ALBINUS MAGNO

Fr. Albinus Magno's first report to Rome detailing living conditions, the monastic observance in the Bishop's house, difficulties and the prospects for the foundation of a monastery. Dated: Pittsburgh, December 28, 1852. Original in the General Archives, Rome.





1865-BALTIMORE, MARYLAND, CHURCH OF THE SACRED PASSION



*VERY REVEREND JOHN DOMINICK TARLATTINI C.P.
"the principal instrument to plant the Congregation in America"*



GAUDENTIUS ROSSI
MISSIONARY AND FOUNDER
OF THE PASSIONIST SISTERS

the church simply as Our Lady's, and it was known by no other title until the Order took over the parish, built a new church adjacent to their monastery, and renamed the entire unit in honor of St. Michael. At the same time Cauvin's neat little church was converted into a school auditorium with the inscription "St. Mary's Hall" fixed above the former title, "Mater Misericordiae."

But from 1851 until Cauvin dedicated the large and famous church of Our Lady of Grace in Hoboken on June 24, 1855, St. Mary's was the parish church. It was here that the first baptisms and marriages took place; here Archbishop Hughes preached and confirmed, and from it developed in time more than a dozen other parishes. Until the Hoboken church was ready, Cauvin said daily Mass and heard confessions in his apartments on Newark and Washington Streets in the same city. Stations were established at Fort Lee, Bull's Ferry, English Neighborhood, Union Hall, Lodi, Five Corners (Hudson City) and Hackensack. When Our Lady of Grace was opened, all of these stations as well as St. Mary's became missions attached to it.

Throughout the forties and fifties the Irish and German immigrants continued to pour into the entire metropolitan area, since New York was the chief port of debarkation. This circumstance, in addition to the natural increase as a result of large Catholic families,¹¹ made the territory under Hughes' immediate jurisdiction the most populated center of Catholicism in the country.¹² At the First Plenary Council of Baltimore, the Archbishop of New York presented these facts and asked the Council to petition for the creation of two new sees in his province: Brooklyn, for all of Long Island (The Island of the Holy Apostles), and Newark, for the State of New Jersey. Before this time New Jersey had been divided, with the northern section belonging to the New York Diocese, and the southern area to Philadelphia. Accordingly, in July of 1853, Pius IX created these two dioceses, appointing John

¹¹ Cauvin's census of 1857 revealed that he had 1,600 Catholics in the Hoboken areas in 304 families, but 60 of these families contributed almost one-fourth of the total number of Catholics; most of the other families were recently married couples with but one or two children. Cf. Cauvin's article in Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

¹² The population of Hudson County alone increased over 200% between 1850 and 1860, rising from 21,819 to 65,923. For the whole state of New Jersey it rose from 468,319 in 1850 to 659,998 in 1860. Cf. Cauvin's article in Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

Laughlin to Brooklyn and James Roosevelt Seton Bayley to Newark.¹³ At the time of their nominations, the former was Archbishop Hughes' vicar-general and the latter was his secretary. In the face of anti-Catholic sentiment recently aroused by the arrival of the Apostolic Nuncio, Archbishop Bedini, Hughes organized the most spectacular ecclesiastical ceremony the city or the nation had witnessed up to that time. On October 30, assisted by six other bishops, Bedini consecrated Bayley, Laughlin and Louis de Goesbriand of Burlington, Vermont, in St. Patrick's Cathedral.¹⁴

When Bishop Bayley took possession of his see, there were but twenty-five resident clergymen and thirty-three churches in the entire state. There was not a single order of male religious, although Redemptorists and Jesuits from New York and Augustinians from Philadelphia periodically visited various mission stations. In 1857 Bayley established the Benedictines at St. Mary's in Newark. The second religious order of men to be established in the new diocese also came from Pittsburgh.

"Come Here as Quickly as Possible"

The third foundation of the Order in America was as certain and uncomplicated as the second was dubious and confused. And as the foundation in the Diocese of Buffalo was chiefly the work of a missionary, Father Albinus Magno, so the establishment in

¹³ Connelly, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

¹⁴ James Roosevelt Seton Bayley: born at Rye, New York, August 23, 1814; grandson of the famous Dr. Richard Bayley, professor of anatomy at Columbia University, New York. Mother Seton, foundress of Sisters of Charity in the United States, was his aunt. Education at Amherst College, Massachusetts, and Trinity College, Hartford, Conn. Ordained to the Episcopalian ministry in 1835 and appointed rector of St. Peter's Church, Harlem, New York. Resigned in 1841; went to Rome and was received into the Church by Father Esmond, S.J., being baptized in the room of St. Ignatius. Completed studies for Catholic priesthood at St. Sulpice; returned to New York for ordination by Bishop Hughes, March 2, 1844. Made vice-president of Fordham and later secretary to Hughes. On July 30, 1872, Bayley was promoted to the See of Baltimore, succeeding Archbishop Spalding. He died at Newark, October 3, 1877. His writings include *A Brief Sketch of the Early History of the Catholic Church on the Island of New York*. New York, 1853 (2nd ed., 1870) and *Memoirs of Simon Gabriel Bruté, First Bishop of Vincennes*. Bishop Bayley kept a very careful diary to which we refer later. Cf. *Cath. Ency.* II, 359-360; Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 260-305; *HKB* III, 46-52. The only complete life of Bayley is by Sister M. Hildegard Yeager, C.S.C., *The Life of James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark and Eighth Archbishop of Baltimore, 1814-1877*. Washington, Catholic University of America Press, 1947.

the Diocese of Newark was the result of the untiring labor of another missionary, the most outstanding Passionist missionary in America in the last century, Gaudentius Rossi. It was he who initiated the project, obtained the bishop's consent and convinced the authorities in Pittsburgh and Rome. But once convinced of the desirability of the location, Tarlattini directed all his efforts toward making this foundation the ideal realization of the plans and directives he had received from the general during the several years preceding its acceptance. All the requirements for a foundation—where it should be established, how it should be constructed, under what conditions it should be accepted—were clear to him. Tarlattini knew that in the invitation extended to him by the Bishop of Newark these requirements could all be met. In a real sense, then, the West Hoboken foundation can be said to be the model. In every detail but one, the plan outlined by the general, Anthony Testa, was fulfilled. The one detail was the construction of the monastery church. This divergence from the plan will be discussed in its proper place.

Even before he ever set foot in Kerrigan's Wood, Gaudentius Rossi, by a religious instinct, a sixth sense, was certain that the place was altogether adaptable to a Passionist monastery. Rossi received detailed information about the locality from his friend, Father Francis Anelli, a Propaganda student who became Cauvin's assistant after the opening of the new church in Hoboken.¹⁵ Anelli promoted the interests of the Order until the monastery was a reality. In this he was seconded by Cauvin himself who initiated the project in August, 1860, by a letter to Bishop Bayley in which he requested that the Passionists, and Rossi in particular, be invited to give a mission at Our Lady of Mercy, West Hoboken.¹⁶ The mission opened on September 23 and closed October 2, 1860. Since this mission was the very first work of the Order in

¹⁵ Francis Anelli: little is known about this priest; he was a Propaganda student with whom Hughes was not very well pleased; when Newark was formed into a diocese, he transferred there, becoming pastor of the church at Fort Lee in January, 1859. Cf. *APF, Scritture riferite*, Vol. 18 (1858) ff. 61rv 62r, Anelli to Propaganda Fide, St. Mary's, Hoboken, February 24, 1858; Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

¹⁶ Newark Archdiocesan Archives (hereafter *NAA*) Bayley: *Letter Book*, August 28, 1860 p. 136: "Permission to Cauvin to invite the Passionist Fathers for a mission at West Hoboken." (*The Letter Book* contains a record of letters sent by Bishop Bayley from September, 1853, to December, 1871; it was continued by Bishop Corrigan from September, 1872, to October, 1880.)

the State of New Jersey and since it resulted directly in a new foundation, Rossi's full account is given.

Before leaving for the mission, he mentioned to Tarlattini and to his companion, Anthony Calandri, that "he felt strongly impressed that this place [West Hoboken] was by God intended for one of our monasteries." His account reads:

At the end of September of this year [1860] a short mission was given by two of our missionary Fathers, Anthony and Gaudentius, in the Village of West Hoboken, New Jersey, in the small frame church of Our Lady of Mercy. *West Hoboken* is situated on a rocky eminence above the Hudson river in the State of New Jersey opposite New York City. This village or small town is about two miles and half (sic) from New Jersey City in a north westerly direction and two miles from Hoboken. The Congregation is composed of about 400 Catholics—almost all poor labouring people, the men principally employed about stone quarries. A frame church was erected there about twelve years ago. This Congregation has been formed and attended by the Rev. Anthony Cauvin, a native of Nice in Italy,¹⁷ who resides at Hoboken. Mass is celebrated there on Sundays only. Our missionaries found the people rather cold and negligent. But the exercises of the mission were well attended both morning and evening. They paid great attention to all the sermons and instructions. The confessionals were well attended. People came from considerable distances. Many negligent souls were roused to a sense of their duties toward God. Many people made their [reconciliation] with God. On the last Sunday of the mission many persons went to Holy Communion with exemplary devotion. Many protestants (sic) attended also. The Mission gave general satisfaction. The people were very anxious to keep the two missionaries for a longer time and avinced (sic) great grief at their departure.¹⁸

During these ten days in West Hoboken, Rossi and Calandri had ample time to survey the Woods, study the people and discuss the foundation with Father Cauvin. Rossi reported that at the close of the mission both he and Calandri "went to see the Bishop of Newark by whom they were received with paternal kindness and the good Bishop listened to the proposal of the foundation with great satisfaction."

¹⁷ Nice at that time was a part of the Kingdom of Sardinia.

¹⁸ *PA:M Mission Record* f. 53v.

The next caller at Bayley's residence was Cauvin himself. He proposed that the Order be given the Church of Our Lady of Mercy with the small home attached to it, the property and all the appurtenances as an outright donation. Two conditions were stipulated: that there always be a German priest or at least a priest who spoke German in residence at the monastery, and that the Order administer to the spiritual needs of the people in the area around the Hill. This included English Neighborhood, Bull's Ferry, Guttenberg, Greenville, Hudson City and Union Hill. At that time these districts were sparsely inhabited but it was evident that eventually parishes would be required in each of them. Once established, these parishes would be returned to the bishop, as soon as he could provide a resident pastor.¹⁹

A short time after this visit Cauvin wrote to Rossi:

Last week I saw the Bishop of Newark and spoke in regard to the project of your making a foundation of your Order at W. Hoboken; I hope by now that you have received the letter of the Bishop to announce that he accepts your proposition and to propose that you come to take possession of the church as quickly as possible.

For the good of your own institute allow me to give you the advice that you come here as quickly as possible and that you send here at least one priest who speaks English and is able to preach in that language. I willingly offer to put him up in my house in Hoboken until he can prepare a house for the other priest, his companion, who will speak German, and for the lay brother.

We will be able here to help him and we shall do so in every way possible to help prepare for the future and open the way for a foundation.²⁰

¹⁹ Included in this area today are the following cities and towns: Union City, Weehawken, West New York and parts of Hoboken and Jersey City. The parishes formed out of the original St. Mary's were: St. Michael's, Union City; St. Paul's, Greenville (Jersey City); St. Paul of the Cross, Jersey City; Holy Family, Union Hill (Union City); St. Joseph's, Guttenberg (West New York); St. Augustine's, Weehawken; St. Lawrence O'Toole, Weehawken; St. Anthony's, West Hoboken; and St. Joseph's, West Hoboken. Cf. *NAA: Section; Parish Histories, St. Michael's Monastery Parish*, Union City. Besides these parishes the Passionists administered and organized the parishes of St. Mary's, Bayonne (1861-1865) and Sacred Heart, Shadyside (Cliffside) (1865-1873); they also assisted in numerous others. Cf. Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-358, 446-447, etc.

²⁰ *UC:P Letters II*, Cauvin to Rossi, October 18, 1860. Although this letter is addressed to Rev. Father Superior, it is definitely intended for Gaudentius Rossi and not Tarlattini; this is clear from the concluding paragraph: ". . . give my regards to your superior and to Fr. Anthony." Rossi's position as superior of the mission may be the reason for Cauvin's addressing the letter in this fashion.

He informed Rossi that he was having the interior of the church painted "in oil" and that "exteriorly the church is practically new." Furthermore, he had just organized a parish choir. On the Sunday following, the members would receive their first lessons in chant from a maestro whom Cauvin would pay. He concluded by assuring Rossi that the fathers would find everything in readiness for their arrival, and he added a postscript: "We will be able to discuss the other reasons which urge me to induce you to come here quickly when you arrive." Predominant among the "other reasons" was Cauvin's need for help. He had already agreed to set up a new station three miles from St. Mary's. Bayley was pressing for another one at English Neighborhood.

The bishop's invitation to which Cauvin referred in his letter was well received in Pittsburgh. In fact, before either letter arrived the decision had already been taken. Calandri forwarded a description of the proposed foundation to Rome. Tarlattini sent his decision, confident of a quick and positive approval. Bishop Bayley's letter manifested his expectation of an early beginning "on the Hill" with the assurance of genuine cooperation. If Tarlattini wished, Bayley offered to make out the deeds and transfer the property to the Order before their arrival. He declared:

The more I think of it, the more I am pleased with the proposed establishment. Before the Fathers come, which had better be as soon as possible, I would wish to know from you whether you would wish to retain the station at English Neighborhood where a piece of land has been given by a well-to-do Catholic who lives there²¹ and where a church must be built before long, or whether you would prefer that it should remain attached to Hoboken. Also, whether according to your Rules, I should make a deed to the property before you come. The reverend father (sic) Cauvin expressed himself to me as much pleased that you were to establish yourself at West Hoboken.²²

"To Keep Marking Time Is Not Right"

So confident was Bayley that the foundation would be begun almost immediately, he hurriedly added, ". . . send me the names

²¹ Mr. Arthur Green is the benefactor Bayley has in mind. Cf. Cauvin's article in Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

²² *UC:P Letters II*, Bayley to Rossi, Newark, October 16, 1860.

of the priests who are to come. I will send them to the Almanac for the next year." There was no difficulty at Pittsburgh where, as the chronicler relates, the monastery was "firmly established and well stocked with good religious and promising novices."²³ However, the decision had to come from Rome—and an exchange of letters could not be completed in less than two months. But Bayley, who expected some answer either from Rossi or Tarlattini, feared his letter approving the foundation might have been lost. On October 30, 1860, he wrote again, this time directly to the superior. On that same day Francis Anelli, who had spoken to Bayley but a few days previously, wrote in the bishop's name from Fort Lee to Rossi. The bishop was "anxiously awaiting for an answer" and "gives you the mission at W. Hoboken with the full approbation of Father Cauvin who (sic) the bishop out of politeness consulted."²⁴

Rossi's letter written from Liverpool, Ohio, crossed Bayley's. In it he confirmed the opinion he had expressed at their interview: the foundation would be accepted immediately after approval of the venture was received from Rome, and he was certain of a favorable reply. Tarlattini answered Bayley's letter of October 30 in the same vein.²⁵ Calandri, Rossi, Tarlattini and the entire community save one (Magno) approved the project, particularly in view of the difficulties that had arisen at Dunkirk which had influenced Tarlattini to decide to withhold any further development there.

Such was the situation when Albinus Magno was sent to Rome. He was instructed to inform the general about the situation in both localities, Buffalo and Newark, and to indicate the necessity of giving an early reply to Bishop Bayley. From a study of the correspondence relating to the West Hoboken foundation, Tarlattini did not seem to have the least doubt about securing confirmation from Rome. In early December, Calandri received the reply to the letter he had written at the close of the mission in October. Nothing came for Tarlattini. But the answer in Calandri's letter

²³ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 45.

²⁴ *UC:P Letters II*, Anelli to Rossi, Fort Lee, October 30, 1860.

²⁵ We have not been able to locate the original letters of Rossi and Tarlattini, nor did we find any note of it in Bayley's *Register of Letters Received*. However, Tarlattini scribbled a draft of his reply to Bayley on the reverse of Bayley's letter of October 30, where he also mentions Rossi's letter. Cf. *UC:P Letters II*, Bayley to Tarlattini, Newark, October 30, 1860.

was disappointment enough for two: "No!" There was still hope, however. The general's refusal had been dispatched before Father Albinus arrived in Rome. With a more exact account Testa might rescind his disapproval. Magno gave an exact account, indeed, of Dunkirk, and a very convincing one. He was too involved there to do otherwise, nor had he accurate information about "The Hill." When he returned at Christmas, he brought back an emphatic confirmation of the refusal contained in Calandri's letter. The general addressed himself directly to Tarlattini: ". . . you are not to begin any [foundation] except one and that is the one at Dunkirk. . . . I am not giving you permission for any other and don't get yourself involved."²⁶

Magno returned with three negative answers and one positive. To Tarlattini's repeated requests for more help from Italy, Anthony Testa reluctantly released nine new subjects for the American mission. But he refused Tarlattini his permission to accept Bishop Bayley's invitation; he forbade him even to think of starting a foundation of Passionist Nuns or a new order of Passionist Sisters, and he would not allow him to suspend the development of the Dunkirk foundation. As for the Passionist Nuns or Sisters, Tarlattini had no difficulty in concurring with the decision of the general. He was under no illusion about the difficulties inevitable to such an undertaking. It was only in response to a dictate of conscience that he had initiated the project. While grateful for the nine religious, in the present circumstances they actually complicated his problems, since even before they arrived the Pittsburgh house was already overcrowded. A new foundation was imperative and Tarlattini was determined it would *not* be at Dunkirk. In his reply to the letter Magno delivered personally from Rome, Tarlattini wrote clearly and firmly.

I expected you to have said something more about the foundation offered us near New York. (It's about a mile from New York²⁷ but is actually in the Diocese of Newark.) . . . Father Anthony said you wrote to me about it. Maybe the letter was lost. But from your

²⁶ Cf. *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, November 26, 1860. When Testa summarized his reason for refusing to approve another foundation, he referred to the letter of Father Anthony and his own reply.

²⁷ Tarlattini is speaking of the entire area; its confines would not be more than a mile from New York.

letter to Father Anthony I know you are opposed to it and that you have changed your opinion regarding the foundation of Passionist Nuns. . . .²⁸

A long paragraph followed concerning the obligation he had felt in conscience to establish the nuns in America and his perfect resignation to the general's decision in this matter. That terminated, he returned to the main thrust of the letter.

I cannot tell you how displeased I am over your opposition to the New York foundation. Not that I am anxious to make foundations . . . but because I feel this foundation cannot but be useful. It is also necessary. We are forty here counting only those who have been professed or vested. There is only one room for seculars besides the Bishop's apartment. . . .

Tarlattini then discussed the question of Dunkirk and stressed not only his own opinion but that of the community with respect to the decision they had taken on it—a decision which he maintained must still be accepted. He continued very frankly.

Right now I'm in a fine predicament and I don't know just how I'm going to get out of it. I promised the Bishop of Newark a decision at the beginning of the new year because I figured by that time I would have your answer. But I do not have it except, it is true, what you wrote in the letter to Father Anthony: but that means I cannot accept the foundation. But for me to tell the Bishop that we will not accept it is to go contrary to what I think is for the good of the Order and likewise contrary to what our present circumstances demand. If I am not allowed to accept it, neither am I able to refuse it for all the reasons I have given. And to keep marking time is not right. I've already put him off long enough. Patience!

This said, he put down the pen, put on his hat and went to West Hoboken himself. While he was convinced of what he wrote (nothing is clearer than that), he was still basing his judgment on the information he had received from Rossi and Calandri, and also, of course, from the letters written by Cauvin and Bishop Bayley. He was writing with great certainty. He could not afford to be mistaken. Albinus Magno, who was taking the short cut

²⁸ *AG:PSP III-13*, Tarlattini to Testa, January 9, 1861.

back to Dunkirk which in those days was by way of New York, accompanied him. In Hoboken Tarlattini met Cauvin and both men went up "The Hill." From Hoboken he went directly to Newark where he was introduced to Bishop Bayley. He assured the bishop of his own personal conviction that the offer should be accepted and explained the difficulty in which he found himself. While asking the general to reconsider he had actually discontinued the letter in order to come personally to examine the situation.

When he returned to Pittsburgh, after the interview, the undaunted Tarlattini picked up the pen and continued:

At this point I had interrupted this letter in order to go with Fr. Albinus to see the place myself and to speak directly with the bishop. . . . The place is altogether suitable. I told the Bishop that your reply has had to be very cautious, as in fact it was; that it would be necessary to write again and await a new decision. I beg your Paternity to answer me as soon as you possibly can. My position here is really difficult. Pray for me that God will give me light and strength to rule myself and the others according to his Holy Will.²⁹

In order that there would be no possibility that the general might miss the importance that Tarlattini attached to the acceptance of the Hoboken foundation, before he sealed the letter Tarlattini convened the local council, drew up a petition on behalf of the foundation and asked all who were in accord with it to add their signatures to his. Everyone signed. Magno was not present. Because of his letter the Passionists were established early in the metropolitan area in what was to become one of the most important centers both for the apostolate and the education of future priests.

"I Will Hail with Pleasure the Advent of Your Congregation"

The reply from Rome was anxiously awaited in Hoboken, in Pittsburgh and in Newark. Bayley had been expecting the Passionists since the previous October. Tarlattini had promised a definite date by the first of the year. Cauvin was debating the opening of new mission stations pending the arrival of help from the monas-

²⁹ *Ibid.*

tery in Birmingham. Two months passed and still no answer. Impatient of delay, Cauvin wrote to Tarlattini. The letter was dated March 6, 1861. As the population increased, his duties also became more numerous. Especially during the Lenten season, his need for an assistant was urgent. He continued:

I will be very happy if some fathers could be sent at once or at least if your Reverence would be able to send some priests to help us before Palm Sunday. . . .

I hope that the reply of the Father General has arrived by now and that your reverence (sic) will inform me of the ultimate decision.³⁰

But the ultimate decision had not arrived. It was just then being resolved in Rome. Tarlattini's strong, categorical letter evoked a quick and clear response. The day after the letter was received³¹ Testa hastened to ratify Tarlattini's program. The superior in America was given full approval and "every faculty necessary to complete the work" with the particular blessing of the general. Testa had but one word of warning. It was at the same time a message of encouragement. "You are no longer new-comers there. Now that you know the country and its ways and customs you should be able to make a much better establishment and prevent those difficulties which perhaps simply could not have been avoided in the beginning."³²

They were not newcomers. The excellence of the establishment they made can be judged by the accomplishments of these first Passionists during the first ten years in New Jersey. In that short time they built the first monastery, erected a "colossal church,"³³ constructed a school, equipped a convent, transformed

³⁰ *UC:P Letters II*, Cauvin to Tarlattini, March 6, 1861.

³¹ Contrary to his usual precision in dating his correspondence and noting when the incoming mail arrived and how long it required to get to Rome, Testa neglected to date this important letter. It is in answer to Tarlattini's of January 9, 1861. That he answered immediately is clear from the first line: "The day before yesterday I received. . . ." Since his answer arrived in Pittsburgh before April 8, it must have been written in early March. Cf. *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, March s.d., 1861.

³² *Ibid.* The difficulties were in reference to the trouble at Dunkirk and the problem over the contract by which they held the Pittsburgh property. Cf. *Part I, Chapter III*. A further difficulty arose over accepting work in dioceses other than Pittsburgh, but this was clearly a misinterpretation of the Rome Agreement.

³³ Cf. *HKB III*, 31-35, for a description of the first St. Michael's which was begun in 1869 and dedicated in 1875.

Old St. Mary's into a parish center and auditorium and added a north wing to the monastery. Their properties were valued at close to a million dollars.³⁴ All this happened during and after the war years. And great as this achievement was, it pales when compared to the deeper reality it represented in the contribution these religious made to the development of the Church in northern New Jersey—the founding of parishes and schools, the conducting of missions and retreats throughout the metropolitan area and the stabilizing of the Passionist life and apostolate in America. The establishment at West Hoboken became the largest foundation of the Order in the country for the next hundred years, and for almost an equal length of time was its head and center.

When Tarlattini communicated the news of Rome's approval to Newark, Bishop Bayley immediately relayed word of his own satisfaction.

I have received your letter informing me of your intention of sending two priests and a lay brother to West Hoboken.

I will hail with pleasure the advent of your congregation into my diocese and wish that God in his mercy may make it the instrument of great benefit to the poor people whom he has committed to my care. My only regret is that the times are not more propitious³⁵—but we must trust in God. Recommending myself and my diocese to the prayers of your community, I remain with sincere regards,

Your friend, sincerely
James, Bishop of Newark³⁶

Before the men arrived from Pittsburgh, Bayley himself went up to West Hoboken to inspect the property and the residence. The residence was a very small structure attached to the rear of the church as a home for the sexton and his family. However, when the sexton left he took all the furnishings with him. Bayley

³⁴ *Ibid.* Where Barr states the church and monastery alone were valued at \$400,000, this did not include the other properties and buildings.

³⁵ On April 12, four days after Bayley wrote, General Pierre G. T. Beauregard, the officer in command at Charleston, South Carolina, under orders from President Davis and the Confederate cabinet, opened fire on Fort Sumter, thus beginning the Civil War.

³⁶ *UC:P Letters II*, Bayley to Tarlattini, April 8, 1861.

was most dissatisfied not only with the small size of the place but also with the total lack of equipment.³⁷

When the bishop remonstrated with Cauvin over this situation, he replied in two letters in which he explained exactly what he had done for the church in West Hoboken and how he had prepared for the arrival of the Passionists. His first letter has been lost. The second, written to complete the former report, while giving a good insight into the exact administration of Father Cauvin, at the same time depicted the meager beginnings of the West Hoboken foundation,

I should have told your Grace in my last letter that I did not charge anything for the *oil paintings* (sic) I got from Europe;³⁸ they were a present to the Church of West Hoboken from me. I charged only for the freight, frames and stations as follows:

Paid for frames to Mr. Hoffman	\$ 58.50
Freight from Europe, broker cartage	17.17
14 stations bought from Mr. Hoffman	25.00
	<hr/>
	\$100.67

As the paints were intended for the mission which took place one week after their blessing, I should have also explained in my last letter that in the 200 I put for paintings, were comprised the expenses for the mission and the offering of \$100 to the Missionaries (a portion of which, however, was collected in Hoboken).

It is therefore only for the repairs and improvements made in the church last fall and for which I obtained the consent of your Grace that I charge the Church as follows:

Paid to Mr. Driscoll for repairs	\$ 55.00
Paid to Mr. Slater of Belleville for painting the church and house	120.00
Paid to Mr. Hill to form a choir	42.00
	<hr/>
	\$217.00

These expenses were made in view of the coming of the Passionist Fathers; the small revenues of the church having been all spent in carriages on Sundays and for sick calls, in fact, for Interest

³⁷ NAA: *Letter Book*, p. 142; April 11, 1861, Bayley to Cauvin, "expressing my surprise that the house etc. at West Hoboken had not been got ready for them [the Passionists]."

³⁸ The paintings constituted a series of fifteen canvases Chauvin installed in September, 1860; cf. Cauvin's article in Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

(sic) and Insurance (sic) and if only lately I have established a regular pew-rent, it was for the benefit of the Passionist Fathers, to whom I gave last Sunday the amount received in advance.³⁹

After explaining his administration of the stations at English Neighborhood and Bull's Ferry which were to become the Order's responsibility, Cauvin concluded, "And thus exonerating myself from every responsibility respecting the Old Mission of West Hoboken and renouncing to (sic) every claim of any kind on it, I have the honor of being. . . ."

Cauvin's sincerity and generosity more than compensated for the inconveniences and discomforts of the poorly-equipped house. The reception he prepared for Tarlattini and his assistants contrasted sharply with the welcome Peter Colgan had tendered to Albinus Magno in Dunkirk. The Passionists arrived in West Hoboken on April 16, 1861. On that day Bayley noted in his diary:

The Rev. Father Tarlattini, Rev. Father Nagler and Brother Lawrence, Passionists, took possession of the church and Mission of West Hoboken. I offered them a larger church & (sic) better mission,⁴⁰ but they preferred to begin there, "in a small way" as they said.⁴¹

Possession, Friendship, Development

On the following Sunday, April 21, the Passionists took formal possession in a solemn public ceremony. Cauvin, who by right could be named the first promoter of para-liturgical services in America, and who at that time had already given three un-

³⁹ *NAA: Letters to Bishop Bayley*, Cauvin to Bayley, April 24, 1861.

⁴⁰ The "larger church and better mission" was at Camden, N.J. Cf. Kenny, "History of St. Michael's Monastery Parish," *Parish Calendar*, Vol. V, No. 7 (May, 1911); *NAA: Bayley, Diary*, p. 92.

⁴¹ On September 2, 1853, almost two months before his consecration as first Bishop of Newark, Bayley commenced what he entitled *Register of Diocese* but what is in reality his diary. It is the most valuable document for the early history of the Church in New Jersey. After Bayley's transfer to Baltimore, Bishop Corrigan, his successor, continued the *Register* to September 24, 1876. Bayley's record from 1853 to 1872 has been expertly edited by a priest of the Archdiocese of Newark, Father Edwin Voss Sullivan, as a doctoral dissertation for the University of Ottawa in 1956 under the title: *An Annotated Copy of the Diary of Bishop James Roosevelt Bayley, First Bishop of Newark, New Jersey, 1853-1872*. Sullivan's notes are always useful. Hereafter the reference for the *Register* will be: Bayley, *Diary*.

usual ceremonies to the country, each the first of its kind,⁴² now arranged to transfer ownership and jurisdiction over the Church of Our Lady of Mercy to the Passionist Fathers. The account in the *New York Freeman's Journal* preserves the details of the ceremony.

Last Sunday, 21st of April, Very Rev. John Domenic Tarlattini (sic), Superior of the Passionist Fathers in America, was solemnly installed as the new pastor of the Church of West Hoboken, N.J., by Rev. Fr. Cauvin of Hoboken, who has had always the charge of the church since he built it nine years ago (1852) (sic). The ceremony proved very interesting. Rev. Father Caucin (sic) assisted by his assistant, Rev. Janarius (sic) De Concilio,⁴³ delivered up to the Very Rev. Fr. Tarlatini (sic), who was accompanied by two of his religious priests and a brother, Rev. Vincent Nagle (sic) and Rev. John Baptist Baudinelli and Brother Lorenzo, the keys of the door of the church, the confessional and the tabernacle, and then divested himself of the Pastoral (sic) stole and placed it around the neck of the new pastor transferring thus to him all jurisdiction and authority over the Church and its missions. He then addressed the crowded congregation amid the sighs and tears of the faithful exhorting them to receive the Missionary Fathers as the Galatians received St. Paul with love and gratitude, as angels of God, as Jesus Christ Himself. The Passionist Father Rev. Vincent Nagle (sic) preached the installation sermon, which was a very eloquent one and proved highly satisfactory to all the congregation. The Passionist Fathers desire to make a foundation of their order in that beautiful and solitary place.⁴⁴

⁴² The three previous ceremonies were: (1) the transfer of the relics of St. Quietus, Martyr, June 1, 1856; (2) the solemn crowning of the painting of Our Lady of Foligno by Bishop Bayley, June 20, 1858; (3) the consecration of forty-two oil paintings, June 10, 1860. Cf. Cauvin, *op. cit.*, pp. 154-163.

⁴³ Januarius de Concilio: born in Naples, July 6, 1836; arrived in Newark, April 10, 1860; assigned to Cauvin at Hoboken; first pastor of St. Michael's, Jersey City, N.J.; twice professor at Seton College; wrote the Baltimore Catechism which was used for fifty years without a change; died in Jersey City, June, 1898. Cf. Leroy Williams, *Parish Priest*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1953; Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 245, 343; *NAA: Register of Clergy*, Vol. I., p. 15. This Register contains about a page of biographical material on the priests of the Newark Diocese from the beginning to 1881. Much of the material is taken from Bayley's *Diary*. However, contrary to the opinion of Sullivan (*op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 311), the Register is not the work of Bayley but of his successor, Bishop Corrigan, as is immediately evident from a study of the calligraphy.

⁴⁴ *Freeman's Journal*, April 27, 1861. Cf. Yeager, *op. cit.* p. 172. It did not take much to crowd the little church; there were 65 pews; capacity crowd: 400.

Tarlattini returned to Pittsburgh after appointing Baudinelli as first superior. In September Anthony Calandri replaced Baudinelli, while Liberatus Bonelli took over the post of master of novices.

Meantime, the first monastery of the Order in New Jersey, merely another frame house added to the sexton's home, was in the process of construction.⁴⁵ The building which accommodated fourteen religious very incommodiously was ready in February of the following year. The Italian class of students was transferred to St. Mary's on Kerrigan Lane; the following July, the American class was sent to St. Mary's in Dunkirk, since Tarlattini had already determined to separate the two classes. Victor Carrunchio was appointed first rector of the community at West Hoboken. The members of this first community were: Gaudentius Rossi (assistant superior), Anthony Calandri, Vincent Nagler, John Baptist Baudinelli, and Brother Lawrence di Giacomo; the students were: Arcangelo Russo, Eusebius Sotis, Timothy Pacitti, Vitalian Lilla, Nilus Mastrojanni and Faustinus Sergente.

A short time after their arrival in West Hoboken, these students began their ordination retreat. Bishop Bayley, who frequently used to visit the fathers, both at St. Mary's and, later, in the new monastery (St. Michael's), spent the week of February 23-29 with the community. On Monday of that week he conferred tonsure, minor orders and subdeaconate on all six students, and on the following day he ordained Sergente, Russo and Sotis as deacons. Bayley then proceeded with the first ordination of Passionist priests in the Diocese of Newark on Wednesday, February 26, ordaining only Sergente and Russo in the little frame church, since the dimissorial letters for Sotis and Pacitti had not come from Pittsburgh. The ceremonies were no sooner completed, however, when the dimissorials were delivered. Then, rather than disappoint the young students, Timothy and Eusebius, by postponing their ordination, Bayley granted them a dispensation for age and stayed to ordain Timothy as a deacon on Thursday and

⁴⁵ *PA:M Chronicle*, p. 48. In 1882, when the Brothers of the Christian Schools took over the teaching of the boys in the parish school, this first monastery became their residence until 1892. Cf. *The Passionists in New Jersey*. Union City 1936, pp. 21-23. See Kenny, *op. cit.*, *Parish Calendar*, Vol. V, No. 3 (December, 1910).

both of them to the priesthood on Friday, the 28th.⁴⁶ During this long visit, which provided Bayley with the opportunity to study the Passionist monastic life by an active participation in the acts of the common observance, is found the origin of that lasting friendship and constant understanding the first Bishop of Newark always manifested toward the second religious order established in the State of New Jersey.

In the spring of this same year, 1862, Rossi and Nagler were invited to conduct the mission in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark. When Rossi fell ill on the opening night, Calandri replaced him. In the following autumn the three leading missionaries, Rossi, Calandri and Magno, preached a very successful mission in St. Peter's, Jersey City. Two years later, when Bayley determined to inaugurate the Forty Hours devotion in his diocese, it was Rossi who gave the discourses. On the last evening confessions were heard until two in the morning.

Even before the ordination of the students, the little community had begun that work which was especially urgent in the rapidly growing counties of northern New Jersey: the organization of parochial life. The fathers had arrived in April of 1861. In November, Bayley wrote to Tarlattini:

There is a village called Greenville, between Hudson City and Bergen Point, where the Reverend Father Vincent [Nagler] has celebrated Mass lately every two weeks—there are many catholics (sic) in that vicinity, most of them German, who have been almost entirely deprived of any opportunity of practicing their Religion (sic) and who are consequently very grateful for the services your fathers have rendered to them. They are very anxious to erect a very small church but are unwilling to do so until they have some certainty that the services of your fathers will be continued to them

⁴⁶ *NAA*: Bayley, *Diary*, p. 100, where he carefully notes the various orders conferred and the dispensations granted. "On Wednesday a permission came for F. Timothy and F. Eusebius to be ordained priests. . . . On Friday I ordained him [Timothy] a priest (dispensing 17 months because of his age) and at the same time Eusebius with a dispensation of 11 months on account of age." The only other priest ordained at Old St. Mary's was Vitalian Lilla, by Bayley on May 10, 1863; Nilus Mastrojanni was ordained alone in the Newark Cathedral the following November 21. Cf. Bayley, *Diary*, pp. 107, 115; *The Metropolitan Record*, Vol. IV, No. 11, p. 171 (March 6, 1862), carried a very garbled account of the ordination ceremonies in February and an attempted brief history of the arrival of the Order in New Jersey.

—a deputation of very respectable men came to me today (sic) about the matter and requested me to write to obtain some assurance that a priest who speaks German will attend them at least every two weeks. It will form a very good mission and will aid to support the fathers at W. Hoboken. The good that will be done will be very great. Several of the Catholics there are quite well off in worldly goods, but have been very negligent in their religious duties and now manifest excellent dispositions.

I take advantage of the opportunity to return you (sic) my sincere thanks for having sent your fathers to my poor diocese. They have already done such good, and I anticipate the greatest benefits to religion from their future favors.⁴⁷

This was the origin of St. Paul's Church in Greenville (presently Jersey City). Within the next four years the Passionists organized five parishes in the area assigned to them.⁴⁸ In the summer of 1865 the first of these, St. Paul's, had its own church and was sufficiently organized to support a resident pastor. Bayley appointed Father Neiderhauser, thus freeing the Order for work in unorganized districts and for a greater concentration on their own specific apostolate.

By the end of the year the first church in Guttenberg was completed. In the following January Bayley dedicated the church but required the Passionists to remain in charge. At the same time he appointed them to administer Holy Family Parish in Union Hill.⁴⁹ While these parishes were being organized the fathers still lived at Old St. Mary's in the small frame building attached to the church on Kerrigan Lane. It was not until the fall of 1864 that the new monastery was ready for occupancy.

Ideals Achieved—All but One

While Father John Dominick Tarlattini authorized the con-

⁴⁷ *UC:P Letters II*, Bayley to Tarlattini, November 15, 1861.

⁴⁸ The five parishes were: St. Paul's, Greenville; St. Joseph's, Guttenberg; St. Paul of the Cross, Jersey City; Holy Family, Union Hill; St. Mary's, West Hoboken.

⁴⁹ Cf. Flynn, *op. cit.*, pp. 393-396; Bayley, *Diary*, p. 141. After the dedication ceremony, January 28, 1866, Bayley returned to the monastery and in the evening received the news that Seton College had burned the previous night. "Father George [Doane, his vicar-general] came in a sleigh to tell me that the Marble House at the college was burnt last night—cost \$24,000 without furniture; insured for \$19,000; probable cause a lighted match being thrown down the aperture by the steampipe." Bayley left immediately for the college.

struction of a temporary monastery at West Hoboken, plans were taking shape in his own mind for a complete foundation. These plans were designed to incorporate the directives received over the years from Rome. In his latest instruction, a summary of all the previous discussions regarding new foundations, the general focused Tarlattini's attention on the two indispensable requisites: solitude and apostolate. "Any foundation that does not combine these qualities you must not accept unless on a temporary basis."⁵⁰ The secret was to make a good selection in the very beginning. The successes and failures of the past would serve as guides. In London, for example, they were at that very time moving into a fifth location, the previous four having proved incompatible with the monastic life of the Order.⁵¹ Much inconvenience, misunderstanding and lessening of religious spirit, not to mention expense, would have been avoided had they been cautious in the acceptance of the first site. A location on the outskirts of the city but on a tract of land large enough to safeguard solitude was most suited to the Passionist life and apostolate. Then, bearing in mind the needs for the proper education of the young religious and the peace and recollection required for the returning missionary, the monastery was to be constructed on that part of the property most adaptable to these purposes.

However, in America where the Church itself was in an inchoative state and where the Passionists were in the initial stages of development, as yet unknown and without funds, it was permissible to accept the administration of parishes, since this would likely be the prerequisite for entrance into a new diocese. But in the contract with the bishop the temporary nature of this parochial responsibility had to be clearly stated. Whenever it should become necessary to build a parish church, it was never to be located adjacent to the monastery. To do this would be to destroy the very solitude and recollection which they sought to obtain in the first place. Two possibilities were offered to the delegate by the general. He could decide to repeat elsewhere the arrangement in-

⁵⁰ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, June 3, 1861. Special emphasis is placed on keeping the parish church a separate unit apart from the monastery. Cf. also his letter of September 11, 1861.

⁵¹ The houses in the London area accepted and abandoned were Popular House, Kingsbury Green, The Hyde and Woodfield House. The new location on Highgate Hill proved completely satisfactory. Cf. Charles, *op. cit.* II, p. 553.

troduced at Pittsburgh, with the parish church somewhat distant from the monastery property itself. On the other hand, he could elect to construct the church, together with its little house for the priest who would administer the parish, on a far end of the monastery property, nearest to the people but entirely distinct from the retreat itself. The general inclined to this arrangement. Such was the ideal Tarlattini was charged to realize.

At West Hoboken Tarlattini did not have to look far for property. Old St. Mary's was located at the entrance of a vast estate. A substantial piece in the midst of this estate would certainly be in solitude, and yet it was within easy access of five of the largest cities in the East: New York, Brooklyn, Jersey City, Newark and Hoboken. From New York, train connections were available to every other city where their missionary work would be required. Solitude and apostolate were most happily combined. Moreover Indian Spring, the source of the finest water in the area, was on the property they desired. The air was salubrious, the atmosphere peaceful, and James Kerrigan was willing to divide his land. Lest they be "taken for a ride,"⁵² the general suggested that Tarlattini negotiate for the property through a third disinterested party more experienced in business matters. But Kerrigan's reputation was security enough. Calandri made the first approach. His proposal to buy thirty-two acres at \$1,000 an acre brought a word of restraint from Rome. Writing to Tarlattini, Testa cautioned, "Even though the villa is located so advantageously and it is so altogether pleasing to Father Anthony, still if it is going to cost \$32,000, I think you will have to mortify your desire unless you can find some pious and rich benefactor to buy it for you."⁵³ They could find none. The first monies came from Pittsburgh where Tarlattini sold Duggan's farm, netting close to \$4,000; to this he added \$2,000 from the monastery funds.⁵⁴ The \$6,000 was the first payment, not for thirty-two, but for a modest sixteen acres.

It was not until August 9, 1863, that the foundation stone

⁵² "Per acquistare il terreno, affinchè non si pongano, come suol dirsi, 'sul cavallo d'Orlando,' non convien far conoscere i piani che si hanno, e si potrebbe far l'acquisto per mezzo di persone terze affezionate": *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, September 11, 1861.

⁵³ *UC:P Letters I*, Testa to Tarlattini, June 3, 1861.

⁵⁴ *PA:M Chronicles*, pp. 52-53. The cost was \$16,000; later four more acres were acquired from other property holders at a cost of over \$7,500, almost four times more than the Kerrigan property. Cf. *UC:P Deeds*, West Street Property, Nos. 1 to 8.

of the monastery could be laid. The ceremonies began with solemn pontifical vespers in St. Mary's, followed by a long procession, civic and religious, across the fields to the site. Three sermons were preached simultaneously for the benefit of the German, Irish and French peoples of the metropolitan area.⁵⁵ Finally, the long parade returned to the church. Bayley remarked ". . . as hot a day as I ever felt. My vestments were saturated with perspiration."⁵⁶

A year later, at the dedication ceremonies on September 25, Bayley again officiated and placed the fathers in possession of the monastery. On this occasion Patrick Weldon,⁵⁷ President of the Guild of the Passion, a leading citizen and the representative of St. Mary's congregation, addressed the crowd from the front entrance of the monastery. Summarizing the work of the Order since its arrival in New Jersey, he said, in part:

We address ourselves to you, Very Reverend Father Provincial, on account of your relation both to the religious order which you so worthily reppresent (sic) and so wisely govern . . . and more particularly on account of your connection with our congregation of St. Mary, West Hoboken. . . . At your first arrival amongst us, you found a small, poor and widely sckattered (sic) congregation which under the fostering love of the Passionist Fathers has doubled in number and highly improved in piety. . . . During three short years . . . you have enlarged and beautified the House of God. . . . You have built for us a commodius (sic) brick school house. . . . You have erected a large frame house which has hitherto sheltered your fervent religious community and which your prudent foresight (sic) and zeal has (sic) destined either for a pastoral residence or more likely for a convent. . . .

⁵⁵ We can detect the hand of Cauvin in planning the observances; the sermons were preached by Cauvin in French, Parczyk in German, and the famous Edward McGlynn in English. McGlynn later was the center of bitter controversy because of his espousal of Henry George's "Single Tax" theory. He was pastor of St. Stephen's, New York City, 1866-1887; after his excommunication and reconciliation, Archbishop Corrigan appointed him pastor of St. Mary's, Newburgh, N.Y., a post he held from 1895 until his death in 1900. For an account of the cornerstone ceremonies, cf. *Freemans Journal*, August 15, 1863, p. 8; *HKB* III, 16-17; XII, 291. On McGlynn, cf. John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, 1834-1921*. Milwaukee: Bruce 1952, pp. 547-594.

⁵⁶ *Newark Archdiocesan Archives: Bayley, Diary*, p. 111.

⁵⁷ Patrick Weldon late in life married a second time; he has two grandsons in the Order today, Fathers Alfred and Bertrand Weaver; by an interesting coincidence, the former is the present pastor of St. Michael's Monastery Church.

For the spiritual improvment (sic) of our wives and sisters, sons and daughters, pious sodalities have been established. . . . We glory in the privilege of wearing this badge as members of the Holy Guild of Our Lord's Passion with rules for our government which have received episcopal approbation.

. . . But how shall we be able to express our admiration at the wisdom which conceived the idea and formed the plan and at the superhuman energy which in so short a time and under the most difficult circumstances could erect this magnificent structure. The means at your disposal are very limited and uncertain. . . . Above all, the unhappy troubles of our beloved country, the depression of the money market, the unusually high prices for building materials, the scarcity of skilled mechanics and laborers, and consequently high wages, demanded for every kind of work would have deterred almost any person from an undertaking which seemed to require a princely fortune and gigantic efforts. . . . You and your religious have worked manfully for the Common Welfare (sic) of our holy religion. . . . This monastery is at present for us all as it will continue for generations to be a realization of that divine promise: "Seek ye first the kingdom of heaven." . . . We sincerely rejoice to see in this monastery a select school for ecclesiastical learning and a seminary of religious priests and regular missionaries destined to spread the light of truth and the Gospel of salvation to every part of the American Continent.⁵⁸

Tarlattini, in the only public address he ever delivered, offered humble and sincere thanks, pointing to the one way gratitude can be properly manifested: "By the purity of our lives [let us] show ourselves worthy disciples of the Cross."⁵⁹

The monastery was built of West Hoboken bluestone and Newark brownstone, much of it quarried on the premises. It was a five-story structure, including the basement where the refectory,

⁵⁸ Among uncatalogued papers in the Provincial Archives was found one simply marked "Very Rev. Father Dominick Tarlattini." Upon analysis it proved to be the original copy of Weldon's talk.

⁵⁹ *HKB* III, 16, where he notes it is the only time during his 25 years in America that Tarlattini spoke publicly. His little acknowledgment was followed by a magnificent discourse by Dr. Henry Brann, professor at Seton College, 1862-1864; assistant at St. Mary's, Jersey City, N.J., to 1867; in that year, after a dispute with Bayley, he left the diocese and taught at the seminary in Troy, New York; his last post was pastor of St. Agnes, New York City. For the discourse, cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, 285; *HKB* XII, 292-293. On Dr. Brann, cf. Yeager, *op. cit.*, p. 473; Flynn, *op. cit.*, p. 371. *The Register of the Clergy*, Vol. I, p. 92, in the Newark Archdiocesan Archives adds nothing more.

kitchen, laundry and heating unit were located. There were forty-eight rooms for religious. The entire plan called for the addition of a north and south wing. Work on the north wing started immediately. This wing was designed to include a large public chapel, a small retreat house for clergy and laymen and additional rooms for students and missionaries. The chapel was dedicated by the bishop-elect of Rochester, Bernard McQuade, on September 30, 1866.

Less than three years after the opening of the public chapel, construction of the new church was initiated. Two sites were proposed: one on the far westerly end of the property, the other on the location of Old St. Mary's. Neither was chosen. The church was built flush to the monastery, out from the north wing. The decision was based on practical prudence rather than objective principle. It was unfortunate, especially in view of the decree of the First Provincial Chapter which, in its desire to implement the directives of the general, Anthony of St. James, regarding the construction of a parish church in relation to the monastery, prohibited its being so conjoined.

The latter part of the second session "was principally employed in discussing the most prudent plan for the location of our Retreats in this religious province. After ten years' experience, and most serious consideration, long and fervent prayers, having arrived to (sic) the unanimous conclusion that in the present circumstances of the Catholic religion in America our religious Fathers (sic) cannot avoid taking the charge and care of secular congregations in the immediate neighborhood of our Retreats, and foreseeing that for years to come the same reasons will continue to exist in relation to future foundations, the Chapter was of unanimous opinion that our Retreats, in conformity to the letter and the Spirit (sic) of our holy (sic) Rules and practise (sic) of our Congregation, should be founded in comparative solitude and separated from the Church or Secular Congregation (sic).⁶⁰

While the new church gave the monastery a magnificent, imposing appearance and while it was the scene of some of the greatest ecclesiastical services in the country, still it was a defection from the ideal. But Tarlattini was no longer in authority. Testa was dead.

⁶⁰ *UC:P Acts of Provincial Chapters*, f. 10r.

8. On Gaining the Top of the Hill

“**I**n order to properly systematize the government of the Congregation [in America] it is well that we begin to prepare the ground for the creation of a province.”¹ When the general wrote these lines, the foundations at Dunkirk and West Hoboken were in their initial stages of development. The communities were small and living in temporary residences. But Anthony Testa always took the long view of things. In another year he would assemble the General Chapter. He had initiated the work in America; he had guided its development step by step. Before he would lay down the burdens of twenty-four years of continual governance of the entire Order, he wished to bring this overseas effort which had been so arduously organized to an initial stage of perfection by the erection of a province. “When you have placed a sufficient religious family in each house,” Testa continued, “and when the regular observance has been inaugurated, we must treat more carefully the selection of local superiors. We will need three. But two of these, the two who are to govern the new foundations, must have a combination of qualities. They must be possessed of a love for the observance; they must have a special regard for the proper training of the young religious; they must manifest prudential conduct so that they will be able to maintain peace at home while handling wisely all the external affairs of the monastery; they must have enough energy to supply the needs of a religious family while moving ahead and putting things in order in the best manner possible.” The general himself realized this was a great deal to look for in one man. But he was consistent in his presentation of ideals. “It is true we cannot

¹ *UC:P Letters* 1, Testa to Tarlattini, January 24, 1862.

hope to find all these qualities together in a perfect degree; still, we must be content only with him who lacks the least."

In the selection of the new master of novices, even greater care had to be exercised. Above all else, it was essential that he should be capable of inspiring the candidates with a love for the Order. He must know how "to communicate the spirit of the Congregation, making adaptations as far as necessary to the genius of the nation, not harming or offending the national character but blending it with the Passionist spirit."² Here again, the general added, "examine the merits. Select only the best." As for the vice-consultors, two from among the older men were to be named, men capable in Tarlattini's judgment of giving sound counsel, although perhaps they might not have that complex of qualifications required to rule a community.

Up to this point, Tarlattini had governed as commissary with the simple title of "superior." When Dunkirk was accepted and then Hoboken, he was superior at one and the same time of all three houses.³ Magno and John Baptist Baudinelli and Vincent Nagler were his assistants without any direct authority. With the letter of January 24, 1862, the general intended to raise the Order in America to the status of vice-province. Tarlattini remained as vice-provincial. He appointed Victor Carrunchio to West Hoboken and Albinus Magno to Dunkirk as superiors; Liberatus Bonelli was proposed for master. As vice-consultors, Gaudentius Rossi and Anthony Calandri were named. Neither the general nor Tarlattini believed either of these men suitable for a rectorship.⁴ They were, however, the two most capable and outstanding missionaries. Their accomplishments were daily winning greater esteem for the Order and a deeper appreciation for its specific work.

Death of a Genius

In May and June further instructions arrived from Rome.⁵ Testa, whose health was failing noticeably, seemed to be hurrying the process. Regrettably, he did not live to see the province an

² *Ibid.*

³ *UC:P Letters 1*, Testa to Tarlattini, February, 1861.

⁴ Cf. *UC:P Letters 1*, Testa to Tarlattini, October 27, 1860; London: Monastery Archives, Testa to Grotti, November 1, 1860.

⁵ *UC:P Letters 1*, Testa to Tarlattini, May 7, 1862; Pius Cayro to Tarlattini, June 28, 1862.

accomplished fact. In May he was just able to guide the pen; in June he could no longer write. By dictation he continued his voluminous correspondence which he considered a primary responsibility. On August 2, 1862, the Second Founder of the Passionist Congregation was dead. An emptiness was felt throughout the Order. The loss was enormous. "It could not have been otherwise," wrote the interim general, Pius Cayro.

He was a man of genius. Broadminded. Deep. Long experience was his master. Sound doctrine his support. Prudence his guide. He worked unremittingly for the glory of God and the welfare of the Congregation. In prayer God gave him light and fired him with zeal.

He ruled the Order with ease. Under his direction it grew. He made it great. He was its light.⁶

The saintly Padre Pio was of one mind with his predecessor. It was clearly Testa's intention to elevate the American foundations to the status of a province in the General Chapter. Hence the following February, in the letter of convocation, the vice-general summoned Tarlattini to Rome, granting him at the same time the right to select another priest who together with him would represent the vice-province. Calandri's name was suggested. The two men left for Rome in early April. At the Chapter, however, Tarlattini alone was given place as a capitular with active and passive suffrage.

Principal among the items on the agenda was the proposition for creating the new province. In this connection a *supplica* was presented to Pius IX in an audience granted to the vice-general on April 23, 1863.

The Very Reverend Father Pio, Vice-general of the Passionist Congregation, humbly prostrate at the feet of Your Holiness, presents with every mark of esteem the petition that in as much as the Congregation has established three houses in Northern United States of America with a religious community in each and since

⁶ Circular Letter, "La Dolorosa Perdita," February 14, 1863, *Acta Congregationis XVIII*, 15. Cf. *Fontes III* 34. It is a great lament to find so outstanding a leader almost completely forgotten, his works unedited, his life unwritten. The reaction after his death to his universalism which grew strong in the Italian Provinces is chiefly responsible for the oblivion to which Anthony Testa has been consigned. It also impeded the growth and progress of the Order.

it is deemed expedient to form these houses into a province electing the major and local superiors and the master of novices, the General Chapter which is to be held in Rome on the third of the following month of May, be given faculty to form the said three houses into a province and for this first time (apart from the ordinary procedure) be given the right to elect the Provincial and his Consultors; as for the other superiors and the master of novices that they be elected in the Provincial Chapter but besides the Provincial and his Consultors all those priests be given an active suffrage who by Rule have only a passive vote in the chapters.⁷

By granting this petition Pius IX assured the election of John Dominick Tarlattini. The privilege was likewise a tribute to the men who had worked to form the new province. As a result of the arrangement detailed above, they would each have an active voice in the first Provincial Chapter.

Birth of a Province

The Twenty-First General Chapter was held in Rome from May 3 to May 12, 1863.⁸ Pius Cayro, president of the Chapter and logical successor to the great Anthony Testa, pleaded not to be considered for so responsible an office. On the fourth ballot, his brother, Peter Paul Cayro, was elected. Pius accepted the office of procurator general.

The entire ninth and tenth sessions (May 8) were taken up with a discussion of the American foundations, during which Tarlattini gave a full report on the history and status of each house. The first decree of the Chapter erected the first province of the Order in America under the title of Blessed Paul of the Cross. Without discussion, Tarlattini was immediately elected first provincial, with Gaudentius Rossi and Anthony Calandri as first and second consultors respectively.

It is interesting to note that it was in this same General Chapter that Peter Magagnotto was authorized to establish two new foundations in the Americas: one in the Diocese of Marysville, California, and another in Guayaquil, Ecuador. The second of

⁷ *UC:P Letters 1*, Supplica of Pius Cayro to Pius IX, April 23, 1863. (Original)

⁸ For a brief history of the XXI General Chapter, cf. Giorgini, *Fontes III*, 33-36; for the decrees, *ibid.*, 66-68. *AG: Atti dei Capitoli: II*; Capitolo XXI tenuto in questo ritiro de SS. Giovanni e Paolo dal giorno 3 sino al 12 di maggio 1863.

these foundations was never attempted because of the unsettled political conditions of the country. The first one was dissolved as the result of a serious dispute over the question of ownership of ecclesiastical properties. The religious were absorbed into the Province of Blessed Paul of the Cross. Its final outcome was the establishment of the Passionists in Mexico.⁹

When they returned to America, the new provincial and his second consultor were accompanied by two new recruits for the Province, Father Telesforo Cannavale and Brother Gabriel Rinaldi,¹⁰ and the two students whom Tarlattini had sent to Rome in 1856, Thomas O'Connor and Henry Egler. John Philip, the third of the famous Baudinelli brothers, destined for the California mission, was also a member of the party. They arrived in New York on June 14 "after a long and *unpleasant* voyage." From New York Tarlattini sent out his first circular letter announcing the events that had taken place in Rome.

Written aboard ship so that the good news would be dispatched at once, it is charming in simplicity and candor.

Our merciful Lord having disposed in the last General Chapter of our Congregation, that the three houses of ours in this country should be raised to a regular Province, under the title of the *Province of Blessed Paul of the Cross*, our Founder, we must thank the Giver of all good for such a favours (sic) showing at the same time our gratitude to Him by an always more faithful observance of our rules, careful correspondence to His graces and sollicitous (sic) use of the means which He has put in our hands for our sanctification.

I the undersigned having been appointed as first Superior (sic) of the newly elected Province, knowing and fearing my own insufficiency, earnestly beseech you all to assist me in the discharge of my difficult duty with your prayers, your lights, your good examples, whilst I embrace you all in the Lord and promise not to spare myself for your welfare.

In due time we shall hold our first Provincial Chapter, to which all the priests of the three houses who have spent ten years in the

⁹ This episode in Passionist history has never been adequately studied. It was our intention to include it in this present work, since both in time and subject it coincides with our theme. After consultation, it was decided to remit this very important and engaging episode to a separate volume.

¹⁰ Again Tarlattini, very anxious for much-needed help, accepted two unstable religious; both ended unhappily, fugitives from religion.

Congregation, shall be called, as these shall have therein (sic) active and passive voice, in force of a particular privilege granted by the Pope to this purpose.

The object of the Chapter is a thing of the greatest importance for in it we have to choose a master of Novices (sic) and assign a Rector (sic) to each house and as you know our Blessed Father says from the good education of the novices and the good government of the Rectors (sic) depend the welfare of the whole Congregation and the peace of every particular house. Moreover in the same Chapter we have to make other statutes, and take those determinations, which may be deemed most proper and conducive to the advantage of our Congregation in this country. Therefore, my beloved brethren, let us behave ourselves in such a manner as to be found worthy of the divine assistance, and above all let us have recourse to the Father of lights with humble prayers, in order that He may vouchsafe to enlighten our minds and direct our wills in His holy ways. It shall be my duty, after having taken the advice of the Provincial Consultors, to make known to you the time and the house in which the aforesaid Chapter will be had.¹¹

The Birmingham monastery, near Pittsburgh, was at this time the provincial house. A unique reception awaited the new provincial on his arrival there. The monastery chronicler recorded a very engaging account of the occasion.

Although the train arrived at midnight (sic) yet the Community was prepared to meet him when he got to the monastery. A boy had been stationed at the Depot (sic), whose duty it was when he had ascertained that the Provincial was on the train to run over and acquaint F[ather] John Baptist, the interim Superior, of the fact. The Religious who were then reciting Matins went down to the Sacristy (sic) and put on surplices, and all the candles on the High Altar were lighted. On gaining the top of the hill, the Provincial was met by F[ather] John Baptist, who brought him to the church, and at the same time the religious walked processionally into the Sanctuary (sic), the B[lessed] Sacrament was exposed and a solemn hearty Te Deum was chanted.¹²

Preparations were begun immediately for the first Provincial

¹¹ UC: P Letters III, Tarlattini, Circular Letter, "Our Merciful Lord," June 13, 1863.

¹² PA:M Chronicles, loc. cit.

Chapter. In a letter dated July 8 Tarlattini summoned the capitulars to meet in Pittsburgh to formally open the meeting on the twenty-ninth of the same month.¹³ The capitular fathers welcomed that very important day early, with Solemn Mass at 5:30 A.M. A sense of accomplishment and a note of joyous triumph pervaded the official account of the Chapter drawn up by Gaudentius Rossi, the most capable writer among them. All the fathers gathered around the traditional large table had reason to rejoice, but Tarlattini, and with him Calandri seated on his left, appreciated the significance of the event in a very particular way. Commendation for the achievement belonged principally to Tarlattini. Rightfully was he named the president of the Chapter. The ten senior priests of the Order in America sat before him. They had been his chief coadjutors.

Matters of Great Importance

The province numbered fifty religious; there were nine novices, seven clerics and two brothers. The Pittsburgh house was completed, with the two additions to Calandri's original building and a neatly appointed church. At Dunkirk, while Tarlattini and most of the fathers had serious misgivings about the location, still the temporary monastery was adequate for a small community until a definite decision could be made about its future.^{13a} At West Hoboken, where the Order was ideally situated, plans were in preparation for the construction of a monastery that would serve as a model for future foundations. Moreover, an agreement was all but concluded with Bishop George Carrell of Covington to make the fourth foundation of the Order in America in his diocese.¹⁴ And during the fifth session of the Chapter, Archbishop

¹³ The capitulars of the First Provincial Chapter were: John Dominick Tarlattini, Provincial and President; Gaudentius Rossi, 1st Provincial Consultor; Anthony Calandri, 2nd Provincial Consultor; Albinus Magno, Superior of St. Mary's, Dunkirk; Victor Carrunchio, Superior of St. Mary's, W. Hoboken; John Baptist Baudinelli, Vice-Superior of Blessed Paul Retreat, Pittsburgh; James Hoffzugott Sperandio Welch; Stanislaus Parczyk; John Luke Baudinelli; Liberatus Bonelli; John Thomas Stephanini.

^{13a} In the Eighth Provincial Chapter in 1884 the proposal was made and remitted to the Provincial Curia to reduce St. Mary's to a mission house and select a new foundation outside the city.

¹⁴ The approbation for the Covington foundation arrived in January 1864. Cf. *UC:P Letters II*, Peter Paul Cayro to Tarlattini, January 16, 1864.

Purcell of Cincinnati urged an immediate beginning at Chillicothe.¹⁵

The chief cause and evident support of this notable growth was the success of the Passionist apostolate in the New World. The leading missionaries of the Order had conducted missions and retreats in the principal cities of the East and the Midwest and in parts of Canada. Connected with each foundation were one or more large parishes and several Mass stations which were the nuclei for new congregations. In justice could the secretary of the Chapter write, "Our first fathers are consoled and rewarded for their first sufferings and labours (sic) by the gladdening and hopeful light of no less than fifty religious companions, some of whom are endowed with more than ordinary talents and religious virtues, and all giving well founded hopes of future usefulness to our religious order, and to our holy Church in this Country."¹⁶ Included in the Acts of the Chapter by express wish of the capitulars were three brief histories: on the origin of the Order in the United States, and on the establishments at Dunkirk and West Hoboken, with a long explanation of the reasons for naming the latter in honor of St. Michael.

It is most unfortunate that so much time was devoted to reviewing this information, for all of it had already been reported more fully and accurately in the *plateas* of each retreat. Four more important matters were discussed: the mistakes of the past, present unsettled problems, application of the Rule to the new American environment and the proper development of the apostolate. Of these important matters, upon which the very life of the Order and its future prosperity depended, not a word was released. How useful it would have been, not merely for the sake of future historians, but primarily for the direction of the immediate followers of this first generation, had an exact record been made concerning the "several matters of importance for the general welfare of the Congregation" that were "duly proposed and freely discussed" in the preliminary sessions.¹⁷ Also of great value would have been a copy of the contents of the long paper submitted by one of the fathers regarding "matters which he (sic)

¹⁵ UC:P Letters III, Purcell to Tarlattini, July 28, 1863.

¹⁶ UC:P Acts of Provincial Chapters, f. 3r.

¹⁷ UCP:P, loc. cit., f. 7r.

considered of great importance." Even the name of that underscored "he" has not been given. And again in the third session nothing was presented but the conclusions of "a long and careful examination of the best mode for the conducting of external missions and retreats" which was accomplished "with peculiar zeal and earnestness and prudence."¹⁸

These lacunae were not mere accidental omissions. They were expressly intended, the result of an unhappy import from the Old World where, as a study of the *Acta* of the General Chapters reveals, no one wished to have his actual thoughts or position exposed and where even important documents of the Order were destroyed in the name of an altogether false, a totally unnecessary and a seriously harmful secrecy.¹⁹ This method of procedure was unhappily imitated exactly in the New World, sealing the lips and cloaking the thought of some of the best men of the Order, while allowing weaker minds and ideas to escape unchallenged. Thus the *Acts of Chapters General or Provincial*, instead of being the most fruitful and important documents of the Order, yielded little of its real internal history and life. Instead of *Acta* in the true sense of the word, they were reduced to a mere collection of *Facta*: the names of those present, of those elected, terse, innocuous summaries of sessions, and the simple, laconic listing of decrees. They are of little value for an understanding of the true development of the Order.

In the First Provincial Chapter, which provided more information than its subsequent imitations, three points were offered for particular discussion: the common life, future foundations and the apostolate.

In each case little more was supplied than the conclusions of the discussion in the form of decrees. Regarding the common life, the individual use of watches was prescribed (gold watches were forbidden altogether); beer was substituted for wine at meals be-

¹⁸ *UC:P, loc. cit.*, f. 11r.

¹⁹ For example, we learn from the *Acta* of General Chapters from 1863 to 1878 very little of the great struggle that internally split the Congregation into conservatives and moderates after the death of Anthony Testa; the conservatives opposed Testa and his ideas and were victorious in an unhappy victory that brought more harm than gain to the Order in the Chapter of 1878. Among the documents lost is the most valuable series of notes on the Holy Rule dictated by Paul of the Cross himself during his last illness, notes which would not support the conservative cause. Cf. *Fontes III*, p. 34, pp. 123-142b.

cause wine was rare and expensive in America; all underclothing had to be owned in common; no religious was allowed to procure, receive or distribute "photographs or likenesses of oneself or visiting cards."²⁰

With respect to the second point of discussion, acceptance of new foundations, since the essential part of the decision has already been inserted at the conclusion of the last chapter, it is sufficient now to mention only its principal intent. In accepting a foundation which included parochial administration—and this was presumed to be the ordinary way a foundation would be established, taking into account the conditions of the Church in America at that time—no parish church should be constructed adjacent to the monastery.

The manner of conducting missions occupied the greatest amount of time of the Chapter, indication enough of the importance of this matter to these pioneer Passionists. The discussions resulted in the appointment of a Commission for the Study of the Missions, the first in the Province. Tarlattini was designated as president, with Albinus Magno and John Baptist Baudinelli as assistants. The choice was surprising. Tarlattini was not a missionary; Baudinelli was just beginning; Magno was the only seasoned missionary of the three. Rossi was not named, yet he was the principal missionary, while Calandri was the second. Nevertheless, although Rossi was not appointed, his views were the ones accepted—views which subsequent Chapters will show were too much in advance of his times.

The preliminary discussions found Rossi in opposition to a slavish adherence to the old practices. He urged that more freedom be given the mission superior to change and adapt as circumstances indicated. The Committee reported in the fourth session. Their resolutions reprinted here were adopted by the Chapter.

(a) Each morning of the mission after the first mass a "pious sentiment on the Passion" was to be given for the space of a quarter hour.

(b) After the second mass each day the meditation was to be of an hour's duration; on a two-week mission this hour was to be used for catechism on the Decalogue in the first week and the meditation on the Passion, the second week.

²⁰ *UC:P Acts of Provincial Chapters*, f. 10; see f. 11 r., Session Two.

(c) Each evening an instruction on the Sacraments and "other matters" was to be given for three-quarters of an hour, followed by the principal discourse "which also should be of a moderate duration."²¹

The election of superiors had preceded the acceptance of all this legislation. Since the provincial and his consultors had already been elected in the General Chapter, it was necessary only to supply the local houses with superiors and to elect the master of novices. This was done quickly and without difficulty. Liberatus Bonelli was elected master on the second ballot. Luke Baudinelli was selected for the Pittsburgh monastery on the fourth ballot; his brother, John Baptist, for St. Mary's, Dunkirk, on the third; Victor Carrunchio for West Hoboken, on the first.

In a Chapter composed entirely of young men,²² no one heeded the age requirement of thirty-five years for the master of novices. Bonelli was just thirty-two. Therefore, when the Acts of the Chapter were received in Rome, his election was declared null and void. However, as a result of the oversight he became the only master of novices directly approved by the Holy Father. In a private audience on October 2, 1863, the general obtained a "sanatio" and approbation "vivae vocis oraculo" from Pius IX.²³

While the general was not in any great degree disturbed over this matter, since it could be settled easily by an application for dispensation from age, the changes with respect to the method of conducting missions caused deep-felt concern. Peter Paul Cayro impugned the procedure and abrogated the decrees. "Regarding the method of conducting apostolic missions—examined and approved in the Fourth Session—we entirely reject it; we refuse approval for every part. We cannot find your reasons adequate to permit a change from the method already in use in England."²⁴ Hence, the traditional method with the minor changes Dominic Barberi had permitted in England had to be observed. This method will be examined in the treatment of the apostolate.

²¹ *UC:P loc. cit.*, f. 11 r-v.

²² The average age was 39.9, and in ordination 15.15 years; Carrunchio was 34; Luke Baudinelli was 33, and his brother, John Baptist, 28; Tarlattini was 47; the Patriarch James Hoffzugott Sperandio Welch was 50.

²³ *UC:P Letters III*, Tarlattini, Circular Letter "L'elezione," s.d. Cf. *Acts of the Chapters*, f. 14 r.

²⁴ *UC:P Letters I*, Peter Paul Cayro to the Province, November 26, 1863.

When the capitular fathers met in Pittsburgh, the Civil War was in its second year. Before closing the Chapter they drew up an expression of loyalty to the Union and a petition for peace and unity through prayer.

Before subscribing these present Acts the Capitular fathers wished to express their cordial grief and pain at the calamity of the present Civil War afflicting and distracting this great American Union, and resolved that they and all our religious with renewed fervour (sic) should continue as they have already done, to offer special prayers to the throne of divine Mercy and grace (sic) to obtain from God the speedy restoration of a lasting peace, prosperity and happiness to this Country.²⁵

This was followed by a letter of gratitude to the general for having inaugurated the American province, and especially for having placed it under the patronage of the Founder himself, Paul of the Cross. "Here by order of the Very Rev. F[ather] President the newly elected Fathers made the usual profession of the Catholic faith and with happy minds and joyful hearts" the First Provincial Chapter of the Province of Blessed Paul of the Cross was ended.

²⁵ *UC:P Acts of the Provincial Chapters*, f. 12 r.

PART III

APOSTOLATE

. . . to form a man who is totally a man of God, totally apostolic, a man of prayer, detached from the world, from things, from himself, a man who can in perfect truth declare himself a disciple of Christ and thus render himself fruitful.

St. Paul of the Cross

9. Among the Poor: Rich Beginnings

The work of the Order in America had a unique and significant beginning. When he arrived in Philadelphia on November 13, 1852, Calandri intended that he and his companions would remain only long enough to recover equilibrium after a long and difficult voyage. However, Bishop O'Connor determined to divide the group, since he did not wish to antagonize nativist sentiment by proceeding *en masse* through Philadelphia to Baltimore and from there to Pittsburgh. This decision kept Fathers Albinus Magno and Stanislaus Parczyk at St. Charles Seminary, while Calandri and Brother Lawrence went ahead with the bishop to Pittsburgh, and it was in Philadelphia that the Passionists began their apostolate.

Shortly before their arrival, a youthful Polish immigrant had been tried and condemned to death for murder. Ward who related the incident from an account given to him by Cardinal Gibbons affirmed that the man was actually innocent—a fact which was proved by the subsequent confession of the actual murderer.¹ But all protestations of innocence had no effect on the jury. The condemned man reacted to this human injustice by rebelling against God. When Bishop Neuman requested Father Stanislaus to attempt a reconciliation, he accepted this assignment and walked six miles to the prison every day for almost a month.² And not in vain. On the last day he accompanied his penitent to the scaffold and there with incentives drawn from the Sacred Passion sustained him to the

¹ Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

² AG:PSP II-18, Parczyk to Testa, November 9, 1853. Parczyk's Italian left very much to be desired; it was one reason that he wrote to Rome so infrequently.

end. Upon this platform the Passionists performed their first work in the New World.

While he was still in Philadelphia, Parczyk, whose command of the German language was perfect (it was for this reason that he had been selected for the American mission), was given yet another opportunity for reconciliation—this time not for an individual, but for an entire parish. Holy Trinity German Church was still under interdict when the Passionists arrived. It was to the people of this parish that Stanislaus Parczyk was sent on weekends to hear confessions and to preach. The measure of his success cannot be judged. He was only there a short time. Within a month O'Connor returned to Philadelphia to claim his two missionaries.

"Men Willing To Work, Not Vegetate"

In Pittsburgh, while Calandri and Magno began language study, it was the Polish Passionist who proved most helpful in launching the new foundation. Appointed to St. Michael's German parish on the south bank of the Monongahela in Birmingham, he quickly won the support of his people. Their cooperation in establishing St. Paul's Monastery has been noted earlier.

Founded in 1848, the parish, insufficiently cared for, was in a poor state, both spiritually and financially. During the four years prior to Parczyk's arrival, St. Michael's had had six administrators, each of them remaining but a few months at a time. Father Stanislaus himself made evident the urgent need of a resident pastor in the account of his ministry which he sent to the general. His zeal and energy were astounding.

There are over three thousand souls in this parish; the church is beautiful and next to it there is a nice rectory with eight large rooms, two cellar rooms, a garden and four stairways.³ I am altogether content to be here but I am so very busy. Every Saturday immediately after dinner I hear confessions until night. Then, again very early in the morning before my first Mass which is at eight I continue confessions. Every Sunday there are about 150 communions and often more. I say two masses on Sundays and

³ Birk's description of the rectory is more accurate: ". . . not much can be said for it. It is not, even today [1896] a well fitted out, comfortable dwelling and no one would ever think of calling it a decoration to the city. It has one upper floor with four small rooms and a ground-floor with a small dining room, a kitchen and a miserable cellar": *op. cit.*, p. 53 (Berlo translation).

feast days . . . the high Mass is at ten. I have one hour between masses to prepare my sermon and in this hour I am constantly called for a multitude of duties.

Mass and sermon are over at twelve and then come the baptisms, as many as twelve and more each Sunday. I first register all these and then, quite exhausted, I have my dinner usually with three or four distracting parlor calls. At two every Sunday I have instructions only for the men; every other Sunday for the women, and also for the boys and girls. Three o'clock sung vespers with Benediction. After this either burials or marriages or the sick or other various duties. During the week there is always much to do; sometimes I have as high as six sick calls in a single day, often ten and fifteen miles distant and I go on foot. I also teach doctrine to all the four classes. There are so very many things to do for the church, for the school, for the poor, for the converts. And besides I have to provide everything, food and clothing and all else for the six of us living here.⁴

It was no wonder that he pleaded, "Please, I beg Your Paternity, send us as quickly as you can at least two good, prudent, solid, healthy priests." Unless help could arrive from Rome, he was convinced that "this most fortunate foundation where the Passionists can do a thousand times more good than in Italy" would come to ruin. Even if the general were to empty all the houses of the Order on the peninsula and assign them to the American mission, there would still be work left undone. But he warned the superior that the work required "men not boys; men who are willing to work hard and not just vegetate; men of sound doctrine, of good health, of experience, of courage, of talent. . . ."

Stanislaus never missed an opportunity to preach, even though Calandri wondered where he found the strength to preach so constantly, particularly in view of all his other labors.

His usual theme, which was, of course, the Passion, was well received. Many people came from great distances to hear "The Passionist." Since the book stores offered nothing on the subject, he urged the general to "send some books on the Passion, some sermons or meditations; I can't find anything in all of America either in English or in German. Other priests and religious are asking us

⁴ Brother Lawrence was with him from the beginning; Calandri arrived in October, 1853, and there were three postulants: *AG:PSP* II-18, Parczyk to Testa, November 9, 1853.

to give them something on the Passion but the poor Passionists have nothing.”⁵

“More than Ordinary Holiness”

Toward the end of 1853 Calandri, who up to that time had resided at the bishop’s house, transferred to Birmingham. He was able to help Parczyk with the Masses only, since he knew no word of German and was struggling with English. His apostolate was one of example. According to contemporary testimony it was very efficacious. “His external appearance conveyed the idea of a religious of great bodily austerities and of more than ordinary holiness. The generality of beholders are deeply impressed. . . . Afflicted and ailing persons have great confidence in his supernatural powers of healing them with Blessed Paul’s relic, in virtue of which many extraordinary cures have been really effected.”⁶ Father Anthony’s first work was among the orphans on Mount Oliver who were cared for by the Sisters of Mercy.⁷ It was here that he heard his first confessions and here that he tried out his little talks in English.⁸

When he began his door-to-door begging for funds to build the little house on the hill that was to become the famous St. Paul’s Monastery, South Side, his simplicity, goodness and purity were irresistible. Despite his halting, heavily-accented English, Catholics and Protestants alike responded spontaneously. Nor did he simply collect funds. He detected lapsed Catholics and returned them to the sacraments. He rectified marriages, pacified families and won converts.⁹ The monies he took out of the city were minimal in comparison with the good he brought into it. The Order regards

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 8; cf. pp. 13, 32, etc.

⁷ “Two of the fathers were appointed to attend St. Paul’s orphanage, one as chaplain, the other as confessor. This arrangement gave great spiritual satisfaction. These holy priests zealously discharged these duties during the remainder of the time the asylum was located in Birmingham. The names of Fathers Anthony, Albinus, Dominick, Luke, James, Thomas, Ildefonse and Gandentine (I fear this last name may be misspelled) are held in veneration by the Sisters of Mercy not only for their saintly lives—their mortifications and penances seemed rigid and severe to us—but for their charitable and unselfish interest in the Sisters, the people and the little waifs under their care”: *Annals of the Sisters of Mercy*, p. 56; written by Sister Camillus McGirr, *Archives: Sisters of Mercy Motherhouse*, Pittsburgh. The orphanage was in Birmingham from 1851 to 1867.

⁸ *AG:PSP II-17*, Calandri to Testa, November 4, 1853.

⁹ *AG:PSP II-14*, Calandri to Testa, July 7, 1853. Cf. letter of March 12, 1853.

this quiet apostolate as the basis of the high esteem the people of the city of Pittsburgh have constantly manifested toward it.

This esteem became veneration as the city witnessed Father Anthony's heroic charity during the cholera epidemic in 1854.¹⁰ The plague, the worst in the city's history, struck suddenly on the night of September 13, appearing simultaneously everywhere without previous symptoms or warning. Four hundred victims were mortally afflicted in the first ten days. At a time when no one would go near the city and when those who were already in the city were taking the most circuitous routes to avoid the homes of the stricken, Calandri walked straight to the victims, carrying absolution and peace in the Last Anointing.¹¹ The city paid him tribute. "His administration during the scourge endeared him to the people of all denominations, secured for him the highest esteem of the community and proved the foundation of the subsequent success of the Order here in Pittsburgh."¹²

A Vagabond's Sweet Consolation

While Parczyk was busy organizing St. Michael's parish, and Calandri was preoccupied with building plans, Albinus Magno was a free-lance missionary, passing rapidly from one Catholic settlement to another, offering Mass, hearing confessions, visiting the sick and instructing the children. Of necessity he learned the language before the others and, after Rossi, was the most proficient of the pioneers. Magno left an account of his first apostolic work. Written about four years after his arrival in America, it revealed the quasi-proficiency he had attained by that time. He wrote in the third person.

When Father Albinus came first to this country he had to make a great struggle (sic) to learn English, of which he was perfectly ignorant and consequently he could give no Mission (sic) or Re-

¹⁰ *Pittsburgh Catholic*, XI, 29, p. 230 (Sept. 23, 1854); XI, 30, p. 238 (Sept. 30, 1854).

¹¹ Noble, *Memoirs*, f. 8r; Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-122, where he speaks of Father Richard Phelan working together with Calandri; Phelan became the fourth Bishop of Pittsburgh, 1889-1904. It was on the occasion of this plague that Father Stanislaus solemnized the vow of the people of St. Michael's parish to observe the feast of St. Roche, patron against plagues, as an annual holy day of obligation. The cholera did not cross the river.

¹² *Pittsburgh Post*, April 29, 1878: a long article written on the occasion of Father Anthony's death; the entire piece is preserved in *HKB IX*, 17-19.

treat (sic) as he had used to do (sic) in Italy, yet he was kept by the Bishop R[ight] Reverend O'Connor, with the permission of the Superior, continually engaged in visiting the different stations and congregations through the Diocese, or helping the Priests (sic) and by that special grace which is attached to the Ministry (sic) of the D[ivine] Word, some good was effected by the b[lessed] Mercy wherever the father tendered his service. He had been for seven weeks in Harmon's Bottom Summerset (sic) Co. and although he could not do much by preaching (sic) there, yet by his exemple (sic) and by the regularity of the D[ivine] Service (sic) both on week days and on festivals he gained the esteem of all and succeeded (sic) to keep together the two different classess (sic) of people, English and German, who till that time could never agree (sic).¹³

The vagabond missionary covered almost half the diocese, which in that day included all of southwestern Pennsylvania. Besides helping out in the more or less fixed congregations, he stopped en route at the makeshift Mass stations for the Irish working on the railroad.¹⁴

His most successful work in these early days, when he was only just able to make himself understood, was at Freeport in Armstrong County. O'Connor had removed the pastor suddenly because of scandalous conduct. Many of the people had left the Church; others had become indifferent and lax. Magno described the method he used to win back this disillusioned congregation.

He began his work by attending with regularity the confessional specially (sic) on Saturday evening and Sunday morning although he had to sing the last Mass and preach after the Gospel. He tried to perform the ceremonies of the different solemnities with all possible decorum; he erected the Stations of the Cross and a beautiful altar of the B[lessed] Virgin. . . . He introduced the tender devotion of the month of Mary with a short instruction each evening. The children were attended to with patience and care by instructing them and preparing them for their First Communion.¹⁵

¹³ *PA:M Mission Record*, "The Account of the Apostolic Work of Father Albinus, 1853-4-5-6," ff. 5 and 6.

¹⁴ The counties visited by Magno in this period: Butler; Armstrong; Indiana; Cambria; Huntingdon; Somerset; Westmoreland; Allegheny; Washington; Clearfield; Jefferson.

¹⁵ *PA:M Mission Record*, *loc. cit.*

Not only did he succeed in winning back the scandalized but also many others who had neglected the sacraments for anywhere from twenty to forty years. Always showing a particular interest and affection for the non-Catholic, he concluded his account with a very matter-of-fact statement: ". . . twelve among people of all different denominations were received into the Catholic Church."

Among the many remarkable figures during these early years of Catholicism in America, the famous and saintly "Prince-priest of the Alleghenies," Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin, towers high.¹⁶ The second priest ordained in the United States by Bishop Carroll in 1795, he made Cambria County in the western Allegheny Mountains his permanent residence. There at McGuire Settlement he built the first church, St. Michael's, and renamed the area Loretto. From 1821 to 1830 Gallitzin was vicar-general for western Pennsylvania and proposed Loretto as the sight of the future episcopal see. The rapid development of Pittsburgh and the inaccessibility of Loretto made the former the more feasible location. But Loretto remained a center of Catholicism for the rest of the century and today is a place of pilgrimage.

In 1852 there were six parishes in Cambria County. Albinus Magno served in three of them before the opening of the monastery—at Hart's Sleeping Place, where the original church, St. Joseph's, still stands; at Ebensburg, the juridic center of the county, where he was twice pastor *pro tempore*; and at Loretto, sanctified by Gallitzin. At Loretto Albinus Magno located the first preparatory school of the Order. During the year previous to the opening of the monastery, several youths boarded at the rectory, following a schedule of prayer and study there under his direction.

While this occupied most of his time, Magno was still able to carry out a limited but not insignificant apostolate. Yielding to O'Connor's insistence, he wrote an account of his work at Loretto, primarily intended for the Central Councils of the Society of the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons and Paris, but directed to the general and his brethren in Italy. He took great pains to write an accurate and inspiring description of his work. It is his most persuasive statement.

¹⁶ Demetrius Augustine Gallitzin: born at The Hague, Dec. 22, 1770; ordained March 18, 1795; from 1798 until his death, May 6, 1840, he labored in organizing the Church in Cambria County. Cf. Lambing, *op. cit.*, pp. 282-327.

From a remote corner of Pennsylvania in the midst of a vast forest, encircled by mountains reaching to an elevation of some 2,000 feet, I take up my pen in testimony of respect and obedience to write these few lines. I was not in the country three months when I began stammering in the idiom of these people. Our most zealous bishop with the consent of our superior sent me here to visit his scattered flock and to help them for some time. "By your words and by your example and by the habit you wear," the bishop said to me in parting, "preach the Passion and Death of Our Redeemer." The impression that the habit makes upon these people is indeed strong.¹⁷ Not a few who see me thus vested and wearing sandals even in the snow are not able to hold back their tears. . . . The first thing I did in order to encourage the parents was to have them bring their children with them to church on Sundays so that they would be instructed in the basic truths of our faith. The children came in great numbers. I had the boys instructed by a student and the girls, by a lady of mature age. Whenever I am called on a sick call, which is frequent, often daily, I hasten through the forest carrying the Sacred Host to a distance of as much as ten miles. Not infrequently do I find that the person has never gone to confession. Thus it was with a young man, twenty-seven years old who had received no other sacrament but Baptism; and also an elderly lady in her sixties who had never made her first confession. What do I do in these cases? First I ascertain their belief in the most necessary truths and then I instruct them regarding the sacraments. After this I help them make a general confession and then with Extreme Unction I give them the Bread of the Strong. What sweet consolation this is to the heart of a poor missionary after so much labor.¹⁸

During Holy Week, with the aid of the postulants he carried out, as completely as circumstances permitted, all the sacred functions. It is inspiring to imagine this Italian immigrant, hardly able to speak the language, telling the people more from his heart than from his lips the meaning of Christ Crucified. The Good Friday service was particularly impressive when, following his example, all the people, barefooted, approached for the adoration of the Cross.

¹⁷ In a later letter Magno requested some simple pictures of the various religious habits. "This is just a small thing but you cannot imagine how pleasing they will be to these Americans who have no idea of the religious life": *AG:PSP* II-20, Magno to Testa, February 4, 1854.

¹⁸ *AG:PSP* II-13, Magno to Testa, June 9, 1853.

Refugium Peccatorum

Father Anthony's major worries ceased when Bishop O'Connor put him in possession of the monastery on Mount Oliver in June, 1854. The following month they were completely dissipated as the burdens of superiorship were placed on the capable shoulders of John Dominick Tarlattini, newly arrived from Rome. Meanwhile, Father Albinus was recalled from the mountains and Father Stanislaus was confirmed as pastor of St. Michael's just below the crest of the hill on the north side of the monastery. For most of the next two years the apostolate of the Order was centered on that hill, not by design but by force of circumstances.

The apostolate consisted principally in the inspiration of a well-regulated monastic community following by day and by night the hours of the observance. Mass was said for the people in the tiny public chapel, and the blessing with the relic of Blessed Paul was imparted, but little else could be done at first. Calandri and Magno who had devoted themselves assiduously to the study of English found themselves reduced to speechlessness a second time. The only people who came to the monastery in this first period were German. To start the study of another language was out of the question. It was the young newcomer, Luke Baudinelli, with his flare for language who became court preacher and confessor to these German people who had contributed so much to the building and the maintenance of this first home of the Passionists in America. Gradually the Irish waded through the barriers of prejudice and up the steep path to the monastery. Little sermons, motives on the Passion, were preached in German and in English. But it was especially as confessors that the religious became known throughout the metropolitan area and the monastery, a veritable "refugium peccatorum."

Whether in the city or in the mountains or on the hill, the apostolate during these first years in America was but a prelude to the real work: missions and retreats. Several excellent opportunities to initiate this primary work on a diocesan-wide scale were lost, inasmuch as the men were not prepared. Nor did Rome comprehend what an enormous obstacle this ignorance of the language was for these pioneers. There was no parallel with England where Dominic Barberi, who had himself studied English years before his selection as the first superior of the new foundation, had the

immediate and complete assistance of Ignatius Spencer. None of the men sent to Pittsburgh had had as much as a single lesson in English. It is not surprising, then, that it took them over three years to acquire sufficient fluency in the language to attempt the missionary apostolate, particularly when during that time they were also called upon to perform other spiritual works as well as to establish themselves in a foreign country. But it is surprising that the general did not insist more on the release of a missionary from England, at least for the off-season as Tarlattini had petitioned. Calandri and Magno were practically prepared but lacked confidence. They needed encouragement and example more than anything else.

It was not until, as the chronicler stated, "the Father General acquiesced to the desires of the Father Superior and sent a religious qualified in every way for the mission in America" that the proper work was begun. "This was," he continued, "Father Gaudentius of St. Stephen. He had already fifteen years' experience in the missionary life in England, having given upwards of (sic) two hundred missions and spiritual retreats in that country."¹⁹ While this matter-of-fact account of the arrival of Gaudentius Rossi did not give the slightest indication of the confused and complicated nature of the problem and the difficulties involved, the conclusion of the account was altogether accurate: "His advent was hailed as the dawn of better days for the Congregation in America: and such in case was the fact as the following pages will testify."²⁰

¹⁹ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 18.

²⁰ *PA:M Chronicles*, *loc. cit.*

10. Apostolic Missionary: Mystic of the Cross

Paul of the Cross always considered his congregation in an apostolic mode. But the apostolate of the order was entrusted to men whom he formed in a very careful and exact manner. The supreme qualification for his apostolic missionary was not his ability to preach, although Paul placed great emphasis on preaching, but rather his ability to pray. His mysticism, not his eloquence, was of primary importance. The Passionist life could not be a disjointed effort to preach and then to pray. Nor was it a divided-work project: so many preach while so many pray. The complete ideal of the Order was to be expressed in one and the same man. In Paul's expression he was to be an *apostolic mystic*. His aim in the formation of his men was:

. . . to form a man who is totally a man of God, totally apostolic, a man of prayer, detached from the world, from things, from himself, a man who can in perfect truth declare himself a disciple of Christ and thus render himself fruitful.¹

In his letters he expressed the same idea frequently, "to make a new man." He wanted "zealous workers, filled with spirit, [who would] become apt instruments well fitted into the omnipotent hand of God to plant the good life among the people and to tear out vices with the most powerful weapon of the Sacred Passion."² For Paul of the Cross, then, the most necessary, the most exalted person in his Congregation was the apostolic missionary. In him was fulfilled the ambitions, the dreams, the theologically profound visions

¹ Brief message to the Congregation preceding the approval of the Rule of 1746.

² *Lettere III*, 440.

of the Founder. Around him the entire system of Passionist living evolved: the program of education, the services of superiors, the monastic hours of prayer and study, the mortifications and penances, the corporate and individual works of piety, the sacrifices and labors of the brothers—all blended in a united effort to prepare and sanctify an apostle. It was the apostolic missionary who brought the fruit of the Passionist life to the Church and the world. Without him the Rule of St. Paul of the Cross is incomprehensible.

His object, and therefore the object of the Passionist apostolate as St. Paul of the Cross conceived and lived it, was the sanctification of the people of God through an ever deepening involvement in the mystery of divine love made actual by a living participation in the sufferings of Christ crucified—the essence of Paul's spirituality. For the Founder of the Passionist Congregation, the primary but by no means exclusive manner to realize this apostolate, particularly in his own day, was through the preaching of parochial missions in the popular sense, already widely in use in mid-eighteenth-century Europe, especially in France and Italy. Through this ministry of the Word the specific charismal grace begotten and brought to maturity in Paul Danei by the power of the Holy Spirit would attain its specific purpose for the strengthening and sanctifying of the whole people of God.

In the development of his mission methodology, Paul owed much to his contemporaries. Paul was ever open to suggestion, ever willing to learn, to borrow, to change, to adapt. Still, in the end, after much trial and error, he evolved a system or a method of conducting missions which in a short time became identified as exclusively his, Passionist and Paulacrucian.³ In view of the

³It is well to list here our sources for this particular study. There is no history of any sort on the Passionist mission. Among the source materials, besides the acts and decrees of the General Chapters, the various editions of the Rules and Regulations and the collections of Customs (cf. *Fontes* I, II and III) are:

- (a) Directorio per le Missioni che si fanno dai Chierici della Congregazione della Passione di Gesù Cristo. Roma nel Collegio Urbano, 1838.
- (b) Compendio de Precetti rettorici compilati dal P. Vincenze Maria di S. Paolo Strambi. Sacerdote della Congregazione della Passione poi Vescovo di Macerata e Tolentino ad uso dei giovani della detta Congregazione ad istradarsi per l'esercizio delle SS. Missioni con l'aggiunta di alcune brevi note e con l'ampliamento delle regole per alcuni componenti particolari, che appartengono ai ministeri dei Missionari Passionisti. Roma nel Collegio Urbano 1838.
- (c) Istituzioni di Eloquenza Sacra divise in due parti per indirizzo ed ammaes-

rigidity that has been characteristic of the Congregation's mission style in most of the past century, what is most amazing in Paul of the Cross is his fluidity, not only in particular details regarding the conduct of his apostolic labors, but also in his entire concept and approach to his work. An examination of the elaborate technique he evolved and a review of its vicissitudinous development will effect an informed appreciation of the nature of the work the Passionist pioneers hoped to achieve in the New World. At the same time there is no better way to understand the insistence Paul of the Cross placed on the missionary as the preeminent manifestation of the ideals of the new congregation.

The Paulacrucian system for conducting the parochial mission is best considered under its five principal divisions: (1) propagandizing the mission; (2) functions of the mission proper; (3) allied functions; (4) closing of a mission; (5) essence of the method in relation to the entire apostolate of the Order.

It is important to note at the outset of this investigation that there is nothing anywhere in the Passionist Congregation today that adequately represents the Paulacrucian ideal in its totality. The circumstances that made such an outcome inevitable will be clear as the history unfolds. One of the most notable of these circumstances relates to the basic approach to the apostolate. Whereas at the time of the foundation of the Passionists in America—and the situation is much the same today—the ecclesiastical and sociological divisions of society limited the exercise of the

tramento dei Principianti Saggi Oratori e principalmente di coloro che da Dio sono chiamati all'Apostolico Ministero delle Sante Missioni esposte dal P. Ignazio del Costato di Gesù Sacerdote Passionista. "Fulgibunt qui ad iustitiam erudirent multos quasi stellae in perpetuas aeternitates". Dan. XII.3. Roma nel Collegio Urbano 1838.

- (d) Lettere di S. Paolo della Croce Fondatore dei Passionisti Disposte ed annotate dal P. Amedeo della Madre del Buon Pastore della stessa Congregazione. Roma. Tipografia Pontificia nell'Istituto Pio IX (Artigianelli S. Giuseppe) 1924, 4 Volumi.
- (e) Vincent Strambi, *Life of Blessed Paul of the Cross*. London 1853, 3 vols.
- (f) Dominic Barberi, *Ricordi lasciati ai nostri Giovani Missionari d'Inghilterra*, Mss., Rome, Postulation Archive Barberi Mss., VII, 3. Of very great help are the notes of Fabiano Giorgini for use of the student priests at SS. John and Paul in Rome: *Alcuni Appunti di Storia della Congregazione della Passione*. Roma 1960. This work is referred to as Giorgini, *Alcuni Appunti*.

For the missionary technique in America, the primary sources, although very sparse, are the Acts of Provincial Chapters and, of very great importance, the *Mission Record* of the Pittsburgh foundation which contains Rossi's *Mission Journal*.

apostolate to the rather narrow confines of *a* parish and hence rendered it strictly parochial, the objective of the missionary labors of Paul of the Cross was entirely different. He encompassed an entire area, the whole town, all its institutions, all its citizenry: the nobility, the clergy and the masses. He came as one sent by God and authorized by the highest authority on earth to evangelize, convert and renew. The enormous workload he took upon himself and placed upon his disciples was grueling in the extreme—apart from the willed austerity accepted as a matter-of-fact prerequisite for apostolic work: an actual identification with the poor. The poverty about which Paul of the Cross wrote so tellingly in his Rule and so persuasively in his letters was even more eloquently proclaimed by him and his associates before, during and after the mission. His insistence that the missionary be provided with opportunity for adequate bodily recreation and spiritual reanimation, that he obtain sufficient rest, that he be granted special dispensations from the monastic fasts, disciplines and penances, that he be received with marked reverence and be given preferential treatment at the close of what Paul himself referred to as “a campaign,” is altogether unintelligible, particularly in a man so enamored of prayer, penance, solitude and common life save in the light of the exacting demands he made upon the apostolic missionary for the proper fulfillment of his sacred and high calling.

Propagandizing the Mission

So great a work required advance notice and much preparation. If his apostolate was to be lastingly fruitful, Paul of the Cross realized that he must seek to create and maintain a mission-mindedness prior to, during and, above all, after the close of his campaign. He did this in many ways, for “love,” as he often said, “is ingenious.” His propaganda aimed at one idea: the mission was the “today of God,” the “now . . . the acceptable time” of the Lord, whose voice would echo in the ears of his people and move them to newness of life.

Weeks before the opening of the mission, a letter from the bishop was requested to be read in all the churches of the area. Pastors and curates were contacted and instructed to prepare the

people for the momentous event.⁴ Early in his mission career Paul approved a solemn entry of the missionaries into the city. Toward evening of the appointed day, preferably a festival day or Sunday, as the missionaries approached the city, all the church bells used to ring for a half hour. Then a procession was formed, headed by the clergy (the highest dignitary carrying the mission cross), followed by the civil authorities, then the various confraternities, and, finally, the people. They proceeded outside the city for about a mile where the missionaries were waiting for them barefooted, bare-headed, preachers' staves in their hands. During the procession the psalm, "You have blessed, your land, O Lord," was chanted while the people sang between every verse, "May the names of Jesus and Mary be ever praised." At the meeting the senior priest handed over the large cross to the superior of the mission who delivered a fervent exhortation about the purpose of their coming. The theme of this talk was always the same: peace with God. Paul of the Cross preferred a colloquium with Christ Crucified in place of the exhortative sermon.⁵ The Regulations of 1778 limited this discourse to a quarter of an hour and required that it be concerned always with the purpose of the mission. During the procession back into the city, the "Benedictus" was sung, with the people again adding the "Lodato" as previously. When they arrived in church, the *Veni Creator* was intoned and the first mission sermon was preached, followed by the announcements concerning the time of the services and other details, so that the people were informed about the method and manner of making the mission.

During the progress of the sacred work, two means were used to keep the mission idea alive in the city. The first was simple but efficacious: the tolling of the bell each night for the living-dead—the unrepentant sinners. All were exhorted, no matter where they were, to kneel down immediately and say five "Paters" and "Aves" to the Five Wounds of Christ for the resurrection of the "dead."

The second means was much more complicated: the "svegliarini." This, too, was aimed at the lax and indifferent—to wake them up (*svegliare*). Its principal element was street-preaching, going out in the marketplace to reach the men who were not

⁴ *Lettere* I, 746; II, 343-345.

⁵ *Lettere* II, 60, 362; III, 543.

making the mission. Since it was the men that the missionaries were seeking, only the men were called to take part in the procession; the women were asked to remain at home, putting a candle in the window as the procession went by and praying for success of the proclamation in the piazza. According to the size of the city, one or several main intersections were chosen. Here the missionary mounted a box or table and exhorted the men to penance for their sins, concluding by taking the discipline publicly in reparation. When they returned to the Church, a "fervorino" was given. The men were urged to make their confession then without delay and thus begin a new life.

Paul of the Cross was very concerned about the validity of his work. The change of heart, the conversion effected during the mission, ought not to be a passing burst of fervor. To ward off regression to old habits and sinful conduct, several ideas were offered. Paul and his immediate followers inaugurated the custom of the Agony Bell. Rung every Friday afternoon at three, it was intended to reawaken in the hearts of the hearers the exhortations of the preachers and to reaffirm the lessons and the resolutions of the mission. In addition to this public means of keeping the mission ideals alive, after the departure of the missionaries the people were encouraged to follow a plan of spiritual exercises which involved them in daily prayer, monthly reception of the sacraments, the seven Communions in honor of the Seven Dolors of Mary, the daily rosary, the Way of the Cross and, above all, frequent meditation on the sufferings and death of Christ.⁶

Functions of the Mission Proper

Quite in contrast with the present static concept of the parochial mission, the Paulacrucian mission in this early period was a dynamic event. It involved everyone: rich and poor, cleric and lay, professional and peasant. The visit paid to the local ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries that Paul of the Cross insisted upon was no mere, empty courtesy call, but aimed at the assurance of their cooperation and effective backing for the significant work about to be undertaken. This, too, but with all the more reason and to an even greater degree, was the purpose of the special series of

⁶ Cf. *Strambi* II, 194; *Lettere* III, 141; *Direttorio*, p. 94.

discourses to the clergy of the entire area. Ideally these sermons were arranged into an abbreviated and, in some circumstances, a complete clergy retreat conducted either in the sacristy or a side chapel of the principal church. Since the formal object of the entire effort was a total renewal of the Christian life, none could contribute to that renewal more efficaciously than the resident diocesan clergy. They were deeply involved in the program of prayer, penance and amendment Paul brought with him. Not only did they attend the mission services, taking an active role in many of the allied rituals described below, but of singular importance was their own particular examination into the duties of the clerical state under the guidance of the missionary.

Nor did the evangelists neglect that other important segment of society: the nobility. The mission was as necessary for them as for the commoner. In fact, Paul of the Cross considered it even more urgent because of their greater responsibility before God for the people dependent upon them. Attending as they did the full program of the mission, toward its end several sessions were reserved for the nobility, not to emphasize their separateness or cater to their privileged position, but rather to review those principles of the Christian life that applied to them in a more urgent manner.

But it was to the ordinary people that Paul of the Cross considered himself especially called. To no one did he and his followers give themselves more joyfully, totally and unreservedly. His vocation, even in its inchoate stages, drew him toward the common man. Throughout all his life he was enamored of the original title he chose for his Congregation—The Poor of Jesus. Hence his apostolate was directed in a particular manner toward the poor, the rural, the neglected, forgotten people. During the time of the mission, in one way or another the missionaries were almost continually in the midst of the people: not only during the formal and informal para-liturgical functions in the church and oratories, but also walking along the streets to meet the negligent and encourage the pious, on a soapbox in the public square, in street-corner preaching, in citywide penitential processions and in the homes of the aged and the sick. From the very beginning of his preaching Paul of the Cross made this visitation of the sick an integral part of the mission never to be neglected. Insofar as pos-

sible he personally visited all the sick of the town, consoled and blessed them, heard their confessions and administered communion. His successors retained this custom. When not thus engaged in one or another of these functions and services, the missionaries met the people during long, patient hours of personal encounter in the confessional where much of their greatest work was accomplished. To declare the mission of this period to be solely confession-oriented without regard for the enormous and constant efforts toward a total, genuine and lasting conversion would be simply erroneous, the product of misinformation and inadequate research. Apart from the Mass and benediction, the mission itself was conducted very informally but always actively engaging the people in its accomplishment. A platform was erected as close to the people as possible—often in the middle of the church. The missionary did not merely stand, deliver his address and depart. Staff in hand, he walked up and down, engaged the people in dialogue with question and answer, prayer and response, exclamation of deep sentiment of faith and love and declamation of sin and immoral conduct. The large mission crucifix was used in many ways to reinforce the message of the speaker. During a service that lasted up to two hours and beyond, the missionary would often sit down, using the chair set at the foot of the crucifix, and continue in an even more informal and intimate manner.

The morning was taken up with the Mass and two important works: a catechism instruction lasting about an hour and a lesson or motive from the Sacred Passion of Christ, the object of which was to teach the people how to center their lives on Christ through a constant meditation on his Passion. In the evening, besides the main discourse, a half-hour instruction on the Sacraments, especially confession and the Eucharist, was delivered. Then there always followed a quarter to half-hour actual meditation on the Sacred Passion. Thus what was taught in the morning was exemplified in the evening.

Allied Functions

This simple outline gives but a cursory idea of the Passionist mission method as employed by Paul of the Cross and his followers in the eighteenth and the early part of the nineteenth centuries.

Most frequently, historians treating of this aspect of ecclesiastical history present such a bland picture of the missionary apostolate that it is impossible to properly appreciate the enormous effectiveness and universal acceptance of the movement. This present examination would also be inadequate were we not to include a description of at least some of the numerous allied functions and exercises that dynamized the mission, gave it a thrust and vivacity and made its purposes inescapably clear, its message relevant and its impression vivid and lasting.

The first of these was for men only. The women's contribution was prayer, either at church or in their homes. If the women remained in church, the men retired to a separate oratory—hence the name “Oratory of penance.” There in darkness the ceremony took place. The preacher gave a very passionate but brief discourse on the necessity of penance in reparation for sin. He proceeded then to take the discipline across his back and shoulders for a very long time. Sometimes one of the men administered the discipline to him. The men also took the discipline or knelt on the stone floor denouncing their sins and begging God for mercy. The “Oratorio” took place four or five times during the mission. Shortly after the death of Paul of the Cross, a General Chapter prohibited its being performed in darkness and ordered the discipline to be taken by the missionary only; the men lamented their sins, struck their breasts and pleaded for divine forgiveness.

Besides this harsh penitential act, the missionary took the discipline publicly before the entire congregation very frequently. In Paul's own lifetime, however, it was moderated to four or five times and then restricted to those sermons of “*maggiore strepito*”—the object of which was to move the people to immediate sorrow and purposeful amendments—such as the sermons on obstinacy in sin, scandal, hell and the like. By the end of the eighteenth century the changed social conditions created an aversion to this public infliction of penance. The discipline became less used but not abandoned. The superior of the mission would determine its expediency.⁷ However, the large penitential chain and the sharp crown of thorns were retained. During the meditation on the Passion, the missionary usually wore the chain around his neck and waist

⁷ *Acta* XIII, 263; *Fontes* III, p. 31; Decree 227a.

and placed the crown upon his head. Paul of the Cross always did this, and he also used the same technique while preaching on hell, in addition to taking the discipline severely.

As mentioned above, the mission crucifix was employed in various ways. One of these was in the ceremony of cursing the obstinate sinner. During the sermon on the universal judgment, the preacher with studied vehemence invoked the curse that God shall pronounce against the unrepentant sinner. At the same time the crucifix was swiftly turned away from the people.

After a long pause, missionary and people together proclaimed their sorrow for sin, their purpose to amend and their plea for mercy, "Have mercy on us, O Lord, have mercy on us." Then the cross was slowly turned again to face the people. The evangelist continued his discourse, which now centered on the love and mercy of God for the sinner who does penance. The wounds of Christ were the conclusive evidence.

A very unusual ceremony, used particularly during the discussion on sacrilege, irreverence or obstinacy in evil, was "the abandonment." The missionary declared the unworthiness of the people to possess the Divine Presence, the patronage of the Blessed Virgin and the companionship of the saints. He urged God to depart from so sinful a people. A sorrowful procession was formed and the Blessed Sacrament was carried out of the church; next, the mission crucifix; then, the statue of the Madonna; finally, the clergy were urged to leave a congregation so cold and irresponsible. Depending on the circumstances, the missionary either pleaded with God to return and not abandon his people who now professed their deep sorrow and asked for mercy, or he abruptly left the platform and thus ended the service for that particular evening. If the first course happened to be chosen, the people were engaged in vocal expressions of sorrow and repentance. The procession then returned amid the joyful tears and exclamations of the people: "Viva Gesù; Viva Maria!"

To give dramatic emphasis to the evil of mortal sin, a challenge was cast before the sinful man. The missionary placed the crucifix flat on the platform. The irresponsible sinner was called to the platform and there urged to step upon the body of Christ crucified. No one in his right mind, the missionary protested, would commit such a sacrilege. Then the application was made. The sinful man

does far worse: he crucifies to himself the Son of God. Throwing himself at the feet of the crucified and embracing the cross, the preacher protested his love. He disavowed any intention of trampling underfoot the cross of Christ. The people in turn proclaimed aloud their love and their detestation of sin.

At the very time that the congregation was being established in the United States, a ceremony that refers to a simple custom of Paul of the Cross had developed into an elaborate spectacular event, the highlight of the mission in Italy. When the Founder delivered his sermon on the Sorrows of Mary, he had a small image of the Sorrowful Virgin brought processionally to the mission platform and there fixed alongside the Cross. This simple act was transformed into a solemn *apparition* of the Madonna. A statue of the Virgin was prepared, richly ornamented. At a pre-arranged signal the doors of the darkened church were opened and, in a flood of candlelight, the Madonna "appeared." Hymns and litanies followed. The ceremony concluded with an appeal to the people's devotion to Mary as the motive for reform and conversion. Especially in a day of no electric illumination, this function became very effective and was regarded as an indispensable part of the mission.

In the early period of the Order it was customary to have penitential processions—sometimes one, at times more than one. They were always public and the entire city participated: men, women and children. The missionary carried a large, heavy cross, wore the crown of thorns and had a rope or chain around neck and waist. The people dressed in penitential robes. Many, even children, wore the crown of thorns, the rope or chain. Psalm 50, the "Miserere," was chanted, and the discipline was taken. In the beginning of his missionary career Paul closed his campaigns with these processions of penance.

The centrality of the Passion in all of these discretionary ceremonies was unmistakable. Besides the taking of the discipline, the wearing of the crown of thorns or the penitential chain, the meditation on the Passion of Christ was usually accompanied with one or another of several different rituals. In one, after the meditation on the death of Christ was made from the platform with no adornments, the crucifix was carried in slow, solemn procession and presented to the missionary. A colloquy followed. With utmost, tender devotion, the missionary held the crucifix in his hands and spoke

to the dead Christ. He might ask, for example, "What are these wounds? What evil have these hands done?"

In another, a much longer ceremony, after the meditation on the burial of Christ, Paul of the Cross initiated a para-liturgical service which his immediate followers developed into an impressive drama. An empty cross was shown to the people. The missionary then began a dialogue with the people. "Where is the Christ?" "What happened to him?" "Why?" He addressed the same questions to the sorrowing apostles and, above all, to the dolorous Virgin Mary. Then from outside the Church the assembled clergy of the area began the chanting of Psalm 88, "The mercies of the Lord forever will I sing." "Of whom do you sing, venerable priests of God?" He answered his own query, "You chant the mercies of the God Incarnate who. . . ." There followed a little summary of the meaning of redemption by the Precious Blood of Christ. But not content, the preacher pleaded to know where Christ was. He was no longer on the Cross; where had they taken him? At that moment a funeral procession entered the church. The bell tolled. The clergy and servers, carrying lighted candles, were followed by adult men bearing the dead body of Christ on a stretcher, covered with a linen cloth stained with blood. The missionary stopped the procession and called out, "Who is it that you carry so sorrowfully? Who lies beneath that cloth stained with blood?" The clergy replied, "He who loved us." The dialogue continued in the same manner with questions addressed now to the people, now to the clergy. Finally, the cloth was lifted and the dead body of Christ placed on the platform at the feet of the missionary. The missionary fell to his knees. The impressive meditation concluded with a colloquy addressed to Christ. Similar dramatic presentations were arranged, taking their themes from the deposition from the Cross and even the crucifixion itself. Whatever else may be said about the missionary methodology of this period, certainly it did not lack initiative, spontaneity, imagination and interest. It appealed to the mind, the heart and the emotions. It evoked a reply from the whole man.

At the commencement of their arduous work, the missionaries, even before entering the city, at the meeting with the people outside the city limits, had announced peace as one of the principal purposes of the mission: peace with God, with self, with each other

—hence the special effort the religious made to reconcile enemies, settle civil strife and quiet discord. To effect this they selected adjutants, prudent and respected citizens, to act as peacemakers, “pacieri.” The day of peace was announced beforehand. A discourse on the merits of forgiveness and the Christian significance of love for enemies was delivered. The names of the peacemakers were announced. These were then sent in the name of Christ as arbiters to settle personal, family and regional disputes. A few days were allowed for arbitration. Then the evening meditation on the death of Christ was given, followed by the ceremony of begging pardon. With the penitential chain around his neck and kneeling at the foot of the Cross, the missionaries, each in turn, begged pardon of each other and of the people. The diocesan clergy, led by the bishop, did the same. Finally, the people publicly begged pardon of each other. The Eucharist solemnized the reconciliation.

In a day when the reception of the Eucharist was often but an annual event—although Paul of the Cross encouraged monthly and even daily communion—following the custom of the time, the missionaries set aside one or two days for general communion. The occasion was observed with every solemnity possible. The church was completely decorated; the children marched in procession; all the confraternities and societies were present, wearing the insignia of their particular group. A preparatory *fervorino* was preached before communion, a meditative thanksgiving afterward.

This listing of allied functions, employed at random according to time and circumstances, although incomplete, is sufficient to give us an adequate idea of the Paulacrucian system.

Closing of a Mission

During the first period of his missionary campaigns, Paul of the Cross always closed the mission with a solemn penitential procession through the city, during which he performed the greatest penance. After weeks of continuous employment, he shouldered a huge cross and walked barefooted on unpaved streets, wearing a heavy penitential chain and bearing a crown of thorns on his head. At the conclusion of this procession, he preached perseverance, reviewed the means that would render the arduous work of the mis-

sion lastingly fruitful, gave the papal blessing and intoned the *Te Deum*. Toward the end of the eighteenth century, when the procession was gradually abandoned, greater emphasis was placed on the closing discourse. The people were required to make public promises, many times repeated, to avoid sin, to persevere in their resolutions and to lead a new life. The *Te Deum* and benediction closed the mission. The missionaries departed quietly in the night, never taking a cent for their work.

Essence of the Paulacrucian System

From the above narration of the diversity of ceremony connected with the Passionist mission of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it could be all too easily concluded that the method was cumbersome, complicated and disunited. Such a conclusion would be altogether erroneous. On the contrary, viewed in its entirety, the mission, from the encounter of the missionaries and the people outside the city gates to the solemn *Te Deum* at the closing, presented a marvelous and effective unity. Woven into all the varied allied functions and vitalizing each ceremony was one central theme: Christ's redemptive love, which was nowhere more manifest than in his Sacred Passion. Everything was united in Christ crucified, symbolized by the large crucifix carried ceremoniously into the city and fixed on the mission platform.

Most of the functions of the mission proper were adopted by Paul from the practices of his contemporaries, especially St. Leonard of Port Maurice, Amadeo di Castrovillare, the zealous Franciscan apostle, and the members of the Congregation of Apostolic Missionaries of Naples.⁸

What was unique with Paul of the Cross and his Congregation was the way he employed all these functions and indeed every act of the mission to fulfill the specific object of his extraordinary vocation: a continuous announcement of the mystery of divine love in its most compelling manifestation—the sorrows and sufferings of a crucified Lord. To raise the people of God to a living participation in those sufferings, to a veritable con-crucifixion, a lifetime involvement in this mystery, was the total and single purpose of his life and his institute. After several unhappy and largely fruitless experiments in other forms of apostolic activity, it became clear to this

⁸ Giorgini, *Alcuni Appunti*, pp. 30-46.

giant of the Cross that preaching, and specifically mission preaching in his mode, would be the most efficacious means to fulfill the role the Holy Spirit willed for him in the Church.

But if the Christian people were to become vitally aware of the fullest meaning of their vocation to the cross implicit in baptism, they would be greatly helped not only by hearing the mystery proclaimed but also by witnessing it, and this not in solemn ceremony and elaborate ritual alone, but first and foremost in the life and conduct of the preacher. Paul was never interested in mere proclamation. Although he recognized the importance of rhetoric and insisted on the sound education of his young men, with particular emphasis on training in the technique of preaching, he could not be considered a master of the art of sacred eloquence and far less a student of the intricacies of style and composition. But he was second to none in Gospel preaching in the manner and tone of the great apostle Paul, from whom he drew profound inspiration and whose doctrine and writings he made so completely his own. Nor could Paul of the Cross be accused of appealing merely to sentiment, of arousing a passing feeling of fervor, of inculcating a sweet and tender devotion to the wounds of Christ and nothing more. While he leaned heavily on a dramatic representation of the Sacred Passion in its historic details, this was no empty remembrance of past events, no holy recollection of sacred history, but rather that dynamic communication of the urgent and compelling message of divine love nailed to a cross that led to conversion, a conversion nowhere more evident than in the life of the apostolic missionary.

This was the sense of that fourth vow that committed himself and his congregation to a living involvement in the Passion and to extending that involvement to Christian and non-Christian alike throughout the world. Since it is this profound and transforming participation in the Passion of Christ that formally distinguished Paul of the Cross from every other founder and his religious family from all other Orders and Congregations in the Church, it is in the communication of this same profound understanding of the Sacred Passion that the essence of the Paulacrucian mission methodology is discovered. Another notable characteristic of Paul's method renders this conclusion all the more emphatic. From the beginning, and throughout the development of the Passionist apos-

tolate, the Founder placed a marked insistence on a singular kind of teaching: teaching the people how to think about, to meditate upon and to pray the Passion. This instruction aimed at no other purpose than to lead the faithful to fuller participation, that complete involvement in the paschal mystery that must eventually lead to total conversion in transforming union.

11. Old Skins: New Wine

The apostolate of the Passionist Congregation, from its very beginning to the present, finds its primary expression in the preaching of parochial missions. The method so arduously developed by its Founder was in use in the Congregation without change or alteration from his day until the second quarter of the last century. It was admirably suited to the times. It fitted well with the Latin temperament. It corresponded effectively with the culture, piety and social milieu of eighteenth-century Italy, particularly in the Papal States, the center of the Congregation's apostolate. It was incomparably successful. That the method would eventually fall upon hard times was inevitable. Between 1750 and 1850 there was a much greater disparity in customs, manners and outlook than there was in the five centuries which separated St. Paul of the Cross from St. Francis of Assisi. The political revolutions, the social upheavals and the economic and industrial changes that intervened between the Founder and his seventh successor, Anthony Testa, placed each man in a different world. The tattered fabric of the old society was destroyed; the new pattern that was emerging relegated religion to a minor role in the life of the city, increasingly disdained external piety, shunned penance and implanted a false sense of emancipation from the spiritual. In the midst of this changing world the Congregation attempted with more veneration than insight to cling to the system of Paul of the Cross in every detail. As long as the Order remained peninsular, especially as long as it remained within the confines of the Papal States and the Neapolitan Kingdom, the system was not greatly

endangered. The changes that were made by the Chapter of 1790, although minor, were adequate.

A Time of Trouble

With the expansion program initiated by Anthony Testa came conflict. The old method would not do. Northern Italy, especially Tuscany, was the scene of the first skirmish. But this was trivia compared with the acute conflict that ensued once the Order crossed the Alps into France and Belgium and then the Channel into England and finally spanned the Atlantic to America.

The very thought of change tortured the older, conservative group. The younger members who had entered the Order in Italy after the infamous Napoleonic suppression of religious corporations or who were native recruits elsewhere were less acquainted with the elements of the old system and out of sympathy with its mentality and approach. They questioned its relevance, its efficacy and its merit. They demanded adaptation and initiated reform. Their efforts were blocked, however, as individual experimentation was reported and suppressed.

The enormous success of the Founder's apostolate naturally gave the method he employed a permanence for his and the next generation. It worked then, and with his blessing it should work always—so the thinking went. Moreover, the fact that it was his, the Founder's method, gave it a specially sacred aureole. To tamper with it was equivalently an insult to Paul of the Cross himself. The traditionalist forces rapidly rallied in Rome. They continually pressed for the enforcement of a single, universally valid method. The method itself became an object of veneration, an untouchable, unchangeable trust. No longer held for what it actually was in its origin, simply a means, a method for achieving the apostolic aims of the Order, it became identified with the apostolate—the talisman of the Passionist Congregation.

The old men shook their heads and pointed their fingers at the young. Disparaging reports arrived in Rome. The young men found it increasingly difficult to perform rituals deemed immortal and untouchable because originated by the Holy Founder. Nor did they consider themselves unholy innovators, traitors to the cause. Change came—arduously, slowly, but rarely adequately.

The first sign of a willingness to adapt occurred at the XV General Chapter in 1827. Once again, unfortunately, no report on the discussion is available; however, the results are evident in two changes. The superior was granted discretionary powers with respect to the use of the discipline, even to the extent of omitting it altogether, a considerable change for that day. Then, in that same year, the Regulations enunciated a general principle to guide the missionaries in determining the use of the various allied functions and ceremonies: "In as much as local circumstances and the exigencies of the people vary greatly from place to place and the missions themselves are not everywhere identical but offer various approaches, it will belong to the superior to take prudent consideration of all these things and accordingly to judge whether or not it is feasible to present or omit in whole or in part the various external ceremonies in use on our missions."¹ By the "various external ceremonies" was meant all that long list of allied functions which, although numerous and varied, still were by no means a mere appendage to the mission. Their defenders rightly sensed this. While indeed not of the essence, yet they fleshed-out the whole structure and gave it a vitality and relevance the apostolate would not have had without them. The one ceremony mentioned in particular was the "Abondment," during which the Blessed Sacrament, the mission crucifix and even the statue of the Madonna were taken away from the people. Their return depended upon the prudent judgment of the missionary, based, in turn, on the sign of sorrow and repentance manifested by the congregation.

Nihil Innovetur

Sensitive to the changes that were being asked for and in some places already introduced, the General Curia, in an attempt to reassert the validity of the old method, authorized the publication of three volumes on sacred eloquence and the Passionist mission.

The first of these was Vincent Strambi's notes on sacred eloquence and the method of conducting missions for the use of young priests. While the entire volume was attributed to Strambi, whose name and reputation were unparalleled after that of the Founder himself, it was actually the work of Father Luke of the Trinity who

¹ *Regolamenti comuni*, 1827, pp. II; VI, 7.

taught Sacred Eloquence at the Generalate in 1827-1828. It was published posthumously by Ignatius del Costato di Gesù, Luke's successor in the Chair of Eloquence in 1838. Strambi's prestige carried the work. It preserved the style and method of the ancients. This was also true of the large, two-volume work by the same Ignatius entitled *Instituzioni di Eloquenza Sagra* which was intended "principally for those called by God to the apostolic ministry of preaching missions." The second part of the second volume was devoted entirely to the Passionist method.

The third and most important work published in 1838 introduced a new idea: the first *Directorium for the Missions*. This embodied almost in its entirety the system as used in the previous century, with the exception of the penitential procession and the use of the discipline by the laymen during the ceremony of penance. While the Directory did not have the force of law, it quickly became the norm in Italy. The authorities in Rome in the XVII General Chapter, fearing to impose its use in the face of growing criticism of the patriarchal method, resigned themselves to a strong recommendation. The Directory should serve as an ideal, the model and guide for whatever adaptation seemed to be required in particular circumstances. But since several missionaries took the recommendation for what it was, a non-obligatory directive, and continued to experiment, the following General Chapter effectively placed the manner of fulfilling the apostolate in the deep-freeze by declaring "absolutely forbidden anything whatsoever that is not found expressly stated in the aforementioned Directory."²

While the publications and decisions of the Roman Curia gave new life to the older practices and confirmed their use for the more conservative provinces of central and southern Italy, liberal interpretation was given in the north to the "discretionary powers" granted the superior by the Regulations of 1827. But the real difficulties came not in Italy but in England when for the first time the Order found itself in a non-Italian and non-Catholic environment.

An Eloquent Thorn

The protagonist of the new school—and a bit of a thorn in Dominic Barberi's side—was Gaudentius Rossi. Rossi's experience

² *Fontes III*, pp. 54-55; Decree 365, par. 6.

as regards Italian missions was minimal. He arrived in England just eighteen months after his ordination and rapidly became the least Latin of the Latins. Readily inclined to adapt to his new circumstances and most willing to omit functions and ceremonies which he regarded as disjunct imports imposed with doubtful efficacy upon much more sophisticated congregations in a completely changed milieu, Rossi was reported to the general as a dangerous innovator. Barberi variously praised and condemned Rossi. He could not deny the success of Rossi's work, nor could he impugn the ability of the preacher. Still, he did not and could not consent to the changes Rossi wished to make in the apostolate.

To prevent the young native recruits from being affected by Rossi's ideas, Venerable Dominic wrote an invaluable summary of the system of conducting the Passionist missions and the other religious exercises in England, which he pointedly entitled, "Memoirs for Young Missionaries of England." The work was written at the very end of his life, just weeks before he died. It is his last will and testament. He made his purpose clear in his brief preface.

Since at this moment I am the only one among our religious here in England who has both observed and exercised our apostolic ministry in Italy—and that for about the space of twenty years before arriving here—and since, furthermore, I cannot tell how much of this mortal life remains to me, being now well advanced in years and brought by toil rather than by age to an extreme decrepitude of health—these things being so, I have judged it wise to attend to a request made to me by one of our young Passionist Missioners, namely, that I should write an account of our Mission and Retreat customs as observed on the Continent, while at the same time pointing out those among them which are or are not easily admissible in this country, as the case may be.³

He then proceeded to give a brief summary of the principal works of the Passionist ministry. In treating of the mission, Barberi strongly disapproved of giving any authority to the superior of the mission to change or omit whatever he might deem expedient. He defended a uniformity of method, not only in each province, but throughout the entire Congregation. To prevent departures from

³ Barberi-Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

the method, which was at that time in general use, departures made on the assumption that it was suited to Latins only and that the Italian compilers of the various old regulations for the missionaries "had no knowledge of these countries," Barberi asserted: "I am the only one who has had equal experience of our apostolate in Italy and in England; hence it is that I am in a better position to assess the difference between the Italians and the English, and also to discern what elements of our apostolate are suitable to Italy, but not to England, and vice-versa."⁴ In his opinion the difference was "relatively small. . . . Almost everything . . . which is useful in Italy, is useful here; almost everything that can be done there can be done here." He certainly had Rossi in mind when he wrote these lines: "Under the pretext that England is not Italy, one could throw to the winds everything which our venerable predecessors have introduced with such great labour and after so much experience; indeed, there are those among us who are seeking to do this even now."

Rossi did not favor any of the more extravagant ceremonies, nor did he approve the bombast and declamation that was part of the Italian style.⁵ His appeal, less emotional, was more to the intellect than to the senses. Moreover, he was a welcome apostle of brevity at a time when the ordinary mission service in the evening ambled tediously on for two and one half hours and more.

There was, however, one grave danger in Rossi's system—a risk which Barberi sensed at once. He feared that Rossi's mission was becoming too much like any other mission because the Passion of Christ was not given the pivotal position it must have in the Congregation's work. It was one thing to renounce the old ceremonies—the procession with the dead Christ, the "wake-up procedure" with the cross and candles in the city square, the crown of thorns, the discipline, the "abandonment"; it was quite another to diminish the place of the Passion in the Passionist method. Rossi was right in seeking new approaches to catch the soul of modern man. However, to the degree that these approaches failed to incorporate the all-important feature, indeed the very essence of the Passionist's work, he was wrong. But Rossi did not fail in this way. A

⁴ Barberi-Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 2.

⁵ Archbishop Kenrich of St. Louis spoke approvingly of Rossi's style "in avoiding undue excitement and using a plain and argumentative style." *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 30 r.

young, vigorous, intelligent missionary, he was in conflict not with the ideal, but with the means to attain it. He was not of the old world but of the new. And it was this new world seething with new ideas and changed attitudes that he ardently yearned to reach.

The conflict that stirred within him during this first phase of one of the most effective missionary careers in the Congregation's entire history was to be resolved not in England but in America. The consequences of that conflict had a significance beyond his reckoning.

After long and arduous effort, Tarlattini finally secured the services of this seasoned missionary. Little did the superior in Pittsburgh suspect that the arrival of his former novitiate companion would be the occasion of much discussion, dispute and disagreement over the method of conducting missions in America. The debate eventually resolved itself in a clarification of the system and the evolution of a method which, while truly Passionist, was at the same time acceptable to and fruitful in the new environment. With very minor alterations this method, which borrowed much from the wisdom and experience of Venerable Dominic, became the basis of the Order's missionary apostolate in the United States for most of the next hundred years.

An Impossible Schedule Scuttled

The first missionary assigned to Rossi was Albinus Magno. While the two men were only a year apart in age, their ideas separated them by a century. Rossi's whole missionary career began and developed in England. Magno was completely Latin. For ten years before coming to America he was trained in the mission methods by the veteran of the old system, Pius Cayro. The old and the new clashed when Tarlattini assigned Rossi and Magno to parishes in Butler and Armstrong Counties in the spring of 1856. Their differences were so great that after this experience the two never worked the same mission again unless no other arrangement could be made, and even then each followed his own methodology. Calandri replaced Magno as Rossi's usual companion. The method they developed was finally adopted.

In 1863, after conducting missions in America for seven years, Rossi succeeded in having some of his ideas incorporated into the

legislation of the First Provincial Chapter.⁶ These ideas were completely scuttled in Rome. Poorly presented in the very prosaic statement of four Chapter decrees, the changes appeared to suggest an exaggerated and unwarranted departure from the method in use throughout the Congregation. The reduction of the time devoted to the Passion could not fail to perturb the General Curia, especially with Pius Cayro, that most accomplished missionary of the old school, on the staff.⁷ The Curia rejected them totally. It alleged that the Province in America did not have sufficient reason to derogate from the practice of the Congregation "especially as it is observed in England."⁸

From 1863 to 1866 the American missionaries struggled to comply with the Roman decision. Some of the methods employed in England were being tried in America. Some of them were not. Both countries admitted the distinction between a parish retreat and a mission. A parish retreat, usually for smaller congregations, was of shorter duration and did not include all the extra ceremonies of the missions such as the entry and the general communion, but the meditation on the Passion and the Passion motives were never omitted.

With respect to the regular mission, however, there was considerable difference in the two countries. The horarium for England as presented by Venerable Dominic was:⁹

Morning: After the Mass: Instruction on the Decalogue; motive on the Passion; time: a good hour.

Brief collation; confessions until 2:00 p.m.

Afternoon: 3:00 p.m. Vespers; Compline; Matins—followed by a short rest.

Confessions until the evening service.

Night: Catechism: 45 minutes.

Sermon: One hour.

Meditation on the Passion: About a half hour.

Confessions until 11:00 p.m.

Supper

Retire: Midnight.

⁶ Cf. Rossi's mission at St. Peter's, Allegheny, Pa.: *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 3 v.

⁷ Cf. P. Filippo della Santa Famiglia, *Cenni biografici del Servo di Dio P. Pio del Nome di Maria*, Sora La Moderna Grafica, 1949, pp. 76-98.

⁸ *UC:P Acts of Capitular Chapters*, f. 18.

⁹ Barberi-Charles, *op. cit.*, Section 5.

In the United States the Passionists could not and did not follow this arrangement. The impracticable hours for meals alone would have imposed too great an inconvenience on a rectory household. It was Barberi's hope that in England the missionaries would follow the custom, as was done in Italy, of taking a lay brother on the mission to prepare the meals and to look after other details. It was inadvisable in both America and England for the same reason; as Barberi himself observed, "He would have to remain all day with the housekeeper and this is hardly fitting." A further objection to the schedule was the length of the services. The arrangement evolving in the States, which was finally approved, was somewhat less rigorous but more effective.¹⁰

Morning: Rise: 4:30 or 5:00

First Mass: Motive on the Passion, ten minutes; instruction on the Decalogue, half-hour.

Confessions: From 5:00 until breakfast at 7:30.

Last Mass: 8:00 or 8:30.

Meditation on the Passion, 45 minutes.

Confessions until 11:30.

Dinner: 12:00

Afternoon: Confessions 3:00 to 6:00 p.m.

Night: Instruction: not more than 45 minutes.

Sermon: 45 minutes, including the meditation on the Passion, but 5 or 6 minutes were allowed after the signal with the bell.

Confessions until 10:30.

Retire: 11:00.

Abandoning Much

It is important to note the treatment accorded the allied functions in England and subsequently in America. These were considered of great, intrinsic value in Italy. They rounded out the mission, gave it a certain vigor, sparked interest and, above all, focused attention on the Passion and Death of Christ by such means as the repeated processions with the mission crucifix, the taking of the discipline at the foot of the cross and the impressive ceremony

¹⁰ *UC:P Acts of Capitular Chapters: Acts of Second Chapter*, Session 13, Decrees 1 and 2.

on the burial of Christ. Few of these were retained. While substitutions were made for some, others were abandoned altogether.

Despite his own great austerity, Barberi never permitted the use of the discipline publicly, nor was it ever used on the missions in America. While England kept a recast form of the penitential ceremony—without the discipline, of course—this function was never introduced into the States. And since in America the half-hour devoted to the meditation on the Passion after the evening sermon was completely eliminated—not without danger to the essence of the Passionist method—so too were the conjoined rituals. In place of the meditation the missionary was directed to include in his peroration some strong motive on the Passion.

One ceremony that seems to have been preserved was the paraliturgical service with the figure of the dead Christ. While there is no direct testimony, its use seems morally certain from the repeated requests made to Rome to have the paraphernalia for the service sent to Pittsburgh.¹¹ In England, after the sermon on the death of Christ, Venerable Dominic employed with remarkable effect the custom of placing a rope around his neck and a crown of thorns on his head and then, while he knelt at the foot of the crucifix but faced the congregation, begging pardon for his sins. Each of the missionaries did the same. When all were on the platform, the people then begged pardon of each other. In the missions in America, Calandri alone practiced this ceremony—and with impressive results.

Another important feature of the mission, always found in Italy and introduced also into England—the “*pacieri*,” peace-makers, men and women selected to act as arbiters in family and personal disputes—evidently was not maintained in America. With regard to reconciliation, however, the ritual of the ringing of the bell in a mournful manner and of the recitation of five Paters and Aves for the unrepentant sinner, the living-dead, was continued in both the United States and England.

¹¹ Cf. *AG:PSP*, II-14, Calandri to Testa, July 7, 1853; II-18, Parczyk to Testa, November 9, 1853; II-23, the same to the same, April 10, 1854. All these letters also made a request for the “head and hands of the Madonna” which in Italy were always included in the trunk with the mission crucifix. The rest of the statue was fabricated at the parish (with the use of the local dressmaker’s mannequin), elaborately dressed and adorned with jewelry in preparation for the “apparition” service.

While the ceremony of the "apparition" of Our Lady was becoming more predominant in Italy at the very time the missions were beginning in America, it was considered too theatrical for use in a dispassionate Anglo-Saxon world. An elaborate procession with a richly ornamented statue of the Virgin was substituted instead.¹² In England, however, Barberi's prudent regard for the feelings of Protestants toned down even the regular sermons preached on Our Lady. *A fortiori*, there was no procession and never an "apparition." Barberi advised:

Whenever one is fairly certain that there are Protestants present, it would be wise to avoid certain delicate subjects and also the vehement denunciation of any vice; otherwise such people will be scandalized. . . . For the same reason, it is expedient to proceed "cum grano salis" when speaking of devotion to the Blessed Virgin—and let that be said once and for all.¹³

New Approaches

Although Barberi urged the retention of the impressive public entry in the small towns and villages where opposition would be improbable, its use in the predominantly Protestant cities was simply out of the question. Hence, in England the ceremonies for a solemn but private entry were developed. Venerable Dominic had the missionaries walk in procession from the rectory to the entrance of the church. There, kneeling on the last step or on the pavement, they recited the psalm "Miserere." After this prayer, they asked the pastor for a blessing while bowing low before the mission crucifix. The superior of the mission then received the crucifix from the pastor and the procession continued down the main aisle of the church. When they arrived at the altar the *Veni Creator* was intoned, the cross set in place and the first meditation given. The announcements ended the service. This same opening of the mission was adopted in the American province.

The old method had many good techniques. One of these, the "wake-up ceremony," was wonderfully planned to keep the mission idea alive in the city and to attract those individuals who needed

¹² Wherever possible this became a regular part of the Passionist mission in this first period. Cf. *PA:AM Mission Record*, f. 14 r.; 20 r.; 17 v.

¹³ Barberi-Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

the mission most—the lax and indifferent men. However, neither in England nor in America was the Order able to retain this function. But neither was another method of persuasion introduced in its place. Although he hated to discard it, Barberi did not find the old system practicable. He even seemed surprised that some missionaries had actually attempted it in London itself. Even though it constituted nothing more than street preaching, the British and American Passionists of the last century never adopted it. There was even a prohibition against so practical an aid as announcements in the daily papers. It was contrary to humility!

In the latter part of the nineteenth century, however, the English Passionists did devise a substitute for the “wake-up ceremony” (*svegliarini*). Not only did it suit the changed mentality of the period but it also surpassed the old awakening in effectiveness. The new approach took the form of house-to-house visitation of the entire parish. As one author who took part in the work stated, “. . . [it] is always hard and even sometimes positively disagreeable when the houses are in mean streets and unholy, not to say unclean, localities.”¹⁴ The missionaries themselves became the “pacieri”—reconciling families, recalling the lapsed Catholics, rectifying marriages and blessing the sick. In America the size and number of missions, the heavy confession schedule and the shortage of missionaries prevented the introduction of this excellent, if arduous, aspect of the Passionist missionary apostolate in England.

Perhaps the most important of the new procedures was the introduction of the children’s mission. Not only was this valuable in itself because of the convincing impression the missionary made on the children, but it also proved to be a most effective aid in influencing the adults to attend. The children propagandized the mission in their own homes, preaching a little “awakening homily” in the very ears of a religiously lax parent. Barberi began it as a simple catechism. It was immediately successful. “This instruction,” he wrote, “is usually attended by grown-ups as well and sometimes I have seen the church just as crowded as it is in the evenings.”¹⁵ But he warned the missionary it was not easy work; “. . . [it] is ideal when the population is fairly small but not when it is very

¹⁴ Herbert, C. P., *Preachers of the Passion*. London: Burns, Oates and Washbourne, 1924, pp. 54-55.

¹⁵ Barberi-Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

large, since it is difficult to keep three hundred boys and girls quiet."

Although the children's mission, formally conducted, did not become part of the system in the United States until late in the century, nonetheless from the very beginning some instruction was given to the children, particularly in rural parishes, usually to prepare them for first confession and first Holy Communion. At times it was the only preparation the children had and often proved to be their life-total religious instruction on the sacraments. Frequently the missionary found young people in their late teens who had not yet made their First Communion.

Another addition to the Passionist mission technique originating with Dominic Barberi (who adopted it from the Rosminians in England) was the renewal of the baptismal vows. This replaced the former acts of detestation of sin and the oath of perseverance in virtue, with which the old method closed the mission. Although at the present time this renewal of the vows does take place at the closing, in the beginning, as introduced by Barberi, it was part of the solemn general communion. After the "fervorino" and before Communion, the missionary led the people in the renewal ceremony. Then, when Communion had been received, another "fervorino" was preached, during which an attempt was made to reach the yet unrepentant. This was done very simply by giving the old cursing of the obstinate sinner a new and effective form. The missionary simply announced as part of his *fervorino* "the blessings on those who shall keep the Law of God and the courses (sic) on those that break it."

An innovation which was introduced in America by the first Passionists but which was not in use in England, in Belgium or in Italy was the planting of a huge mission cross in front of or near the church.¹⁶ The event brought the mission to a close in grand style, provided the missionary with ideal analogies for the concluding sermon, and left a perpetual reminder of the mission in the midst of the people. The service was solemnly performed. The

¹⁶ The first record of planting a cross is for May, 1857, at the close of the parish retreat at St. Augustine's, The Loop. *PA:M Mission Record*. f. 17. v. Crosses were erected during most of the missions in these rural areas; they were usually gigantic, as, for example, the one planted in "The Wilderness" which was 65' high: *PA:M*, loc. cit., f. 44 v.; 47 r. This also answers Giorgini's question as to when the custom of planting a cross originated in the Order. From America it was adopted in other provinces: Giorgini, *Alcuni Appunti*, p. 58.

closing of the mission at Kinkora, Canada, in February of 1864 was a good example. Albinus Magno's account explained:

Before the Papal Blessing on the last day a most beautiful high cross was blessed, which was at the exortations (sic) of the missionaries prepared, and erected before the church; the ceremony of the Blessing (sic) was performed in the most solemn way; all the congregation with lighted tapers in their hands, and amongst them the [Reverend] Methodist (sic) Preacher with his lady, who favoured (sic) in that evening the missionaries with their presence, made their way in a form of Precession (sic) to the place of the cross; the two missionaries proceeded to its blessing, after which the Congregation at the request of Fr. Albinus [Magno] renewed with aloud (sic) voice their baptismal vows in the most affecting manner; then returning into the church in a good order, the Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament was given after which Catholics and Protestants fully pleased and satisfied returned to their houses.¹⁷

Poverty: A Seventy-Year Debate

Until the second quarter of the last century the Order took nothing for its work, not even for the journey, since ordinarily the missionaries walked to the place of the mission. Gradually some men began to accept an offering. The practice was severely reprimanded in the General Chapter of 1839. Barberi, in a long memorandum, inveighed against the abuse.¹⁸ But then Barberi went to England. Travel was expensive there. Distances were greater. The general cost of living was higher, and the Order was soon in debt. Barberi changed his mind. In reply to the question of an apprentice missionary, "Is it permissible to accept any kind of alms?" he wrote:

Here in England the parish-priest who has asked for the mission usually makes some small offering at the end of it (if he does that even; since in many places we have had to pay all expenses ourselves). Travelling expenses are paid from this sum and if there is anything left, the Superior divides it among the different retreats. If the parish-priest should ask how much the journey costs, it

¹⁷ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 64 v.

¹⁸ This long memorandum has been published for the first time in the critical edition of the *Customs of the Congregation* by Fabiano Giorgini; cf. *Fontes II*, pp. 1-18.

would be well to tell him quite frankly both the price of the outward journey as also the estimated cost of the return—and you will find out that you have little or nothing left over.¹⁹

By making such a decision Venerable Dominic left himself open to bitter criticism in Rome. Was it licit to accept such an offering? The question disturbed the minds of the capitulars for the rest of the century. The matter of stipends was of no small importance, since it was directly related to both a strict poverty and an actual witness to penance, always considered essential constituents of the spirit Paul of the Cross bequeathed to his followers. At the XXIX General Chapter, some seventy years from the beginning of the debate, the practice of accepting a remuneration was officially approved with carefully phrased restrictions.²⁰

In America the acceptance of the stipend was considered altogether necessary because the Order, in dire need and almost unknown, had no other source of revenue, particularly in view of the difficulties encountered in continuing the quest. However, from the poorer rural parishes nothing was accepted. In the cities, the stipend, always a voluntary matter, was ordinarily good and became one of the principal means of support in the fast-growing province.²¹

Early Ecumenism and Other Movements

During the latter part of the last century, the mission was increasingly used to promote various movements and confraternities. Thus in 1857 the XX General Chapter recommended that all missionaries promote the Crusade of Prayer for Christian Unity and Especially for the Conversion of England, as organized by Ignatius Spencer and indulged by Pius IX. It was Spencer for whom Bishop O'Connor asked so frequently in the early days. And the general had repeatedly refused O'Connor's request precisely because he feared Spencer would spend most of his time organizing his Crusade to the detriment of the regular mission apostolate.

Some time previous to the recommendations of the Chapter,

¹⁹ Barberi-Charles, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

²⁰ *Fontes III*, p. 83; Decree 561.

²¹ E.g., the "Account Book of Money Received" for St. Michael's Monastery records: "From Fr. Stanislaus' mission . . . \$200.00; from Father Vicar's mission at West Point . . . \$275.00; from Fr. Albinus' mission . . . \$200.00." Cf. *UC:M Income-Outlays*, Account Book, etc., pp. 3-4.

Testa had directed every missionary to instruct the people on the purposes of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith and to enlist their necessary support. Some of the confraternities advocated by the missionaries were the Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine and the Confraternity of the Passion. Devotion to the Sacred Passion was increased in several ways, not only through the establishment of the Confraternity of the Passion but also by enrollment in the Black Scapular of the Passion, and by encouraging the use of the Chaplet of the Five Wounds in the new shortened form approved by the Holy See through the efforts of Paul Aloysius Pichi.²² The Confraternity of the Sacred Passion was first organized in the United States at West Hoboken prior to 1864, while the Scapular of the Passion was first introduced at New Brighton, Staten Island, in March, 1863, when some seven hundred were vested.²³ Circumstances of a particular place led the missionaries to devise extraordinary means to insure lasting benefit from the mission. Such was the case in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, when, to offset the wholesale distribution of immoral and anti-Catholic literature, Calandri and Magno organized a Library Society.

In the United States the one movement most frequently mentioned in connection with the Passionist mission was The Temperance Movement.²⁴ Temperance Societies were founded during the mission and pledges were administered at its close. Fr. Albinus Magno was the leading advocate. Rossi balked at promoting this or any other kind of crusade during the mission. His concentration was on sound doctrinal sermons and on preparation for a good confession. The accounts of his apostolate made no mention of any of these new matters.

Final Settlement

This, then, is the shape the Passionist mission took in America. Its principal organizers were Rossi and Calandri, but in its ultimate

²² Pichi was general from 1821-1827 and had the chaplet shortened from twenty-five Paters, Aves and Glorias to its present five Aves and twenty-five Glorias.

²³ *NAA: Histories of Parishes: St. Michael's, West Hoboken; PA:M Mission Record*, f. 52 r.

²⁴ The first account of temperance pledges was from the mission at Blairsville in October, 1858, when 300 were administered; the next month at Jefferson, Pa., "several hundred," and at St. Louis, "several thousand." Cf. *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 30 v.; f. 38 v.; f. 41 r.

form it is actually the work of Rossi. Even though all of his adaptations as presented to the First Provincial Chapter were canceled in Rome in 1863, a few years later they were accepted minus his major premise: discretionary powers to permit a continual adaptation.

In its substance the American system was still Paulacrucian in emphasis and uniquely Passionist. However, while the new form proved highly successful, the program it provided was considerably weaker than its Latin counterpart. For one thing it did not have as intrinsic a unity as the old. In addition, two very important procedures of the old method—the previous announcement and preparation for the mission as well as the creation of a pervasive mission-mentality in the *entire* area during the time of the mission—were not as successfully developed in the new. But the most serious danger touched the essence: the tendency, as Barberi and Peter Paul Cayro had sensed, to minimize the Order's constant emphasis on the mystery of redemptive suffering throughout the various exercises of the mission.

This, however, was not limited to America. As early as 1851 Rome declared that it regarded "incapable of preaching on the mission platform" that missionary "who cannot make the meditation [on the sufferings of Christ] after the evening sermon."²⁵ At a later date the general, Bernard Prelini, in a circular letter reaffirmed the centrality of the Passion in the Order's preaching apostolate, calling it "the essential part of our ministry." To omit or to minimize the Sacred Passion in the Order's apostolate was an "ommissione gravissima." It was to destroy the form of the apostolate, "that which is most distinctive." Such an omission "no circumstance of time or place can justify, much less the missionary."²⁶

As was to be expected, the method of fulfilling the apostolate in America was placed high on the agenda for the Second Provincial Chapter. From the tenth to the thirteenth sessions inclusive, "long and interesting discussions took place concerning the plan."²⁷ The program eventually agreed upon has been described in the preceding pages. However, the determination was not made effort-

²⁵ *Fontes III*, pp. 58-59; Decree 378, par. 2.

²⁶ *Acta XVIII*, 264-267.

²⁷ *UC:P Acts of Provincial Chapters: The Second Provincial Chapter*, ff. 26 rv.; 27 r.

lessly; it was not simply a question of statement and approval, but the consequence of long and ardent debate. The point at issue was this: To what degree was the superior of the mission free to alter, modify, adapt or change the customary method of conducting a Passionist mission? The problem was serious. The protagonists of "liberty," it was argued, could not have realized the consequences of the freedom which they recommended. It was unobjectionable for such pioneers as Calandri and Magno and the Baudinellis, born and raised in the shadow of Monte Argentario, to take matters into their own hands. The customs and traditions of the Order were knitted to their bones. If such a privilege of free decision were permitted to young Americans who had none of the training and background of their predecessors, the results might be questionable. If each missionary were free to form his own method, would there be any such thing as a Passionist system?

But the conservative faction had to deal with no less an authority than Gaudentius Rossi, the most creative mind in the Province, who, like Paul the Apostle, were it expedient, could match their every achievement and go beyond to boast of much more. That the Passionists were so thoroughly accepted throughout the country, that they were increasingly recognized as masters of the art of sacred eloquence, that their apostolate won the universal approval of the hierarchy, clergy and laity, was in very large measure due to Rossi who not only inaugurated the preaching apostolate in the United States but brought to it a power and prestige unsurpassed by anyone in the Congregation at that time. And Rossi was neither young nor American. In spirit, however, as leader of the small liberal faction, he was both. This veteran of hundreds of campaigns in England and America disavowed any airtight, obligatory method. He desired to go well beyond the accommodations granted for England and looked toward a far greater independent development of the apostolate much more in accord with American culture, ideas and temperament and with less regard for practices long sanctioned in Italy but irrelevant to America. Furthermore, he hoped for a limitation on the strict requirement of constant recourse to Rome for approval of every item of change. His irrefutable success almost carried the motion. It was only during the final debate in the last session that his proposal, too far advanced for that day, was defeated.

At first this wide liberal principle prefaced the section of the Chapter dealing with the mission apostolate. It is the work of Rossi. "Although the circumstances of place, people, habits, are so various, especially in this country, that many arrangements *must necessarily be left to the prudence and zeal of the missionaries*, nevertheless it is highly desirable to establish a *kind* of system which, while it will serve as a *guide* to the missionaries, will at the same time promote the success of their apostolic labours." ²⁸

At a time when the Congregation's efforts in Rome were bent on a universal unification of method and a preservation of as much of the old as possible, such a proposal was considered treacherous. The Order was not looking for a "kind" of system but a uniform method. It did not want a "guide" but an obligatory rule. Therefore, in the final redaction of the Acts of the Second Provincial Chapter the entire paragraph was eliminated. In its place was inserted a simple statement concerning the reason for the new items of legislation. Not only was it without hint of liberty or discretionary power, but in tone it was apologetic for deeming some changes necessary. "Although the following regulations are not substantially different from what has already been practiced by our missionary Fathers (sic) during the frequent missions which they have given in these United States and Canada, yet after a long and detailed discussion upon the several circumstances connected with our mission in these countries, the following points were agreed upon." ²⁹ The ten decrees that followed created the Passionist method of conducting missions in America, a method in use until recent times.

That they were approved in Rome without any difficulty was due chiefly to the prestige of Ignatius Paoli, former provincial of the English province, who was sent as general visitor and president of the Chapter.

Finally, accepting the persuasive logic of several accomplished missionaries, the General Chapter of 1884 recognized the impossibility of an absolute uniformity. Each province was granted the

²⁸ UC:P, loc. cit., f. 27 rv. (emphasis added).

²⁹ Ibid. In the first missionary congress held in St. Paul's Monastery, Pittsburgh, January 25-February 6, 1894, the missionaries asserted the obligation of following literally the method laid down in the Provincial Directorium. Cf. *Proceedings of the First Missionary Congress*. West Chester: Protectory Press, 1894, p. 63.

right to formulate its particular directory for the preaching apostolate. But to safeguard the essential elements of apostolic activity in the entire Congregation, while giving due recognition to the divergencies arising from varying cultural and national circumstances, Rome reserved to itself the final say on the validity of the evolution of method in the various provinces. The first of these new *directoria* to be submitted to Rome came from America.³⁰

³⁰ *UC:P Acts of Provincial Chapters*: The Eighth Provincial Chapter, f. 136 rv. The first Directorium was written by Frs. Thomas O'Connor, Philip Birk and Charles Lang.

12. The Primary Apostolate: To Preach the Word

In the year 1856 the Passionists in America were able finally to devote their energies to their primary mission to preach the Word. This is the account of the monastery chronicler:

1856. . . . This year is the beginning of a new epoch for the Passionists in America. It was the first year in which they attained the principal object of their coming to America . . . laboring for the spiritual advancement of their neighbor by apostolic missions and spiritual retreats. Under God, this good was brought about by the Rev. Gaudentius [Rossi] of St. Stephen, (sic) whose arrival from England we noted in our last chapter. That these missions have been appreciated by American Catholics, it suffices to say that from their commencement until the date of the writing of these chronicles, which is about five years, our religious have been unceasingly occupied in giving them in various parts of these extensive United States.¹

Pittsburgh: Origin and First Center of the Apostolate

On Passion Sunday, March, 1856, at the Pittsburgh Cathedral, the Order formally inaugurated its proper apostolate in America. It began not as a mission or parish retreat but as a specially prepared series of discourses on the Sacred Passion delivered every night from March 9 to March 21, Good Friday. On that day Rossi concluded the series by preaching the Three Hours Agony Devotion, one of the first in the country, which he told us, "produced a

¹ *PA:M Chronicles*, p. 19.

powerful commotion among the large and attentive audience.”² Besides the preaching, Fathers Gaudentius and Albinus Magno heard confessions daily “from half-past six in the morning til (sic) ten and eleven o’clock in the night” for an entire month. Spring was late that year and the winter had been very severe. The three rivers were still frozen so that the people from the numerous settlements all along their shores were able to come to the city. During Easter week over four thousand received Holy Communion.

This work at the cathedral marked the opening of a mission campaign that more than fulfilled the expectations of Bishop O’Connor. Beginning in March of 1856, it continued all through that year and the year following. It brought the missionaries to every section of the diocese, especially to the neglected rural areas where for the first time the spiritual exercises of a parish retreat or mission were conducted. The campaign leader was Rossi. With him were associated, in turn, Magno, Calandri and later John Baptist Baudinelli. And so the first mission band of the Order in America was formed. For the next twenty years the burden of the Passionist missionary apostolate rested on their shoulders.

From the Cathedral, Rossi was sent to St. John’s in Clearfield where he conducted the first parish retreat in that region. His usual program for this type of work consisted of a catechetical instruction and the meditation on the Passion in the morning and a formal mission sermon in the evening. Again the confessions were so numerous that it was necessary to send for Magno. He arrived in the second week and then remained for a week longer to attend to all who wished to benefit from his counsel and receive the sacraments. It was the usual procedure for these early men to remain whenever possible after the closing of a mission or retreat in order to be available to the people who wished to see them, particularly non-Catholics, to give occasional conferences and especially to continue the administration of the sacrament of penance. They considered this practice a necessary sequel to the arduous work of the mission. As soon as Magno finished at Clearfield, he joined Rossi who had already gone ahead to open a retreat at St. Patrick’s, Sugar Creek, the mother church of all the congregations now west of the Allegheny in western Pennsylvania. Here they were particularly well received, since Father Cody, the pastor, “never preaches,

² *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 7r.

but reads some good book at Mass on Sundays to the people.”³ At Sugar Creek Albinus Magno began his long missionary career. After more than three years of preparation, he finally was able to resume the singular ambition of his life, the missionary apostolate.

The distance between Sugar Creek and Donegal in Butler County is six miles. At the time of their first mission the eighty families in Donegal (half Irish and half German) had a church but no pastor. “Three are the principal difficulties,” Rossi reported, “which prevent the bishop from fixing a priest in the place. 1st (sic) He must know the two languages. 2. The people do not easily agree (sic) between (sic) themselves. 3. They cannot entirely support well a priest.”⁴ The Protestants who were more numerous than the Catholics were just as eager to make the retreat. As a result, the church which could accommodate only two hundred people was overcrowded, so that some services were held in the open fields. At the conclusion of the week’s mission, “some explanation was given about few points (sic) of Catholic Doctrine which was listen to (sic) with eager attention; the Sheriff of the county with several gentlemen and ladies of apparent respectability were present.”

After returning to the monastery, Rossi noted, “During these three retreats the missionaries had plenty of work and some privations to endure.” But the privations and the work were minor compared to the assignment awaiting him on his arrival. O’Connor requested Rossi to make a tour of Greene and Washington Counties, the outposts of his diocese, during June and July, visiting the scattered Catholic inhabitants of these regions who were not only without a pastor but also without a church. By buggy, on foot and on horseback the missionary traveled from one settlement to the next. In each place the home of one of the families served as his chapel. There he gave “familiar exhortations (sic) and instructions to prepare them for the sacraments—he heard their confessions—said mass (sic) in their private houses—and gave them Holy Communion. . . . Both lodging and fare was what poor farming people can give in this country.”⁵ Rossi discovered that the majority of the adult population had been away from the sacraments

³ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 8v; f. 9r.

⁴ *PA:M, loc. cit.*, f. 9v.

⁵ *PA:M, loc. cit.*, f. 11r.

for years. He baptized "fourteen or fifteen" people, received eight Protestants into the Church and gave First Holy Communion to "several grown-up children." These missionary excursions, as Rossi called the journey, closed with a formal retreat of one week at West Alexander, a little village which boasted a tiny chapel, even if it was seldom used.

During the latter part of July and for most of August, Rossi inaugurated the retreat work for other religious communities that has ever since endured as part of the summer missionary schedule. In September the veteran of many campaigns in England and now in America took a well-earned rest. He was on the road again in early October, however, beginning a round of missions and retreats that was to continue almost without interruption until December of the following year.

He opened this new series in SS. Peter and Paul at Brady's Bend where he boarded with a Protestant who was also a member of the Know-Nothing Party, since no other house was near enough to the church.⁶ At Brady's Bend there were about six hundred Catholics, most of them single young men working in the iron mills and living in company housing. Since very many of these men were German, Luke Baudinelli initiated his mission work by preaching to them in German each day and hearing their confessions. The retreat lasted two weeks. In the second week, as the publicity spread, people came distances of from ten to fifty miles to see the missionaries more than to hear them. The primary purpose of the retreat was achieved as Rossi noted that most of the young steel workers could be found among the eight hundred communicants.

The assignment at Brady's Bend was still a parish retreat, however. The Order had not yet given its first formal mission. That honor was bestowed upon St. Peter's Church in Allegheny when the mission was held there from November 13 to November 30 in 1856. In the second week Calandri made his first appearance on the mission platform to which he was to bring great prestige in subsequent years. The missionaries put into effect a full mission schedule. This schedule is interesting to observe not only because

⁶ One convert was made on this mission but it is not known if it was his host. *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 13r.

it was the first one but also because substantially it differed little from the method used until recent times.⁷

Morning: Masses: 6:00; 7:00; 8:00 A.M.

After the last Mass:

—first week: catechism.

—second week: Passion meditations.

Confessions: 6:00 A.M. to 12:00 noon.

Afternoon: Confessions: 3:00 P.M. to 7:30 P.M.

Evening: Rosary: 7:30 P.M.

Hymn

Instruction (Rossi)

Sermon (Calandri)

Passion meditation (Calandri)

Confessions: to 11:00 P.M.

On Thursday of the second week the special service and procession in honor of the Blessed Virgin Mary was observed. This replaced the old “apparition” service used in Italy. Confessions were so heavy that two or three “of the best secular priests”⁸ came to help. The renewal of the baptismal vows must have taken place at the general communion, since there was no mention of it at the closing. The closing conformed more to the old style, with Father Gaudentius delivering the formal discourse and Calandri taking the platform for the ritual of the abjuration and detestation of sin and for the “ricordi”—suggestions for maintaining the fruit of the mission—as in Italy. The Papal Blessing was then imparted.

The success of the mission at St. Peter's brought several other requests from pastors in and around Pittsburgh—from St. John's, Birmingham, from St. Mary's, Lawrenceville and from the new St. Patrick's on Fourteenth Street. The first of these petitions came as a surprise because of the earlier antagonism between St. John's and St. Michael's and for reasons not recorded the mission was suddenly canceled.

Hence, from St. Peter's the two missionaries proceeded to Lawrenceville, the parish O'Connor had hoped Calandri would organize in 1852 shortly after his arrival in Pittsburgh. It was in

⁷ *PA:M, loc. cit.*, f. 13v; f. 14r.

⁸ *Ibid.*

fact the old cemetery site where Calandri actually had started the building of the first monastery. Both at St. Mary's and at St. Patrick's the work of the new Order was well received.

At St. Patrick's parish "the attendance of the people," wrote Rossi, "was very good from the begining (sic) and encreasing (sic) daily both morning and evening; the aisles were full with people standing; two-thirds of the audience were men of the labouring and mechanical (sic) classes."⁹ Magno and three diocesan priests assisted Rossi and Calandri with the confessions. The closing session was so overcrowded and disorderly that it almost turned into a riot.

About an hour before the service began the church was nearly full. During Vespers such large crowd (sic) of people came in that they had to stand on the very tops of the seats. There being no possibility of admittance in the large church, several hundreds of people were crowding outside the doors whilst a constant stream of new-comers was swelling into a large crowd, the people eager and clamoring for admittance. At this circumstance the missionary ascended on the temporary platform in order to begin the sermon. But the people outside, being anxious to hear him, were making every effort to enter the church already too full. The severity of the weather could not deter the people. The missionary [Gaudentius Rossi] in order to satisfy them blessed their medals, beads, crosses—and told them that if they recited certain prayers they could gain the indulgence of the papal blessing. Neither (sic) this seemed to satisfy them. He thought it advisable to promise to them to come and preach for them the following Sunday evening. At last, through the exertions of the pastor [Thomas McCullough] and some gentlemen of the congregation, a number of the people repressing their disappointment returned home. A large number however remained in the cold weather trying to hear outside through the windows.¹⁰

Lent of 1857 brought this first phase of the apostolate full circle as Rossi and Tarlattini returned to the cathedral for the arduous work in the confessional—from six in the morning, through the day, until eleven at night for four consecutive weeks.

⁹ *PA:M, loc. cit., f. 15v; cf. Lambing, op. cit., 106-110.*

¹⁰ *PA:M, loc. cit., f. 16r.*

Once again Rossi preached each evening from Passion Sunday until Easter. He also spoke at the Masses and vespers on the two successive Sundays which closed the period for making the Easter Communion. The good effect of all the previous work was witnessed at the Cathedral as people poured in "from every part of Pittsburgh, Allegheny, Lawrenceville, Birmingham, and from other congregations at greater distances and from the country." Their primary desire was to receive the sacrament of penance from the missionaries. Many of them waited in line all day; others, as Rossi noted, "were disappointed for several successive days." The communicants numbered over four thousand. Five converts were received. This was a most fitting conclusion to the first year's work.

During the rest of the year the Passionists continued to conduct parish retreats, for the most part in the country districts. They were not always well received. At Beaver, Rossi encountered a disgruntled pastor. "He is a good, moral, grave priest, but unfortunately he has a very irascible temper. The smallest trifle can excite him into a great passion and when in this mood, like a raving person, in private as in the public chapel, he uses the most abusive language against the members of his Congregation and others. The writer was both the witness and the victim."¹¹ Rossi's work was doubly difficult. It was public knowledge that less than one-third of the parish were faithful to their religious obligations. Confessions were overwhelming. And, in addition to his regular duties, Rossi prepared thirty children and several youths for their First Communion. He preached twice daily and received one convert. He had little success with the pastor.

In November at St. Bridget's in Pittsburgh¹² he met with a similar situation, but the results were more encouraging. On the morning the mission opened, the pastor, Father James Tracy, left for Ireland to collect for the new Cathedral. O'Connor persuaded Tarlattini to permit Albinus Magno to accompany him, and Rossi and Calandri were left alone to manage the work of this large mission. The interim pastor, J. Farran, whom O'Connor sent to St. Bridget's, "brought along with him strong prejudices against

¹¹ The parish retreat was from June 14 to 21, 1857. *PA:M, loc. cit., f. 18r.*

¹² *PA:M, loc. cit., f. 21v.* The mission was from Nov. 8 to 22. An account is in *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, Vol. 14, No. 39 (Nov. 28, 1857).

the missionaries and the missions and openly spoke against both.”¹³ For two days, with “various fanciful protests,” he impeded the mission. “With these odds,” Rossi stated, “the missionaries had to work hard.” The odds increased when Rossi and Calandri were told that they had to eat with the neighbors. “The quality and quantity of the food was (sic) not adapted to the hard work of the missions. Hence both missionaries soon experienced great bodily weakness.” This unfortunate situation, intensified by the long hours in the confessional, incapacitated Calandri, so that for two days he was unable to preach. Rossi continued until he, too, was “obliged . . . to suspend the instruction in the evening but continued the meditations on the Passion.” To make conditions more onerous, the confessionals were makeshift, cold, temporary affairs that afforded little comfort. And the weather was miserable during the entire time of the mission. Well could Rossi write, “Indeed it really seemed as if hell did everything to thwart the work of God.” But their success was in proportion to their suffering. Not only did the people crowd the church for the three morning Masses and the evening services and not only were the results in the confessional gratifying, but the interim pastor was converted. “At last he came round (sic) and turned rather favorable to everything. At the close of the mission he acknowledged (sic) that the mission had done a great deal of good to him.” The mission at St. Bridget’s closed on November 22.

For two years the Order had worked exclusively in the Pittsburgh diocese—not because it lacked opportunities for work outside but rather because it chose to fulfill a primary obligation to Bishop O’Connor. Whenever the Order did accept the invitations to other dioceses, O’Connor was displeased. Through a misinterpretation of the Rome Agreement, he made it difficult, and at times impossible, for Tarlattini to undertake any such commitment. Thus Tarlattini could not accept Bishop Josue Young’s request for a mission to every congregation in the Erie Diocese during 1858, for in O’Connor’s interpretation, without the previous consent of the Bishop of Pittsburgh, Passionists could not engage in work outside the diocese. Despite these difficulties the friendship between the bishop and the new Order remained cordial, although some-

¹³ *Ibid.*

what strained.¹⁴ Then O'Connor resigned. For the next four years the Passionists were practically without work in the diocese. However, the requests from outside increased in numbers and importance. The first of these requests came from Brooklyn.

I

THE GREAT MISSIONS

Pilgrimage to Brooklyn

Whereas this mission for various reasons has proved to be the most successful hitherto given by the Passionist Fathers in America we shall try to give a faithful sketch of it.¹⁵

The mission to which Rossi referred was given at St. Joseph's on Pacific and Dean Streets in Brooklyn, from November 29 to December 20, 1857. It was the first time the fathers had appeared outside the Diocese of Pittsburgh or, as the *New York Tribune* reported, had "projected a pilgrimage to this part of the country, bearing with them certain relics of the Blessed Paul consisting of pieces of his bone and a portion of his heart."¹⁶ Although the missions were successful for many reasons, undoubtedly they prospered primarily because of the faith of both missionaries and people in the intercessory power of the Saint whose relics they venerated.

Brother Lawrence occasioned the mission while questing in the Brooklyn Diocese. When he presented his credentials to the pastor of St. Joseph's, Father Patrick O'Neil, "he was asked about the nature, constitution and object of our religious insti-

¹⁴ *AG:PSP*, III-13, Tarlattini to Testa, January 9, 1861: "All of us here are satisfied with the new bishop [Michael Domenec, C.M.]. Since he himself is a religious we hope he will treat us better than did Monsignor O'Connor. I have never once complained to you about the latter, but in truth he did treat us quite harshly. I begged him to include in the contract before he should leave a clause stating that in the event of a revolution or a similar catastrophe which would force us to abandon the monastery we would have the right to return to it once the crisis passed. But he refused. Moreover, as regards our property, we were constrained to purchase some lots from a Protestant even though it was not as well suited as the property in his [the bishop's] possession. Everyone who comes here with any knowledge of the situation is quite amazed at his manner of acting. . . . Among other things, he noted on the contract that without his permission or that of his successors we are not permitted to accept work outside the diocese. There are many other things that would require too much time to relate here."

¹⁵ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 22v.

¹⁶ *New York Tribune*, February 5, 1858.

tute.”¹⁷ Lawrence di Giacomo was well-spoken. The mission record continued, “In conclusion the Rev. Mr. O’Neil asked some of our fathers to conduct a mission in his new church.”

Calandri, Magno and Rossi were promised. However, it was shortly after this pledge was made that O’Connor pressed Tarlattini to send Magno to Ireland to collect for the new Cathedral. And both Rossi and Calandri who were preaching the difficult mission at St. Bridget’s under such adverse circumstances were ill. Tarlattini’s first thought was to cancel the engagement. O’Neil’s kindness and insistence alone persuaded him to send the two men who were willing to undertake this new assignment only three days after their return from St. Bridget’s. Rossi arrived in Brooklyn, after what was then a very long journey, with a sore throat and head cold. Calandri was in worse condition. The effort required in preaching at all the Masses on Sunday and at vespers in the afternoon cost Rossi his voice. Calandri opened the mission at night, but became so ill afterward that he was forced to remain in bed for most of the next two weeks. Toward the end of the second week reenforcement arrived from Pittsburgh in the person of Luke Baudinelli. His English was so poor, however, that he could only help with the confessions. The burden of the mission devolved on Rossi. Despite his indisposition, his preaching was at its best, drawing crowds to the church beyond capacity (the seating capacity was 1,500) not only at night but for the morning Masses as well.

During the second week an event occurred that stirred the entire metropolitan area and brought people, Catholic and Protestant, by the thousands to the doors of St. Joseph’s. Accounts of the event were carried in all the newspapers. Rossi’s was the most authentic.

The people had conceived such high opinion of the missionaries that they expected them to work miracles to cure every kind of bodily disease;—more than 3,000 suffering persons came or were brought to the missionaries for cure. This pious importunity increased (sic) the labours of the missionaries—the sick were blessed with the relic of our Blessed Founder. Their faith in several instances was rewarded with graces of a miraculous character. Some

¹⁷ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 22v.

cures were seen effected by our missionaries through (sic) the relic of Blessed Paul. More were mentioned to them by priests and by secular witnessess (sic).¹⁸

Adding to the excitement was the conversion of a well-known physician who, as the *New York Tribune* reported, had been "convinced by the miraculous amelioration of certain physical ailments that had baffled his own individual skill as a regular practitioner."¹⁹ Following this occurrence, "as many Protestants as could forced their way into the church."²⁰ In fact, so many were present that at their request, on Tuesday of the third week, Rossi preached "On the unity of religion and the truth of Catholicity." Fifteen converts were received and as many more were left under instruction, although Rossi had preferred not to postpone their reception. On two evenings John Laughlin, Brooklyn's first bishop (1853-1866), attended the mission.

The sick continued to besiege the missionaries for prayers and blessings, stationing themselves at the door of the rectory and along the pathway to the church doors before either the church or the rectory was opened. When Fathers Calandri and Rossi came into view, suffering people "took hold of the missionaries by the cloak or arm and with tears in their eyes asked to be blessed and cured. . . . The missionaries having to go from the priests' house to the church had the greatest difficulty to free themselves from these importunities." Rossi further noted the publicity the mission was given: "These things have also appeared in every kind of public periodical—English and German, Catholic and Protestant, and gone out to every part of the United States and even crossed the Atlantic to Europe and elsewhere."²¹

¹⁸ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 24 rv. Cf. *Platea*, p. 32.

¹⁹ *The New York Tribune*, *loc. cit.* It was not possible to locate the name of this physician. Rossi's Register of Converts simply states: "December 20, 1857—fifteen converts were received during a most successful mission that lasted three weeks in St. Joseph's Church, Brooklyn, Long Island, State of New York."

²⁰ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 23r.

²¹ Two articles appeared in *L'Univers* in Paris signed by the correspondent for American affairs, C. de Laroche-Heron, No. 59-26 année (1 Mars 1858) and No. 73 (15 Mars 1858). Heron wrote in his first article: ". . . L'attention publique a donc été appelée sur les résultats de cette mission, dont les organes du protestantisme se montrent très préoccupés. On parle partout des succès du P. Gaudentius qui depuis peu d'années, a fait rentrer cinq cents protestants dans le giron de l'Eglise soit en Angleterre, soit en Amérique. On discute surtout le fait des querisons miraculeuses; et les journaux protestants, par les plaisanteries

A controversy over miracles and relics ensued in the Protestant and Catholic press. McMaster's long report of the events at St. Joseph's in the *Freeman's Journal* was copied by most of the nation's other Catholic papers.²² The Protestant-sponsored *Commercial Advertiser of New York* immediately attacked the article as indiscreet, fanatic and puerilely credulous. McMaster rejoined, "We assert an event which is esteemed miraculous and their conclusion is that we have asserted what is impossible and therefore untrue."²³ The *Advertiser* demanded facts. Were real cures affected? Could they be called miracles? Were they well attested? Why was not more information given? Names? Dates?²⁴ The reply in the *Freeman's Journal* was that of a master. "In the popular sense as extraordinary they [the cures] are miraculous but not in the sense that they could stand the test of the Sacred Congregation in Rome, for that is another question." As for being well attested, "they are asserted on highly creditable authority. We have the same kind of belief in them, only stronger in degree, that we have in the fact we learned some days ago that our distinguished fellow citizen, Judge Duer, had fallen and broken his leg. Stronger in degree . . . because . . . we had the information on the cures direct from a truthful man while our informant in reference to Judge Duer may have depended in part on the reports of the daily newspapers. . . ." His reply to the last query distinguished between those who have full faith and those who do not. To the latter:

. . . the instant cure . . . by the touch of a saint's relic is a thing so unheard of, so unaccountable and next to impossible that they would expect us to drop our ordinary duties of life on the instant and with notebook and pencil rush over to Fr. Gaudentius

grossières et leur acépticisme servent malgré eux la cause qu'ils croient combattre." Binsse, the Pontifical Counsel, informed Cardinal Barnabò of the mission and its impression in the city and sent the article from the *Freeman's Journal*. Cf. *A.P.F. Scritture riferite nei Congressi della America Centrale*, Vol. 18 (1858-60), f. 22rv-25rv.

²² *Freeman's Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 29 (Jan. 16, 1858); *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, Jan. 25, 1858; March 20, 1858; *The Rochester Daily Union* and the *Metropolitan Record* likewise carried articles on the events in Brooklyn.

²³ *Freeman's Journal*, loc. cit.

²⁴ It was impossible to locate the *Commercial Advertiser* but almost the entire article was quoted by McMaster in the *Freeman's Journal* for January 30, 1858.

[Rossi] like the reporter of a two-penny newspaper to a scene of a riot. We know that God is almighty, that he has promised the perpetual power of working miracles to the Catholic Church and that he is faithful to his promise.²⁵

Himself a convert, James McMaster had fought the battle for faith long before the Passionists ever came to Brooklyn. He was prepared for conflict. His defense concluded with what to him would always remain the deeper mystery: "We agree with the editor of the *Rochester Daily Union* that the conversion of the physician by Fr. Gaudentius is . . . a greater miracle than the cures of all the bodily ailments."²⁶

The organization of a Protestant revival for New York City was attributed to the desire of Protestant ministers to offset the effect of the mission in Brooklyn and the equally successful missions in Flatbush and Flushing that followed it. *The Pittsburgh Catholic* editorialized: ". . . the object of all this excitement [the revival] is to withdraw public attention from the convincing arguments, the wonderful success, the sublime morality presented by the Passionists before New York audiences in vindication of the claims of the Catholic Church. . . . It was evidently felt that their success had so much deducted from Protestant prestige that it was worth while . . . to remove from the public mind whatever impressions the eloquence of the good fathers may have produced."²⁷

But the "impression of the eloquence of the good fathers" remained. When they returned to Brooklyn and New York²⁸ three years later, the people paid tribute to their first work by continuing to crowd the churches. And, more immediately, the Brooklyn achievement brought the Order into eight of the largest cathedrals

²⁵ *Freeman's Journal*, loc. cit. McMaster followed the article with two longer pieces on miracles.

²⁶ *Freeman's Journal*, loc. cit. The report of miraculous cures was not limited to this mission in Brooklyn; the same occurred on several occasions in the Pittsburgh Diocese, in Erie and in Hartford, Conn. Cf. *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 14v; f. 26r; f. 32v, etc., and *Pittsburgh Chronicle*, pp. 8 and 32.

²⁷ *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, Vol. 15, No. 3 (March 20, 1858).

²⁸ At St. Ann's, Brooklyn, in December, 1861, over three thousand communicants and two converts; at Immaculate Conception, Williamsburg (Brooklyn), in January, 1862, over four thousand communicants and forty converts; at St. Michael's, Flushing, in February, 1862, fifteen hundred communicants and three converts; at St. Columba's, the first mission in New York City, in April and May of 1862, over five thousand communicants and three converts.

in the East and Midwest and to a far greater number of important parishes.²⁹

Indelible Impression at St. Louis

Peter Richard Kenrick (1843-1895), the first Archbishop of St. Louis, Missouri, deserves the credit for the first citywide mission in the United States. The occasion was the extraordinary Jubilee of 1858 for peace among Christian princes and a renewal of the Christian life. Missions were given simultaneously at the Cathedral and at six parishes in the city.

Father Wheeler, the pastor of St. Patrick's, the largest of the city parishes, had arranged with Tarlattini for the services of the three missionaries—Rossi, Calandri, Magno—who from 1856 to 1863 were *THE* mission band of the Order. When Kenrick learned from Wheeler that he had secured the now-famous Passionists, he telegraphed Pittsburgh requesting some arrangement whereby the missions in St. Patrick's and in the Cathedral might be combined. Various proposals were made—commuting from one parish to the other, for example. It was finally agreed that Rossi would attend to the Cathedral alone, while Calandri with Magno would remain at the larger parish, St. Patrick's. Both missions opened on November 21 and closed on December 8.

To make his work as effective as possible, Rossi sought all available information about a congregation before opening a mission: their education, social status, economic condition, time of the last mission, etc. At St. Louis he discovered that the majority of the parishioners had a better education and came from a higher social class than he had found on any of his previous assignments. He astutely remarked, "The great fault of those Catholics is a lukewarmness and a neglect in the practical duties of our holy religion."³⁰ Accordingly, during the first week his instructions concentrated on practical duties, while the evening sermons for the entire two weeks considered the principal truths. These discourses

²⁹ The first Cathedral Mission, distinct from a parish retreat as in Pittsburgh Cathedral, was in Erie in September, 1858. Then there followed missions at the Cathedrals of Alton (Springfield, in Illinois, since 1923; before Alton the see had been at Quincy); St. Louis, Missouri; Hartford, Connecticut; Buffalo, New York; Cleveland, Ohio; Wheeling, West Virginia; Newark, New Jersey.

³⁰ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 30r.

were delivered in "a plain, argumentative style" which Archbishop Kenrick, who was present each night at the throne, wholeheartedly approved. An earlier record reporting Rossi's missionary attainments in England described him as "remarkably apt at illustration, clothing his subject with the graces and beauties of a highly-cultivated, richly-stored and classical mind and riveting the attention by his forcible elucidation of the matter in hand. In admonition he is gentle, kind and courteous; but in his denunciation of vice, wickedness and immorality, he is awfully impressive. . . . The impression indeed which the eloquent missionary has produced upon the minds of his hearers may with truth be said to be indelible."³¹

The attendance at first was small, according to the estimation of Rossi, who was accustomed to overcrowded churches. He himself made it clear, "When I say small in number I mean that there was no crowd of people standing but almost all seats were taken."³² This "poor" attendance lasted only for the first three days. As the numbers increased, so did the time in the confessional—until midnight.

As the mission at St. Patrick's had been well advertised, the large church was completely filled from the opening service. A temperance society was organized and two thousand pledges administered; a Blessed Virgin Sodality was also established. Taken together, the communicants for both missions numbered over 7,000. Nine converts were received and many others left under instruction. Such was the fruit of the first work of the Order in St. Louis, which remotely prepared the way for an eventual establishment in that city.

Demons and Commotion in Connecticut

In spite of great and powerful obstacles Catholicity is rapidly progressing in the United States in general, in a most special manner in New England and very particularly in New Haven in Connecticut State.³³

³¹ From the *Doncaster-Nottingham and Lincoln Gazette*, August 19(?), 1846, as quoted in the *Record of Pastoral Labours 1842-1852*, Aston Hall, England (Archives of the Order in London).

³² *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 30r.

³³ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 50r.

Within a year the Order conducted five missions in the Diocese of Hartford which at that time embraced all of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Two of them were given in New Haven, two at Bridgeport and one in the Hartford Cathedral. With justification Rossi extolled the advance of Catholicism in New Haven where, out of a population of some 25,000, there were 8,000 Catholics in three flourishing parishes: St. Mary's (the mother church), St. Patrick's and St. John's.

The young Paulists had given a mission at St. Mary's a few months before the arrival of the Passionists at St. Patrick's in April of 1859. The pastor, "the Rev. Mr. Hart is an excellent priest full of zeal and prudent charity and with a rare example placed himself under the direction of the superior of the mission."³⁴ With such complete cooperation the mission (according to the testimony of the Rev. Mr. Hart) renewed the spirit of the entire congregation so that *all* the lapsed and indifferent members returned to the sacraments. Several extra services were conducted: "a public renewal of baptismal vows, a public profession of faith and a dedication [of the parish] to our B[lessed] Lady with processions."

While Rossi was still at St. Patrick's, he was asked to undertake a mission in the city's third parish—a request which was fulfilled a year later in Lent of 1860. The pastor of St. John's, however, was no John Vianney or even a Father Hart. As far as he was concerned, the mission was principally a fund-raising campaign. Rossi summed up "in one short but pithy sentence" his report of the mission: "It was strongly opposed by the demon but highly blessed by God Almighty."

The demon was covetousness. The pastor stipulated that the mission open on Palm Sunday—a very difficult, if not impossible, date for Tarlattini who had intended that the religious follow the Italian custom and spend Holy Week at the monastery as a time of spiritual renewal. When pressed for the reason for his insistence on this specific date, the pastor admitted frankly that Palm Sunday was the first Sunday for the renting of pews and he wished to have as large a number attend church as possible. A compromise was made so that the mission *closed* on Palm Sunday—with an overflow attendance at all the services.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

Rossi was displeased with the entire approach. When the mission began, his displeasure turned to disgust. Only the calm, sound counsel of Calandri and Luke Baudinelli prevented him from withdrawing. He recorded no less than eight obstacles that distorted the primary purposes of their work. There was an entrance fee for each of the mission services; the sacristy was turned into a general store for every kind of religious article, and this business seemed more important than the mission; the missionaries were forbidden to give the people any remembrance of the mission (holy pictures or medals), not even the brief biography of Blessed Paul which they were accustomed to distribute, in order not to interfere with the trade in the sacristy; they were not permitted to bless the people, even the individuals who requested it, with the relic of their Founder; "every means" was employed to discourage the people from speaking to the missionaries. A sixth obstacle which Rossi mentioned but did not explain is difficult to understand—the pastor patrolled the aisles and "sent away many times daily from the vicinity of the confessionals of our fathers, and particularly of the superior of the mission, every respectable lady or gentleman."³⁵ Another hindrance was clear from all the others, "the coldness and harshness of the pastor." The last was the worst: "large collections" were taken up during the two weeks "for the missionaries"—which was a lie. The stipend only just covered travel costs—for what in those days was indeed a "very long journey."

Calandri and Baudinelli restrained Rossi. The three men endured the treatment in silence, obeying the pastor without question, in no wise diminishing their zeal for their work. The formula in this case was correct. Before the end of the mission the pastor "twice asked his [Rossi's] pardon, kneeling down before him and even shedding (sic) tears." The primary work of the mission was achieved. There were over 2,000 communions, and at the closing, every available space was taken in the church, the sacristy, the gallery and the sanctuary itself.

A short time before the engagement at St. John's two missions were undertaken at Bridgeport in March of 1860, one at Immaculate Conception Parish which was then in the town of Birmingham, and the other at St. Mary's in East Bridgeport. At St. Mary's the

³⁵ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 50r.

pastor, Father Peter Smith, had the church filled to capacity for the arrival of the missionaries; he introduced them personally from the platform, and then he placed himself and his congregation absolutely under their direction. The mission was completely satisfying. The people were so pleased that when the departure of one of the missionaries before the closing was announced, "a great commosion (sic) was caused in the church." This warm welcome certainly made their visit at St. John's even more difficult to endure.

At Immaculate Conception, where the congregation was twice the size of St. Mary's, the most notable feature was the number of Protestants who made the mission. For their benefit Rossi was asked to "preach a number of controversial sermons."³⁶

The first work of the Passionists in Connecticut was at the Cathedral in Hartford, a mission continuing for two weeks, from March 13 to March 27, 1859. At that time the Cathedral was the only parish in the city serving "some four to five thousand Catholics almost all labouring persons and a large proportion of female servants, and working (sic) in factories."³⁷ The only difficulty in this place was the need to find sufficient time to hear all the confessions, even though at least one of the three missionaries was always in the confessional "from six in the morning until eleven at night . . . in the basement of the church where the atmosphere was impure and unhealthy." The pressure increased when the Connecticut river flooded and prevented many people from getting to confession early. The closing day found four thousand people in and around the Cathedral, many of whom were motivated by the report of several cures through the blessing with the relic of Paul of the Cross. This was the most successful of the five missions in the state. Altogether over eleven thousand received the sacraments. Eight converts were received.

Proud Humility in Boston

At the unpretending, perhaps almost unknown church of St. Joseph in Chambers Street a retreat of two weeks has just ended. . . . Four Passionists (sic) Fathers have labored unremittingly. . . . I make special mention of one of this little band because

³⁶ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 49r.

³⁷ *PA:M*, loc. cit.

he appears most prominently as a preacher, Father Gaudentis (sic), a simple Italian monk in the habit of his Order which he wears with proud humility. . . . His manner has that sweetness and gentleness which much meditation on the Passion must produce. You feel at once that the inner life of a Passionist monk is to imitate Christ, his life before men to preach Christ Crucified.³⁸

With this announcement Boston's daily newspaper, *The Traveler*, communicated to those few people who did not happen to discover them for themselves the facts of the mission which closed on March 20, 1864. It was the first time Rossi had returned to Boston since the work in Brookline and Brighton in 1859. He returned in glory. With him were three fledgling missionaries: the Rector of St. Mary's, Dunkirk, John Baptist Baudinelli; the Rector of West Hoboken, Victor Carrunchio; and the recently-ordained Timothy Pacitti. Thousands tried to enter the little church every night. The mission produced a profound effect on the city, not only among Catholics, but perhaps even more among the Protestants. Six thousand of the faithful from various parishes received the sacraments.

So many Protestants attended that Rossi was asked to remain another week to conduct one of the first missions in America primarily intended for the non-Catholic. "Every possible arrangement was made by the pastor with the cooperation of the people for the accommodation of strangers who formed a large proportion of the congregation. Each evening the church was crowded to its utmost capacity. All who were present listened with interested attention in spite of the blows dealt by the master hand of Father Gaudentis (sic) at Protestantism and private judgment, that bulwark of the Reformation."³⁹ The blows toppled the barriers between twenty-five Protestants and the Catholic Church. Before the close of the mission, Rossi received these twenty-five into the Church.

After concluding the services at St. Joseph's, the group, with the exception of Pacitti, acceded to the urgent requests of Father Thomas Scully, Pastor of Immaculate Conception, and opened a mission in Malden (suburban Boston) for two weeks. The fame of the previous work assured their success there.

³⁸ *Boston Traveler*, March 21, 1864, as reprinted in *Freeman's Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 52 (April 9, 1864). Cf. *DKK A:M Mission Record*, pp. 9-10.

³⁹ *Freeman's Journal*, Vol. 24, No. 52 (April 9, 1864).

Baltimore Forever

None of the great missions were as lasting in their effect on a diocese or in the Order as the three that were held in Baltimore in 1865—apart from the great amount of good they effected at the time.⁴⁰ Most significant is the fact that it was only in Baltimore that the Order, once it arrived, literally never left. No foundation in the history of the Order in America was accomplished as directly and simply. Before the closing of the missions, and without any previous intimation from the archbishop, the Passionists were established in the Primatial See.

Martin John Spaulding, the seventh Archbishop of Baltimore (1864-1866), solemnly blessed the missionaries and formally opened the first mission at St. John's on March 5. Rossi, first provincial consultor, was superior. Calandri, John Baptist Baudinelli and Basil Keating completed the team. During the mission Spaulding proposed the foundation. Rossi, who knew Tarlattini was preparing at that time to leave for Mexico to inaugurate the work of the Order there, dispatched Baudinelli immediately to Union City which had already become the provincial headquarters.⁴¹ Tarlattini thereupon appointed Rossi as his representative before the archbishop, with authority to accept or reject the offer after Rossi, together with Calandri and Baudinelli, had studied the location and the conditions. There was no fine print in the contract. The Passionists were asked to accept on a temporary basis the administration of St. Agnes' parish in Catonsville, a suburb of Baltimore. The location was unquestionably suitable.

On the day the mission at St. John's closed, Rossi opened an even greater mission at St. Peter's. Three days later Calandri and Baudinelli were at the new Church of the Immaculate Conception which had been dedicated that same year. While these missions were in progress, Rossi completed the agreement with the archbishop and, in a meeting with Calandri and Baudinelli, elected John Thomas Stephanini of St. Mary's Community, Dunkirk, as

⁴⁰ Over fourteen thousand communicants and five converts, as well as others left under instruction. *DKK, AM, loc. cit.*, pp. 9-10.

⁴¹ The Second Provincial Chapter in 1866 officially declared St. Michael's the Provincial House. St. Michael's at Union City had been considered the residence of the provincial from the date of its opening. The Second Provincial Chapter in 1866 officially declared it the Provincial House, transferring it from Pittsburgh.

first superior of the proposed foundation. A telegram brought Stephanini to Baltimore within the week. Both missions were scheduled to close on Passion Sunday, April 2. "On that day," Baudinelli wrote, "the most Rev. Archb[isho]p went in person to the place and solemnly and publicly before a large congregation installed Rev. F[ather] Thomas as the Provisional Superior and Parish Priest (sic) of St. Agnes' Church, Catonsville, Baltimore Co[unty] M[arylan]d."⁴² Charles Lang was appointed to assist Stephanini, and Brother Boniface Feld, the pioneer of each new foundation, arrived shortly afterwards.

On the evening of April 2, as the Order closed two missions in Baltimore simultaneously, it opened a third—and this one has never been closed.

II

APOSTOLATE TO THE NON-CATHOLIC

In the early days the Order was engaged to a very great extent in the work for the conversion of the non-Catholic. The emphasis and overall importance the founding fathers attached to convert work began even before Calandri and his companions left Rome.

Before signing the agreement with Bishop O'Connor, Anthony Testa was perfectly aware that he was sending his men to a predominantly Protestant country. Both he and they recognized the conversion of the Protestants as an integral part of their mission. In his instructions the general expressed his hope that through the good example and the edifying lives of his religious the salvation of many souls "who are lost because they have no one . . . to invite them to enter . . . to show them the way . . ." ⁴³ would be assured. In their letters to Propaganda and to the Society for the Propagation of the Faith, as well as in Calandri's letter to Pius IX, the precise motive for their appeal for a subvention was that, once established in America, the Order would work for the conversion of these separated brethren. When he wrote to the Central Offices at Lyon and Paris, Calandri, after explaining the situation which confronted him—the needs of the Church in America and

⁴² DKK, AM, loc. cit.

⁴³ AG:PSP, II-2, Testa to Religious about to leave for America, Nos. X and XI, September 30, 1852.

the opportunities for the Order to provide for these needs—stated his principal reason for seeking aid.

. . . For the rest, as you yourselves well know, the sooner we are able to have a monastery so much the sooner can we begin to receive native vocations who in the future will labor as zealous missionaries in this strange land inhabited by Protestants and heretics of every denomination in every sort of circumstance. And this precisely is the strong motive which inclines me to write this present letter. It is also the basis of my hope that Your Excellencies will come to our aid. As you have helped other missionaries so you will assist us to establish in this country a religious Order completely dedicated to the personal sanctification of the neighbor through the means of missions and other pious exercises.⁴⁴

On board ship the missionaries made their first contact with Protestants. They were careful to observe their numbers, their behavior and their attitudes. Calandri was especially impressed by the Captain and somewhat surprised that, although Protestant, he showed so much esteem and respect for O'Connor and for them. It gave him hope. Within less than six months after his arrival in the States, Calandri, whose English was so poor he was just about able to make himself understood, had three Protestants under instruction. In one case he hoped for the conversion of the entire family. In writing to the general he frequently made mention of this work of conversion and of his meetings with Protestants.

He never failed to note their presence at the monastery functions where they were assured of a warm welcome. The two Protestant youths who played the *Te Deum* in the band at the cornerstone ceremonies delighted him.

On his door-to-door campaign for funds for his modest building program, Calandri did not hesitate to call on Protestants. The monastery was intended to serve them as well as Catholics. It was while making these rounds that he found not only the three already mentioned but many other well-disposed Protestants as well. Joyfully he informed the general:

Two Protestants have also given me a donation. One of them is a doctor, a medical doctor. I had a very long discussion with him on

⁴⁴AG:PSP II-37, Calandri to the Central Offices of the Society for the Propagation of the Faith at Lyons and Paris, June 3, 1853.

Catholicism and I have good hopes that he will become a Catholic. He indicated as much when I took leave of him—that he would return to his own home. The same is true of another young Protestant. This man's wife was ill. I gave her the relic of the habit of our Holy Founder as I would to any Catholic. Blessed Paul works prodigies here in America too. Through his intercession she was cured.

I have a third Protestant in my hands and I don't want to lose him. We are more obliged to him than to the other two. His whole family is Catholic—but him, the father. He does not even know what sect he belonged to. I will have to give him conditional Baptism. His is one of the richest families in town and one of the most important. He's that grand American I told you about, the one who gave us all the glass for the new building. Besides he pledged fifty dollars and his wife another fifty. I've been at his house many times. One time for more than three hours we discussed religion. I left him a catechism and some meditations of the Eternal Truths, a work of St. Francis de Sales. He said he will make his confession to me.⁴⁵

Albinus Magno, who worked in most of the southern counties of the diocese and met many more non-Catholics, reformed his judgment of them. "My hope grows the more I see the generally good dispositions not only of the Protestants but also of those who are infidel. And I have to admit that most of these unfortunates are outside the Church simply because they were born there. And the prejudicial preaching of their ministers keeps them out. Actually once you get them to see the truth they are prepared to relinquish their errors."⁴⁶ To illustrate his point he related verbatim a conversation he had with his driver, a non-Catholic, who had conducted him on one of his tours.

"Are you a Christian?" asked Father Albinus.

The man quickly replied, "No."

"Are you a Lutheran, a Calvinist?"

"No." "Well what sect do you belong to?" "None."

"What do you mean, none? Don't you have a soul? Don't you think of saving it? And how can you without any belief?"

⁴⁵ AG:PSP II-14, Calandri to Testa, July 7, 1853.

⁴⁶ AG:PSP II-13, Magno to Testa, June 9, 1853. The letter was written for the Propagation of the Faith offices in Paris and Lyon under instructions from Bishop O'Connor.

"I want to save my soul, all right. I'm thinking of joining some church."

"What church do you think is best?"

"Presbyterianism."

"Why do you say that?"

"Because it's the easiest one to get saved in. You just have to tell God you're sorry for everything."

"If that's the case it is no better than Lutheranism or Judaism; there are many sects that feel the same way. I want you to tell me what is the best."

"Father, I don't know the answer. I say Presbyterianism because my mother and father were Presbyterians and so is my wife."

"But that's not a reason. . . . You and your wife must consider this problem and seek the true faith." "I don't bother my wife about this question and she doesn't bother me. She said I could believe what I want just so I love the family."

"But you can not love your family rightly without believing rightly."

"Well what is the right religion?"

"Catholicism."

"That's what I thought you would say, Father, because you are a Catholic."

"No. Catholicism is not right because I am a Catholic. It is the true religion and let me show you the reasons why."⁴⁷

This episode came to a happy conclusion, when the man accepted a medal blessed by Pius IX and decided to take instructions. Father Magno did creditably well on these excursions. The brief account of his apostolate for the years 1853-1856 listed the number of converts for each of the places he visited. Either because of humility or because of his intention to continue the list, he never gave a total. It came to seventy-two for these brief three years.⁴⁸

Once the monastery in Pittsburgh was opened and the regular work of missions began, the apostolate to the non-Catholic was given a more definite form. By public announcement the Protestants were invited to attend the services, especially the evening discourses. The accounts of almost all of the missions made some reference to the number of Protestants attending the mission, the

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 6r.

impression the mission made on them and their comments. Frequently the ministers of the various non-Catholic denominations themselves made the mission and invited their congregations to attend. Thus at Brookville, Pennsylvania: "Every evening a large number of Protestants were (sic) present . . . even some of the ministers were present and many were heard to express in various degrees of intensity their approbation, surprise and conviction."⁴⁹ At Conneautville all the Protestant parishes were concerned about the success of the mission. As the Catholic church was far too small for the crowds, the ministers each in turn offered their churches to the missionaries. The Universalist church was chosen because it was most convenient. The morning Mass and sermon were at the Catholic church, the evening mission service at the Universalist. "These kind people," wrote Rossi, "provided fire, light, sang in the choir, cleaned the church and refused every compensation for it."

At Washington, Pennsylvania, Rossi turned a parish retreat into a mission for the Protestants because he found the Catholics "few, very cold and indifferent except the German Catholics and bout (sic) ten servant Irish girls." He appealed to the non-Catholics. His report continued: "In order to draw Protestants he had some processions in the little church. This succeeded to admiration. For three evenings the church was crammed with them and all paid the greatest attention to the sermons. This was the best feature of this retreat."⁵⁰

If the Protestants present were few in number, the ordinary mission schedule was followed. When, however, their numbers increased, one or more sermons were delivered, especially prepared for their benefit.

These so-called "controversial sermons" examined fundamental points of Catholic faith—for example, the marks of the true Church, the proofs for the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist and the forgiveness of sins. Sometimes the non-Catholics themselves requested discourses on specific topics. In every case the invitation was given well in advance in order to interest as many Protestants as possible. Occasionally the missionary stayed after the close of

⁴⁹ An account of this very successful mission given by Calandri and Magno in November, 1859, carried by the *New York Tablet*, December 18, 1859. Cf. also *PA:M Mission Record*, ff. 42 v; 43 rv.

⁵⁰ From August 13-29, 1857; *PA:M*, loc. cit., f. 20v.

the mission precisely to discuss points of Catholic faith for the benefit of the non-Catholic denominations. The first recorded instance of a fully organized mission for the Protestants was the one already described at St. Joseph's Church, Chambers Street, Boston, in March, 1864.

Converts were instructed and received during the time of the mission—a duty which certainly must have increased the work of the missionary considerably, especially when in some cases as many as thirty were received. The fact that the mission ledgers for this period all carried a special column marked "converts received" is an implicit indication that the early fathers considered the apostolate to the non-Catholic an integral part of their mission schedule. Accounts of assignments in three different locations will exemplify their procedure.

New Faith at New Castle

Rossi was at St. Mary's, New Castle, Pennsylvania, from June 28 to July 7, 1857, for a parish retreat. Each evening "several intelligent Protestants and their respective ministers" ⁵¹ attended the service. On July 4 the number of Protestants who attempted to crowd into the small church was so overwhelming that the majority could not enter inside at all, but had to be content to listen at the windows. It was a "holy day" and Rossi's preaching was the best attraction in town. He preached on "several Catholic points of doctrine and practice."

After the service Rossi announced that another special discourse for their benefit would be given on the following Sunday. His experience in this apostolate prompted him to suggest that this service be conducted in the town hall. However, the young pastor, who thought the crowds had come only because it was a "holy day," disagreed. As a result, on that Sunday night the small chapel was, in Rossi's own words, "literally crammed to great inconvenience—people went to the windows outside and above three hundred respectable and intelligent Protestants went away disappointed that they could not find any place to see or hear the missionary." Inside the heat was so intense that "every countenance was running with perspiration." Still Rossi preached for over an hour.

⁵¹ New Castle is in Lawrence County, Diocese of Pittsburgh. The account of the mission in *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 18v.

To accommodate the crowds that were disappointed, the retreat was prolonged for two days. And at the closing session once again a great number of non-Catholics was present. They asked him to remain for several more days and preach in the town hall. Since he had only three days to prepare for his next retreat at Murinsville, Pennsylvania, unfortunately he could not accede to their request. Rossi correctly concluded, "the impression made on the Protestant Community of this rapidly rising commercial town was very favorable."

A Clear Call at Clarion

While Rossi's role in the apostolate of conversion has been emphasized, he was by no means singular. He was the most experienced, the most renowned missionary, and so the high number of converts he secured is not surprising.⁵² But Calandri and Magno kept pace with him. At Clarion and at Farmington the achievement was all theirs.

They were well informed in advance about the situation awaiting them at Clarion—a community which was Protestant and strongly prejudiced. The Catholics there were timid and weak. Their fervor had been further diminished by the scandalous conduct of two previous pastors. Calandri's first step was to insert a notice in the *Clarion Daily Democrat*:

The Passionist Fathers from Birmingham who have been lately holding missions in Brookville and Arondell will be in Clarion on Christmas and will preach twice daily for eight days. It will be the aim of the Fathers to explain matters of Catholic faith and to revive and direct the fervor of Catholic piety. Their mission is designed for the benefit of Catholics especially, but all others who see proper (sic) are welcome to attend. These Fathers are called Passionists from their Order having a special devotion to the Passion (or sufferings) of Christ, and to His Precious Blood shed upon the Cross for sinners. Their coarse raiment, leather girdles and sandaled feet may seem strange to many in these modern days. But

⁵² Rossi's personal list of converts which only goes to the year 1862 numbered 141; forty-six others have been found for the years 1863-1866. Rossi's notebook with the listing of converts is preserved in the Provincial Archives, Union City. On a series of missions in Canada in 1864, Calandri and Magno had notable success among Protestant groups. They listed seventeen converts and they left many more under instruction.

those who stay to hear them are apt to be much more impressed with what they say than with what they wear.⁵³

Every denomination in Clarion "saw proper" to attend the mission. "The church was crowded each night by Protestants." Several ministers were present; Magno noted three for the lecture on "exclusive salvation." The Protestant Temperance Society of Clarion attended the lecture on temperance in a body. The sermon on the Sacrament of Penance so convinced a Presbyterian that he returned to his own church, repeated the sermon to the congregation, and campaigned for the reviviscence of the sacrament among them. Before the close of the mission a delegation of "the most intelligent" Protestants sent a petition to Calandri to prolong the mission for several days.

After they left Clarion the Protestants themselves wrote an account of the mission for the daily paper. It is worth reprinting in order to appraise the effectiveness of the work.

The mission preached here by the Passionist Father (sic) was well attended, not only by members of the Church but by the citizens of all denominations from town and county to most of whom the services and doctrines of the Catholic Church were but little known. Clear explanations were given of some of the peculiar tenets of that Church, many erroneous ideas concerning them were corrected and a number of impressive sermons were preached on the Eternal Truths of religion—on the soul, on sin, on death, on eternity, on true repentance, on the mercy of God and kindred subjects. These sermons were listened to with profound attention and every Christian if well disposed might have derived profit from them. Of course in the doctrinal discourses there were things that many would dissent from; yet these also were listened to with evident attention and interest, and many, though not convinced, learned at least to look for the future with more forbearance and Christian charity than they did before on the faith and practice of their Catholic brethren. The longer the mission lasted the more the public at large thronged the church, to hear the eloquent appeals of the strange preachers—addressed now to the intellect—now to the hearts of their hearers—and more than one involuntary tear

⁵³ As quoted in the *Mission Record*, ff. 44 v and 45r; date of the Mission: December 25-January 1, 1859-1860.

shed to moisten the eyes of those who hitherto had supposed that "nothing good could come out of Nazareth."⁵⁴

If Calandri and Magno did accept the invitation to remain after the mission (and there is no record of their answer to the petition), their visit could have continued only for a very short time, for they were expected in Farmington, Pennsylvania, within five days after the formal closing of the Clarion Mission.

Light in the Wilderness

Farmington was more accurately nicknamed "The Wilderness" because of its inaccessibility, situated as it was in the remote western Allegheny Mountains. Despite the fact that the mission was held at the coldest time of the year, all the members of the little Catholic community attended. Since visits by a priest were so infrequent, many people in their thirties, forties and even sixties received Holy Communion for the first time. Protestants were equally eager to take advantage of the time of grace. And again the missionaries gave special attention to their needs. "The plain but impressive instructions on the doctrines of the Catholic faith, calculated to instruct the poor of The Wilderness, were also attentively listened to by persons of different religious persuasions."⁵⁵

The results were much more immediate here than at Clarion. The same account quoted above, written by a member of the Farmington community, continued, "The Rev. Father Albinus [Magno], not without manifesting tender emotions of his heart, received eleven of different denominations into the one saving faith."

The closing at night was most impressive. "From among the most beautiful pines" one was selected to make a cross which rose sixty-five feet above the ground. A thousand candles were carried in procession forming circles of light around the cross. The sermon was given and the cross planted. "The congregation were dispersed and returned home grateful to God . . . with beads in one hand and with a tiny little lamp in the other to direct their steps through the lofty pines."

⁵⁴ The article is from the *Clarion Daily Democrat*, no date given; as quoted in the *Mission Record*, Pittsburgh Monastery Archives, ff. 46v; 47r.

⁵⁵ From a contemporary newspaper account quoted in the *Mission Record*, Pittsburgh Monastery Archives, f. 47r.

In a little more than nine years four Passionist missionaries had received over four hundred non-Catholics into the Church. The recorded number is 422. But it is certain that the actual figure is much higher than this. Often the missionary, writing his account weeks or even months after a series of missions, simply wrote in the "converts received" column "many" or "several" or "a few." The figures on record, therefore, are but a good indication of the fruitfulness of this special work. With such impressive results, one wonders why and how so successful an apostolate, considered one of the primary motives for establishing the Order in predominantly Protestant America and so harmoniously woven into the Passionist method of conducting missions by the pioneer missionaries, was not just curtailed but completely abandoned.⁵⁶

⁵⁶ At the beginning of this century Father Xavier Sutton, C.P., of the newly-formed Province of the Holy Cross devoted himself exclusively to conducting non-Catholic missions with great success. Others were engaged in the work but it never again became an integral part of the Passionist Mission apostolate. In 1923 Felix Ward wrote: "Non-Catholic missions must be continued; there seems a lull in this work as if interest in it waned with its novelty": Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 252-253. Ward also had an interesting comment on the origin of the Paulists. He stated that Tarlattini related to him the offer Isaac Hecker made to the general in Rome for himself and his companions to join the Order and to carry out the apostolate to the non-Catholics as Passionists. In view of the emphasis the Order in England and America placed on this work, the incident seems altogether plausible, although it has not been possible to locate any further documentation other than the account in Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 100-101.

13. Pioneering the Retreat Movement in America

The preaching and direction of retreats is as much the proper work of the Congregation as the conducting of missions. "Missions *and* retreats are the works of our ministry. Our vocation is this: to live a life of solitude and to preach according to our Rules. In solitude we are made missionaries. In preaching we do a missionary's work. Such is our vocation. We must not relinquish it." ¹

Ideals and Methodology

At various periods in the history of the Order both the preaching and the direction of retreats have been neglected, misunderstood and depreciated. Thus the XI General Chapter, without explaining what was the "cattive metodo" (improper method) for conducting retreats that had been introduced in more than one monastery, reprobated the method and commanded the superiors "to have particular care for those who come to make the spiritual exercises so that having separated themselves from the world for that very purpose they may make the exercises fruitfully." ² The provincials were instructed to send regulations for the direction of retreatants to each of the houses and to see to their exact observance by the retreat directors. These men in turn were ordered to consider the important nature of this ministry and to hasten to ful-

¹ Seraphini Giammaria, *Consuetudines*. Tornai 1875; edited by Fabiano Giorgini, *Consuetudines Congregationis SS.mae Crucis et Passionis D.N.J.C. Romae* 1958, p. 100. Giammaria, encouraged by Venerable Dominic and by the higher superiors in Rome, compiled from the writings of the earliest fathers and the most notable members of the Congregation the first book of customs in 1875. Emphasis added.

² *Fontes III*, Decree 246, par. 1 and 2, p. 34.

fill it with devoted exactness. One of the director's duties which was mentioned in particular was the obligation to keep the register of exercitants, not merely to denote the time of their arrival and departure, but especially to record particular points about an individual or about the retreat which would serve as a guide in the future to render the work of sanctification more efficacious. During the annual visitation the major superiors were bound to inquire "very exactly" about this matter and to take effective measures to remedy abuses.

The preacher of the retreat exercises was admonished to reflect on the seriousness of this responsibility. Great diligence was required in the preparation and organization of his material. No fault could be worse than to come to the retreat insufficiently prepared or to make it a catch-all for one's own pet ideas and devotions. "To give the retreat exercises capriciously, introducing variations and changes according to the mood of the preacher, bringing in elements foreign to a retreat and preaching a series of unconnected discourses without any order, is certain to ruin the effect of the exercises and to make impossible that change of life they are intended to produce."³ Not only was the retreat master to be fully prepared, but once on the job he was not to attempt to undertake any other work of the ministry, nor was he permitted to leave the convent or monastery where he was employed. All his energies were to be concentrated on the task at hand.⁴

To make certain that there be no misunderstanding of the importance of retreat work in the Congregation and to clarify its place in the Order's apostolate, the XXXVI General Chapter declared that the primary work of the Passionist Congregation "in locis fidelium" was missions and retreats. Neither one nor the other was given a priority; both were considered as one single ministry.⁵

In so doing, the Chapter was merely "calling to mind" what the proper apostolate of the Order had always been according to its Rules and Constitutions, the letters and traditions of the Founder and the practices of the ancients. In the very first edition of the

³ P. Ignazio del Costato di Gesu, *Istituzioni di Eloquenza Sagra*. Rome 1838, Tomo II, Parte II, p. 267. Ignatius was one of the foremost lectors of Sacred Eloquence in that last century. In the second part of this voluminous work he covered every aspect of the Passionist apostolate.

⁴ *Fontes III*, Decree 326; *The XV General Chapter*, 1827, p. 47.

⁵ *Fontes III*, Decree 723, pp. 97, 107ff.

Rule, Paul of the Cross enunciated very simply the manner in which the members of his Institute were to work for the welfare of their neighbor, namely "by giving missions and conducting the spiritual exercises." That he intended his followers to assume the specialized work which the exercises entailed was further emphasized when he indicated that the retreats were to be given to the three groups of persons who comprise the Church: ecclesiastics, religious and laity. He was far ahead of his day when, in the second edition of the Rule, he called for retreat houses to be built adjacent to the monasteries and to be designated specifically for those individuals who would come to make the exercises.⁶ In subsequent editions of the Rule this directive was changed so that rooms in each monastery were set aside for the exclusive use of retreatants. But whether in separate houses or in rooms within the monastery, there was never a time in the Order's history when the preaching and directing of retreats were not considered essential to its apostolate.

In the very first General Chapter in 1747, at which Paul of the Cross presided, one of the decrees gave evidence that retreatants were already received at the three little houses that at that time comprised the entire Congregation. Besides regulating retreats held at the monastery, Paul gave the example to his followers by preaching retreats to the clergy and to religious. His retreats to various congregations of nuns were numerous. On his missions he provided for a little retreat for the local clergy. Paul of the Cross frequently referred to the importance of retreats in his letters. He encouraged young people to make at least one retreat a year, particularly when they lived in the cities.⁷ To one doubtful of his vocation he recommended the wisdom of retiring to the monastery for the spiritual exercises.⁸ He was especially eager for the clergy to make retreats frequently. And he insisted that the houses of the Institute be built in places of quiet and beauty in order to arouse the interest of both clergy and laity in a retreat and to enable them to find at the monastery refreshment and peace.⁹

As for his own religious, he so valued the spiritual profit of a retreat that he required the missionaries to make one each time they

⁶ *Fontes II, Regulae et Constitutiones*, p. 4, II-50-55.

⁷ *Lettere II*, 387.

⁸ *Lettere I*, 734; *III*, 721.

⁹ *Lettere I*, 378; *IV*, 213.

returned from a mission campaign. The students were obliged to have three retreats a year: before the opening of school, at Christmas time, and during Holy Week. In addition there was the annual retreat for the community.¹⁰

The early records of the Passionist Congregation left no doubt about the value and importance of the retreat apostolate. It is, as the XI General Chapter stated, "a most proper work of our Institute."¹¹

None of the difficulties that the Order experienced in the development of the Passionist method for conducting missions were encountered with respect to the preaching of retreats. For the closed retreat for all classes of people, Paul of the Cross simply adopted the method of the founder of the spiritual exercises, Ignatius Loyola. Yet while the schema of the retreat was that of Ignatius, Paul breathed into it a spirit of the Passion by the centrality of Crucified Christ in his preaching and by his particular meditations on the sufferings of our Lord.¹²

Two types of retreats were discussed in this early period: the long retreat and the short retreat. During the long retreat which continued for four weeks the spiritual exercises of St. Ignatius were followed throughout, and the preacher prepared his talks to accord with the exercises. The General Chapter of 1863 directed retreat masters not to depart from the method. While retaining the meditations on the Passion, during the first week the director commented on the matters pertaining to the purgative way; the second and third weeks were devoted entirely to the illuminative way, and the final week to the unitive way.

The short retreat lasted ordinarily for eight or ten days. In order to preserve the Ignatian ideal even on these retreats, a schema was drawn up for the Passionist retreat master which retained the essence of the longer retreat—ultimate end, sin, death, judgment, hell, mercy of God, God's glory and ours, love of God, the Blessed Virgin Mary and perseverance.

The discourse on the ultimate end could never be omitted nor could its position in the schema be changed. The meditation on

¹⁰ *Fontes III, Decrees 12 and 38. The First and Second General Chapters 1747 and 1753, pp. 2-4.*

¹¹ *Fontes III, Decree 246; The XI General Chapter 1802; p. 34: "Questa Opera tutta propria del nostro Istituto."*

¹² P. Ignazio del Costato di Gesu, *op. cit.*, pp. 267-268.

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All retreats, whether for clergy, religious or laity, consisted of meditations and reforms. Two meditations and one reform were given each day.

The morning meditation was always on the Passion of Christ. The evening meditations followed the outline described above. The daily reform treated of the principal duties of one's state in life. Thus the morning meditation fulfilled the Passionist vow to promote devotion to the Passion and to teach others how to meditate on the sufferings of Christ; the evening discourses reviewed the fundamental truths of faith, and each afternoon the moral responsibilities of the particular group making the retreat were examined.

Rossi, whose achievement as a retreat master was equal to his performance on the mission platform, in his long career wrote down only once the schedule which he followed for the spiritual exercises, although it is known from several references that he used the reform and meditation system. In his account of the retreat for the clergy of the Erie Diocese during September of 1858, he arranged this outline:

Rise 5:00 A.M.
Private meditation before Mass.
After breakfast . . . meditation on the Passion
Before dinner . . . the instruction or reform
Common recreation for forty-five minutes
Vespers and reading etc.
Evening meditation 7:00 P.M.
Night prayers at 9:00 P.M.
Retire 10:00 P.M.

At the end of the retreat and just before the opening of the synod, the diocese, clergy and people were consecrated to the Blessed Virgin.¹³

The retreat lasted for eight days, as did all the clergy retreats

¹³ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 28rv. Rossi frequently recommended that the act of consecration to the Blessed Virgin Mary be made at the close of the retreat. Cf. *PA:M Mission Record*, ff. 34r; 35 rv; 36r; 52 rv., etc.

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of that period. The English system was introduced into the country later, and with it came the same problem which the retreat masters in England had encountered. Dominic Barberi explained the difficulty. The clergy retreats in England "normally begin on Monday evening and finish Friday evening or at the latest Saturday morning. . . . This small number of lectures causes a slight difficulty. Where can one find room for the meditation on the Passion of Christ?" ¹⁴ Barberi's solution was to increase the talks to four a day: two reforms and two meditations. For the first three days both meditations were on the eternal truths; on the last day, the Passion was the subject of both. He offered an alternate solution which he himself sometimes used, "namely to speak exclusively on the Life, Passion, Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ but in such a way that the eternal truths are also introduced in some way or another." ¹⁵ This was certainly preferable to a program which would stress a variety of subjects, while attempting "in some way or another" to inject a sentiment on the Passion.

Ordinarily, then, the method employed by the Congregation for the direction of retreats consisted of three elements: devotion to the Sacred Passion in the morning's meditation; review of the duties of one's state by the "reform" during the day; concentration on the ultimate purposes of life through the meditations on the eternal truths in the evening. A brief examination of the beginning of the Passionist retreat apostolate for the diocesan clergy, religious communities and the laity in America will reveal how this system was applied in the New World.

Clergy Retreats

We were at the monastery on Tuesday afternoon when about half the secular clergy of the diocese were preparing to leave after a retreat of eight days, to give place to the remainder who entered soon after to commence a similar course of exercises. . . . We congratulate not only the clergy themselves but the congregations of the diocese on the increased energy, zeal and piety with which their pastors must necessarily be filled after these holy retreats. After a year, and perhaps more, of laborious missionary duties their almost over-taxed energies sadly need repose, and no place

¹⁴ Barberi-Charles, *Ricordi lasciati etc.*, p. 29

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

could be better adapted for that purpose than the Passionist Monastery.¹⁶

Thus did Jacob Porter describe not only the first clergy retreat held at Blessed Paul's Monastery in Birmingham near Pittsburgh but also the very first retreat conducted by the Passionists for the priests of America. Bishop O'Connor had waited for four years before his hopes were realized.

When he first introduced the Order into his diocese, he had intended that the monastery should be the center for diocesan retreats. In fact, he expected to solemnize the opening of the monastery with a clergy retreat in the spring of 1854, but because the rooms were not sufficiently dry, the retreat had to be transferred to the city. Then in the following year the size of the community was increased as a result of the arrival of the second band from Rome and the opening of the novitiate, so that there was not a spare room in the monastery with the exception of the bishop's. A short time after he arrived in Pittsburgh Tarlattini determined that an additional wing was necessary in order to accommodate retreatants, both cleric and lay. This new wing was completed in the fall of 1855; Rossi arrived at Christmas. And so this specialized apostolate was ready to begin.

The clergy attended in two separate groups. The first, with Bishop O'Connor, made the retreat from May 26 to June 3, 1856. On the morning of June 3, the second group arrived, led by the vicar-general, Monsignor Edward McMahon. Both groups were present therefore for the diocesan synod held at the monastery on June 3 and 4. The second retreat began on the fifth of June and closed on the thirteenth. Rossi preached "a meditation on the Sacred Passion . . . in the morning, an instruction in the forenoon on the principal duties of the priest and a meditation on the last things of man in the evening." The *Mission Record* concluded the account of this significant beginning of clergy retreats with the comment: "If the success of these retreats is to be judged from the sentiment of satisfaction reportedly expressed by the bishop and the principal portion of the clergy, the retreat must have been very successful."¹⁷

¹⁶ *Pittsburgh Catholic*, Vol. 13, No. 14 (June 7, 1856).

¹⁷ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 3 rv.

The third clergy retreat was preached at Erie, the fourth at Buffalo and the fifth at Cleveland.¹⁸ The Buffalo retreat was especially interesting since it illustrated Rossi's persuasive style. Forty-nine priests were crowded into the bishop's house, next to the Cathedral. It is therefore not surprising to read that "some inconvenience was experienced in finding room for all in the house. But with an edifying (sic) spirit of selfdenial (sic) all were cheerful and satisfied."¹⁹ The assignment was a difficult one for Rossi. He was in the presence of the most renowned retreat master of the last century. When the saintly Bishop Timon was not occupied making an almost continuous visitation of his diocese, he was in another diocese conducting the retreat exercises. Rossi was aware of Timon's reputation and noted: "For many years a zealous missionary . . . he [Timon] has preached missions and conducted spiritual retreats almost in every part of the United States."

Both men were acknowledged masters of the art. They clashed in Buffalo. Rossi intended to follow his usual schedule: two meditations and one reform. Timon ordered another reform for each day. Rossi willingly complied. On the first night after the opening Timon recorded in his diary: "Made one meditation, *the only one* (sic)—not satisfied—at night urged Fr. Gaudentius to preach of the Eternal Truths—in vain."²⁰ Timon evidently wished Rossi to give increased emphasis to the eternal truths. He cannot have meant that the eternal truths had been omitted altogether, something Rossi would never do. The next day the bishop wrote: "Discourse does not displease me." But on the fourth day he "remonstrated to Fr. Gaudentius." Rossi himself narrated the reason for the remonstrance: "The good bishop told our father that he considered his meditations too mild and not sufficiently calculated to strike terror in the minds of the clergy."²¹ But Rossi did not yield. He had rejected the bombast and denunciatory style of his own Latin confreres. He had no intention of changing his method, not even for the renowned Bishop of Buffalo. "Our missionary," he noted, "explained to his [Grace] the motives of his plan and assured

¹⁸ Rossi was at Erie, September 1-8, 1858; at Cleveland, August 2-7, 1859; at Buffalo, May 23-30, 1859; *PA:M Mission Record*, ff. 28r; 33v; 35v.

¹⁹ *PA:M*, loc. cit., f. 33v.

²⁰ Buffalo Diocesan Archives, Timon Diary, May 24, 1859.

²¹ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 33v.

him of final success.”²² And there was no doubt whatsoever of Rossi’s “final success” when the great Timon scribbled two words “very good” in his diary toward the end of the retreat. On the final day he wrote: “Decided to have retreat [for the next year] by Fr. Gaudentius.”²³

It was a hard-earned victory. So completely was Timon won over that he not only engaged Rossi immediately for the following year, but he insisted also that he open a mission in the Cathedral within the week. This invitation was entirely spontaneous, and unexpected by everyone—especially the members of the Cathedral staff. A few years before a mission had been given by the Redemptorists. In the spring of 1859 a jubilee mission for the parish as well as a retreat for the men had been conducted. So Rossi declined at first—but not for these reasons alone. It was too formidable an undertaking for one man, and Tarlattini was unable to send help from Pittsburgh. That he finally did consent was the result only of Timon’s insistence and Rossi’s desire to please his convert. “In spite of all these difficulties [Rossi] in obedience to the saintly and zealous bishop opened the mission.”²⁴ The results were amazing. During two weeks over five thousand people received the sacraments and Rossi instructed and baptized ten converts. “The bishop and vicar-general stated that this mission was without comparison the best ever given in the Cathedral.” While it was in progress, preparations were made for a foundation of the Order in the Buffalo Diocese.

The Diocese of Toronto was the site of the sixth clergy retreat. The Passionist apostolate was actually inaugurated in Canada at Maidstone Cross in the Diocese of Sandwich. At the request of Father Virgilius, O.S.B., pastor of St. Mary’s, Anthony Calandri and Albinus Magno conducted a parish mission at Maidstone Cross in November, 1863. Twelve converts were received, the Temperance Society was organized and a huge cross planted. The publicity this mission was given prepared the way for a series of twelve others during the next two years. While this work was going on, Bishop Lynch engaged Rossi for the annual retreat to the

²² *Ibid.*

²³ *PA:M, loc. cit., f. 34r.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

Toronto clergy. The retreat in the summer of 1866 drew priests from three dioceses.

Its greatest significance, however, lay in the fact that, during the period of this retreat, negotiations were initiated for what would have been the first Canadian house of the Order. While Calandri and Magno were on their mission campaign, the prospects for an establishment in Canada were relayed to Rome. The general, Peter Paul Cayro, was not unfavorable to the idea. And Bishop Lynch's invitation to the Toronto Diocese, coming as it did after a successful mission campaign and at the close of the clergy retreat, seemed to arrive at the opportune moment. Two circumstances, however, precluded an agreement at that time. A foundation had been accepted in Baltimore in the spring of 1865. At the same time Tarlattini was in receipt of an order from Rome directing him to investigate the troubles in California. Peter Magagnotto's foundation in the Vicariate Apostolic of Marysville was in rough waters. Tarlattini, perhaps a bit too precipitously, decided to abandon the foundation entirely. Further instructions from Rome directed him to compensate for the loss by a foundation either in Mexico or Canada.²⁵ Tarlattini went to Mexico.

Within the ten-year period from 1856 to 1866, only six clergy retreats were undertaken—at first view a very limited number, until an examination of the mission registers revealed that Rossi alone was the only Passionist prepared for this apostolate. Furthermore, in those years Tarlattini was emphasizing the mission.²⁶ In order to lay the foundations for a strong mission band, Rossi was needed to train the others, while at the same time he was bearing the burden of most of the missionary work for the decade. In fact, he was not merely burdened, but overburdened, since, in addition to the mission work and the clergy retreats, he also conducted most retreats for religious communities.

Retreats to Religious

At least sixty retreats were preached to religious communities during this ten-year period. First among them were the retreats for

²⁵ *AG:PSP*, Peter Paul Cayro to Tarlattini, January 26 and February 6, 1865. *Copia delle lettere del P. Pietro Paolo della Vergine Addolorata, Preposito Generale dei Passionisti—Gennaio 1865—Marzo 1869*, p. 5.

²⁶ Of the 216 missions and retreats we have located, Rossi gave 94: 46 alone, 48 with others.

the Passionist communities in Pittsburgh, Dunkirk and West Hoboken. It is interesting to note some of the details of these retreats within the Order.

Paul of the Cross never fixed a definite time for the annual retreat. As a matter of fact, his regard for a periodic renewal of spirit and fervor prompted him to encourage frequent use of the retreat for this purpose, even quarterly. During his lifetime the determination of the time of retreat was left to the prudent judgment of the local superior, who would best know both the spiritual need of his community and the time that would least infringe upon the demands of the apostolate. The first General Chapter after his death, however, fixed the Christmas Novena as a regular date. Six years later, while not prohibiting the community retreat at Christmas time, the capitulars advocated the pre-Lenten season as more appropriate. From that time on, the date depended upon the particular devotion of the rector. Finally, in 1827, the XV General Chapter decreed that the ten days preceding Ash Wednesday were ideally suited for Passionist retreats.

The retreat master or masters were ordinarily selected from the community. While in the retreats conducted outside the community there were never less than three talks a day, in community, up to the early part of this century, only two were given—a "reform" in the morning and a meditation in the evening, each an hour in duration. Often a team of two or more religious preached the retreat, dividing the reforms and meditations among them. This method had its advantages. No one man carried the full burden of this arduous work. At the same time the variety in style and emphasis, as well as a more thorough preparation of subjects of particular importance, was more beneficial to the community.

A word regarding the renewal of vows at the close of the annual retreat. The origin of this function is in a decree of the IX General Chapter of 1790 which required each religious to make a solemn renewal of vows in the hands of the superior on the feast of the Solemn Commemoration of the Passion. The day was observed with as great festivity as profession day. When the community retreat was transferred to the ten days preceding Ash Wednesday, the solemnities of this ceremony were omitted and the renewal was made a simple function at the end of the exercises.

The first retreat preached outside the Passionist community

was given by Rossi to the Brothers of the Third Order of St. Francis at Loretto in July, 1856. O'Connor had introduced the Brothers into the diocese from Ireland in 1847 to establish schools and academies for boys, just as he had obtained the Sisters of Mercy in 1843 for the education of the girls.²⁷ The Passionists were well acquainted with both these Orders, having assisted them in various capacities from the time of their arrival, even before the opening of the monastery. It was fitting that the first retreats should be for Franciscan Brothers and then for the Sisters of Mercy.

At the time of the retreat the Brothers had three houses in the diocese: at Loretto, Allegheny and Cammeron's Bottom. During the summer the annual retreat was held at Loretto. Rossi was deeply edified by their spirit of mortification. "There is amongst them evidently the spirit of the great Patriarch Saint Francis—a spirit of humility, simplicity and great self-denial and mortification and penance. Several have injured their bodily (sic) constitution through a spirit of holy religious mortification."²⁸

From Loretto Gaudentius Rossi went directly to Latrobe and the Sisters of Mercy. "Whatever may be said of the other religious orders of women in the diocese [of Pittsburgh] . . . the Sisters of Mercy must ever occupy the foremost place as well by their numbers . . . as by the numerous schools, academies and charitable institutions entrusted to their care."²⁹ In 1856 they had eight such establishments and numbered close to one hundred members; seventy-five of them made the August retreat.

During the next two years no retreats were given. This was the period of the Great Missions. Then from June to September in 1859 Rossi conducted a series of seven consecutive retreats in the Diocese of Cleveland. Every religious establishment in the episcopal city was on his schedule.³⁰ In the following year he returned again to Cleveland to conduct the exercises for the same groups.

Within two years Calandri and Magno were ready to under-

²⁷ Lambing, *op. cit.*, 474-476, 487-492.

²⁸ *PA:M Mission Record*, f. 11v, 12r.

²⁹ Lambing, *op. cit.*, p. 487.

³⁰ *PA:M Mission Record*, ff. 34r, 35rv, 36r: (1) June 22-28—retreat to the ordinandi and seminarists . . . 40 in all; (2) June 29-July 3—Boarders at the Ursuline Convent School; (3) July 5-10—Orphans and boarders at St. Mary's Asylum; (4) July 19-24—Retreat to the Daughters of the Sacred Heart of Mary (Nardins); (5) August 2-7—Diocesan Clergy Retreat; (6) August 12-21—Retreat to the Ursuline Sisters; (7) August 28-September 3—Retreat to the Sisters of Charity of St. Augustine.

take this specialized apostolate. From that time on the number of retreats for other religious communities increased yearly.

Pioneering Closed Retreats for the Laity

Our readers will learn with pleasure that the Passionist Community has been most successful. They arrived in this country in 1852. They have now near this city [Pittsburgh] one of the neatest and most complete religious houses in the United States with a church attached which may be truly called a gem. They receive in their house laymen and clergymen who wish to retire to make retreats.³¹

It has always been the intention of the Passionists in America that the laity as well as the clergy avail themselves of the facilities of the monastery to make retreats. Although the invitation was extended from the beginning, it was not until 1856 that the accommodations at the Birmingham monastery were sufficient to effectively realize this intention. From that date on, as the editor of the *Pittsburgh Catholic* reported, "we are happy to say that the opportunity is used by many; indeed they [the priests at the monastery] are seldom without persons so engaged."³²

Advocating and conducting retreats for the laity was no innovation on the part of the Passionists in America. The work began with Paul of the Cross. Because of a mentality that considered retreats as reserved for the religious and clergy, it is well to underscore the importance that Paul of the Cross attached to retreats for the laity. He may well be hailed as the apostle of the modern lay Retreat Movement. For this purpose he urged the construction of retreat houses adjacent to the monasteries. Retreat directors were appointed to assist those making the exercises. This assistance was intended not merely to provide for their material needs; indeed, the primary purpose was to administer spiritual direction and counsel.³³ Nor did Paul of the Cross advocate private retreats. He preferred that retreatants come in groups, for he believed this approach was more effective.

While there is no record in America of an organized preached

³¹ The *Pittsburgh Catholic*, Vol. 17, No. 10 (May 5, 1860).

³² *Ibid.*

³³ The XI General Chapter specifically reiterated the importance of direction being given to laymen, with the primary object in view of "rendering the retreat more fruitful." *Fontes III*, Decree 246, p. 34.

retreat for a specific group of laymen prior to 1911 when the retreat league at Brighton was established, the first in the United States, still the "Book of Exercitants" for the Pittsburgh and West Hoboken monasteries attested to a continuous flow of laymen making the spiritual exercises under the guidance of a retreat director prior to 1869.³⁴ Coming from every walk of life—doctors, lawyers, teachers, tailors, trunkmakers, sailors, blacksmiths—they remained at the monastery from three to fifteen days. As a result of this long pioneer experience, the Order in America was prepared to take the lead promptly in the formation of organized closed retreats for laymen.

Jacob Porter who was a frequent "exercitant" at the Pittsburgh monastery in its early days wrote this impression after one of his visits.

On the hill which overlooks the thriving little borough of Birmingham, stands the Passionist Monastery—the only institution of its kind in the New World. To us who are familiar with the everlasting din of machinery in the "Iron City," a day passed in that retired spot appeared like so much time in a totally different world. The spirit of silence seems to have made the place her favorite abode. . . . In order we suppose to foster this spirit of silence, it seems to be a special aim with the congregation to erect their monasteries as far as possible in retired places, far removed from the noise and the bustle of the world. The object of the Congregation appears to be twofold: first to promote their own sanctification and second the spiritual welfare of others by retreats and missions.³⁵

³⁴ The extant book at Pittsburgh began with 1860 but its "ex abrupto" beginning indicated an earlier book. Likewise, it was altogether unlikely that Tarlattini, who kept very good records and without whom there would have been very little information on these first days, did not keep the register from the opening of the monastery. The West Hoboken book began in 1863 while the fathers were still in little old St. Mary's on Kerrigan Lane. The Dunkirk book has been lost.

³⁵ The Pittsburgh Catholic, Vol. 13, No. 14 (June 7, 1856).

14. Exceptional Apostolate Exceptionally Fulfilled

A history of the Passionist apostolate that neglected to report the work of the Order in the organization and administration of parishes during the first period of its existence in America would be seriously incomplete. Moreover, the pioneer apostolic work in missions and retreats can be brought into clearer focus with the realization that it was accomplished simultaneously with the fulfillment of wide parochial responsibility in districts which for the most part had had no previous ecclesiastical organization. Arriving in the States at the height of the "Catholic Invasion," when hundreds of thousands of immigrant Catholics were pouring into the country annually, when city parishes were bulging and unnumbered rural congregations were without priests, when Mass was being offered in storefronts and in makeshift centers along the canals and railroads, when native vocations were few and every bishop was pleading for aid, the Order could not help but shoulder some portion of the enormous burden. That it was enabled to make the significant contribution that it did and still not be deterred from achieving the primary purposes is an amazing facet of its history. This final chapter will examine the why and the what of this exceptional work.

Principles

When the Holy See after long study and hard trial finally and solemnly approved the Rule of Paul of the Cross, it commissioned him to bring to the Church through his Institute the fruits of a specific apostolate: the apostolate of the Word. The Rule Paul received from Clement XIV (1769-1774) prohibited the perform-

ance of any ministry contrary to that purpose. The exclusion of parochial administration was made precise by a special rescript of Clement XIII (1758-1769) after the third examination and revision of the Rule. It came about through a discussion on the vow of obedience. The Rule of 1746 stated that obedience embraced in the first place the Supreme Pontiff, "and then the bishops in whose dioceses we have a house."¹ The subsequent phrase, in an attempt to clarify this obedience, only opened the way to misinterpretation and unsuspected confusion. It stated that the religious owed obedience to the bishops "in all those things that pertain to the good of the souls entrusted to their [the bishop's] care."² This could easily be taken to mean that any kind of work the bishop might require of the Order must necessarily, in virtue of the vow of obedience, be accepted. To prevent such an interpretation, the rescript of Clement XIII added a very important "*videlicet*" to the paragraph on obedience. The clarification stated that the religious would owe obedience to the bishop of the diocese in which a foundation of the Order has been made "in such wise that as often as the bishop or the local ordinary should require the services of our religious, the general or the provincial shall be obligated to send those religious whom he judges are best prepared"—and here the clarifying point was made—"to give missions or catechism or meditations."³ This phrase was taken over bodily and included in the revision of 1769. Not included in the revision, however, was an even tighter specification in the rescript regarding the nature of the work that obedience obliged the Order to fulfill. The phrase in the rescript immediately following the excerpt quoted above read: ". . . always excluding those ministries, spiritual exercises and functions which are proper to parish priests."⁴ As the Rule stood in 1769, the prohibition of regular parochial duties was by oblique statement. In the final revision, under Paul of the Cross himself and approved shortly before his death in 1775, the matter was given definitive form in positive statement. The determining phrase was then made a distinct paragraph and placed not in the section on obedience,

¹ *Fontes* I, p. 40; III, pp. 31-37.

² *Ibid.*

³ The rescript is dated November 25, 1760; for pertinent passages, see *Fontes* I, pp. 41-47. Emphasis added.

⁴ *Ibid.*

but more properly in the chapter on "The Manner of Fulfilling the Spiritual Exercises in a Place or City in the Locality of the Solitary Houses." "None of our religious," the revision declared, "shall undertake the duties proper to parish-priests."⁵ Nothing could be clearer. In urgent cases the decision would be made by the general.

With this prohibition the Passionists arrived in America where the urgent need for priests intensified with each new shipload of immigrants. To what extent were they to engage themselves in meeting the crisis? Anthony Testa articulated the principles that were to guide his men. The first of these, and indeed the most fundamental, he placed in the terms of the agreement with Bishop O'Connor. The purpose of the expedition was specifically "to establish the Order in America according to the prescriptions of the Rule." He clarified the point further in the detailed regulations for the religious handed to Calandri on the eve of departure. The Passionist apostolate could not be achieved haphazardly nor could it be begun at once. It had to come harmoniously as part and parcel of the Passionist life and spirit. It was this that they were obliged to bring to the Church in America. Whatever works were undertaken, they could not interfere with, inhibit or destroy the primary purpose: that the Rule and spirit of Paul of the Cross in its entirety take root in the new soil. This could be done only through the orderly establishment of a fully operative monastic community. Testa's fundamental principle, then, was this: let there be no inversion of values; never put work before life. The life not only determined the work but its quality, effectiveness and durability. In its integrity the Passionist ideal envisioned an apostolic life rooted in a continuous communion with the suffering Jesus prayerfully sustained and unstintingly shared.

For the first two years (1852-1854), Calandri, Magno and Parczyk were completely subject to Bishop O'Connor as the general had prescribed. While the monastery was in the process of building, each accomplished a notable apostolate. Once the monastery was dedicated, Magno came home from his ministry in the mountains, Calandri left the city, a new band arrived from Rome, and the rhythm of the monastic life blended into theirs. For two more years, under the direction of Tarlattini, the little community

⁵ *Fontes* I, pp. 133-135; IV, pp. 20-25.

stayed on the hill. Despite misunderstanding and calumny, they were not "lazy monks," doing nothing. The Passionist monastic life was organized in this period. When Tarlattini reported the accusations of "do-nothingism" to Rome the general replied:

I well understand that the diocesan priests are much in need of help. Now that you have established the regular observance with the novices and the young professed, give that help. You cannot observe the same system as we have here in Italy where the needs of the people are not so great. But see to it that the religious do not lose the spirit. Keep in mind the two great purposes expressed in the beginning of the Rule: personal sanctification and the salvation of the neighbor. The one must help, not destroy, the other.⁶

Once Testa was certain that the primary purpose of the expedition was being achieved and the fundamental principle was not circumvented, he permitted Tarlattini to prudently accept requests for exceptional work. The Passionists still retained the administration of the large German parish in Birmingham. They were allowed to assist other parishes also, provided that the regular monastic regime could be maintained and that the careful preparations for the missions would not be impeded in any way. When they introduced the missions, less help could be given to pastors in their ordinary duties. This help diminished even further when Tarlattini accepted missions outside the diocese.

O'Connor considered this expansion of the mission's apostolate a violation of the Rome Agreement, since he had expected that Pittsburgh was to be given the preference. Although he himself had written on the reverse side of the contract, "The only point *now* practical . . . is that the Passionists shall be bound to give any service to the diocese that they can *in accordance with their Rule*,"⁷ he disregarded the all-important stipulation about the Rule and insisted on the "any service"—which in his mind meant parochial administration. At Rome, in the fall of 1857, he registered his complaint with the general. It prompted a clarification for everyone, especially Tarlattini. Immediately after the interview

⁶ UC:P, Testa to Tarlattini, May 15, 1856.

⁷ PA:Dio. Chancellor's Files: Religious: C.P., Agreement with Passionists, September 28, 1852. Emphasis in original.

with O'Connor, Testa wrote to Pittsburgh.⁸ He advised that in truth the diocese must be given the preference. But that preference pertained to the proper work: missions and retreats. The temporary care of parishes and part-time assistance could be rendered only when there was a case of real necessity—when the people would otherwise be without Mass and sacraments. However, he warned Tarlattini not to violate the integrity of the religious vocation. "To make yourselves mere assistants, to remain outside the cloister for long periods of time in parish work without real necessity is contrary to our Rule. You must make this clear. You cannot do it."⁹

Testa so desired to fix attention on the primary apostolate and so wished to keep before the people the ideals of the Order that when necessity demanded that they remain in a parish for any length of time he suggested that little missions "una missioncella" be given.

When the Pittsburgh house had a "numerous community well founded" the time came to consider other foundations. This occasioned further directives on exceptional work. Because he took into consideration the conditions of the Church in America, Testa conceded as elementary that in accepting a new foundation not only would they be required to accept a parish but even that this was indeed the most practical and prudent way to begin. He gave three reasons for this decision: so that the Order could begin at once to do good for souls in the new area; that through this work they would become known in the diocese; that by this means they would be able to sustain themselves and to put something aside for the beginning of the monastery. With regard to sources of income in a parish Testa disapproved and forbade Tarlattini to introduce the practice in vogue in America of pew-rents. He wished the offerings to be truly voluntary.¹⁰

⁸ *UC:P*. There are two letters on the same subject: August 22, 1857 and September 26 of the same year. The shorter second letter is a summary of the first which is used here.

⁹ *UC:P*, Testa to Tarlattini, August 22, 1857. "Su questo (assuming care of parishes) discrezione e ne bisogno si prestino, e potrà qualche volta un Sacerdote in simili occasioni fare una missioncella, e far del bene. Rendersi schiavi, e star molto fuori a servire i Parrochi (sic) eccettuato un vero bisogno, si fa capire che non conviene e non si può.

¹⁰ *UC:P*, Testa to Tarlattini, January 24, 1860. At a later date through the insistence of Ignatius Paoli this ruling was changed.

But there were two very important conditions subsequently appended to these directives. No parish was to be accepted in perpetuity.¹¹ When the retreat was constructed, the parish church was not to be built adjacent to it. Testa's proposal placed the church on a far end of the monastic property, with a little house for the priests in charge. The substance of these directives was made law for the new Province by the First Chapter.

Before the Second Provincial Chapter in 1866, Ignatius Paoli, the visitor general, was ordered to make a thorough investigation of the entire question of parochial administration and organization. Every superior was required to present a written opinion. The provincials of other religious orders were interviewed. The question was discussed with members of the hierarchy. Then came the Chapter and its long discussions. All this information, together with the acts of the Chapter, was dispatched to Rome. From Rome the decision came. Peter Paul Cayro (1863-1869), the successor of Anthony Testa, confirmed and further enlarged his predecessor's program in all but one detail. The state of Catholicity in America required the Order to continue its exceptional work. In assuming parochial responsibility these norms had to be followed:¹²

1. Up to three parishes could be administered in connection with each foundation.
2. But they were to be considered as one. The monastery church was the mother church of the area. All three churches had to be administered from the monastery.
3. The rector of the monastery was the one pastor. All the religious were subject to him for duty in caring for the churches and stations under his charge. The number of stations accepted depended on the superior.
4. The churches had to be administered in conformity with the system in vogue in America.

The one detail that Cayro changed in Testa's plan was the directive for the construction of the church. Whereas Testa had ordered the church to be built at a distance from the retreat, Cayro, a very intelligent but weak man, succumbed to the reasoning of

¹¹ Cf. Testa's letter of February 28, 1860 to Tarlattini after a thorough discussion of the question in a Curia meeting in Rome.

¹² *AG:PSP VII-7*. "Decreti fatti dal Reverendissimo Padre Preposito General e suoi Consultore per la Provincia di America." June 19, 1867.

Ignatius Paoli and reversed the ruling, contrary to the sounder opinion, an opinion which had already been formed into legislation for the Province. The church had to be built contiguous to the monastery. In his letter to the new provincial, Anthony Calandri, he found it necessary to assert the program outlined above because Calandri was firmly opposed to annexing parishes to the community. Having much less confidence in the religious than either Testa or Tarlattini had, Cayro explained his principal motive for the reversal: to keep all the religious in the monastery under the direct surveillance of the superior. Calandri reluctantly acceded. His reasons for the contrary opinion were more sound—the confusion and the division the new plan would introduce into community life; the almost continual distractions; the burden upon the rector who was superior, pastor, school superintendent, general administrator of finances and keeper of the official registers and, at times, janitor.¹³ There was, however, one principle that all—Testa, Tarlattini, Paoli, Calandri, Cayro—agreed on: no parish was to be accepted with the obligation of perpetual care. As soon as conditions in the Church in America warranted it, the newly-formed congregations were one after the other to be returned to the diocese.

Application

The exceptional work of the Order was contemporary with its arrival in Pittsburgh. St. Michael's Parish had been without a pastor from 1848 to 1852. It was the first to be accepted. Out of it grew St. Ann's, Castle Shannon, organized under Tarlattini in 1859. Then followed St. Joseph's. Planned before the Civil War, the church could not be constructed until 1866. Luke Baudinelli was appointed to the parish. About this same time St. Martin's, Temperanceville, was established. Other parishes were formed from St. Michael's and from St. Joseph's in subsequent years.¹⁴

The outstanding parochial work in connection with the West

¹³ *AG:PSP*, VII-10: "The opinion of the very Reverend Father Provincial, Anthony Calandri on Parochial administration in North America." Unfortunately the important documentation relating to this question was undated. The present report was written between July 12, 1866 (the close of the Chapter in which Calandri was elected), and June 19, 1867, the date of the decrees of the General Curia; cf. preceding note.

¹⁴ The information on parishes related to St. Michael's was taken from the Pittsburgh Diocesan Archives, "Parish Histories."

Hoboken foundation and old St. Mary's Parish, the mother church of the twelve congregations now within its former boundaries, has been described in detail in a previous chapter.

The achievement at Dunkirk, New York, is as notable as the accomplishment at West Hoboken. Besides administering St. Mary's Church and Sacred Heart Church in the city of Dunkirk, the Order founded eight other parishes and attended many mission churches in connection with them.

The work at Dunkirk, however, was much more difficult, for several reasons. Not the least was the weather. The long severe winters made travel almost impossible in a day when travel at its best was very inconvenient. Conditions in the entire area (at least three times as large as the territory which the Order served in New Jersey) were primitive; the people were poorer and less educated. And then there were the Indians, friendly and pacified indeed, but in great need of patient instruction, financial assistance and solicitous protection.

In accepting St. Mary's, the Order also accepted the responsibility for the many missions dependent upon it. The first of them to receive a church was at Dayton in Cattaraugus County, New York. Here, in 1862, Albinus Magno built a frame church and dedicated it to Blessed Paul of the Cross, the first parish church so named in the United States.

At Forestville, Mass was offered in private homes until the size of the community warranted the use of a public hall, which was then rented. When this burned down, the construction of a church was begun. This was the origin of St. Rose of Lima Church. From Forestville a mission was maintained along the New York and Erie Railroad at Sheridan.

The Church of St. Mary at Cattaraugus was instituted in much the same way. In 1866 the first building was completed—and dedicated by Father William Gaeghan, C.P. The missions of Angola and North Evans, both near the city of Buffalo, were attached to St. Mary's.

At Sherman, in the center of Chautauqua County, the Order provided for the needs of the small Catholic population from 1861 to 1871. Here the Universalist church was purchased, remodeled and dedicated to St. Joseph by Father Andrew McGurgan. Sherman had one dependency, French Creek. It was in the converted

church at Sherman that Anthony Calandri preached his last mission in the fall of 1877. Other congregations were organized and churches built at Sinclairville, Gowanda and Westfield.¹⁵

This organization of parochial life in the districts of the first Passionist foundations produced another proud chapter in the story of the vast apostolate that a small group of men accomplished in difficult and trying circumstances. While adhering to the primary objectives of the Rule, while systematizing the Passionist life in several foundations, while promoting the primary work of missions and retreats throughout the country, the Order did not hesitate to assume a proportionate share of the enormous responsibility thrust upon the Church in America by the sudden influx of hundreds of thousands of her children from foreign lands. That this exceptional work meant exceptional sacrifice no one doubted, least of all the general and Tarlattini. The very last letters from the tired pen of Anthony Testa dealt with the problems involved in reconciling in the best manner possible a strict monastic discipline with a specific apostolate, the primary work of preaching and the exceptional work of parochial organization—the “cura animarum” in the proper meaning of the term. These letters revealed Testa’s understanding, prudence and sound judgment as well as his patient love for his religious.

Andrew McGurgan, a young priest of the Dunkirk community, unburdened his disturbed conscience to the general. How was it possible to reconcile the Rule with the acceptance and administration of parishes? How could a religious keep the common observance with regularity and recollection while involved in the numerous duties such administration required? The general’s reply began with the assurance of a sympathetic understanding of his subject’s dilemma.

I beg to acknowledge your letter; and I am sorry to hear that your Reverence is suffering great uneasiness of mind; but still I console myself when I consider; (sic) that this uneasiness springs from a good and laudable motive, viz: the love, which you have for the exact observance of our holy rules (sic) and the desire which you

¹⁵ For the contemporary accounts of this exceptional work, cf. *DKK:M Platea*, Vol. I, pp. 9-13; also *HKB* II, 23-29. The latter gave a little more information than the briefer account in the *Platea* but both were the work of the same author, Hugh Kennan Barr.

nourish, that our Congregation should flourish in this country according [to] the spirit left us by our Blessed Father & (sic) founder. From the very fact, that the cause of your uneasiness of mind is good, I hope that your Reverence will value the considerations which I am going to propose to you; and from which you will derive consolation and peace.¹⁶

After this introduction the general pointedly referred to the spirit of the congregation which included the work for the salvation of the neighbor. Moreover, the situation in the United States demanded extraordinary means. "In the wants of the Church," he continued, "even the Holy Anachoretēs (sic) left the solitude of the desert to assist their brethren in the world. Now the Church in America is in great wants (sic). . . . The bishops invite everyone to come to their assistance; how can we refuse them?" Nor was the general a novice with respect to these problems. "All the considerations which your Reverence has proposed to me to show that the office of a Parish is dangerous are not new to me; I have already pondered them well before God, and they are not sufficient to let me come to the determination of forbidding the taking of parishes."¹⁷ Due precautions had to be taken, timely measures had to be invoked, but he urged the young priest to bear in mind that ". . . in America we are still in the beginning and in the beginning there are always difficulties to meet especially (sic) in things which have for object the glory of God and the salvation of souls."

As for the regular observance, Testa assured him, "if to attend to your ministry you are obliged to leave some points of the observance; (sic) do not make yourself uneasy. . . . You would leave God for God."

In his letter to Tarlattini written at the same time, the general charged the superior to examine the case, but with patience. "I feel the young man is animated by a good spirit and was moved to write

¹⁶ *UC:P*, Testa to McGurgan, May 7, 1862. The letter was written in English by Basil Laureri, Secretary General, and signed by Testa. The punctuation followed the Italian style of the last century. It was the only English letter from Rome for the entire period.

¹⁷ *Ibid.* Testa's experience in the matter of parochial administration dated from the time of the Napoleonic suppression (1809-1814), when many of the religious took refuge by assuming parochial duties; and more proximately, from his efforts in establishing the Order in England, beginning in 1849, which well conditioned him to understand the problems of young Father McGurgan.

to me for conscience sake. Do not show yourself displeased that he had recourse to me lest he be unduly offended.”¹⁸ If there should be a real danger to his vocation or his religious spirit, Tarlattini was directed to remove McGurgan from any parochial responsibility. But despite the difficulties involved, the general reasserted his conviction that “for the time being our religious must continue to administer parishes. . . .”

Since he had conceded the necessity of exceptional work, he wished it to be done well. “Once being obliged to operate as parish priests it is necessary that this office should be fulfilled in its entirety, so that neither bishops nor parishioners may have any just grounds for complaint.”¹⁹ The numerous parochial congregations now flourishing near the sites of the first Passionist foundations in America give eloquent testimony to the effective fulfillment of this directive.

¹⁸ UC:P, Testa to Tarlattini, s.d., but clearly of the same period as the letter to McGurgan.

¹⁹ St. Gabriel's College: Blythe Hall. Spencer correspondence, Testa to Spencer, February 9, 1850, as quoted in *Charles, op. cit.*, p. 409.

15. Epilogue

The invitation to America came at a most inopportune time in the Order's history. Neither men nor monies were available. The Order had suffered severe defeat in Australia, was stumbling in England and had reached an impasse in France. Italy, pressing toward national unity, was in a fitful period of gestation and its convulsions disturbed every institution in the land. To have refused the invitation would have been altogether reasonable.

Two men of similar cast were responsible for the daring overseas adventure. O'Connor knew he could insist with a man of Testa's stature, and Testa sensed sincerity and righteousness in the Bishop of Pittsburgh. The terms of the agreement attested adequately to the strength and character of each.

Hard pressed for capable leaders in an era of unprecedented expansion, the general erred in selecting a man who was a poor superior with no administrative ability, although he was a holy man and an excellent missionary. The American provinces owe a great deal to Calandri, to his initial sufferings, his example, his apostolate and, above all, his virtue. But Calandri could never have succeeded.

From Pievetorina and the ancient monastery of St. Augustine, Testa called a Moses to help Aaron. Tarlattini was not a preacher in any language. His genius was to lead. In the past reference has been constantly made to Anthony Calandri and his original companions, Albinus Magno, Stanislaus Parczyk and Brother Lawrence DiGiacamo, as "The Founders." With reason the Congregation may presently speak of "The Founder"—John Dominick Tarlattini. And this is precisely what the general, Anthony Testa,

and his successor, Peter Paul Cayro, affirmed Tarlattini to be, describing him as "the principal instrument used by the Lord to plant the Congregation in America."¹ Had death not claimed him suddenly while he was on visitation at Toluca in Mexico, Tarlattini, then consultor general, well might have assumed the direction of the entire Congregation as the XII Successor of Paul of the Cross.

But his great work was done: the solid establishment of the Order in America. From America numerous other foundations were to develop in Mexico and Spain, Central and South America, and Canada. The fundamental principle of the entire achievement was that blending of the Passionist spirit with the American temperament and character, an ideal so desired and insisted upon by Anthony Testa. Without sacrificing anything of the Passionist life, Tarlattini accepted and developed what was strong and good in American youth, producing no mere mimic of an Old World institution, but a new, vital extension of the Passionist Congregation in a new society.

His weakest moment came in the negotiations for the Dunkirk foundation. Here, however, he had inherited a commitment not of his own making. Although insecure and dubious of success, still he felt obliged to follow through. At West Hoboken, however, his leadership was readily perceived. St. Michael's was the realization of a glorious ideal.

The success attained by the numerous sisterhoods founded in or introduced into the country during this period served to give emphasis to Tarlattini's poor handling of the Passionist attempt in this regard. A more decisive approach could have resulted in either the establishment of the strictly cloistered Passionist Nuns in America or the creation of a new order of Passionist Sisters engaged in an active apostolate of education. Rossi alone saw the problem clearly. But Rome lacked confidence in Rossi. The opportunity was lost once Tarlattini failed to accept immediately the general's first proposition for the establishment of a new order.

Other problems were much more pressing at the time, especially the organization of the primary work of the Order. Once the initial difficulties were overcome, the success of the missionary apostolate amazed even the missionaries themselves. True, the need

¹ *UC:P Letters I*, Cayro to Tarlattini, May 1, 1866.

for missions was great, but the hard work, the zeal and the dedication of this first band of Passionist missionaries provide one of the most glorious pages of the Order's history.

The designation of Ignatius Paoli as visitor before the Second Provincial Chapter was an unhappy decision. It is highly doubtful that Testa would have required it. Certainly he would not have approved many of Paoli's recommendations. But Peter Paul Cayro, the general who succeeded Anthony Testa, was too easily led and possessed neither the superior mind nor the gentle understanding of his predecessor. The decision to unite all parochial administration in the hands of the local superior and to locate the parish church contiguous to the monastery endangered the very ideals that Testa and Tarlattini had worked so laboriously to assure: a numerous community well founded, living in relative solitude and blending the apostolic with the contemplative life, neither confusing nor dividing them.

Appendix 1

On the Writing of Passionist History

After more than two centuries of corporate existence, no accurate record of the origin, development and apostolic accomplishment of the Passionist Congregation is available. To remedy this deplored situation, the former superior general, Malcolm Lavelle, organized an historical commission at Rome and began the reorganization and cataloging of the general archives. Several of the monographs of this commission have been used in the compilation of this work, which in itself is a contribution to that long awaited and much needed complete, critical history of the order.

Previous attempts at writing the history of the Passionists in America have been abandoned because of a proposed insufficiency of primary sources. Several years ago, Father Canisius Hazlett, then provincial superior, assigned the writer the task of determining once and for all the state of our archival material.

The research concentrated on the principal archives of the Order: the General Archives in Rome, which proved most fruitful, and the Provincial Archives in Union City, New Jersey and Chicago, Illinois. We then studied the archives of the monasteries in Pittsburgh, Dunkirk, West Hoboken and Baltimore, as well as the archdiocesan and diocesan archives connected with these foundations. Of special interest was the first foundation in the West at Virginia City, Nevada and the attempted foundation at San Francisco. Our first intention was to include this episode in our work, for although in the beginning the Western foundation was independent of the effort in the East, it gradually merged with it and resulted in the foundation of the Order in Mexico, Spain, Central and South America. Our studies in San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville, Reno and Virginia City, plus the research in Mexico at Toluca, Tacubaya, Tepotzatlan, San Cristobal, Las Casas, etc., turned up such a mass of documentation and resulted in several discoveries of such interest and importance that it was resolved in consultation with Father Joseph Grisar, S.J., to remand the history of this enterprise to a separate study even though chronologically it is within the limits of our

present work. Further reasons for this decision are indicated in the text.

Upon return to Rome from Mexico, we consulted the archives of the Order in England and completed the study of materials at Scala Sancta, Rome and Recanati. We also consulted the archives at Vetralla, Isola del Gran Sasso, Paliano and Monte Argentaro, monasteries that were related to the work in North and Central America. Since the United States was under Propaganda Fide in this period, this important Archive had likewise to be studied.

The amount of source material gathered during this period of research far exceeded expectations. A great part of these sources has been put in order, restored where necessary, microfilmed, and preserved for future generations. The most gratifying discovery was the number of letters (over one hundred and fifty) exchanged between Rome and the new foundation. Their value is indisputable, particularly the autograph letters of Anthony Testa, the most important influence in the Order after Paul of the Cross himself.

Hence this work is written entirely from original sources, most of which have been hitherto unused.

The earliest attempt at collecting information regarding the beginnings of the Congregation in America was made by order of the commissary general, John Dominick Tarlattini, in 1857. The Passionists were then just five years in the country. He ordered the account to be written in English and selected the best writer among them for the task. Gaudentius Rossi obtained his information from the men who made the history of those years.¹ He gave us a carefully written and judicious account. This was the beginning of the most interesting, most authoritative and informative chronicle that the Order in America possesses. The manuscript is poorly preserved in the Pittsburgh monastery archives. A typed copy was made by the Passionist Nuns in Carrick, Pa., about the time of the Centenary of the Order in America. Although helpful, it must be used in conjunction with the original.

Unfortunately an exhaustive missionary schedule prevented Fr. Gaudentius from continuing a work so well begun. In 1861 Tarlattini himself picked up the pen and filled in the gap from 1857. Others continued the history of the Province in those first years and the particular "History of Blessed Paul's Retreat at Birmingham on the Monongahela."

There followed a period of rapid expansion as the foundations grew

¹ None of these early records are signed. Only by a study of the calligraphy and comparison with authentic autograph letters was the Rossi authorship of this portion of the Chronicle as well as of an important missionary journal able to be determined.

from one to six, with some fifteen churches and missionary stations. No attempt was made to write a history of this period until the year 1879 when the provincial, Victor Carrunchio, authorized the most famous chronicler the Passionists in America have produced, Hugh Kennan Barr, to begin the project.

Hugh K. Barr was born in Blairsville, Pa. He was fourteen when the three priests and one brother began to build their little house across the river. At eighteen he met Fr. Anthony and Fr. Albinus for the first time on a mission in his home parish. This determined his vocation. He left his job at the telegraph office and was vested two years before the Province was erected. In 1876 he began to collect material because "upon inquiring . . . I found there was wanting a great many interesting facts." He continued collecting until his death in 1900. He left us 14 manuscript volumes interspersed with numerous clippings and excised articles.

His original intention was to write a history of the Order. For this purpose he sought authorization from the general and contacted all the provincials throughout the world. It was while he was engaged in this enormous task that the provincial assigned him to begin "A Complete Chronicle of the Province in America." Discontinuing the first work, he "gathered from the different Passionists who were eye-witnesses of the said facts" all the information he could concerning the early days of the Order in America.² For ten years he continued to collect material but published nothing. Then came disappointment. A dissatisfied provincial fired him. Hugh K. Barr recorded the event in an entry for December 26, 1889:

A Historian appointed for this Province. Our Very Rev. Fr. Provincial, Benedict of St. Francis of Assisi [Murnane], has appointed the Rev. Fr. Philip of the Assumption [Birk] to write the history of the Passionists in America and requested the undersigned to give him all the documents he holds in his possession. Most willingly do I give them to him. I began this work in January 1877 and now after 12 years feel that my labor has not been in vain."³

Birk had a much finer mind, a deeper sense of history, command of language, critical judgment and a more facile pen. But he produced nothing except a short history of St. Michael's Parish, South Side, Pittsburgh.⁴ It is a great pity that he did nothing more.

Undaunted, Hugh K. Barr kept gathering. He often signed himself

² HKB I, 3.

³ HKB XII, 3.

⁴ Philip Birk, *Kurze Geschichte der St. Michaels Gemeinde; Südseite, Pittsburgh, Pa.*, Baltimore 1886.

"The Compiler." From first to last he remained precisely that. He never attempted to write an orderly account. He could never have written a critical history. But he has left much to be grateful for. Although he was unappreciated in his own lifetime, he has supplied a vast amount of detailed information which has greatly enriched Passionist history, especially in America. His vast compilations were preserved in the Archives of St. Michael's Monastery, Union City, New Jersey, and rarely used. Felix Ward was his greatest debtor, although he scarcely made a reference to him.⁵

Felix Ward (1854-1927) could write well—and he did. His book, *The Passionists*, published in 1923, was well received. It is the only history of the Order in America—and the first history of a Province. It filled a need.

Ward entered the Order in 1870 when John Dominick Tarlattini was novice-master. Anthony Calandri received his vows. From 1903 to 1920 he filled various posts of importance: rector, consultor, vice-provincial. He recorded the early traditions, portrayed in an exact manner the personality and character traits of the pioneers, and described the first foundations. His most valuable writing concerned the events in which he was personally involved, particularly the Cincinnati and Louisville foundations, the Golden Jubilee observance and the coming of the Passionist Nuns to America. However, the book had several defects. Ward was incurably triumphalist and wrote with an all too evident effort to edify and praise. Anything disfavorable to the Order had to be glossed over or suppressed.⁶ The book abounded in pleasant incidences and the happy coincidence.⁷ Written in a popular style, it was not a critical history. Nor did its author intend to write a critical history. His purpose was to record a series of sketches written

⁵ Cf. Ward, pp. 117-121, on Calandri, and *HKB* XI, 307-313; XII, 608-615; see Ward, pp. 111-113, on the dedication of the first monastery, and *HKB* XII, 160-161. Ward's newspaper accounts are the ones that are contained in Barr's collection. Where Barr has a reference we find one in Ward; where Barr does not give the reference (and this is more usual), neither does Ward.

⁶ For example, a certain Francis Xavier Caccia caused great trouble to Tarlattini from the beginning of his trip to the States in 1856-57 until he finally abandoned the Order. Ward had to know about this but he failed even to mention Caccia (pp. 150-151). Magagnotto was described as leaving "his friend" Polding in Sydney on such fine terms (p. 170), yet few people were so thoroughly disliked by Magagnotto as Polding. Other examples could be cited.

⁷ For example, the general and O'Connor signed the agreement at the very time Pius IX was declaring Paul of the Cross Blessed in the Sistine Chapel—which could only have happened by bi-location since Anthony Testa was at the ceremonies in the Sistine Chapel. Again, Anthony Calandri had to say the first Mass in America on the feast of the Presentation, Nov. 21, because that is so great a feast in the Order, but he actually said it on the 20th. Other examples could be cited. Cf. Ward, pp. 103-107.

from a personal viewpoint, as he indicated in his well-chosen subtitle: *Sketches—Historical and Personal*. Hence, although it was disappointing to find so many inaccuracies and so few exact references, it really was not right to expect them. And we remain greatly indebted to Father Felix for having given us his sketches filled with so much valuable personal testimony, the chief merit of his work. We have consulted him throughout, checking his sources wherever possible and correcting his statements where the sources prove him to be in error.⁸

An interesting manuscript which we discovered only at the end of our research must have been written at the request of Father Felix.⁹ The full copy was over three hundred and fifty pages in length. Of this about one-third remains in the Pittsburgh Monastery Archives. It is the work of Dominic Noble, one of the first brothers to be professed in America, who was the personal friend and companion of Philip Birk before either took the habit.¹⁰ Noble wrote his memoirs when he was seventy-nine, answering a long series of questions that were put to him. His mind was clear and his memory sharp. He contributed a great deal to our knowledge of the first years of the Congregation in America.

Between Felix Ward and the present time, several brief, popular accounts of the Province or of individual monasteries have been published in connection with various anniversary observances. The most noteworthy of these, *The Centenary of the Passionist in America*, by Ronald Norris and Bonaventure Griffiths, contains very useful statistical data on both American provinces. The Rev. Clement Buckley, C.P., the recently appointed provincial archivist, has begun the vast work of totally reorganizing the Provincial Archives. This cannot but be of invaluable service for future historians.

⁸ Despite ardent efforts we have not been able to find a single paper of Felix Ward. All the materials that he collected, all his notes, all his vast correspondence, have most unfortunately been destroyed. It is probable that much archives material was destroyed with his personal effects.

⁹ Especially cf. the account on California (Ward, pp. 167-172) and the accounts on the brothers (Ward, pp. 138-140) and Noble (sections 1 and 6).

¹⁰ Birk was associated with the fathers from the very beginning and entered the novitiate in 1858. Noble entered in 1860. In compiling his memoirs Brother Dominic was aided by the very first brother professed in America, Boniface Feld, then 81 years old but at work and keeping the full observance. The patriarch of the Congregation, Brother Valentine Rausch, C.P., now in his 98th year of age, has written an account of the origins of the Order in America, but this was not available. However, long conversations with Brother Valentine have aided the author greatly.

Appendix 2

Primary Apostolate—1856-1866

SYNOPTIC CHART

YEAR	RETREATS			
	MISSIONS	REL. & CLERGY	COMMS.	CONVTS.
1856	9	5	8,950	23
1857	12	2	13,650	34
1858	16	2	14,300	28
1859	15	9	13,150	40
1860	9	6	7,100	19
1861	6	1	5,030	13
1862	9	3	19,200	63
1863	8	5	3,600	22
1864	26	7	11,400	59
1865	40	5	27,050	44
1866	10	11	2,850	5
TOTAL	160	56	116,280	350

It must be observed that while the total number of missions and retreats (216) is quite accurate, the same cannot be said for the number of converts or the number of Communion. The number of Communion can almost be doubled since no report was found for over half of the parish missions and retreats; other reports are too vague: "the entire congregation," "only three neglected the sacraments," "all," etc. From the number of Communion we have a relative idea of the hours spent in the hearing of confessions.

The total number of converts is also much too small a figure. To the 350 recorded here we may also add the 72 received by Magno from 1853-1856 making the total 422. But the records indicate many more. Again we had no way of determining what the missionary meant by "several" or "a few"; nor could we take into account the great number left under instruction. Hence the total, while more accurate than the total number of Communion, remains nonetheless incomplete.

Despite these lacunae the figures do give us a good indication of the volume of work accomplished and its effectiveness.

It is also well to keep in mind that the mission band was very small: only four fully prepared missionaries with a few adjutants. All of them likewise had to function as superiors. The area covered included thirteen States in the East and Midwest and parts of Canada, an area greater than all of Western Europe today.

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VETRALLA, SANT'ANGELO

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MONTE ARGENTARIO S. GIUSEPPE

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5. Acts of the Provincial Chapters: I-XV, 1863-1905 (mss.).
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3. Letters: 3 huge volumes containing 2,024 letters collected chiefly through the efforts of Monsignor Andrew A. Lambing, first historian of the Pittsburgh Diocese, and arranged and indexed by the Reverend John Canova, former diocesan archivist; the letters date from the beginning of the diocese in 1843.

4. Parish Histories.

5. The papers of Bishop Michael Domenec, C.M., second Bishop of Pittsburgh, from 1860 to 1876.

6. The complete file of *The Pittsburgh Catholic*, official diocesan newspaper founded by Bishop O'Connor in January 1844.

7. File for Religious in the archives of the chancellor: (a) the original agreement between Anthony Testa, General of the Passionists, and Bishop Michael O'Connor; (b) 2 autograph letters of Testa to O'Connor.

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