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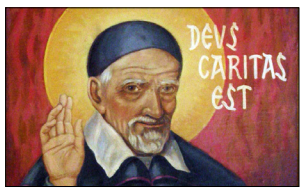

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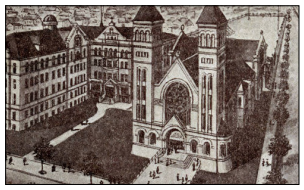

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Vincent de Paul and Judas Iscariot

JOHN E. RYBOLT, C.M., PH.D.

BIO

REV. JOHN E. RYBOLT, C.M., Ph.D., completed his seminary studies at the Vincentian seminary in Perryville, Missouri, and at De Andreis Seminary in Lemont, Illinois. He received a Doctorate in biblical studies from Saint Louis University. He has taught in Vincentian seminaries in Saint Louis, Lemont, and Denver. He worked for the provincial of the Midwest Province from 1979 to 1981. He joined the board of trustees of DePaul University in 1981 and is currently a life trustee. He also served as a delegate from the Midwest Province to the international general assemblies of the Congregation in 1980, 1986, and 1998, and managed the archives of the province from 1980 to 1989. Father Rybolt also served as the director of the International Formation Center, a program for ongoing Vincentian education and formation in Paris, France. Currently, he is serving as a Vincentian Scholar-in-Residence at DePaul University. Since 1979 he has been involved in the Vincentian Studies Institute, which he headed from 1982 to 1991. His many publications have covered fields of interest in language, biblical studies, and history, particularly Vincentian history, and he has recently completed work on the multi-volume series *The Vincentians: A General History of the Congregation of the Mission*.

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It seems strange to link Vincent de Paul and the apostle Judas, "the most wicked man in the world."[1] Nonetheless, Vincent mentioned Judas more than fifty times in his writings, especially in his conferences to both the Daughters of Charity and the members of the Congregation of the Mission.[2] Despite this, the saint's major biographers have neglected this theme, rarely citing mentions of Judas.

A close reading of Vincent's treatment of Judas highlights aspects of the saint's theology, exegesis, and instructional methods. He must have reflected on this crucial biblical figure, and he then laid out the results of his thinking for the sisters and his confreres. As will be seen, he used Judas as an example—a bad example—in the classical sense of the rhetorical *exemplum*. Such an example was to reveal truth through illustrative instances. Reflection on it was to generate enlightenment and persuade a change of behavior for the better.[3]

Vincent also used the figure of Judas when counseling Louise de Marillac. Early in their relationship, she was worried and felt guilty about her son. Vincent then recalled two Old Testament figures (Abraham and Isaac) whose sons Ishmael and Esau had conflicts with their fathers. Judas, too, an apostle, had conflicts with Jesus. Vincent's conclusion for her was that the faults of children are not always imputed to their parents; consequently, she should be at peace.[4]

In addition to using Judas as an example, in 1659 Vincent used him to refer to his own life, through which we gain an insight into his spirituality. He wrote to Antoine Durand, "I conclude by recommending myself to your prayers, which I ask you to offer so that God will pardon me the incomparable faults I commit every day in the position I hold—I who am the most unworthy of all men and worse than Judas was toward Our Lord."[5] Although Vincent regularly prepared for death, he undoubtedly feared it and the judgment to follow. Such reviewing of faults and imperfections was the life of a saint.

One year before, in 1658, he spoke in a similar fashion. Louise, with the three officers of the Company, recounted an exceptionally revealing event that occurred during a council meeting. In Vincent's presence, the sisters thanked God for preserving him after a serious accident when he fell from his carriage, and for the lesson they learned about how important

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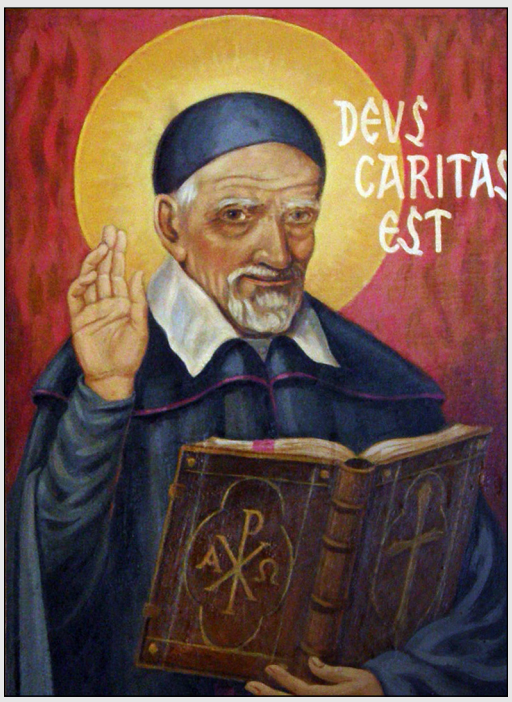
1 Conference 83, "The Management of the Property of the Poor and of Community Goods," 26 August 1657, 10:246, in Pierre Coste, C.M., *Vincent de Paul, Correspondence, Conferences, Documents*, ed. and trans. Jacqueline Kilar, D.C., Marie Poole, D.C., et al., vols. 1–14 (New York: New City Press, 1985–2014). Hereafter cited as *CCD*. Available online: http://via.library.depaul.edu/coste_en/.

2 Judas citations are found in twenty-six conferences to the sisters, and seven to the Missioners.

3 See, for example, John D. Lyons, *Exemplum: The Rhetoric of Example in Early Modern France and Italy* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1989).

4 Letter 221, "To Saint Louise," [1636], *CCD*, 1:314.

5 Letter 2869, "To Antoine Durand, Superior, in Agde," [1659], *Ibid.*, 7:611.



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Vincent de Paul with bible. Latin reads: God is charity.

Painting by L. Lonergan, ca. 1960.
Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online
http://stvincentimages.cstcis.cti.depaul.edu:8181/

Vincent's guidance, concern, and instruction had been for them. The revealing aspect comes, although Vincent did not mention Judas, when "he began to speak in terms of very great disregard for himself, saying, 'I'm a miserable sinner who only spoils everything.'" Louise wrote that "he became very quiet, and his silence and recollection made us clearly understand that we had greatly embarrassed him."[6]

Positive aspects

Judas began well but ended badly. Vincent employed this insight several times, as when he wrote to Etienne Blatiron in a letter of spiritual counsel: "Always remember that in the spiritual life little account is taken of the beginnings. People attach importance to the progress and the end. Judas had begun well, but he finished badly; and Saint Paul finished well, although he had begun badly. Perfection consists in a constant perseverance to acquire the virtues."[7]

Vincent recalled that Judas must have received great graces, living with the Lord and even working miracles: "Isn't that what happened to Judas? Like all the other Apostles, Judas had received Our Lord's grace; he had been called to be an Apostle; he had preached, worked miracles, had the honor of following the Son of God, and had assisted at the institution of the

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6 Document 179, "Council of February 29, 1658," *Ibid.*, 13b:359–60.

7 Letter 490, "To Etienne Blatiron, in Alet," 9 October 1640, *Ibid.*, 2:146; see also conference 54, "Fidelity To God," 3 June 1653, *Ibid.*, 9:492.

most august Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ."[8] In addition, Judas "merited to be chosen from among all the Apostles to be the steward of his Master's household; he persevered for a time."[9]

Vincent must have surprised one of his Missioners with the same example. That priest appeared complacent over the success of his missions. Vincent warned, "Judas had received greater graces than you, that those graces had produced more results than yours, and that, in spite of that, he was lost."[10] He used the same argument concerning handling money; those who did so were to be fearful of the danger they ran. He told the sisters, "Each of you can say to herself, 'Is my calling better than that of Judas?' Alas, no, since Our Lord Himself called him! 'Am I more in God's grace than Judas was?' Alas, it would be great temerity to think so!"[11]

Although Judas betrayed Jesus, the account of the Savior's relationship with his apostle points out the differences between them. In Jn 12:6, Judas is mentioned as a thief. Vincent's view was that Jesus could have sent him away because of that, but he did not. The reason why, Vincent said, was that Judas was the "principal instrument of his Passion," which could not be canceled.[12] Vincent noted, "Our Lord admonished Judas only in the presence of the other Apostles. Even then He did so in veiled terms, saying that one of those who puts his hand in the dish would betray Him [Mk 14:20]."[13]

Vincent also contrasted the gentleness of Jesus with the vicious betrayal of Judas. Jesus, he said, served the poor and sinners with gentleness. This was to be another example for the sisters: "He intended us to serve poor persons with gentleness and cordiality. He gave us outstanding examples of this in several circumstances of His life, both with the sick who were brought to Him to be healed, and with sinners and those who persecuted Him, like Judas who betrayed Him, and the high priest's servant who struck Him."[14]

In a similar account given to his confreres, Vincent expanded the gospel account of the betrayal of Judas (Mt 26:50) by adding imaginative expressions. The following is one example:

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8 Conference 31, "Holy Communion," 18 August 1647, *Ibid.*, 9:261; for other references to Judas working miracles, see conference 40, "Love of Our Vocation," 25 December 1648, *Ibid.*, 9:362; conference 54, "Fidelity to God," *Ibid.*, 9:492; conference 83, "Management of the Property of the Poor," *Ibid.*, 10:246; and conference 151, "Admonitions," 9 June 1656, *Ibid.*, 11:307.

9 Conference 54, "Fidelity to God," *Ibid.*, 9:492.

10 Letter 129, "To a Priest of the Mission," [15 January 1633], *Ibid.*, 1:183.

11 Conference 83, "Management of the Property of the Poor," *Ibid.*, 10:246.

12 Letter 2130, "To Guillaume Delville, in Arras," 28 August 1656, *Ibid.,* 6:81.

13 Letter 1242, "To Marc Coglée, Superior, in Sedan," 13 August 1650, *Ibid.*, 4:55.

14 Conference 27, "The Practice of Mutual Respect and Gentleness," 19 August 1646, *Ibid.,* 9:207.

> O my dear confreres, if the Son of God seemed so kind in His conversation, how much greater does His gentleness appear in His Passion, to the point that no angry word escaped Him against the deicides who covered Him with insults and spittle and laughed at His sufferings. "Friend," He said to Judas, who handed Him over to His enemies. Oh, what a friend! He saw him coming a hundred paces away, then twenty paces; but even more, He had seen this traitor every day since his conception, and He goes to meet him with this gentle word, "Friend."[15]

Vincent's goal was to encourage the confreres' gentleness. In the same gentle spirit, Vincent comforted René Alméras by reporting what he was doing for an unnamed confrere in some trouble: "We are applying remedies to the sore, using various plasters of gentleness, threats, prayers, and admonitions. … Our Lord did not send Saint Peter away for having denied Him several times, nor even Judas, although he was to die in his sin."[16] Despite the apostles' murmuring and quarreling, and their abandonment of him, Jesus bore with them gently. Vincent concluded this section by exclaiming: "After such an example, what Missioner wouldn't be willing to work to acquire this virtue?"[17]

Another case of imaginative expressions is the following, where Vincent invented words for Judas and the high priests: "[Judas] even went off to the houses of outsiders to speak against Our Lord. He said He [Jesus] wasn't the Son of God, which convinced the high priests that He was seducing the people. *'Quoi!'* they could say, 'Here's a man who converses with Him, who is one of His disciples, and he's telling us this. If it weren't so, he wouldn't be saying it.'[18]

Negative aspects

For Vincent, one of the three great sins that characterized Judas concerned his unworthy reception of Communion at the Last Supper. Vincent said, "Look what happened to Judas. He received Communion without this preparation because he had made up his mind to betray Our Lord. And what happened to him? Something dreadful, Sisters. The devil entered into him."[19] In a later conference, Vincent continued:

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15 Conference 202, "Gentleness," 28 March 1659, *Ibid.*, 12:159.

16 Letter 1232, "To René Alméras, Superior, in Rome," 15 July 1650, *Ibid.*, 4:42.

17 Conference 211, "The Five Characteristic Virtues," 22 August 1659, *Ibid.*, 12:249.

18 Conference 91, "Relations with Outsiders, Murmuring, Detraction," 30 December 1657, *Ibid.*, 10:349; see also conference 132, "Poverty," 13 August 1655, *Ibid.*, 11:225: "He [Judas] passed Him off as an imposter, a seducer, a magician."

19 Conference 23, "Holy Communion," 22 January 1646, *Ibid.*, 9:185–86.

[Click to enlarge]

"Judas the Iscariot: And It Was Night."

Painting by Christopher Williams (1873-1934).
Aberystwyth University School of Art Museum and Galleries, United Kingdom

He made a bad Communion, and what followed? He lost his vocation at once, withdrew from the holy company of the Apostles to which he belonged, went and sold his Master and, in the end, damned himself forever. …

> … Could the devil conceive anything more sacrilegious and abominable than what Judas did after receiving Communion unworthily? To rebel against God after receiving such extraordinary graces! It seems that only the devil is capable of that. And Judas did this after receiving Communion! Abomination of abominations! To desert the side of God, to rebel against Him, to sell and betray Him![20]

Clearly, the powerful and pointed lesson for the sisters was that they should never receive Communion unworthily.

Avarice was the second great sin of Judas. Vincent commented, "As soon as avarice has its clutches on a soul, good-bye to all virtue! Judas, … who like the other Apostles, was destined for great sanctity, became a demon through avarice."[21]

In another conference, Vincent linked an unworthy Communion with envy as the third of Judas's great sins: "Judas … had committed other crimes against the Son of God. He had conceived envy in his heart against Him, which had no effect; and as soon as he had received Communion, the devil took possession of his heart and involved him in his

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20 Conference 31, "Holy Communion," 18 August 1647, *Ibid.*, 9:261–62, 264.

21 Conference 40, "Love of Our Vocation," *Ibid.*, 9:362.

abominable undertakings."[22] The biblical text does not support this directly, since it was envy that brought the chief priests to hand over Jesus. Nevertheless, some commentators have concluded that this was also Judas's motivation.

Vincent also linked Judas's envy with his having a grudge against Jesus and others. In the following citation, Vincent again filled in the biblical account with imaginative details: "For that's what Judas did: … he went to the Jews to accuse Our Lord and said to them, 'He does this, He does that,' whispering now to one, now to another, because he had a grudge against the Son of God and what He was doing." This insight is possibly gleaned from Judas's rejection of Mary Magdalen's exorbitant use of expensive perfumed oil to anoint Jesus: "Judas had a grudge not only against Our Lord but against the Apostles, Mary Magdalen, and the whole Catholic religion, which he wanted to destroy."[23] Vincent applied this example to a sister who found fault with everything; "like a Judas," he said, "she goes around whispering now to one, now to another." Speaking to anyone encountering such a sister, he instructed, "Make the Sign of the Cross when you see her; she's a Judas."[24]

Vincent's psychological insights and expertise are evident in several of his conferences that mention Judas. For example, Vincent said, "Saint Gregory and the other saints reflected in fear on that appalling fall of accursed Judas. Let's consider a little with them by what rationale that vile sin made him do it, in order to make him fall into the most horrible [crime] of all."[25] Vincent explained Judas's thinking as follows:

> This is how [Judas] began: the thought occurred to him, "I don't know whether this Company will last; it doesn't seem very likely; so, I have to put something by for myself. At least if it should decline, I'll have something to provide for my needs. …"
>
> … But he didn't stop at that. He went off to find the High Priests, who he knew resented Our Lord, and spoke so badly of Him that they took Judas to be one of His enemies. This encouraged them to tempt him to sell his Master, which he did, settling the price with them on the spot.[26]

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22 Conference 31, "Holy Communion," 18 August 1647, *Ibid.*, 9:264; see also conference 60, "Envy," 24 June 1654, *Ibid.*, 9:549: "It was envy that led Judas to sell Our Lord."

23 Conference 70, "Explanation of the Common Rules," 29 September 1655, *Ibid.*, 10:98.

24 *Ibid.*, 10:97; see also conference 83, "Management of the Property of the Poor," *Ibid.*, 10:246, mentioning Mary Magdalen.

25 Conference 132, "Poverty," 13 August 1655, *Ibid.*, 11:224; see also conference 98, "Humility, Charity, Obedience, and Patience," 14 July 1658, *Ibid.*, 10:426–27, where Judas leads a double life.

26 Conference 83, "Management of the Property of the Poor," *Ibid.*, 10:247.

Vincent continued by spelling out the devil's tempting suggestions concerning money: "The devil won't fail to try to take you by surprise. If you listen to him, he'll say to you, 'Ah, Sister! Isn't it a good thing to have something? How do you know what will happen?' That's what the devil will say to you, for that's what he said to Judas."[27]

In another conference, he linked poor psychological results (no consolation in prayer, no peace of mind) with murmuring: "You'll be punished by God. Why? Because you're a Korah, Dathan, or Abiram—or rather a Judas—who finds fault with everything. That's why there's no consolation in prayer, no love for God or for the poor, and no peace of mind."[28]

In speaking to his confreres, Vincent reviewed the same temptations and their consequences. He said that temptations started with "small pleasures, then greater ones; then, like Judas, we must have possessions; all sorts of artifices are used—justly and unjustly—like Judas, who sold his Master; in the end, this viper becomes so furious that it bursts the entrails of the one who raised and hatched it in its womb."[29] Vincent mentioned Judas's gruesome death several more times. For example, Vincent said, "In punishment for his infidelity, God permitted that he should hang himself and burst open in the middle," and "hanging there, he burst asunder and spewed forth his accursed insides, where the desire for possessions had made him conceive so many crimes. In the end, he went to hell."[30]

Amid all this, Vincent still had a somewhat kindly approach to Judas. Vincent found that the betrayer had, without stating it exactly, blasphemed against the Holy Spirit (Mk 3:29): "He went off and, tormented by remorse for his crime, the wretch believed that His Master was not kind enough to pardon him. O gentle Savior! O God of mercy! That's despair. He hanged himself by his own hand."[31] In other words, if Judas had believed that Jesus could pardon him, he would not have despaired.

Moral lessons

The examples that Vincent derived from the New Testament accounts of Judas are rich in their diversity.

Perseverance

He advised Marc Coglée that "in two or three cases, the community should be told of the fault of an individual: … When the fault is so deeply ingrained in the guilty party that a private admonition is judged ineffective."[32] Guillaume Delville was concerned about

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27 *Ibid.*, 10:250; see also document 166, "Council of June 11, 1654," *Ibid.*, 13b:315–16.

28 Conference 91, "Relations with Outsiders," *Ibid.*, 10:350; he cites Nm 16.

29 Conference 132, "Poverty," 13 August 1655, *CCD*, 11:225.

30 Conference 54, "Fidelity to God," *Ibid.*, 9:492; conference 132, "Poverty," 13 August 1655, *Ibid.*, 11:225.

31 Conference 132, "Poverty," 13 August 1655, *Ibid.*, 11:225.

32 Letter 1242, "To Marc Coglée," *Ibid.*, 4:55.

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"Last Supper."

Painting by Pieter Pourbus (1523-1584). Oil on oak panel, 1548. Judas is depicted fleeing with purse in hand as a monstrous figure enters in his direction.
Groeninge Museum, Bruges, Belgium

accepting or rejecting candidates for the Congregation. Vincent replied, "What Community does not refuse applicants who do not have the requisite qualities or does not send away those who do not behave properly? … The Son of God did not accept into His Company all those who presented themselves. … And if He did not send Judas away, it was because he was to be the principal instrument of His Passion."[33] He also reminded the sisters that "accidents sometimes happen in Companies, and God allows them; don't be surprised at that, Sisters. There were faults and failings in the company of the Apostles; Judas sold his good Master and Saint Peter denied Him."[34]

Vincent found a negative lesson in Judas concerning perseverance in one's vocation. He warned the sisters: "But beware, I repeat, beware of being unfaithful to [vocation]! What a misfortune! … The example of Judas and of many others should be a powerful motive to incite us to perseverance. Thank God, Sisters, for having been chosen for such a perfect vocation."[35] He linked perseverance with keeping the rules, especially poverty: "Oh, the happy state of a soul who observes her vows, especially poverty, without neglecting anything that concerns the other ones! So, dear Sisters, as long as you keep this Rule God will bless you; but if you fail to do it, you won't stop at that because this failure to observe it will cause you to fall into the unhappy state of Judas. And if a Sister should be so despicable as to take

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33 Letter 2130, "To Guillaume Delville," *Ibid.*, 6:81.

34 Conference 119, "The Virtues of Louise De Marillac," 24 July 1660, *Ibid.,* 10:590; see also document 177, "Council of December 26, 1656," *Ibid.,* 13b:353–55.

35 Conference 16, "The Foundlings," 7 December 1643, *Ibid.*, 9:114; see also conference 32, "Perseverance in Our Vocation," 22 September 1647, *Ibid.*, 9:280: "Judas … thought he'd do better in another way of life."

anything belonging to the poor, you can rest assured, Sisters, that she wouldn't be able to persevere in her vocation."[36]

Is it I, Lord?

The founder personalized the reaction of the apostles at the Last Supper by asking the sisters to pose the same question: Is it I, Lord? Vincent used this to draw out several lessons. One dealt with trust in Providence: "So, ask yourselves whether or not you're the one, like the Apostles when Judas had decided to deliver his Master to death. *Numquid ego sum, Domine?* Is it I, Lord? Judas was well aware that he was that miserable wretch, but the Apostles didn't know it. So, they were afraid; but you have no reason to be afraid when you say, 'Is it I?' because it's not a question of putting Our Lord to death; on the contrary, it's to render Him service. Let confidence drive out fear then."[37]

In a second version of the same question, he wanted the sisters to take responsibility for anything that went wrong in the Company. The lesson was probably not to impute guilt everywhere but rather to acknowledge that each member was responsible for the common good. Still, comparing individuals to Judas was oppressive. Vincent said, "If anything goes wrong, a Sister should say, 'It's my fault.' That's what Judas said, Sisters: *Numquid ego sum?* Am I not this wicked person? So, you can say with Judas, 'Am I not the one who is preventing the Company from making progress?' Sisters, it takes only one person to keep the entire Company from advancing in virtue."[38]

The third version must also have been quite oppressive for his hearers, as it dealt with observing the rules. Guilt and apprehension must have been palpable as Vincent spoke.

> The Son of God, speaking of Judas, said, "Ah, the poor, despicable man! It would have been better had he never been born!" [Mt 26:24] In like manner, Sisters, I say it would be better had such a sort of Sister never existed or entered the Company than for her to behave in it in such a way. …
>
> What grounds for fear and sadness! I'm sure that each Sister must be saying to herself what the traitor Judas said, along with the other Apostles, on the night

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36 Conference 76, "Poverty," 20 August 1656, *Ibid.,* 10:174; see also conference 49, "The Good Use of Admonitions," 25 April 1652, *Ibid.,* 9:448–55.

37 Conference 97, "Trust in Divine Providence," 9 June 1658, *Ibid.,* 10:411–12.

38 Conference 118, "The Virtues of Louise de Marillac," 3 July 1660, *Ibid.*, 10:576.

> he was to betray his Master, *Numquid ego sum, Domine?* Is it I of whom You are speaking? There are a few, so it is said, who are restive under obedience, who don't follow the spirit of the Rules, and who do as they please. *Mon Dieu!* Is it not I?[39]

Unworthy Communion

The sisters must have been equally disturbed by Vincent's theological commentary on making a bad communion, a theme he repeated several times, as mentioned above. In the following citation, in which a sister responds to his questioning, Vincent was following the traditional teaching about making a sinful Communion.

> "And what harm, Sister, comes to a person who makes a bad Communion?" The Sister replied that such a person would lose the merit of all her other Communions and might even lose her vocation. "Stop there for a minute, Sister. Our Sister has mentioned two or three great evils, which should be weighed and considered attentively. The person who makes a bad Communion, she says, will lose the fruit and merit of all her past Communions; she'll lose the merit of all those she will subsequently make, if she doesn't do penance; she'll lose all the good she's ever done and could do. All that will count for nothing for her and, worst of all, she'll lose her vocation."[40]

Murmuring

Another repeated theme was murmuring. Vincent cited Judas in a lesson against it for his confreres. The apostles' murmuring was counteracted by the Savior's gentleness and forbearance. Vincent said, "O Savior, isn't Your forbearance with Your Apostles, who murmured among themselves and fought over the first places, a beautiful example for us? Ah, brothers, what forbearance in Our Lord, who saw that they were going to abandon Him, that the first among them was going to deny Him, and that the unfortunate Judas was going to betray Him!"[41]

Vincent also condemned Judas's murmuring and applied these instances to the sisters. Judas's murmuring against Mary Magdalen's waste of ointment was the cause of his downfall, and it could bring about a similar fall among the sisters.[42] A sister given to murmuring was like "a Judas who want[ed] to ruin [their] Company." He warned, "Do your utmost to avoid her. If she tries to detain you, pretend you have something to do

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39 Conference 98, "Humility," *Ibid.*, 10:426, 427.

40 Conference 31, "Holy Communion," 18 August 1647, *Ibid.*, 9:261.

41 Conference 211, "Five Characteristic Virtues," *Ibid.*, 12:249.

42 Conference 83, "Management of the Property of the Poor," *Ibid.*, 10:246.

Click to enlarge

"Vaux Passional."

Detail of illuminated manuscript, ca. 1503.
Mary Magdalen anoints Christ's feet, Judas standing at left.
National Library of Wales.
Creative Commons CC0 1.0 Universal Public Domain

and leave her. Don't listen to this serpent; she's a Judas. For that's what Judas did: he murmured."[43] Murmuring against superiors or the Rules was equally reprehensible: "That wicked man reached that extreme only after he had begun to murmur against Our Lord. Bear in mind, Sisters, that when any of you murmurs against Superiors or the Rules in presence of her Sisters, that's the beginning of the work of Judas. But as soon as a Sister does it with outsiders, she's an absolute Judas."[44]

Changes

Vincent was unafraid to make changes in his two communities, in his other works, and even in the French Church and society. However, when private individuals tried to change the order of life, this resembled the acts of Judas. Perhaps without thinking about it, Vincent seemed to associate himself with God, who used him, Vincent, to establish his communities. His recommendation "never to change anything" should not be taken as a universal principle of Vincentian life.

> When it's Superiors who think it advisable to make a change, you must believe that it's God; God, who used them to establish the Order, uses them again when changes are to be made. That's why you must never criticize. But if a private

43 Conference 70, "Explanation," *Ibid.*, 10:97.

44 Conference 91, "Relations with Outsiders," 30 December 1657, *Ibid.*, 10:349.

> individual tries to interfere and to change something, you mustn't tolerate it! Judas's malady began with that: he wanted to change Our Lord's maxims for the use of the money entrusted to him. There's no need to say anything more to persuade you to take the resolution never to change anything. If someone suggests a change to you, don't listen to him.[45]

He stigmatized gossiping and rumormongering, especially about changing established order, comparing this to the destructive work of Judas. "'Someone is saying such and such,' or 'Why this?' 'Why that?' … Lastly, to try to change the order established in the Company is to want to ruin it. You can see what such a person deserves!"[46]

Finances

Although Vincent claimed that (as far as he knew) no sister had kept for herself anything that belonged to the Community or to the poor, the issue must have loomed large in his thinking. He returned to it more than once and compared the hypothetical unfortunate sister to Ananias and Sapphira (Acts 5:1–11), as well as to Judas, each of whom were punished with death. His message was gently given—he seemed to struggle to be clear and nonjudgmental—but it was direct and pointed.

> It's also against poverty to keep anything that belongs either to the Community or to the poor. *O Sauveur!* What a great evil! If there were anyone in the Company who might be so unfortunate—which I find hard to believe—but if there were such a one, she'd be worse than Ananias and Sapphira, for they kept back what had belonged to them, but to keep the property of persons who are poor is to act like Judas. … He kept the alms he had been given to distribute to the poor. Sisters, I've already said that if there were such a Sister—something I find hard to believe; no, by the grace of God, I've never yet heard that anyone kept something back for herself; at least as far as I can recall—but if that were the case, we could easily say that she'd be an Ananias or a Judas.[47]

As noted above, Vincent did not mind drawing out theological conclusions not strictly found in the Scriptures. In this case, he charged Judas with keeping for himself the property of the poor, a Vincentian reading of Jn 12:6, which calls Judas a thief. A slightly

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45 Conference 59, "The Preservation of the Company," 25 May 1654, *Ibid.,* 9:546.

46 Conference 70, "Explanation," *Ibid.,* 10:97–98.

47 Conference 76, "Poverty," 20 August 1656, *Ibid.*, 10:173.

modified condemnation was leveled against any sister who kept something for herself in time of need. She had an excuse, unlike Judas, but it was a dangerous one: "You also have avarice, which is opposed to holy poverty. If a Daughter of Charity were infected with this vice, then good-bye to her vocation; there's no need to say any more about it; it's all over. The desire to have something for yourself in case of need, or to keep something or other in reserve, Sisters, is to mistrust God's Providence and care. As soon as avarice has its clutches on a soul, good-bye to all virtue! Judas … became a demon through avarice."[48]

He repeated his lesson in a later conference and expanded his reference to both men and women responsible for money:

> Dear Sisters, there's nothing else I can say to you about this except that those of you who handle money are in danger of becoming Judases. …
>
> … You see the danger involved in handling money. I say this for all sorts of persons without exception, both men and women. A Sister who handles money is in great danger of losing her vocation if she's not exact to such a degree that not even a double remains in her hands to be kept for herself; for, as soon as she keeps back a single sou, you can say that she's going to lose her vocation. The thought will occur to her as it did to Judas, "How do I know whether this Company will survive? I have to put something aside for myself."[49]

Bad advice in temptation

In one conference, Vincent spoke about seeking advice or spiritual counsel: "What should Judas have done when he was tempted against Our Lord? If he had confided in his good Master, he'd never have gone so far as to sell Him; but he turned to the high priests, who gave him very bad advice." He urged the sisters, his hearers, to turn to the Lord and not do what Judas did: "Don't ever go to outsiders because that would cause your ruin." Vincent then continued his practice of embroidering the biblical account. He developed a text for Judas and the Jewish crowd:

> "It's true that I'm one of the disciples of Jesus of Nazareth, but I have to say that I'm very sorry to have followed Him. I thought He was the Messiah, but now I'm afraid He's only a deceiver." He wasn't satisfied with saying that to the people,

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48 Conference 40, "Love of Our Vocation," *Ibid.,* 9:362; see also a similar expression in conference 31, "Holy Communion," 18 August 1647, *Ibid.,* 9:267: "This is how vocations are lost, Sisters, and is the reason why the unfortunate Judas was abandoned to the demon, who enticed him."

49 Conference 83, "Management of the Property of the Poor," *Ibid.,* 10:247; *Ibid.,* 10:248; a double and a sou are small coins; for other references to wrongly keeping money like Judas, see also conference 73, "Indifference," 6 June 1656, *Ibid.,* 10:134–35 and document 166, "Council of June 11, 1654," *Ibid.,* 13b:315.

Click to enlarge

Etching of a priest kissing the altar; Jesus betrayed by the kiss of Judas above.

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but he even went to the high priests to tell them Our Lord was an impostor and that he thought that removing him from the world would be a good deed. …

… It was because of that the people cried out … "His disciple has said it; He deserves to die."[50]

Vincent's lesson was that "if [persons living in community] go to anyone except their Superiors for the purpose of mentioning their difficulties, they'll ruin others and be damned themselves in the end."[51] If taken too literally, the lesson might have turned the Daughters of Charity into a cult, whose members had little freedom of conscience and action. On the other hand, Vincent's constant call was for attachment to the Lord alone, as mediated through his representatives. Vincent understood the lives of the clergy and urged his confreres: "Now, in order not to fall into the misfortune of Saul [1 Sm 13:8, 15:11] or Judas, you must be inseparably attached to Our Lord and say often, raising your heart and mind to Him, 'O Lord, do not allow me, in trying to save others, to be unfortunately lost myself; be my Shepherd, and do not deny me the graces you impart to others through my instrumentality and the functions of my ministry.'"[52]

Elections

Vincent commonly referred to Judas in connection with community elections, mainly

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50 Conference 92, "Persons to Whom Temptations May Be Told, Conversations with Persons outside the Company, the Obligation of Secrecy," 6 January 1658, *Ibid.*, 10:360.

51 *Ibid.*

52 Conference 153, "Advice to Antoine Durand, Named Superior of the Agde Seminary," [1656], *Ibid.*, 11:312.

for the Daughters of Charity. The biblical text Acts 1:15–26 relates the time of prayer, followed by a large meeting of the faithful presided over by Peter. Two names were proposed, prayer followed, the votes were counted, and Matthias was chosen to replace the faithless Judas. Vincent perhaps confused the text on one occasion by counting Paul as the replacement: "By the mercy of God, his place didn't remain vacant, and God called Saint Paul from the Gentile world in which he was plunged to make him a worthy vessel of election."[53] He also confused the text somewhat by restricting the attendance at their meeting to the apostles only: "When Judas had committed the abominable sin of betraying and selling his good Master, and then fell into a state of despair, the eleven Apostles met to elect someone else to take his place."[54] Both of these lapses, if that is what they were, appear corrected in other texts. Mathias would replace Judas, and both apostles and disciples were summoned to elect another.[55]

In the case of the election of someone to replace Louise de Marillac, Vincent followed the scriptural model by beginning with prayer: "In the first place, Sisters, pray fervently. Let all your prayers be to ask God for that. When the Apostles wanted to choose someone to replace Judas, they prayed and said, 'Show us, Lord, the one You have chosen.' *Or sus,* dear Sisters, pray fervently, then, that God will give you a good Superioress."[56]

Conclusion

An examination of Vincent's use of the figure of Judas Iscariot has shown several examples of the saint's theology and exegesis. He comes across as hard and restrictive in some areas, but his kindly and forgiving spirit is also evident as he wrestles with the presence of evil in the world. This examination of his writings and conferences also shows his freedom of expression in making the biblical text real and personal.

It is unclear why he referred so often to Judas in instructing the Daughters of Charity as opposed to his conferences to his confreres. Perhaps his conferences to the Missioners are simply lacking; if more were uncovered, possibly more references to Judas would appear. However, the more likely reason is that these references were simply his habit. Although they are strong and even threatening, they probably had a salutary effect on his hearers.

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53 Conference 32, "Perseverance in Our Vocation," *Ibid.*, 9:280.

54 Conference 188, "Availability for Any Ministry Assignment," [30 August 1658], *Ibid.*, 12:45.

55 Document 188, "Meetings and Works of the Company," [1638 or l639], *Ibid.*, 13b:386, and conference 80, "Election of Officers," 22 May 1657, *Ibid.*, 10:217.

56 Conference 118, "The Virtues of Louise De Marillac," 3 July 1660, *Ibid.*, 10:580; see also conference 120, "Election of Officers," 27 August 1660, *Ibid.*, 10:595.

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Vincent de Paul with bible. Latin reads: God is charity.

Painting by L. Lonergan, ca. 1960.
Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online
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“Judas the Iscariot: And It Was Night.”

Painting by Christopher Williams (1873-1934).
Aberystwyth University School of Art Museum and Galleries, United Kingdom

[Click to go back]

“Last Supper.”

Painting by Pieter Pourbus (1523-1584). Oil on oak panel, 1548.
Judas is depicted fleeing with purse in hand as a monstrous figure enters in his direction.
Groeninge Museum, Bruges, Belgium

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“Vaux Passional.”

Detail of illuminated manuscript, ca. 1503.
Mary Magdalen anoints Christ’s feet, Judas standing at left.
National Library of Wales.

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Etching of a priest kissing the altar; Jesus betrayed by the kiss of Judas above.

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Whom to Trust? The Establishment of the Vincentians in Genoa, 1645–1660

Thérèse Peeters

BIO

THÉRÈSE PEETERS, is currently working toward a Ph.D. in history at Leiden University in the Netherlands. The subject of her thesis is the role of trust in the Catholic Reformation. In particular, her research focuses on Genoa in the seventeenth century. In 2012, Thérèse completed her BA in Italian language and culture and her BA in history at Leiden University. She continued there, and specialized on missionary correspondence and the role of trust while working on her masters in Medieval and early modern European history. Thérèse also collaborated on the project “Vincent de Paul, the Congregation of the Mission, and the Papacy: Documents from the Vatican Archives (1625-1670),” a digital catalogue of archival sources as well as a digital edition of selected documents.

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Introduction

In 1659 when Cardinal Stefano Durazzo, the archbishop of Genoa, asked the Vincentians in the city to hold their spiritual exercises in two *maisons des filles,* Vincent de Paul instructed that they tell him their assessment of his request. The task of preaching to girls was not completely in line with the Congregation's *règle et pratique,* especially as the Vincentians devoted themselves primarily to the instruction of male clergy. Vincent added, "If, after that [clarification], he wants you to disregard them [our Rule and Practice], you will have to do so."[1] In a comment that was later erased, he wrote, "because we would rather follow his order than our determination."[2]

Vincent de Paul clearly sought to avoid losing Durazzo's confidence in not heeding his request. At the same time, the superior general preferred to follow the Vincentians' usual methods of working. This dilemma, though, illustrates a struggle that always arose in establishing the Congregation of the Mission, or any congregation, in a new area. The superior general felt that it was the Vincentians' authentic mission, and their way of life, that would win the trust of those who could offer the needed support. Still, the confidence of certain people, in this case the city's archbishop, was so important that some concessions had to be made that might slightly alter the Vincentians' original mission. With every foundation, the missionaries also had to find people they could rely on. By the time that the aforementioned request was made in 1659, the Vincentians' trust in their Genoese archbishop had become such that they usually followed his orders, even though some went beyond their normal practices.

Vincent's reaction to this episode suggests that the Vincentians were conscious that trust from many sides was needed for a new establishment to become successful. The bishop of a given area should approve of their presence, trusting that it would benefit his policies; rich laypeople and local clergy were to provide financial help and political support, trusting that it would be used wisely; and diocesan priests should be cooperative, trusting the missionaries to preach in their rural parishes.[3] At the same time, the Vincentians had to find people to rely on. Vincent himself placed great importance on a strong financial base before he would let his missionaries establish themselves in a new area.[4] Trust in this new

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1 Letter 2856, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, In Genoa," 30 May 1659, in Pierre Coste, C.M., *Vincent de Paul, Correspondence, Conferences, Documents,* ed. and trans. Jacqueline Kilar, D.C., Marie Poole, D.C., et al., vols. 1–14 (New York: New City Press, 1985–2014), 7:592. Hereinafter cited as *CCD*. Available online: https://via.library.depaul.edu/coste_en/

2 *Ibid.*

3 Costanza Longo, "L'impegno Missionario E L'azione Sociale Dei Preti Della Missione in Corsica," *Geostorie* 16:2 (2008), 196–97, 206.

4 John E. Rybolt, C.M., "Saint Vincent de Paul and Money," *Vincentian Heritage* 26:1 (1 October 2005), 90. See: https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol26/iss1/7/

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Portrait of Vincent de Paul wearing a stole.

Original is in the Vincentian house, Genoa, Italy; Foundation Brignole-Sale.
Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online
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congregation thus had to be complemented by trust from its members to guarantee a lasting foundation. Conversely, when it became clear over time that a bishop was not honoring his commitments toward a Vincentian establishment, Vincent would recall his missionaries.[5] Trust was necessary for the successful settlement of a congregation in a new city; those involved were well aware of that and so carefully steered the relationships with those whose help they needed.

More than 150 letters between Vincent de Paul and his missionaries in Genoa have been preserved documenting the first years of the Vincentian establishment (1645–1660), and they reveal an awareness of the importance of trust for a new foundation. A large portion of the extant correspondence is written by Vincent himself who, as leader of the rapidly expanding organization, had to govern and support his followers. His letters aimed to advise them and instill a sense of collegiality and discipline, a spirit of initiative and confidence, as Alison Forrestal argues, but also, I would add, they emphasize the urgency of winning trustworthy support.[6]

Genoa's religious landscape

The Congregation of the Mission was one among many new orders and congregations that came to Genoa in the post-Tridentine period. In sixteenth-century Genoa, church and state had been strongly interwoven. Religion and religious ceremonies framed both private and

5 *Ibid.*, 92.

6 Alison Forrestal, Ph.D., "Vincent de Paul as Mentor," *Vincentian Heritage* 27:2 (2008), 7. See: https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol27/iss2/1/

public life, and this intertwining of the secular and the worldly gave rise to several abuses. Political interests influenced the choice of new archbishops (some of whom were at the same time doge of the city), of vicars, canons, and the whole ecclesiastical elite, as well as of those on the margins between worldly and secular: the administrators of hospitals, confraternities, and charity institutions.[7] At the same time, Genoa had been a center of new religious initiatives run by laypeople, the best example being the Congregation of the Divine Love. Because religious and secular interests were inseparable, and because many desirable reforms originated from lay initiatives instead of ecclesiastical, the attempts at centralization by the Genoese archbishops encountered opposition from many parties. The established religious orders were among the first to obstruct the increased concentration of power, as they were used to being exempt from episcopal authority and were to obey primarily the hierarchy of their own order. The new religious orders and other reform initiatives, the lay confraternities for example, were not different in this respect: all wanted to remain autonomous and wished to prevent episcopal authority in Genoa from growing.[8]

New religious orders were pivotal players in the Tridentine reform efforts throughout Europe. Their work among the people outside the convent walls made them indispensable for any Church initiative. Early modern Genoa is a good example of this. The Jesuits arrived in the port city in 1554 and focused mostly on educating the elite. Another new order, the Theatines, came to the city in 1572 and served the rich and elite while also carrying out their original mission to the poor. The Somaschi, who arrived in 1575, specialized in helping orphans and the children of the poor. The Camilliani opened a house in 1594 and focused mostly on serving the sick in Genoa's hospitals. In this manner, many new convents—later including the Barnabiti and Scolopi—were added to the already established monasteries. Yet, it was not easy for a new order to enter the city. Housing for new groups was scarce, concurrence was high, and the sociopolitical structure was full of contrasts between old and new nobility, as well as common people and the social elite. Each of these new orders therefore had to bring a spiritual service that was not yet provided. The Theatines, for example, entered only after several earlier attempts. They finally managed to obtain the church of S. Maria Maddalena with the support of the archbishop, Cipriano Pallavicini, some noblemen, and Filippo Neri, who declined to send his own Oratorians to the city.[9]

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7 Danilo Zardin, "Prerogative della Chiesa e prestigio della Repubblica. Dal primo Cinquecento alle riforme tridentine," in *Il cammino della Chiesa genovese: dalle origini ai nostri giorni,* ed. by Dino Puncuh (Società ligure di storia patria, 1999), 265–66.

8 *Ibid.,* 266–301.

9 Costanza Longo, *I Teatini e la riforma cattolica nella Repubblica di Genova nella prima metà del Seicento* (1987), 25.

[Click to enlarge]

Portrait etching of Cardinal Stefano Durazzo (1594-1667).

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The distrust of the Genoese toward new orders was not at all unusual. Despite their essential role in the Counter-Reformation effort, people in the crowded cities of Catholic Europe were not eager to accommodate the many new religious initiatives or to provide them with space and income. The historian Marie Juliette Marinus details that around 1600 in Antwerp, the *invasion conventuelle* was met with suspicion by both common people and rival congregations. Support came from certain nobles or notables who often had some specific interest in a certain order (family ties or otherwise), whereas the secular and ecclesiastical elite were divided. In order to enter the city, a new congregation had to meet certain requirements. The bishop, the city's collegiate, and the magistrate all had to give their consent. They could also stipulate restrictions on multiple issues: for example, the amount of alms that could be asked from the people, the services that the congregation should offer, and the distances they should keep from already existing ecclesiastical institutions, primarily the parishes.[10] Thus, new religious orders needed to be willing to adapt, and to show that they would be offering something new and indispensable to a city.

The new religious orders in Genoa indeed provided for the spiritual and material needs of the city, preaching, confessing, and helping the poor and sick. They were an indispensable instrument for the reform the archbishops desired. These orders provided education and spiritual care, allowed devotional and charitable groups to convene in their churches, and published catechisms as well as educational books. Successive Genoese archbishops had to consider this, although these orders were not under their control.[11] Since an archbishop

10 Marie Juliette Marinus, *De Contrareformatie Te Antwerpen, (1585–1676): Kerkelijk Leven in Een Grootstad,* Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie Voor Wetenschappen, Letteren En Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse Der Letteren 155 (Brussel: KAWLSK, 1995), 73.

11 Longo, *I Teatini,* 47.

could not count on the complete obedience of these orders—even new reforming ones—trust in, and from, them was essential to successful reform policy.

The Congregation of the Mission prospered in the Genoese diocese thanks to Cardinal Durazzo's support, because he favored the French spiritual revival.[12] The nation's *école française* was directed toward the goals of education and inner change rather than the southern European fervency of motivating people through fear of the horrors of hell. This appealed to the Genoese archbishop.[13] From the start, the Congregation focused its work on the two pillars of Vincent de Paul's mission: preaching to the rural poor[14] and improving the clergy's education.[15] Durazzo admired the Vincentians for their work in areas that mirrored his own reform efforts, particularly the education of the diocesan clergy. (Regular clergy usually received education from within their own orders.) This emphasis on education was necessary because of an urgent problem in the Genoese Church: the poor instruction of clerics, especially the secular clergy, both in the city and countryside.[16] Preaching and education of the clergy were at the heart of the reforms dictated by the Council of Trent. Yet it took decades before they were applied to every diocese. In Genoa, Antonmaria Sauli (archbishop from 1586–1591) had accepted financial help from the Republic in order to found a seminary. This resulted in a difficult situation in which secular authorities wanted to have a large say over who entered the seminary.[17] Durazzo's determination to put an end to the situation met with opposition from the political elite, and also from great numbers of the clergy who had been asked to pay a special tax for the seminary. Ultimately, from 1649 onward, the Genoese Vincentians held monthly retreats, spiritual exercises, and conferences for seminarians and ordained priests in the *Casa della Missione*. Here they worked to better educate the Genoese clergy.[18]

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12 Costanza Longo, "Alcuni Aspetti Della Riforma Cattolica Nella Repubblica Di Genova Nella Prima Metà Del Secolo XVII," in *Genova, La Liguria E l'Oltremare Tra Medioevo Ed Età Moderna*. Studi E Ricerche D'archivio (Genoa, 1979), 3:120. For a portrait of Cardinal Durazzo, see Luigi Alfonso, "Aspetti della personalità del card. Stefano Durazzo, arcivescovo di Genova (1653–1664)," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria,* nuova serie 12:2 (1972), 448–514.

13 Louis Châtellier, *La religion des pauvres: les missions rurales en Europe et la formation du catholicisme moderne, XVIe-XIXe siècle[s]* (Paris: Aubier, 1993), 71–72.

14 Alison Forrestal, Ph.D., "Irish Entrants to the Congregation of the Mission, 1625–60: Prosopography and Sources," *Archivium Hibernicum* 62 (2009): 37. Cf. also, Robert Bireley, *The Refashioning of Catholicism, 1450–1700: A Reassessment of the Counter Reformation* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1999), 98.

15 Luigi Nuovo, *La Predicazione missionaria Vincenziana tra '600 e '700: al di qua dei monti dal 1655 al 1800* (Roma: C.L.V. Edizioni Vincenziane, 1987), 64.

16 Luigi Nuovo, "La Chiesa genovese nelle 'relationes ad limina' del cardinale Stefano Durazzo," in *Le relationes ad limina dell'arcivescovo di Genova Stefano Durazzo* (1635–1664), ed. by Giovanni Battista Varnier and Luigi Nuovo (Genova: Brigati, 2002), 26–28.

17 *Ibid.,* 28–29.

18 *Ibid.,* 28.

The Vincentians' primary aim of conducting missions among the rural poor also responded to a great need not yet sufficiently met. From the early seventeenth century onward, efforts had been made by the city elite. They were supported by the Senate and Genoese archbishop Cardinal Orazio Spinola (1600–1616). Spinola personally contributed to set up a foundation to improve the material and spiritual state of churches in the countryside. This organization would eventually become one of the *Magistrati* of the Republic, uniting a charitable aim with the political calculation of "taming" the lands of the *Serenissimo Dominio*.[19] By the mid-seventeenth century, the organization had been split in two, the *Opera Laica* run by the Republic, and the *Opera Mista,* controlled largely by the archbishop, each with the same aim.[20] From the time of their settlement in Genoa onward, Jesuits also preached many missions in the Ligurian villages and mountains, often at the invitation of the bishop of a neighboring town.[21] When inviting the Vincentians, the archbishop was likely looking for a relatively independent group that would obey his orders regarding the important but poorly supported missions to the countryside.

Thus, it was the Vincentians' promise in two underdeveloped areas of the Counter-Reformation effort—education of the secular clergy and missions among the rural poor—which enabled them to enter a city already inhabited by many other religious groups. These efforts formed two sides of the same coin: that is, to make sure that believers knew the most important tenets of their religion and thereby be saved.[22]

Surprisingly, the Genoese establishment of the Vincentians has not received much scholarly attention.[23] This may be due to a lack of related local archival sources; the archive of the Vincentians' house was lost during the revolutionary period. At Cardinal Durazzo's

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19 Liana Saginati, "Aspetti Di Vita Religiosa E Sociale Nelle Campagne Liguri: Le Relazioni Al Magistrato Delle Chiese Rurali," *Atti Della Società Ligure Di Storia Patria,* nuova serie 19:1 (1979), 231–39.

20 *Ibid.,* 240.

21 See, for example, *Storia del Collegio di Genova, dai suoi principi nel 1553 fino al 1772 scritta in gran parte dal P. Nicolò Gentile e dal 1689 continuata da vari. Con aggiunta di altre memorie diverse,* 9r, 13v, 14v, 15v, 16r, 18r, 19v. Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu (hereafter ARSI), MED 80.

22 "[…] une mesure de grande importance avait été prise. Elle consistait à imposer à chaque titulaire d'un évêché la fondation d'un établissement destiné à preparer les futurs prêtres aux tâches qu'ils auraient à accomplir. Ce furent les séminaires. De plus grande conséquence encore fut l'obligation imposée à chaque fidèle de connaître sa religion. Ce fut un moment capital dans l'histoire du christianisme—déjà annoncé par les réformateurs protestants—que celui où, pour être sauvé, il fallut savoir." Châtellier, *La religion des pauvres,* 31.

23 Costanza Longo, "Carità Ed Evoluzione Sociale: Le Missioni Vincenziane Nei Territori Della Repubblica Di Genova," in *Culture Parallele. Esperienze Interdisciplinari Di Ricerca, Università Degli Studi Di Genova* (Genoa: Brigati, 2002), 85–136; Longo, "L'impegno Missionario"; Salvatore Stella, *La Congregazione della Missione in Italia* (Parigi: Pillet et Dumoulin, 1884); Luigi Mezzadri, C.M., *Fra giansenisti e antigiansenisti: Vincent Depaul e la Congregazione della missione (1624–1737),* Pubblicazioni del Centro di studi del pensiero filosofico del Cinquecento e del Seicento in relazione ai problemi della scienza, 10 (Firenze: La nuova Italia, 1977); Luigi Mezzadri, C.M., and José María Román, C.M., *The Vincentians: A General History of the Congregation of the Mission. 1. From the Foundation to the End of the Seventeenth Century, 1625–1697,* ed. Joseph Dunne & John Rybolt, C.M., trans. Robert Cummings (Hyde Park: New City Press, 2009); Luigi Mezzadri, C.M., "Le Missioni Popolari in Corsica," *Vincentiana* 28:1 (1984), 63–77.

[Click to enlarge]

The Vincentian house in Fassolo, Italy, pictured circa 1880.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online
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invitation, the Congregation of the Mission first arrived in the Ligurian capital in 1645. As with several other Vincentian foundations, the establishment was the result of combined efforts. With the financial help of the cardinal and two of his primary collaborators, Baliano Raggio and Giovanni Cristoforo Monsia, the Vincentians settled at the *Casa della Missione* in Fassolo, where they continue to live to this day.[24] Their influence, however, spread beyond the walls of Genoa. The missionaries defied the inhospitable mountains of the inlands to reach the villages of the Genoese countryside. They also crossed the Ligurian Sea to Corsica to preach in places with, according to one missionary, "almost no other vestiges of the faith [...] other than the fact that they said to have been baptized."[25] Not long after their settlement in Genoa, the city became the starting point for a new establishment in nearby Turin.[26]

We should examine the first fifteen years of the Congregation in Genoa to analyze the different stages of trust that the Vincentians displayed, and received, in this new environment. The tactics and pragmatism they used to gain trust from different sides, particularly from the highest prelate in the area, Cardinal Durazzo, were founded upon Vincent de Paul's acute understanding of human psychology. His rational approach determined what was feasible in planning the Congregation's expansion.[27]

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24 Luigi Alfonso, "La fondazione della 'Casa della Missione' di Fassolo in Genova," *Atti della Società Ligure di Storia Patria,* nuova serie 12:1 (1972), 134. Cf. José María Román, C.M., "The Foundations of Saint Vincent de Paul," *Vincentian Heritage* 9:2 (1988), 149 (see: https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol9/iss2/3/).

25 Letter 1514, "Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa, to Saint Vincent," [July 1652], *CCD*, 4:404.

26 Nuovo, *La Predicazione*, 62–63.

27 Cf. Forrestal, "Vincent de Paul as Mentor," 7–8; For an example of Vincent's pragmatism regarding new foundations, see: Román, "The Foundations," 140–41.

1) How to Win Trust?

Preliminary trust

The Congregation of the Mission first came to Italy to be near the heart of the Church. Being close to the Roman court made it easier to negotiate papal recognition of the Congregation and its organization, and support for its missionary work.[28] Vincent de Paul even considered transferring the motherhouse there, but he gave up the idea because the French court and the Gallican episcopacy opposed Rome's centralization efforts. Nevertheless, the Vincentian way of working—the simple and effective missions among the rural poor in the Papal States and the retreats attended by clergy—became popular among the cardinals of the Roman curia, several of whom called upon the Congregation to preach in their own dioceses.[29]

This also took place in the Genoese Republic, where the second house of the Vincentians on the peninsula was founded. At the invitation of Cardinal Durazzo in August 1645, Vincent considered sending his brothers to the Republic.[30] According to Durazzo's letter, the cardinal asked Bernard Codoing, a member of the Congregation who was passing through the diocese on his way from Rome back to Paris, to assist him. Apparently, Durazzo's high expectations were met. Durazzo informed Vincent that he had consented to Codoing's departure for Paris only because other priests were being sent "to continue what he [Codoing] has so happily begun."[31] Here we see the beginnings of a relationship built on trust. Trust indeed can be defined as an expectation, based on experience, that people will be both able and willing to do what you ask of them. Because of this first positive experience, the Genoese cardinal developed the expectation that the Vincentians could serve his reform efforts.

The cardinal's positive expectations—his trust in the Vincentians' talents—set the pace for the foundation of a new house. That part was not unusual. Often bishops were the principal "founders," or financial sponsors, of new Vincentian establishments.[32] What differed was Durazzo's intuition that the Vincentians' presence would benefit his diocese, even though Genoa was already full of other religious. This expectation of usefulness might be further explained by the fact that, because the Vincentians were new to Italy, no record of failures or disobedience could discredit their reliability. (The same could not be said

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28 Mezzadri and Román, *The Vincentians,* 243.

29 Louis Abelly, *The Life of the Venerable Servant of God,* trans. John E. Rybolt, C.M., 3 vols. (New Rochelle: New City Press, 1993), 1:258 [see: https://via.library.depaul.edu/abelly_english/]. Luigi Mezzadri, C.M., "Le missioni popolari di Montecitorio (1642–1700)," in *Le missioni popolari della Congregazione della missione nei secoli XVII-XVIII,* ed. Luigi Mezzadri (Roma: CLV, 1999), 1:417.

30 According to Vincent de Paul's early biographer Abelly, this was because he heard about the work of the Vincentians in Savoy and Rome. Abelly, *Venerable Servant,* 1:233.

31 Letter 769, "Cardinal Durazzo to Saint Vincent," August 1645, *CCD*, 2:595.

32 Román, "The Foundations," 147–48.

of many older orders.) At the same time, they had not yet been able to build a strong and widespread reputation that would favor their entrance into the city. Cardinal Durazzo thus provided the necessary preliminary trust to set up a house in this new region. He was a genuine reformer who, in the footsteps of his predecessors, tried to implement the reforms of Trent in his diocese while encountering fierce opposition from both the government and his own subordinates.[33] Inviting these new, zealous Frenchmen helped him to have better control over their intended endeavors. Since the Vincentians were not yet entwined in the complicated structures of benefactors and loyalties to social and political elite, they were more readily available to him than the older, well-established orders.

Vincent understood that Durazzo's confidence was a crucial step forward in the settlement process. Indeed, the geographic distribution of the Congregation in its early development largely followed the pastoral and financial interests of Vincent's most important friends, whether clerics or laypeople. The founder certainly came to count Durazzo among these friends.[34] He repeatedly emphasized that his Congregation should not go anywhere without explicit invitation. "Not hurrying ahead of providence," was one of Vincent's core principles.[35] Being invited meant that someone trusted the missionaries' skills to serve a given environment and its interests and, more importantly, that the benefactor was prepared to endow the foundation financially. Moreover, it was Vincent's firm spiritual conviction that others' ideas or plans should be followed more readily because they may have been given by God. An invitation to settle in a new city, in his eyes, could be a sign from above. Vincent felt so strongly about the importance of invitations 'from outside' that when the bishop of Bergamo asked for missionaries, he wrote that if the prelate continued his request, he would be demonstrating the importance of the appeal and that the Vincentians should try to go.[36]

Essential as he found initiatives 'from outside,' Vincent did not want to relinquish control over the foundation of a new house. A second maxim regarding the expansion of the Congregation was that only financially stable foundations should be accepted.[37] Moreover, Vincent wanted to be sure that the foundation contract, a necessary step in establishing a new house,[38] had to suit the Congregation's habits and priorities as well as its financial needs. He hesitated at the contract in Genoa drawn up on the orders of Durazzo. In August

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33 Alfonso, "Aspetti della personalità," 478–502.

34 Román, "The Foundations," 147.

35 *Ibid.,* 138. See also: Nuovo, *La Predicazione,* 62. In Turin, an ecclesiastic asked the Congregation if they could open a house, but Vincent only wanted to go where requested, and thus he did not do anything.

36 Letter 2411, "To Edme Jolly, Superior, in Rome," 12 October 1657, *CCD*, 6:541.

37 Román, "The Foundations," 139–40.

38 *Ibid.,* 153.

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A view of Genoa from the sea.

Copperplate engraving by Matthäus Merian (1593-1650), ca. 1650.
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1646, Vincent noted there were "conditions in this project that could change the order of the Company and could perhaps upset it in that place," and that he had some "little thoughts on these difficulties."[39] More than a year later, the issues were settled to Vincent's liking. He signed the contract after Durazzo, together with Raggio and Monsia, obliged to offer 74 *luoghi dei Monti non vacabili di Roma* in total for the establishment of a house. This financial support enabled the Vincentians to work according to their rule, with no need to ask for, nor accept, any kind of recompense for their preaching.[40] In exchange for this support, Vincent had to promise to comply with the cardinal's wishes in providing missionaries to undertake works in the city and surroundings of Genoa. They were also to offer spiritual exercises for the Genoese clergy in their house at Durazzo's request. Furthermore, the contract obliged the superior general to staff the house with at least four priests who were to the cardinal's liking.[41] These agreements, however, bear witness to Vincent's pragmatism in relying on the Genoese archbishop, as all the requirements of the contract were in line with the Congregation's objectives. Vincent only approved of an agreement that would not threaten their *règle et pratique*. Although necessary, the foundational contract was not entirely sufficient for determining the success of a new house. The preliminary trust of the benefactors would need to be cultivated and consolidated over the years.

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39 Letter 829, "To Étienne Blatiron, in Genoa," 2 August 1646, *CCD*, 3:4.

40 Document 117a, "Common Rules of the Congregation of the Mission," 17 May 1658, *Ibid.,* 13a:440.

41 Alfonso, "La fondazione," 132.

Safeguarding the authentic mission

Trust is the expectation based on experience that people are willing and able to do what you ask of them. For trust to grow, one must cultivate the initial practices that created it. This is what Vincent de Paul asked his missionaries to do in Genoa: to favor their own habits, rules, and priorities over blind obedience to the prelate.

Upon their arrival, some years before the actual foundation, missionaries immediately started to travel the mountainous Ligurian countryside in order to preach in the villages. Responding to Durazzo's many requests, they risked succumbing to fatigue under the huge workload and little rest. "I [...] have high hopes," Vincent wrote during those first months, "that your workload will be a little lighter, especially if Monsieur Blatiron explains to the Cardinal-Archbishop the danger to which he exposes you by obliging you to work so continually."[42] According to Vincent, the heavy amount of work was not only detrimental to their health, it also made them "act contrary to the usual custom of the Company."[43] Indeed, he watched over both the physical well-being of his *confrères* and their faithfulness to their rules and practices. His appreciation for the cardinal's zeal did not imply unquestioned obedience. Quite the contrary, the cardinal was to be convinced of the Vincentians' own way of working: "I ask Monsieur Blatiron to make him [Durazzo] understand this clearly, once and for all, because I hope he will take it into consideration."[44] As a result, the prelate changed his mind and gave the priests some respite between rural missions.[45]

The same defense of their own *pratique* occurred in negotiations with the Marquis of Pianezza, who asked for the establishment of a house in Turin some years after the Congregation had settled in Genoa. Rumors were that this noble envisioned a house of six missionaries at the Church of the Holy Sacrament who would offer their services to the city but not the surrounding countryside. Vincent therefore ordered Blatiron, the superior of the Vincentians in Genoa, to travel to Turin and ask the surgeon of the marquis, Pietro Touvenot, a friend of the Congregation, to pay Pianezza a visit. Vincent instructed Blatiron, "Explain to him also the end of our Institute and that we cannot take foundations except on condition of giving missions in the country and, if the opportunity presents itself, of conducting ordination [retreat]s."[46]

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42 Letter 859, "To Jean Martin, in Genoa," 14 September 1646, *CCD*, 3:58.

43 *Ibid.*

44 *Ibid.*

45 Letter 892, "To Étienne Blatiron, in Genoa," 23 November 1646, *Ibid.,* 3:122.

46 Letter 1822, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," New Year's Eve 1654, *Ibid.,* 5:253. Cf. Nuovo, *La Predicazione,* 63.

Changing the aims of the missionaries would not only be detrimental to Vincent's own objectives, but it would even betray "God's plan for us."[47] This God-given mission was guarded vigilantly, not merely because divine plans ought to be followed, but also to preserve the authenticity of the Congregation. This genuineness was important as it was what appealed to most of the political and ecclesiastical elite of the Savoyard State.[48]

Besides clarifying their mission to possible benefactors, another way to safeguard authenticity and preserve the aims of the Congregation was to place internal obedience above all else. In 1647, Vincent recommended that the superior in Genoa tell the cardinal: "The prelates are our masters for all our external works, and we are obliged to obey them, as the servants of the Gospel obeyed their master. [...] If we fail to do so, they have the right to punish us.[...] But the spiritual and internal direction belongs to the Superior General."[49] Apparently, Cardinal Durazzo, in Vincent's eyes, had interfered too much in the internal affairs of the Congregation. Although he did not doubt Durazzo's zeal and reform-mindedness, the success of the Congregation lay not in strict obedience to the cardinal, but in internal cohesion. Vincent wrote they should not "think they are engaged in this holy work simply to please the Cardinal."[50] He also disagreed with Durazzo about who was eligible to enter the Congregation. It was the founder's firmest conviction that the Vincentians stick to their own *pratique* of allowing only those "who have given themselves to Our Lord in these duties, and not local priests who have other aspirations."[51] Vincent felt this, in the end, would win over Durazzo. At least in theory, internal obedience came before the need to please external superiors. Such obedience was imperative because the Congregation's structure was strictly hierarchical.[52]

Yet obedience within the Congregation was not a mere act of will; it flowed from mutual trust between superiors and subordinates. Vincent saw this mutual trust as essential to be certain that all members would be mentored well.[53] Indeed, he recommended that the Genoese superior use *douceur et support* in order to sway the heart of one of his disobedient *confrères:* "If you win his [heart], he will give you great satisfaction."[54] Furthermore, he encouraged all Vincentians to trust and obey their superiors, as it was something that pleased

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47 Letter 1822, "To Étienne Blatiron," New Year's Eve 1654, *CCD*, 5:253.

48 Nuovo, *La Predicazione,* 63–64.

49 Letter 912, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 4 January 1647, *CCD*, 3:152–53.

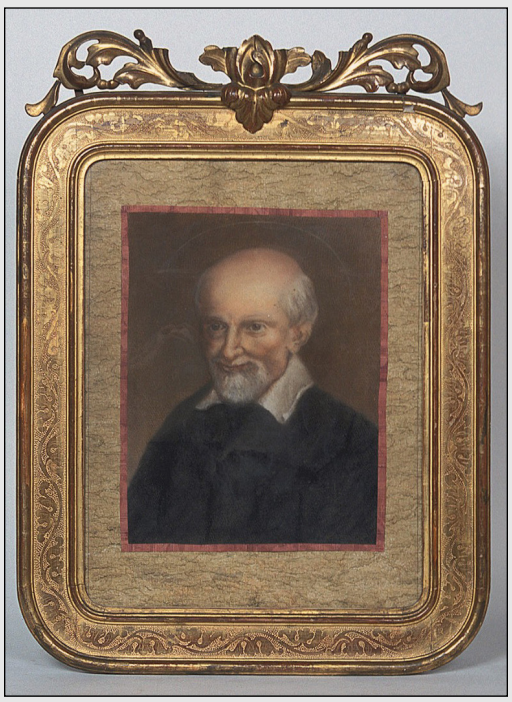
50 Letter 919, "To Jean Martin, in Genoa," 28 February 1647, *Ibid.,* 3:160.

51 *Ibid.*

52 Alison Forrestal, Ph.D., "Vincent de Paul: The Principles and Practice of Government, 1625–60," *Vincentian Heritage* 29:2 (2009), 52. See: https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol29/iss2/3/

53 Forrestal, "Vincent de Paul as Mentor," 15.

54 Letter 1070, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 30 October 1648, *CCD*, 3:376.



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Framed portrait of Vincent de Paul owned by the diocese of Ferrara, Italy.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online
http://stvincentimages.cstcis.cti.depaul.edu:8181/

God. He wrote, "Since Our Lord approves of the trust you have in your Superior as the representative of His Divine Person, He will inspire him to say whatever is most appropriate for you."[55] Obtaining trust was a means to achieve obedience, and without mutual trust, the missions were destined to fail.[56] When a trust relationship seemed impossible because of an insurmountable disagreement, Vincent ordered that the people involved be separated. This was the case in 1659 with Jacques Pesnelle and Jérôme Lejuge, the latter of whom, because of mutual disagreements, was sent from the house in Rome and cordially received in Genoa.[57]

Preserving the characteristic features of the Congregation by giving primacy to internal obedience (won with mildness) over adhering to voices from outside, whether from Church prelates or from secular authorities, was not an end in itself. It was, among other things, a means to elicit and cultivate trust from these very same people. This is not contradictory if one considers the Vincentians' confidence in what had been responsible for their initial successes; namely, their way of life, work, and the missions that they saw as willed by God. Vincent guarded over the missionary *élan* of his congregation because he saw it as divinely ordained, but also because it worked and was successful in winning trust.

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55 Letter 1191, "To a Priest of the Mission, in Saintes," 20 February 1650, *Ibid.,* 3:601.

56 To treat everyone with respect was, however, not only a tactic but also a principle of conduct: Vincent wanted to see good in all human beings. Forrestal, "Principles and Practice of Government," 65.

57 Letter 2857, "To Edme Jolly, Superior, in Rome," 30 May 1659, *CCD*, 7:595.

Demarcating trust

In order to maintain and increase trust in the Vincentian missionaries, the carefully guarded, trustworthy, and consistent *règle et pratique* was to be associated wholly with the Congregation itself. Successes, as they were, would be ascribed exclusively to its merits. From the 1650s onward, word of the Congregation's effective works in Rome, Genoa, and Turin spread throughout the country. Several cardinals, prelates, and wealthy laypeople asked for their help as the Vincentians' *bonne odeur* diffused.[58] By the end of the seventeenth century, the Vincentians had founded houses in Naples, Perugia, Reggio Emilia, Pavia, Marcerata, Bastia, and Ferrara. The key was attraction. Their work attracted the attention of influential people, and invitations soon followed to offer the same services elsewhere. The Congregation's growth was based on trust that stemmed from the personal experience of their merits.

As the Vincentians established a good name in Genoa and the peninsula, it was imperative that their work be distinguishable from other initiatives. For example, in 1653[59] a group of Genoese clergy decided to dedicate their lives to preaching missions in the city similar to those preached by the Vincentians in the countryside. Étienne Blatiron personally lobbied the cardinal to have the name they had chosen, *I missionarii,* changed "to prevent the confusion of identical names and to forestall the inconveniences arising from having a large number with the same title."[60] Yet it is entirely possible that, at least in the beginning, there was strong cooperation between the Vincentians and *missionarii urbani,* as they came to be known.[61] The *missionarii urbani* were placed under Saint Charles Borromeo's patronage and fashioned after the Borromean model. As far as we know, they are one of the few concrete replications of this Counter-Reformation example in Genoa.[62] The problem was not that the Vincentians had no trust in this new group, or that the contrast between an Italian Borromean method and French *pratique* was insurmountable—Vincent simply wished to protect the reputation of his own community from the actions of outsiders, over whom he had no say.

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58 For the original French phrasing see, Correspondance 1746, "Au Frère Jean Barreau," 29 Mai 1654, in Pierre Coste, C.M., ed., *Correspondance, Entretiens, Documents,* vols. 1–15 (Paris: Librairie Lecoffre, 1922), 5:145. See also: Mezzadri and Román, *The Vincentians,* 252.

59 According to Giovanni Andrea Musso. See: Giovanni Andrea Musso, *Il Cardinale Stefano Durazzo, Arcivescovo Di Genova (1596–1667)* (Rome, 1959), 173.

60 Letter 1058, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 15 August 1648, *CCD*, 3:352.

61 From a letter of Étienne Blatiron, it seems that the Vincentians have preached the spiritual exercises to this group: "This evening we are expecting six or seven priests, who are supposed to be coming to begin retreat. They are planning to start a mission in town, as we do in the country. I ask your charity to recommend the matter to God." Letter 1618, "Étienne Blatiron to Saint Vincent," [between 1645 and 1657], *Ibid.,* 4:565.

62 Longo, "Alcuni Aspetti," 121.

At the same time, those who did belong to the *petite compagnie* were responsible for its good name and were expected not only to obey their superiors but also to conform to the rule of the Congregation. Commenting on one of the Genoese *confrères* who suggested the idea of following a retreat held by Discalced Carmelites, Vincent wrote to Blatiron:

> You did very well to dissuade him from it. Please hold firm, not only in that but in all matters that are not in line with our customs, to prevent anything from being done contrary to them. If someone pressures you too much, as M … is doing, ask him to be patient and tell him that, since you cannot give him the permission he is asking, you will write to the General of the Company about it, and then actually do so. In that way, while the person is waiting for the reply, time passes and often the temptation disappears.[63]

Vincent also promised to write those brothers who tended toward following their own ideas, asking them to "stop being singular and to conform to common practices."[64] If they continued their disobedience, they would not be allowed to return to the house: "for one man we will lose to maintain good order for the honor of God, His Providence will give us two more."[65] Those who desired to join the Congregation were asked to conform completely to its rules and practices, and to demonstrate obedience. For Vincent, this obedience was entirely possible if one trusted in divine providence.[66]

Trust in God's plan, or *indifférence,* was something which the founder called his followers to cultivate and which nurtured internal conformity.[67] This indifference would enable Vincentians to obey whatever commands came from their superiors (as representatives of God's will), and to accept success and failure as part of a divine plan.[68] In a conference on obedience, Vincent told his followers: "Our Lord Jesus Christ taught us obedience by word and example. He wished to be submissive to the Most Blessed Virgin, Saint Joseph, and other people in positions of authority, whether good or disagreeable. For this reason we should be completely obedient to every one of our Superiors, seeing the Lord in them and them in the Lord."[69]

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63 Letter 1273, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 14 October 1650, *CCD*, 4:103.

64 *Ibid.*

65 *Ibid.,* 4:103–04.

66 Cf. Letter 2729, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 22 November 1658, *Ibid.,* 7:390.

67 See, for example: Letter 2706, "Edme Jolly, Superior in Rome, to Saint Vincent," [5 November 1658], *Ibid.,* 351–52.

68 Forrestal, "Principles and Practice of Government," 51.

69 Conference 222, "Obedience," [19 December 1659], *CCD*, 12:345.

Consequently, attempts to walk different paths were met with strictness.[70] Attentive to human psychology, Vincent believed that change only caused disorder. According to him, while people thought that changing their circumstances would make them happier, it never did. Changes of vocation, in his view, only caused regret.[71] The superior's reaction to the desire of a lay brother in Genoa to rise to priesthood, causing agitation among the other *confrères,*[72] was consistent with this belief. Some Vincentian brothers did become priests of the Congregation, but this passage was to originate from indifference and not from dissatisfaction with one's original vocation. When another of the brothers left the Congregation in Genoa in order to become a priest, Vincent remarked that he was very sorry to lose this "poor brother," especially because God "grants grace for one state of life that He refuses in another. A Brother who would have the Spirit of God residing in his state would undoubtedly lose it if he left it. God is not fickle; He wills that each person should remain in the state in which He has placed him."[73]

Trust in divine providence came before obedience in Vincent's view. Indifference originated from a trust that God made his will known through all circumstances, including the orders of superiors, and this was what formed obedience in his missionaries.

Apart from being convinced that this was how God wanted people to live their vocation, Vincent also thought that internal cohesion and order was so important that it was better that disobedient people left the Congregation altogether rather than damage its reputation. Strictness was needed in handling willful brothers that would "put some fear in the others so they will not get carried away by such liberties."[74] The task to educate those *confrères* who had "a tendency to be independent" belonged to the local superior and visitor, who should act like fathers: with authority, but also with a willingness to convince them to change their minds.[75] Persuasion was preferable to giving orders, but the latter at times were required.[76]

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70 Letter 1403, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 8 September 1651, *Ibid.,* 4:255. See also: Thomas Davitt, C.M., "Humanness in a Saint," *Vincentian Heritage* 6:1 (1 April 1985), 46–47 (see: https://via.library.depaul.edu/vhj/vol6/iss1/1/).

71 Letter 1537, "To a Coadjutor Brother, in the Genoa House," 16 August 1652, *CCD*, 4:440–43. Forrestal, "Principles and Practice of Government," 52.

72 Blatiron had already complained that there were several uncooperative brothers in Genoa that tended to dress in the priestly black instead of the grey habits they should be wearing. Letter 1403, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 8 September 1651, *CCD*, 4:255.

73 Letter 1446, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 19 January 1652, *Ibid.,* 4:306.

74 Letter 1273, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 14 October 1650, *Ibid.,* 4:104.

75 Letter 2649, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 30 August 1658, *Ibid.,* 7:260; Forrestal, "Vincent de Paul as Mentor," 11.

76 Forrestal, *Ibid.,* 13. For a good example of Vincent de Paul trying to convince one of the confrères in Genoa to stick to his vocation, see: Letter 1537, "To a Coadjutor Brother," *CCD*, 4:440–43.

Moreover, to avoid seeing the Congregation's reputation damaged, Vincent would call misbehaving brothers back to Paris, as happened with Jacques Beaure. This brother was meant to go to Genoa in 1658, but he was ordered to return to Paris on the advice of the superior in Turin. This was because, as Vincent wrote, "all that is needed to ruin the reputation of the Company and hinder the good results it can produce there is a Missionary who takes the liberty he does."[77] When certain actions threatened the good reputation of the Vincentians, damage was to be contained as much as possible. Yet Vincent advocated that reputation should never be the goal of a given action. As a means to broaden opportunities for the Congregation it was important, but all activities were to be motivated purely by a desire to contribute to the glory of God.[78] When a missionary in Genoa pretended to be a doctor [of theology?], Vincent decided that he should be replaced, and, more importantly, that the superior in Genoa should pay Cardinal Durazzo a visit to explain to him that this priest would not remain in the Congregation of the Mission. The message was that deceit was not in line with the Vincentians' way of life. Building and protecting their good reputation was not the final aim; it was a means by which to foster the success of the Congregation and thus serve its ultimate purpose. The underlying reality was that the reputation built by a whole congregation could be ruined by individual members who did not act according to its rule. That trust, won with great effort, could vanish in a split second.

Just as people who refused to conform were expected to leave the Congregation, so too outsiders were not allowed to stay within the community unless they committed themselves and joined the Congregation. The danger was that the line between outsiders and insiders would become blurred. This became an issue in Genoa when a member of the important Spinola family wished to live with the Vincentians without joining them (possibly because of advanced age). Paris ordered that he should be told *doucement* what his options were: either join the Congregation, or remain outside and receive all possible "service and consolation" without living among them.[79] The superior's careful protection of the borders between the Congregation and its *pratique* on the one hand, and the outside world on the other, was driven by an awareness of the fragility of their hard-won reputation. Clearly demarcating the borders of the *petite compagnie,* and demanding strict internal obedience and conformity to the rules, was a way of building a good reputation, eliciting confidence and consolidating trust.

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77 Letter 2637, "To Jean Martin, Superior, in Turin," 9 August 1658, *Ibid.,* 7:242. For more on Beaure, see Letter 2577, "To Jean Martin, Superior, in Turin," 3 May 1658, *Ibid.,* 7:153; Letter 2616, "To Jean Martin, Superior, in Turin," 5 July 1658, *Ibid.,* 7:210–11; and Letter 2629, "To Jean Martin, Superior, in Turin," 19 July 1658, *Ibid.,* 7:230–31.

78 Forrestal, "Principles and Practice of Government," 51.

79 The rule was simply "not to receive anyone into our houses to live there and do as he pleases." Letter 2681, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 15 October 1658, *CCD*, 7:306.

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Portrait of Jean Martin, C.M., founder of the house in Turin.

Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online
http://stvincentimages.cstcis.cti.depaul.edu:8181/

Avoiding distrust, managing expectations

Trust will increase when expectations are met. In order to uphold trust, expectation should never reach beyond what somebody is able and willing to do. The Vincentians seem to have understood this well. Their general line of conduct was to keep a low profile. Humility was not only a core Christian virtue that Vincent held dear, but also a pragmatic strategy to avoid misunderstandings and to earn goodwill; in other words, to stimulate trust.[80] Indeed, Vincent insisted that the promises they made, such as the foundation contracts of new establishments, should be adhered to always.[81]

Vincent's desire to be discreet was seen in a curious situation where the Congregation risked not meeting its promises. In 1658 Jacques Pesnelle, superior of the Genoese house, promised Cardinal Durazzo that the cardinal's nephew could stay at Saint-Lazare (the Vincentian motherhouse in Paris) while on a diplomatic mission to the court of France. The rules of the Congregation did not allow laypeople to reside in their houses. More importantly, Vincent stressed, they were unable to receive this important guest at Saint-Lazare because all suitable rooms were occupied. "That is why," Vincent replied to Pesnelle, "it is advisable for you to make known to His Eminence as soon as possible our good will and powerlessness; do so gently and tactfully so that this change in your word does not take him by surprise."[82] Wishing to keep Durazzo's trust, of which this request was certainly a sign, a

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80 Forrestal, "Vincent de Paul as Mentor," 10.

81 Román, "The Foundations," 143.

82 Letter 2720, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 15 November 1658, *CCD*, 7:376.

diplomatic explanation would need to cover the fact that the Vincentians were neither able nor willing to fulfill Pesnelle's promise. The solution was to tell Durazzo that his nephew could come, if he only had one servant, and that he would be given a small room. Pesnelle was to make clear that it would be an honor for the Congregation to receive the diplomat, as it was a great opportunity to confirm the respect and obedience they owed to Durazzo, Vincent adding that the cardinal was "above any Rule."[83]

The wish to maintain discretion is demonstrated again in preparations for the foundation of a new house in Turin in 1655. In order to impress the elite of Turin, Jean Martin, a member of the Genoese house who was to become the superior, had asked Durazzo for a recommendation. This troubled Vincent greatly because he wanted his missionaries to "dwell low and unknown, and not to give importance to appearance and esteem."[84] He added:

> Having a good reputation can be harmful to them not only because it is liable to disappear, but also because, if it puts the success of their work at six degrees, people will expect them to reach twelve and, seeing that the results do not correspond to the expectation, will no longer have a high opinion of them. God allows this to happen, especially when this reputation is sought after; for whoever exalts himself shall be humbled.[85]

Warning that humility was "the gate" to this new mission, Vincent offered practical advice that the first two missionaries in Turin should start with small missions instead of big pretentious ones.[86]

Another expectation the Vincentians wished to avoid was that of having to open their books. "This [...] must be avoided more than anything else in the world as a most troublesome form of constraint," Vincent wrote when he heard of Durazzo's request that missionaries render their accounts to him.[87] The founder's primary reason was that tracking all expenses, especially when travelling, was too troublesome. He feared missionaries would have to invent parts of their accounts, "as some Companies do," and thereby run the risk of lying.[88]

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83 *Ibid.*

84 Letter 1972, "To Jean Martin, in Turin," 10 December 1655, *Ibid.,* 5:485.

85 *Ibid.,* 5:485–86.

86 Letter 1977, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 17 December 1655, *Ibid.,* 5:493. In the same letter, Vincent continued, "It is with this same thought in mind that I have asked him to give a small mission—just he and M. Ennery—to prevent him from giving one that may make a good impression." For another reference to beginning this mission in a small, humble manner, see letter 1972, "To Jean Martin, in Turin," 10 December 1655, *Ibid.,* 5:485.

87 Letter 1254, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 2 September 1650, *Ibid.,* 4:75.

88 *Ibid.*

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The Marquis Emanuele Brignole-Sale.

Seventeenth-century painting by Giovanni Bernardo Carbone.
Collection of the Albergo dei Poveri, Genoa, Italy

Even though Durazzo and others had generously paid for the construction of a residence for the brothers, Vincent thought it unwise and unnecessary to give them concrete promises in return. As in Paris, where Archbishop Jean-François de Gondi eventually gave the house of Saint-Lazare to the Vincentians without demanding any accountability in return, so too in Genoa the benefactors were expected to give freely. Otherwise, the Vincentians were not to accept their offer.[89] In this, Vincent consciously broke with the habit of *les anciens religieux,* as he himself wrote.[90] It was customary for religious orders to provide benefactors, whether it be city authorities, church authorities or others, with insight to their expenses in exchange for material support.[91] However, Vincent felt that financial assistance should be given with trust and acceptance of the missionaries' word, without concrete promises from the Vincentians. By keeping expectations low, mistrust could be avoided. Demanding that all help be given freely without the prospect of control ensured this. Whatever successes sprang from the trust given would only enhance the good reputation of the Congregation, and no temporary setbacks would weaken it decisively.

To preserve trust, one should sometimes be willing to act according to what is expected. Vincent de Paul did. He repeatedly asked his followers to thank the benefactors of the Congregation on his behalf, and to emphasize his obedience to them.[92] Taking the lead himself, he wrote a virtually sycophantic letter to a key benefactor of the Congregation in Genoa, the noble-born priest Cristoforo Monsia:

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89 Letter 1528, "To Patrice Valois, in Genoa," 25 July 1652, *Ibid.,* 4:427.

90 Letter 1515, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 5 July 1652, *Ibid.,* 4:409.

91 Marinus, *De Contrareformatie Te Antwerpen,* 73.

92 Letter 1738, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 8 May 1654, *CCD*, 5:136.

> Your Lordship's exceeding kindheartedness toward the members of our Congregation living in Genoa makes it a duty for me to express my deepest gratitude to you.[…]
>
> And since there is no way I can thank you for your charity, I earnestly ask the greatest and most high God to supply for my weakness. [93]

Monsia eventually bequeathed his rich estate to the Vincentians, including the family chapel, leaving his family none too pleased.[94]

The Vincentians used a similar approach with the Marquis Emanuele Brignole-Sale, a very wealthy Genoese nobleman and faithful friend of the cardinal.[95] He annually donated a large sum of money to the Vincentians in Genoa, contributed to their house in Rome, and asked them to preach in his lands. The answer to these favors was gratitude and prayers, but no concrete offers.[96] This comportment is in line with the strategy to keep expectations low in order not to lose trust. Since the Vincentians had to give primacy to Durazzo's orders and were unsure that he would allow them to preach a mission on Brignole's lands, no promises were to be made without the archbishop's express permission.

When possible, however, the Vincentians did try to accommodate the wishes of possible benefactors. This is clear, for example, in their approach to education in Genoa. On being asked whether the Genoese Vincentians should teach theology using the traditional, Scholastic approach, Vincent advised them to investigate "the thinking there about this method of teaching, whether it is in use among the Jesuits and other religious and secular houses, and if many students attend."[97] It was important that this initiative attract enough students. Vincent later advised his *confrères* to abandon the plan. He had learned that the Genoese Jesuits did not teach Scholasticism, which made it unlikely many students would be able to study it.[98]

Similarly, students' holidays were to be compared with the other schools in Genoa. Vincent had previous bad experiences in allowing students too much spare time, and he

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93 Letter 1416, "To Christophe Monchia," 20 October 1651, *Ibid.,* 4:266–67.

94 Alfonso, "La fondazione," 150.

95 *Ibid.,* 136.

96 Letter 2989, "To Edme Jolly, Superior, in Rome," 26 September 1659, *CCD*, 8:154. Also: Letter 2837, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 9 May 1659, *Ibid.,* 7:558.

97 Letter 2901, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 11 July 1659, *Ibid.,* 8:25.

98 Letter 2942, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 15 August 1659, *Ibid.,* 8:92–93.

observed that pupils misbehaved during the holidays. The situation in Genoa, however, could be different. According to him, the superior should adjust their program based on how the Jesuits, Theatines, and Oratorians dealt with this matter.[99] The Vincentian approach to these issues shows that while certain principles and practices were non-negotiable, others could be changed to meet local needs and make use of resources.[100]

Early on in Genoa, several wealthy Genoese had already displayed their trust in the new Vincentian community. The missionaries cherished these favors and tried to accommodate the wishes of their most important benefactors. At the request of the *Messieurs de Gênes,* Blatiron was sent back to Genoa after a period of absence.[101] In Turin, Vincent also tried to ensure that the new house would be sufficiently staffed, both to help the superior, Jean Martin, and please Martin's benefactors.[102]

The establishment of the Vincentians in Genoa required support from many sides to be successful. In showing gratitude for help given, presenting themselves as obedient to all reasonable requests, and avoiding unfulfillable concrete promises, the Vincentians gained trust from those people whose support they required. Whenever possible, the Vincentians met the wishes of their benefactors with the goal of gaining as much support as possible.

2) An Example of Cultivating Trust: The Congregation's Successes on Genoese Lands

Because the Vincentians, consciously or not, used the aforementioned strategies to elicit trust, the confidence that Cardinal Durazzo had shown from the beginning started to bear fruit. The Congregation's popularity is hard to measure, especially because the sources at our disposal are mostly letters composed by the missionaries and their superior general. Still, we find clear signs of their growing prestige if we consider the successes of the Vincentian missions among the rural poor. The rural missions were essential both for Vincentian spirituality and for popularity. As Louis Châtellier has demonstrated, missions to the countryside were one of the most vital features of early modern Catholicism, more so because of the Church's great difficulty staffing the countryside with competent priests.[103] Yet from the early sixteenth century, the newly-established order of the Capuchins returned to the ideals of Saint Francis by being completely devoted to preaching. This was followed a half century later by the Jesuits, who travelled across Europe to conduct missions in areas

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99 Letter 2963, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 5 September 1659, *Ibid.,* 8:120.

100 Forrestal, "Principles and Practice of Government," 63.

101 Letter 1380, "To Jean Martin, in Genoa," 14 July 1651, *CCD*, 228–29.

102 Letter 1985, "To Jean Martin, in Turin," last day of the year 1655, *Ibid.,* 5:500–01. Nuovo, *La Predicazione,* 63–66.

103 Bernadette Majorana, "Une Pastorale Spectaculaire. Missions et Missionnaires Jésuites En Italie (XVIe-XVIIe Siècle)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 57:2 (2002), 297, doi:10.3406/ahess.2002.280046.

that promised to be most fruitful, including Protestant lands.[104] Many older orders and new congregations joined this missionary movement. At its height during the second half of the seventeenth century, the Vincentians began their first missions to the Genoese countryside.

These missions among the rural population were also valued by the political, secular elite, who saw in them the promise of greater administrative control over a region and peace among the populace. The people in the country, however, were not passive recipients. Indeed, where successful, rural missions were a specifically chosen form that allowed people to live their religion.[105] Noting Bohemia, Howard Louthan writes that Catholic identity, particularly in the Czech countryside, was formed by what Andrew Pettegree calls a "culture of persuasion" with rural missions as its backbone.[106] Although fighting Protestantism played a role in reconverting rural populations, persuasion via the missions was also essential and implied conscious decision-making. The aim of these missions was to convert souls by winning the trust of the people. Missionaries "adapted their message and ministry to local culture and traditions [... and] were critical of those misguided 'religious zealots' whose rigorist approach risked alienating those who were likely to convert if more sensitive and compassionate means were used."[107] Vincent de Paul and others were aware that by providing a good example and meeting the needs of the people, thus gaining their trust, the clergy, the bishop, the parish priest, and the local missionary could persuade those they were trying to convert.[108]

The Post-Tridentine Church, then, underwent a shift as it began to adapt itself to local circumstances and sensibilities, and placed greater focus on missions and education. It tried to win people over through persuasion or by gaining their trust.

While the Vincentians won the trust of the ecclesiastical and political elite in Genoa and Corsica by carrying out a job they saw as beneficial, they also won the trust of the lower classes through their work with them. The rural missions transformed the culture of the European countryside. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century missionaries began to understand that profound change came about slowly, and that, to see it happen, it was not enough to tell people how to live or what to do.[109] This awareness changed the approach of religion. It was not something to be spread by fear or coercion, but rather through trust and education. From the beginning, in contrast to other rural missions, the Vincentian method

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104 Châtellier, *La religion des pauvres,* 22–26.

105 *Ibid.,* 118.

106 Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia: Force and Persuasion in the Catholic Reformation,* New Studies in European History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 320.

107 *Ibid.,* 187–88.

108 Dominique Deslandres, *Croire et faire croire: les missions françaises au XVIIe siècle, 1600–1650* (Paris: Fayard, 2003), 73.

109 Châtellier, *La religion des pauvres,* 125–26.

[Click to enlarge]

"Il Cardinale Stefano Durazzo, Arcivescovo di Genova."

Seventeenth-century portrait by Giovanni Bernardo Carbone.
Collection of the Musei di Strada Nuova: Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, Italy

used a similar perspective. It was one of believing in modest, simple preaching, with a focus on confession and catechesis, instead of relying upon the large penitential processions, theatrical productions, and grand sermons the Jesuits and Capuchins favored.

The missions in the villages of the Ligurian coast seemed to yield the devotional response the Vincentians hoped for.[110] Often, the people, though very poor, responded favorably to the suggestion of founding a Confraternity of Charity. This was a common practice at the end of each mission, done to solidify the changes made in a given community.[111] In Bogliasco, a town of less than a thousand inhabitants some 10 km from Genoa, Étienne Blatiron established the *Compagnia femminile della carità* in 1654. The original statutes tell us such a group should consist of thirty-three women who, under the supervision of the parish priest and two male *protettori,* were to provide for "both the spiritual and the corporal needs of the poor and sick of the parish."[112] Similar confraternities were instituted throughout the diocese, "at the orders of the Eminent and Reverent Cardinal Stefano Durazzo, Archbishop of Genova."[113] Their long-term success was not a given. Vincentian fathers first had to earn trust among a local population suspicious at the arrival of foreign

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110 See, for example, Letter 943, "To Jean Martin, in Genoa," 3 May 1647, *CCD*, 3:190.

111 Abelly, *Venerable Servant,* 2:68. The oldest extant statutes of a Confraternity of Charity in the archdiocese of Genoa are those of the female confraternity of Bogliasco. They offer interesting insight into their objectives and functioning. "Regole Della Compagnia Di Carità. Archivio Parocchiale Di Bogliasco, 1654," (Gruppo di Volontariato Vincenziano, 2012). Luigi Mezzadri, C.M., "Il metodo missionario vincenziano," in *Le missioni popolari della Congregazione della missione nei secoli XVII-XVIII,* ed. Luigi Mezzadri, C.M., and A Bollati, vol. 1 (Roma: CLV, 1999), 30.

112 "Bisogni si spirituali come corporali dei poveri e infermi della Parochia." In: "Regole Della Compagnia Di Carità. Archivio Parocchiale Di Bogliasco," 12.

113 "D'ordine dell'Emin'mo et Rev'mo Stefano Card'le Durazzo Arcivescovo di Genova." See: *Ibid*.

missionaries.[114] Also, confraternities were not necessarily permanent. With time, some became watered down, and the Vincentians would find that little had really changed when they returned to a place. The work of the rural missions was for the long haul.

In the eyes of the Vincentian missionaries there were many triumphs, however. In 1647, Étienne Blatiron wrote to Paris, "Seven bandits were converted, and a Turk working for a gentleman asked for Baptism."[115] Another success was reported after an earlier mission during which animosities were solved "which had caused twenty-four or twenty-five murders. Most of those involved, having obtained in writing the pardon of those offended, were able to secure a favorable verdict from the prince and have since returned to full favor in the town."[116] Nobility from Genoa even attended a mission in the nearby countryside in 1647, "at which they were most edified." Moreover, attendance was not confined to the secular elite. Several ecclesiastics from the Ligurian countryside demonstrated their faith in the Vincentians by responding to their call to attend retreats, making the effort to travel to the capital.[117]

How, though, did the Vincentians gain the trust of an audience that was certainly not passive? First, when on mission, the Vincentians never accepted alms from the locals. Indeed, at the start of each mission they would tell people they did not seek their money but their souls: *"non vestra sed vos."*[118] As they also explicitly informed the public: "We live at our expense and are not responsible for anyone; not only don't we ask for anything, but our rule is not to accept any gifts you would like to give us on your own."[119] Not allowing themselves to live off a particular benefactor guaranteed they would not be influenced by anyone.[120] At the same time, the Vincentians' modest lifestyle was a way to gain trust similar to the pastoral approach of Bishop Étienne Le Camus. Keith Luria describes how Le Camus, a reform-minded bishop of Grenoble in the second half of the seventeenth century, would impress villagers and assumedly obtain their trust. On visitations to rural parishes, his self-mortifying behavior was apparent, and he would accept no privileged treatment from the rich, instead giving alms to the poor.[121] Generosity and austerity were virtues that spoke to the rural poor, winning trust and opening them to the message of the mission.

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114 Longo, "L'impegno Missionario," 196.

115 Letter 1003, "Étienne Blatiron, Superior in Genoa, to Saint Vincent," 16 December 1647, *CCD*, 3:258.

116 Abelly, *Venerable Servant,* 2:66.

117 The same was true for the Corsican clergy. Cf.: Longo, "L'impegno Missionario," 229.

118 "Non sono le vostre ricchezze che noi cerchiamo, ma le vostre anime, non vestra sed vos." *Ibid.*

119 "Così è bene ed anche necessario dirvi che noi viviamo a spese nostre, e che non siamo di carico a nessuno, non solo non domandiamo nulla, ma per di più ci facciamo una legge di rifiutare i doni che vorreste farci di vostra iniziativa." J.J. Jeanmaire, *Sermons de Saint vincent de Paul, de ses coopérateurs et successeurs immédiats pour les missions des campagnes,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1859), 24; as cited in: Nuovo, *La Predicazione,* 37.

120 As Nuovo assumes in: *Ibid.,* 38.

121 Keith P. Luria, *Territories of Grace: Cultural Change in the Seventeenth-Century Diocese of Grenoble* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 63.

Second, the Vincentians tried to adapt their missions to the needs and expectations of villagers. At the beginning of each, they would tell people a variation of the following:

> You must know, that we have come to this beautiful country of yours for no other purpose than to procure your beautiful souls, and to place them in the Heart of our most loving Lord, from whom perhaps they have long departed. And since your welfare and its rewards are our own, we have decided to distribute our Holy Mission's benefits such that it eases your needs. Our work will take less time than you think possible, so little, almost nothing, that we will all be able to make the most of this mission sent by God to you.[122]

Thus, they made their goals clear, adapting to the necessities of the rural populace, and using this as a way to earn their trust.

Last, the Vincentians relied upon the content of their preaching, and the method of its delivery, to elicit trust from their audience. From the opening sermon, villagers would feel that they were being taken seriously and that they were esteemed, as the missionaries presented their discourse as a special grace from God:

> Sent as sacred ministers of the Great and most loveable God and approved by the Holy Church, we come to you, dearest, to exhort you from the start with lively sentiments of heart to make good use of the present Mission, that God [...] has destined for your great spiritual profit. He has looked upon you with such benign, such distinct, such favorable gazes, that, leaving behind many other peoples that with urgent need sigh for such favor from heaven, and He has deigned you all such a big gift [...].[123]

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122 "Dilettissimi dovete sapere, che noi non per altro fine siamo venuti cosi da lontano in questo vostro caro paese che per procurare la salute delle vostre belle anime, e tutte riporle nel Cuore di questo amabilissimo Signore, da Cui forse da tanto tempo si sono partite. E siccome ci stà à Cuore ogni vostro interesse, e vantaggio, come se fosse nostro proprio, abbiamo pensato di distribuire le fonzioni della Santa missione in maniera tale che vi tolgano dalle vostre facende e lavori neccessarii meno di tempo che sia possibile e tanto poco, che è quasi niente, e questo acciò, che tutti possiate approffitarvi di questa missione che iddio ha mandato tutta per voi." See: Giovanni Francesco Mazzuchi, *Prediche di Missione dedicate alla Gran Madre di Dio Maria Santissima in Genova nella Stamperia della penna MDCCLXXV,* 24v. Archivio Storico della Congregazione della Missione a Genova (ASCMG).

123 "Sacri Ministri del Grande amorosissimo Iddio spediti, é da S. Chiesa approvati, a voi ne veniamo diletiss'mi ad esortarvi sulle prime con i più vivi sentimenti del cuore a far buon uso della presente Missione, che Iddio [...] destinata ha a gran vostro spirituale profitto. Vi ha egli rimirato con sguardi si begnigni, si distinti, si parziali, che lasciando addietro tant'altri popoli, che con calde pressantissime istanze un si segna alto favore del Cielo sospirano, e un si gran dono degnatosi [...]." *Ibid.,* 1r.

Vincent de Paul wanted his missionaries to use a simple language with concrete, familiar examples, and a natural voice. He also advised them not to speak too long, and to avoid harshness "even against great sinners, using compassion rather than passion, abstaining from shouting too loudly and for too long, but listening to oneself and observing movement for the epilogue [conserving one's strength for the ending] and even there one should be moderate."[124] Nobody was to feel offended or personally accused, since this would forfeit his or her trust and possible conversion. The Vincentians' attitude of gratuity, their well-chosen words, and their willingness to adapt to an audience's needs were all designed to win trust and convey the message.

The missions to the Ligurian countryside were so successful that in 1652 the Senate sent the Vincentians to the island of Corsica, which at that time was under Genoese rule. Secular authorities largely paid for these missions and directed that Vincentians travel to the most problematic and criminal areas.[125] The Republic hoped that such missionary activities would somehow "civilize" the Corsican people, and result in greater obedience to their central authority. This policy of combining charitable piety with political interests (to keep people obedient and maintain the status quo) was deployed by the Genoese Senate in offering assistance to the inhabitants of Genoa as well as the people of the desolated mountain villages of the inlands. The *Opera delle chiese rurali,* for example, was financed entirely by private citizens with the support of the government.[126] The initial missions to Corsica served their purpose so well that several years later the Vincentians were called again to preach on the island. In cooperation with the state, the Vincentians eventually founded a house in the town of Bastia in 1678.[127] Durazzo had hoped for this, as he trusted the Vincentians' expertise in such work.[128]

In an extensive report detailing the fourth mission on the island, Étienne Blatiron recounted how missionaries went to the valley of Niolo, an area that could only be reached by traversing the highest mountains in Corsica. In this gathering place of "bandits and ruffians of the island," many people were ignorant of the most basic tenets of the Christian faith. For instance, asking a resident "which of the three divine persons became man was

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124 "Usando piuttosto compassione che passione, astenendosi dal gridar troppo forte e per troppo tempo, ma ascoltando se stesso osservando I movimento per l'epilogo [conservando le forze per il finale] e ivi pure devono essere moderati." Mezzadri, "Il metodo missionario vincenziano," 81.

125 Longo, "L'impegno Missionario," 206–07.

126 Saginati, "Aspetti Di Vita Religiosa E Sociale," 235–36, 239. See also: Longo, "L'impegno Missionario," 191–93.

127 Letter 2842, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 16 May 1659, *CCD*, 7:568. Also, Mezzadri, "Le Missioni Popolari in Corsica," 70.

128 Longo, "L'impegno Missionario," 190, 224.

like speaking Arabic to them."[129] A particular vice among the people of Niolo was that of concubinage and incest. According to the Vincentians, 120 people lived together outside marriage, of whom 80 were in incestuous relationships (keep in mind that many relations seventeenth-century clerics would define as incestuous would not be defined as such today).[130] This included several clerics "who foment[ed] these disturbances by their bad example and who commit[ted] incest and sacrilege with their nieces and relatives."[131] If we believe the report, the Vincentians managed, with much patience, to induce contrition from many of these excommunicated people. They promised to live separately, and for this, they were publicly absolved from their sins.

Yet the greatest achievement of the Corsican mission lay elsewhere. In the Niolo valley, according to Blatiron, vendettas were so common that children learned of them before they could walk. This was not a typically Corsican problem. On the contrary, reconciliation among the rural population constituted one of the primary tasks of missionaries across Europe.[132] Many of these people came armed to church, and getting them to settle their differences with their enemies was a formidable challenge. According to Blatiron, toward the end of the mission all of their preaching seemed to have made no impression. However, after a Franciscan condemned the stubbornness of the people, one priest, whose nephew had been killed, stepped forward. He prostrated himself on the ground and called out the murderer of his nephew, who was also present, and embraced him.[133] Many followed his example, and "for an hour and a half nothing was to be seen but reconciliations and embraces," bringing huge relief for the missionaries.[134] One such mission, though, was not enough to definitively change the people's overall mentality. When the Jesuit Giovanni Battista Cancelotti came to Niolo in the early eighteenth century, he still encountered the same culture of vengeance.[135] Yet, even in forging temporary reconciliations among enemies, the Vincentians must have won some level of trust from the local people.

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129 Letter 1514, "Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa, to Saint Vincent," [July 1652], *CCD*, 4:404.

130 John Addy, *Sin and Society in the Seventeenth Century* (Routledge, 2013), 181.

131 "Ecclésiastiques qui fomentaient ces désordres par leurs mauvais examples et qui commettaient des incestes et des sacrileges avec leurs nieces et parentes." *Ibid*.

132 Châtellier, *La religion des pauvres,* 197.

133 "Un cure, de qui le neveu avait été tué, et le meurtrier était présent à cette predication, vient se prosterner en terre et demande à baiser le crucifix et en meme temps dit à haute voix: 'Qu'un tel (c'était le meurtrier de son neveu) s'approche et que je l'embrasse.'" *Ibid*.

134 "Pendant l'espace d'une heure et demie on ne vit autre chose que reconciliations et embrassements." *Ibid*.

135 Armando Guidetti, *Le missioni popolari: i grandi gesuiti italiani: disegno storico-biografico delle missioni popolari dei gesuiti d'Italia dalle origini al Concilio Vaticano II* (Milano: Rusconi, 1988), 187.

Click to enlarge

Vincent de Paul sending his missionaries, priests kneeling behind him.

Stained-glass window by Laurent and Gsel, Paris, no date.
Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online
http://stvincentimages.cstcis.cti.depaul.edu:8181/

The Vincentian mission to Corsica not only secured the hearts of the rural population, and inspired changes,[136] it also gained recognition from a number of the clergy and local elite. Many of them accompanied the missionaries to their ships, sent by the Senate in order to pick them up, greeting them with celebratory gunshots.[137] The support of local clergy and authorities was essential in Vincent's eyes.[138] In Corsica, the mission only began after the Vincentians visited with local authorities and gave them letters of recommendation.[139] The value of the missions was also reflected by ever more frequent requests that they be extended.[140] Indeed, several *signori,* among them Emmanuele and Carlo Brignole, Agapito Battista Centurione, Giacomo and Giuseppe Durazzo, Ambrogio Carmagnola, the *principe* Giustiniani, Cardinal Durazzo, and the Senate, all contributed financially to Vincentian work in Corsica.[141] Of course, the Vincentians were not the only ones operational in Corsica. Jesuits had been preaching missions from the time of Landini. They founded a college in Bastia in 1602 and later did so in other Corsican villages.[142]

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136 Putting an end to a culture of vengeance and incestuous relationships had already been a priority at the time of Silvestro Landini. Relatione d'alcuni particolari della uita et attioni del P. Siluestro Landino della Compagnia di Giesu in Corsica, 13r. ARSI, MED 98.

137 *Ibid.*

138 Jesuit instructional tracts for missionaries also advised to always contact local clergy first before starting a mission. Jennifer D. Selwyn, *A Paradise Inhabited by Devils: The Jesuits' Civilizing Mission in Early Modern Naples* (Aldershot; Burlinton, Vt.; Roma: Ashgate, Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 2004), 161.

139 Longo, "L'impegno Missionario," 224.

140 *Ibid.,* 228.

141 Stella, *La Congregazione della Missione in Italia.,* 41.

142 *Annali del Colleggio della Bastia,* 20r. ARSI, MED 98. In 1634, they also took over a college that was founded to provide education for clerics, especially priests who would go to Corsica. Giuliano Raffo, ed., *I Gesuiti a Genova Nei Secoli XVII E XVIII. Storia Della Casa Professa Di Genova Della Compagnia Di Gesù Dall'anno 1603 Al 1773,* vol. 1 (Genoa, n.d.), 159.

Rural missions played an important role in gaining the Congregation of the Mission trust from multiple levels of society. The highest Church authority, Durazzo, was pleased to bring about much needed religious reform to the remotest parts of his diocese. Likewise, secular authorities were eager to see concrete societal change in hard-to-control rural areas, and local clergy were relieved to receive help in their difficult task of ministering (even if temporarily). Vincentian missionaries spoke to their citizens, they were heard, and the influence they provided was valued.

3) Whom to Trust? How Trust Leads to Obedience

It is very apparent that the Vincentians in Genoa generally attempted to elicit and maintain trust without forfeiting their original mission. They also tried to capture the hearts of people, no matter their place in the social hierarchy, by carrying out missions to the rural populace. However, to fully grasp the importance of trust in the establishment of a new house, it is necessary to understand its role in relation to obedience. This was a core value in Vincentian spirituality, and Vincent himself considered it a key to happiness.[143] The Vincentians' relationship with Cardinal Durazzo, the highest prelate in the region, clearly demonstrates how trust interacted with obedience. From the first, obedience to the archbishop was a virtue that was professed continuously and persuasively. Indeed, according to the Congregation's own rule, Vincentians were to "humbly and consistently obey the most reverend Bishops of the dioceses where the Congregation has houses."[144] However, this rule was not practiced without reserve. There was a need to win trust, but there was also a need to find out whom to trust, and thus whom to obey. It took time for the Vincentians to grow in confidence that Cardinal Durazzo's policies and orders were in their favor. This gradual development eventually diminished their reservations when it came to complete obedience.

The archbishop's material support further strengthened the Vincentians' trust in him. The many tasks that he gave the Congregation were not without recompense. Drawing on his own network, Durazzo found people willing to help the Congregation financially. He set the pace himself by donating large sums, first for the establishment in Genoa, and later for a house in Rome (which he arranged himself in 1659, and toward which he contributed the most generous donation).[145] He even managed to convince "some Cardinals among his friends" to contribute financially to the Roman foundation.[146] Unsurprisingly, Durazzo was a central figure of Vincentian gratitude: "Prostrate in spirit at the sacred feet of Your

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143 Conference 88, "Obedience," 2 December 1657, *CCD*, 10:313.

144 Conference 222, "Obedience," [19 December 1659], *Ibid.,* 12:346.

145 *Annali Della Missione. S. Vincenzo De' Paoli.* Raccolta Trimestrale (Piacenza: Collegio Alberoni, 1925), 8.

146 Letter 2806, "To Edme Jolly, Superior, in Rome," 4 April 1659, *CCD*, 7:500. Mezzadri and Román, *The Vincentians,* 246.

Eminence," Vincent wrote in 1651, "I most humbly ask your pardon for my delay in renewing the expression of my deepest gratitude for the great benefits you continually shower upon your Missionaries."[147] Vincent also repeatedly prompted his followers to offer the same. Especially toward the end of his life, he reminded them to act according to the will of God in "renewing often to him [the prelate] our most humble thanks."[148]

The Vincentians' confidence in Durazzo also grew as he continued to express affection for and affinity with their spirituality. Blatiron's admiration for the archbishop greatly increased when Durazzo attended the spiritual exercises of the missionaries, completely adapting to their practices and wishing to be treated like the others despite his status and older age (fifty-six).[149] These behaviors elicited trust. Expressing his gratitude, Vincent wrote to Durazzo that "never has a Prelate made us more aware of the supreme charity of God than by your charity."[150] Moreover, Durazzo honored the Vincentians with frequent visits to their house in Rome, which also greatly enhanced their trust in him. Vincent even mused that they were "the object of all his acts of kindness," and that assisting them "seem[ed] to be his only interest."[151]

As a result, Vincent began to describe Durazzo as a saint in letters to his followers. In recounting Durazzo's assistance lobbying the Roman court for approval of indulgences and the Congregation's vows,[152] Vincent wrote that he was touched and that he prayed to "Our Lord to preserve and sanctify more and more that great, holy Prelate!"[153] The saintliness of the cardinal was a recurring theme in correspondence between Genoa and Paris. Blatiron even delighted his superior general with a portrait of the Genoese prelate in hopes that the image of this saintly collaborator would comfort him.[154]

Near the end of his life, Vincent's esteem for Durazzo grew to such an extent that he identified obedience to Durazzo with obedience to God in his writings: "We should receive the instructions of Cardinal Durazzo as orders from heaven and do, without hesitation, whatever he commands. The benevolence with which he honors the Company is a great blessing for it, by which God makes us frequently call to mind the effects of His adorable

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147 Letter 1402, "To Cardinal Durazzo, Archbishop of Genoa," [September 1651], *CCD*, 4:253.

148 Letter 2649, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 30 August 1658, *Ibid.,* 7:260. See also: Letter 2900, "To Edme Jolly, Superior, in Rome," 11 July 1659, *Ibid.,* 8:21.

149 Letter 1150, "Étienne Blatiron, Superior, to Saint Vincent," November 1649, *Ibid.,* 3:501–02.

150 Letter 2975, "To Cardinal Durazzo," 12 September 1659, *Ibid.,* 8:138–39.

151 Letter 2960, "To Edme Jolly, Superior, in Rome," 5 September 1659, *Ibid.,* 8:117; Letter 3006, "To Edme Jolly, Superior, in Rome," 17 October 1659, *Ibid.,* 8:173.

152 Letter 1947, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 22 October 1655, *Ibid.,* 5:459.

153 Letter 1787, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 23 October 1654, *Ibid.,* 5:204.

154 *Ibid.*

goodness."[155] Vincent also alluded that trust in God and trust in His servant Durazzo were the same thing. He wrote that all would turn out well if the missionaries followed what Christ prophesized, reiterated by "His saintly Cardinal of Genoa," namely that one must strive for the glory of God.[156]

This reverence for and trust in Cardinal Durazzo contrasts with Vincent's cautious attitude at the beginning of the Vincentian establishment in Genoa. As discussed previously, the superior general was suspicious that any meddling by the cardinal might alter the Vincentians' *règle et pratique*. It took several years' worth of accumulated experience before he began to instruct his followers to broadly obey Durazzo. As his trust strengthened with time, Vincent displayed unhesitant obedience. For example, when Blatiron hinted at sending several missionaries from Genoa to staff the new house in Turin in 1656, the cardinal changed the topic in response—which was enough for Vincent to conclude that the idea did not please him, and therefore it should be dismissed.[157] Vincent's obedient attitude is even more apparent in his reaction that same year to a decision made at the suggestion of the cardinal, specifically to appoint a procurator to handle the Vincentians' temporal affairs in Genoa. "I approve this all the more," he wrote, because the decision was taken "on the advice of the oracle, the Cardinal, whose inspirations and sentiments come from God and always tend toward Him."[158]

On other occasions, certain initiatives seemed agreeable to Vincent simply because they were backed by the cardinal.[159] When, again in 1656, the Vincentians were offered a house by a "venerable priest," Vincent desired to know Durazzo's thoughts because, in his view, Durazzo would advise "according to the lights of this same Spirit and the Christian maxims by which we must be guided."[160] His conviction grew with time: the aims, the policies, and the interests of the cardinal were aligned with those of the Congregation. This convergence also explains why what began as formal obedience ultimately became genuine, complete trust. Consider their dilemma in deciding whether to assist those Genoese stricken during plague epidemics in 1657 and 1658. To render aid was to accept that death would certainly

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155 Letter 3116, "To Edme Jolly, Superior, in Rome," 16 April 1660, *Ibid.,* 8:335–36.

156 Letter 2805, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 4 April 1659, *Ibid.,* 7:496.

157 Letter 1999, "To Jean Martin, in Turin," 28 January 1656, *Ibid.,* 5:534.

158 Letter 2155, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 13 October 1656, *Ibid.,* 6:147. The procurator was probably Baliano Raggio a close friend of Durazzo and the same noble ecclesiastic that had helped to fund the Vincentian establishment in Genoa. Cf. Alfonso, "La fondazione," 135.

159 For example, Letter 2763, "To Jacques Pesnelle, Superior, in Genoa," 27 December 1658, *CCD*, 7:439.

160 Letter 2098, "To Étienne Blatiron, Superior, in Genoa," 14 July 1656, *Ibid.,* 6:26.

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The high altar and funerary monument of Cardinal Stefano Durazzo.

Church of Santa Maria in Monterone, Rome, Italy.

follow. The Vincentians relied completely on the judgment of the cardinal in this matter. He decided to keep them to assist him should he fall ill or die.[161] Nevertheless, seven of the nine Vincentians died, and one of the four brothers, including the superior Blatiron.[162]

Trust was developed over the years because the Vincentians saw that Durazzo's interests were similar to theirs, as demonstrated in his material support and spiritual affinity. In time, it gave substance to what might otherwise have seemed a somewhat hollow declaration of obedience. Complete obedience and gratitude were indeed the fruit of this growing trust. It is not surprising that Durazzo was finally honored with the erection of his bust in the Vincentian buildings in Fassolo. The inscription lauded this prelate, who *"totam Congregationem perpetua charitate delixerit."*[163]

Conclusion

When a religious order arrived in a new region, it normally faced a dilemma. Should it attempt to obtain the trust of the local people by pleasing certain groups, answering to their needs irrespective of the order's original mission? Or, should it stick to its own ethos and attempt to gather trust by strictly adhering to the order's authentic directives? A middle path, obviously, was to be preferred. When the Vincentians came to Genoa, they needed to

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161 See, for example, letters 2111, 2121, 2130, 2188, and 2467 in *CCD*.

162 Stella, *La Congregazione della Missione in Italia,* 33.

163 The entire text reads: "Stephano Cardinali Duratio Archiepiscopo vigilantissimo quod Domum hanc aedificaverit Romanam auxerit Bastiensem promoverit totam Congreagationem perpetua charitate delixerit anno 1657." Musso, *Il Cardinale Stefano Durazzo,* 160.

provide the Republic with something that was lacking in order to gain enough support to enter the city. The missionaries' preferred method came in sticking with Vincent's original mission: education of the secular clergy and missions to the countryside. And, indeed, these were activities Cardinal Durazzo envisioned for the Vincentians in his diocese. Such initial trust was essential for an order that did not have a bad history in the area, but also could not rely upon a long, trustworthy history. Durazzo's invitation was therefore readily accepted, but with the conditions that financial stability would be guaranteed and that missionaries would be allowed to maintain common practices. For Vincent de Paul, such an invitation was not only a pragmatic condition but also a spiritual one. The circumstance of an invitation was a sign from God.

This initial trust, however, was only the beginning. By choosing to adhere to the rule of internal obedience above all else, including the desire to please important benefactors like Durazzo, the Vincentian's authentic mission could be preserved. Thus, the Vincentian *pratique* was preferred as a means to win trust rather than by simply obliging their benefactors. Such confidence in the mission is understandable, considering it had earned the Congregation initial trust. Once this trust was attained, the Vincentians protected their good reputation. This was accomplished by ensuring that they were distinguishable from other congregations, that internal and external boundaries were clear, and that conformity was observed. Conformity was the fruit of obedience, which, according to Vincent, was born from an attitude of indifference. Indifference, in turn, originated from a complete trust in God. Vincentians who did not conform were sent back to Paris, or even dismissed from the company when obstinately disobedient. Finally, damage to the Vincentian's reputation was ultimately limited by avoiding unrealistic expectations of their mission.

These strategies appear to have worked if we consider the successes of the rural missions and the trust that the missionaries managed to gain in accounting for the specific needs of the people. Since this approach worked among the Genoese populace, it also met with the approval of secular and religious elite.

Yet the Vincentians themselves also needed to determine whom they could trust. This is made clear from their relationship with the highest prelate in the region, Cardinal Durazzo. From the beginning, Vincentians in Genoa displayed obedience to the archbishop. However, this verbal obedience only became total over time. The rule of the Congregation demanded such obedience to church authorities, but trust in Durazzo had to grow. Only in experiencing that Durazzo's interests truly corresponded with theirs did genuine trust arrive. For a new congregation to flourish, trust in this group from multiple levels of society was as important as trust from the order itself in those who would support it.

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Portrait of Vincent de Paul wearing a stole.

Original is in the Vincentian house, Genoa, Italy; Foundation Brignole-Sale.
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Portrait etching of Cardinal Stefano Durazzo (1594-1667).

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The Vincentian house in Fassolo, Italy, pictured circa 1880.

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A view of Genoa from the sea.

Copperplate engraving by Matthäus Merian (1593-1650), ca. 1650.
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Framed portrait of Vincent de Paul owned by the diocese of Ferrara, Italy.

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Portrait of Jean Martin, C.M., founder of the house in Turin.

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The Marquis Emanuele Brignole-Sale.

Seventeenth-century painting by Giovanni Bernardo Carbone.
Collection of the Albergo dei Poveri, Genoa, Italy

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“Il Cardinale Stefano Durazzo, Arcivescovo di Genova.”

Seventeenth-century portrait by Giovanni Bernardo Carbone.
Collection of the Musei di Strada Nuova: Palazzo Bianco, Genoa, Italy

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Vincent de Paul sending his missionaries, priests kneeling behind him.

Stained-glass window by Laurent and Gsel, Paris, no date.
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The high altar and funerary monument of Cardinal Stefano Durazzo.

Church of Santa Maria in Monterone, Rome, Italy.

“I Felt I Had a Mother”: Elizabeth Seton and the Virgin Mary

Judith Metz, S.C.

BIO

SR. JUDITH METZ, S.C., Ph.D., is archivist/historian for The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati. She holds an undergraduate degree from the College of Mount St. Joseph, an MA in History from Xavier University, and a Doctorate in American Catholic Studies from Union Institute and University. Besides her archival work, she teaches, lectures, researches, and writes. She is the co-editor of the four-volume *Elizabeth Bayley Seton: Collected Writings,* and the author of *A Retreat with Elizabeth Seton: Meeting Our Grace,* and *The Charity of Christ Urges Us: The Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati in the Civil War*.

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"The other day in a moment of excessive distress…—a little prayer book of Mrs. F[ilicchi]'s was on the table and I opened a little prayer [the Memorare] of St. Bernard to the Blessed Virgin begging her to be our Mother, and I said to her with such a certainty that God would surely refuse nothing to his Mother… I felt really I had a Mother, which you know my foolish heart so often lamented to have lost in early days,—from the first remembrance of infancy I have looked in all the plays of childhood and wildness of youth to the clouds for my Mother, and at that moment it seemed as if I had found more than her, even in the tenderness and pity of a Mother—so I cried myself to sleep in her heart."[1]

Written by Elizabeth Seton during her sojourn in Italy after her husband's death, the passage above expresses the young widow's heartfelt yearning for comfort, security, and support. It was a longing for interior peace and assurance in a time of loss, turmoil, and uncertainty about the future. Hearkening back to her early life in this passage, she laid bare an essential chapter in her life's journey. From her youngest days, she keenly felt the loss of her mother. This sorrow haunted her through her early life and into adulthood. In her journal "Dear Remembrances," a mature Elizabeth recounted her first memory, at age four, of wishing she could join her deceased mother and baby sister in heaven.[2] Here was a young child yearning for love and affection in a home that seemed to provide neither. Yet, as her life unfolded, Elizabeth's own maternal instincts proved to be an integral part of her personality. She loved and cared for her half- brothers and sisters, "sing[ing] little hymns over the cradle" and teaching them their prayers.[3] These early bonds matured into affectionate lifelong relationships.

Elizabeth delighted in her marriage to William Magee Seton and, when their children arrived, she devoted her life to them. Perhaps she plunged so enthusiastically into her role as mother because she wanted to give her children what she had been denied. Over the years nothing diminished her dedication to her children, as she adamantly stated: "[T]he only word I have to say to every question is, I am a Mother, whatever providence awaits me consistent with that plea I say Amen to it."[4]

However, for all of Elizabeth's joy and fulfillment in being a mother herself, she still longed for a mother's warmth, encouragement, and unconditional love. She did not find it in the Enlightenment thought and Rationalism of her father, or in the Romantic poets and

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1 2.11, "To Rebecca Seton," 28 January 1804, in Regina Bechtle, S.C., and Judith Metz, S.C., eds., *Elizabeth Bayley Seton: Collected Writings,* 4 vols. (Hyde Park: New York, New City Press: 2002-2006), 1:292–93. Hereafter cited as *CW*. Quoted material retains the original spelling and punctuation.

2 10.4, "Dear Remembrances," n.d., *CW*, 3a:510.

3 *Ibid.,* 3a:511.

4 6.74, "To George Weis," 27 April 1811, *Ibid.,* 2:181.

writers she enjoyed as a youth. Familiarity with the various forms of Protestantism were of interest, but young Elizabeth found more satisfaction in nature and "transports of first pure Enthusiasm."[5] The young woman regularly read the Bible and participated in the worship services of the Episcopal Church. However, it was not until the arrival of Rev. Henry Hobart at Trinity Church that she became more invested in religious practice. Her prayers and spiritual reflections focused on a belief in God's boundless mercy and longing for "celestial peace." Devotion to the reception of the Eucharist became central to her prayer life. For Elizabeth it represented a tangible expression of her relationship with Christ. She often wrote of her yearning for the Sacrament, and of how she and Rebecca Seton, her sister-in-law, "were laughed at for running from one church to another [on] Sacrament Sundays, that [they] might receive as often as [they] could."[6]

Loss and Searching

By the late 1790s Elizabeth's early married life of tranquility and prosperity was disappearing. Carefree time spent with her children, summers away from the heat, filth, and disease of the city, and the joys of an active social life were becoming sweet memories. Beginning in 1798, her world began to erode into a litany of woes. The first blow was the death of William Seton, Sr., her affectionate and supportive father-in-law, who was the "soul of [their] existence."[7] His death necessitated Elizabeth and William Magee giving up their family home to move into the Seton family residence. She "bec[a]me at once the mother of six [additional] children and the Head of so large a number," that she considered it "a very great change."[8] Simultaneously, William began to suffer declining health, the family business went into decline, ultimately resulting in bankruptcy, and Elizabeth's father, Dr. Richard Bayley, contracted a fever and died. Amid these unfolding events, she bore three additional children. The stress of these difficult years manifested itself in her spiritual reflections. By 1802, she wrote, "the Journey is long, the burden is heavy;" and in another passage, "My soul is sorrowful – my spirit weighed down even to the dust, cannot utter a word to Thee my Heavenly Father."[9]

With the family's financial future uncertain and her husband's health precarious, Elizabeth, William, and their oldest daughter, Anna Maria (age eight), sailed for what they

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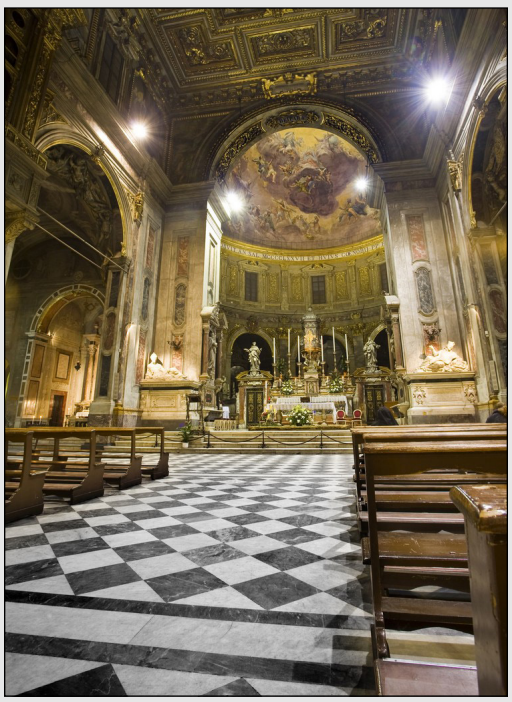
5 10.4, "Dear Remembrances," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3a:511 and 512.

6 2.14, "To Rebecca Seton," 18 April 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:297. In the Episcopal Church, Sacrament Sundays were held about six times a year at this time.

7 1.23, "To Lady Isabella Cayley," 6 July 1798, *Ibid.,* 1:38.

8 1.22, "To Julia Scott," 5 July 1798, *Ibid.,* 1:36. Elizabeth and William took on the responsibility of raising William's six young siblings. At this time, Elizabeth had just delivered her third child, Richard.

9 8.10, "My peace I leave with you…," May 1802, *Ibid.,* 3a:24; and 8.11, "Solemnly in the Presence of my Judge…," 1 August 1802, *Ibid.,* 3a:25.



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The lavish interior of the Santissima Annunziata, Florence, Italy.

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hoped would be a milder climate and an improvement in William's health. Instead, upon their arrival in Livorno, Italy, in November 1803, the little party was confined in a damp, cold, prison-like quarantine that aggravated William's tuberculosis. He barely survived a month, and died several days after their release. In the midst of her physical and emotional stress she spent long hours with her Bible and spiritual books, and wrote of singing hymns, praying, and crying heartily.[10] She accepted her sufferings as an opportunity for spiritual growth. For Elizabeth it was a time of grief, loneliness, and fear of what lay ahead; it was also a time of openness, waiting, and deep listening to God.

At the time of William's death, the families of Antonio and Filippo Filicchi took the bereaved widow and her young daughter under their care. For the grieving woman, scarcely recovered from her month in quarantine, her husband's death, and her separation from her children, "it seemed [the Filicchis] could not do enough."[11] Long-time business associates of the Setons, these generous families provided safe haven and warm care. Elizabeth was in awe to find that she and her young daughter were embraced with such kindness, solicitude, and true friendship by people she barely knew, but soon came to love. After so long a period of caring for others, she now found herself the recipient of others' devoted care. The burdens of responsibility she had been carrying were removed, at least for the present, and there were neither physical nor emotional demands on her time and attention. The months she and Anna Maria spent in the homes of these generous Catholics were a period of rest and recovery. Now there was time and space to release pent-up emotions, and an interlude that provided an opportunity for breakthrough. It proved to be a turning point in her life.

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10 6.154, "To Eliza Sadler," 23 March 1814, *Ibid.,* 2:265. Besides her Bible, Elizabeth's spiritual books included scriptural commentaries, *The Following of Christ* by Thomas à Kempis, and a small booklet of Rev. Henry Hobart's sermons.

11 2.8, "To Rebecca Seton," 3 January 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:278.

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The Spanish Chapel and altar of the Church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Italy.

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Inquiry and Discovery

Eager to show the Americans the beauties of their homeland, the Filicchis introduced their visitors to the scenic and historic treasures of Tuscany with its full range of sensory delights. Elizabeth enjoyed "the mild softness of the air and warmth of the sun,"[12] fine cuisine, music, art, and a culture permeated by Catholicism. Visiting Pisa, Florence, and Livorno, the visitors were surrounded by the visual splendor of great palaces, majestic churches, and luxurious gardens, as well as some of the finest art of the Italian Renaissance. One Sunday morning she accompanied Amabilia Filicchi to La SS. Annunziata (the Church of the Annunciation) in Florence. Enraptured by the "ceilings carved in gold, altar loaded with gold, silver and precious ornaments, pictures of every sacred subject and the dome a continued representation of different parts of Scripture," Elizabeth mused that "all this [could] never be conceived by description." She was "struck with hundreds of people kneeling" in the darkened nave "lighted only by wax tapers" and a "kind of soft and distant musick which lift[ed] the mind to a foretaste of heavenly pleasure." In response she "sunk to [her] knees… and shed a torrent of tears at how long [she] had been a stranger in the house of [her] God, and the accumulated sorrow that had separated [her] from it."[13]

The next day their little party visited the Church of San Lorenzo. As Elizabeth approached the great Altar, "a sensation of delight struck [her] so forcibly" that the opening

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12 2.10, "Florence Journal to Rebecca Seton," January 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:284.

13 *Ibid.,* 1:283.

words of Mary's Magnificat, "My Soul magnified the Lord, my spirit rejoices in God my Savior,"[14] came to her "with a fervor which absorbed every other feeling."[15] Tuesday she went to the Church of Santa Maria Novella where she viewed a painting of the descent from the Cross, "nearly as large as life [that] engaged [her] whole soul." She, who had so recently held her dying husband in her arms, identified with the scene. She reflected: "Mary at the foot of [the cross] expressed well that the iron had entered into her—and the shades of death over her agonized countenance so strongly contrasted the heavenly Peace of the dear Redeemers that it seemed as if his pains had fallen on her. How hard it was to leave that picture and how often even in the few hours interval since I have seen it, I shut my eyes and recall it in imagination."[16]

These experiences were Elizabeth's introduction to Italian Catholicism—monumental buildings, beautiful art, classical music, richly embroidered vestments, and the use of Latin in liturgical ritual. It appealed to her every sense; it brought prayer and worship alive in a new way that made God's presence imminent. Bells ringing during liturgy, holy water, genuflections, and congregants making the sign of the cross were new to her. "All of the Catholic Religion is full of those meanings which interest me so," she commented.[17] It presented a stark contrast to the Protestantism she was familiar with: the "naked altar[s],"[18] unadorned liturgical services, simple hymns, and bare walls.

In each of the churches as well as the museums she visited, Elizabeth encountered the honored place the Virgin Mary held in Catholicism. She had entered a space where Mary and the saints were an integral part of peoples' religious practice. As she passed many happy evenings of "silence and peace" in her rooms,[19] she had time and space to soak in all that she was experiencing.

The devotion exhibited in the Filicchi family's practice of their religion further reinforced Elizabeth's impressions of Catholicism. She noted that while staying with "these charitable Romans" she received "many tender marks of respect and compassion and boundless generosity."[20] Often accompanying them to Mass, she was increasingly struck by the "awful effect at being where they told [her] God was present in the blessed Sacrament,"[21] and had cause to admire Amabilia Filicchi's practice of fasting during Lent, and of stopping to pray in neighborhood churches when they went out for walks.[22]

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14 Luke 1:46.

15 2.10, "Florence Journal to Rebecca Seton," January 1804, *CW*, 1:286.

16 *Ibid.,* 1:287.

17 2.14, "To Rebecca Seton," 18 April 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:296.

18 3.31, "Journal to Amabilia Filicchi," 19 July 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:370.

19 2.11, "To Rebecca Seton," 28 January 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:289.

20 2.8, "To Rebecca Seton," 3 January 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:279 and 2.11, "To Rebecca Seton," 28 January 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:289.

21 2.11, "To Rebecca Seton," 28 January 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:289.

22 2.14, "To Rebecca Seton," 18 April 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:296, 297.

After her time in Florence, Elizabeth and Anna Maria went to the Filicchi home in the port city of Livorno. From there they visited the Marian shrine of Our Lady of Montenero, an important focus of devotional life for people in this region. Situated in the hills above the city and offering a sweeping panorama of the Mediterranean Sea, the site became a pilgrimage destination in the fourteenth century after a shepherd encountered a miraculous image of the Madonna. Miraculous cures, recoveries from accidents, and rescues from shipwrecks, rough seas, and pirates, were attributed to the Virgin. In thanksgiving for answered prayers, pilgrims adorned the shrine with remembrances, known as *ex-votos*. With each visit to a church, shrine, or museum, Elizabeth was further introduced to the deeply embedded Marian culture of the Catholic Church.

One day while Elizabeth was alone in her room, a priest carrying the Eucharist passed beneath her window. Deeply moved, she felt "anguish of heart" at the thought, "was I the only one he did not bless?" "Prostrate on the floor," she wrote, "I looked up to the blessed Virgin appealing to her that as the Mother of God she must pity me, and obtain from him that blessed Faith of these happy Souls around me—rising after many sighs and tears—the little prayer book Mrs. Amabilia [Filicchi] had given Anina [Anna Maria] was under my eye which fell on St. Bernards prayer to the blessed Virgin [the *Memorare*]—how earnestly I said it."[23] She felt the comfort and assurance that "really I had a Mother"[24]—the mother she had been missing all her life.

Years later Elizabeth wrote two modified versions of this prayer that moved her so deeply. One version is undated, the other written on 19 July 1818, the feast of St. Vincent de Paul. The undated version reads:

> Remember O most pious Virgin no one ever had recourse to your protection, implored your help or sought your mediation without obtaining relief—confiding then on Your goodness and mercy O Mother of the Eternal word I cast myself at thy sacred feet and do most humbly supplicate you to adopt me as your child and take upon Yourself the care of my Salvation.
>
> —O let it not be said my dearest MOTHER that I have perished where no one ever found but Grace and Salvation—[25]

Influenced by the faith of the Filicchis, as well as the rituals, sacraments, and devotions of the Catholic Church, Elizabeth was inclined to become a Catholic by the time

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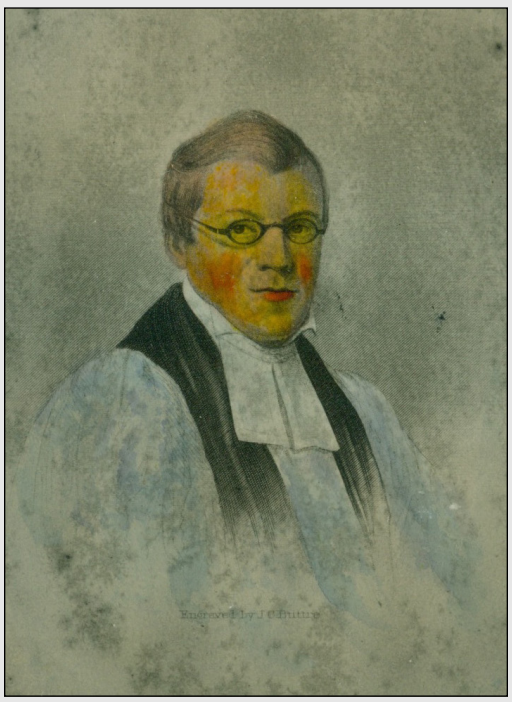
23 10.4, "Dear Remembrances," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3a:516.

24 2.11, "To Rebecca Seton," 28 January 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:293.

25 11.15, "Suffer patiently…" n.d., *Ibid.,* 3b:32.



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Portrait of John Henry Hobart (1775-1830), who became the third Episcopal bishop of New York (1816-1830).

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she left Italy. Communicating her new beliefs to Rebecca Seton, she was eager for the two to explore her newfound faith when she returned to New York. This was not to be; upon her arrival home, she found Rebecca in the last stages of tuberculosis.[26]

Within a month, Rebecca died, and Elizabeth was on her own and faced with a decision. Filippo Filicchi had written a lengthy exposition defending the Catholic faith,[27] to which Rev. Henry Hobart wrote a response—each defending their church as the true one. At the same time Antonio Filicchi, who had accompanied her on the return voyage, was marshalling his resources to advocate for Catholicism. Elizabeth was torn and indecisive, telling Antonio that she was "on [her] knees beseeching God to enlighten her to see the truth, unmixed with doubts and hesitations."[28]

When her little family gathered for night prayers and Anna Maria asked to pray the Hail Mary, Elizabeth had to overcome a fear of idolatry ingrained by her Protestant background. She wrote to Antonio confiding her hesitation, when "Nina [Anna Maria] said oh Ma let us say hail Mary, do ma said Willy, and hail Mary we all said."[29] "Why should we not say it," she thought, "if anyone is in heaven his Mother must be there …so I begged her with the confidence and tenderness of her child to pity us, and guide us to the true faith … [and] to obtain peace for my poor Soul." She was torn. Feeling the bond of motherhood with Mary she prayed, "that I may be a good mother to my poor darlings …so I kiss her picture…

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26 Elizabeth arrived on June 4, 1804; Rebecca died July 8.

27 The texts of the Filicchi and Hobart manuscripts are found in the appendix of *CW* 3a.

28 3.7, "To Antonio Filicchi," 30 August 1804, *CW*, 1:317.

29 10.4, "Dear Remembrances," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3a:518.

and beg her to be a Mother to us."[30] Yet her nagging fear continued: "I have tryed to sanctify [praying to Mary]," she told Antonio, "begging God to look in my Soul and see how gladly I would kiss her feet because she was his Mother… if I could do it with that freedom of Soul which flowed from the knowledge of his Will."[31] She wondered, were prayers and litanies addressed to Mary acceptable to God since they were not commanded by Scripture? Yet, remembering how these prayers had delighted her in Livorno, she yearned to "cast [her] Sorrows on the Bosom of the Blessed Mary."[32]

The tortured woman spent the next months under a "cloud of doubts."[33] Finally, in January 1805, she resolved to go to the Episcopal church, but when she received Communion, "half dead with the inward struggle," she realized that her faith now resided in the Catholic sacrament. "If I left the house a Protestant, I returned to it a Catholick," she told Antonio. "O my God that day—but it finished calmly at last abandoning all to God, and a renewed confidence in the blessed Virgin whose mild and peaceful love reproached my bold excesses and reminded me to fix my heart above with better hopes—"[34] At last Elizabeth felt the confidence to address Mary as a daughter in need of reassurance, and as a mother certain she had chosen correctly for her children.

The Embrace of a Mother

Elizabeth was received into the Catholic Church on 14 March 1805, and two weeks later received the Eucharist. The following year when she received the sacrament of Confirmation she took the name Mary, which added to Elizabeth and Ann "present[ed] the three most endearing ideas in the World—and contain[ed] the moments of the Mysteries of Salvation."[35] This trio of mothers, Ann the mother of Mary, Elizabeth the mother of John the Baptist, and Mary the mother of Jesus were instrumental in God's plan of salvation, and each represented a model of discipleship that was meaningful to her.[36] Signifying the importance she placed on the name Mary, Elizabeth began to sign her letters "MEAS," while Bishop Carroll addressed his letters to her "Mrs. M.E.A. Seton."

As Elizabeth immersed herself in Catholic New York's liturgical and devotional life, she embraced the pervasive role Mary played in Catholic history, tradition, and prayer life.

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30 3.31, "Journal to Amabilia Filicchi," 19 July 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:369.

31 3.7, "To Antonio Filicchi," 30 August 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:319.

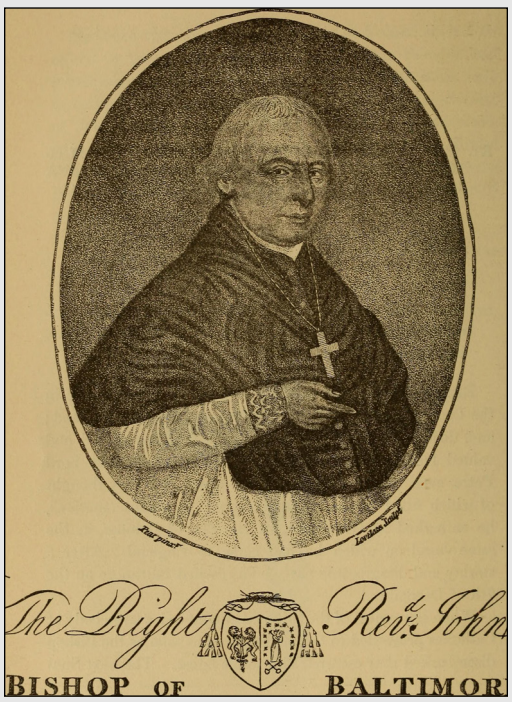
32 3.8, "To Antonio Filicchi," 19 September 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:321.

33 *Ibid.*

34 3.31, "Journal to Amabilia Filicchi," 19 July 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:373; *Ibid.,* 1:374.

35 4.19, "To Antonio Filicchi," 28 May 1806, *Ibid.,* 1:408.

36 Betty Ann Mc Neil, D.C., *15 Days of Prayer with Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton* (Liguori, MO: Liguori Publications, 2002), 48.



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Portrait of Bishop John Carroll (1735-1815).

Frontispiece to the *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll: Bishop and First Archibishop of Baltimore (1888).*
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From Christianity's earliest days, Mary was a revered figure, and by the fourth century, churches were dedicated to her and feasts honoring her multiplied. In the Middle Ages influential preachers such as St. Bernard of Clairvaux and St. Dominic promoted devotion to her. Shrines, pilgrimages, and miracles attributed to Mary were ubiquitous; antiphons, litanies, and Angelus bells were widespread and popular expressions of devotion.[37] These writings and liturgical practices became part of her new culture. She took special notice of Marian feast days such as the Annunciation and the Nativity of Mary; praying, "Blessed Lord grant me that Humility and Love which has crowned [Mary] for Eternity," while reflecting on "Her whose pattern has been so often set before me—her Humble, Meek and Faithful heart."[38]

When Elizabeth moved to Baltimore in 1808, she further realized how deeply Mary was woven into Catholic culture. She became familiar with the traditions of the Society of Jesus, the Sulpicians, and the Vincentians. Former Jesuit, Bishop John Carroll was a sounding board, confidant, and spiritual "Father" to whom she looked for guidance. Deep devotion to Mary was an important part of the bishop's prayer life and, influenced by the life

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37 Cf. Alister E. McGrath, *Historical Theology: An Introduction to the History of Christian Thought* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1998), 121; and Greg Dues, *Catholic Customs and Traditions* (New London, CT: Twenty-Third Publications, 2008), 118–27.

38 4.14, "To Antonio Filicchi," 25 March 1806, *CW*, 1:402; 4.55, "Spiritual Journal to Cecilia Seton," 10 August to 16 October 1807, *Ibid.,* 1:471; *Ibid.,* 1:474.

and writings of St. Ignatius of Loyola, he often wrote and preached about the Blessed Virgin.[39] He even oversaw the beginnings of a magnificent basilica dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. In his last days, Carroll confided to a friend, "One of those things that gives me most consolation at the present moment is that I have been attached to the practice of devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary, and that I have established it among the people under my care, and placed my diocese under her protection."[40]

Likewise the Sulpician priests, with whom Elizabeth had deep connections, were deeply devoted to Mary. Their founder, Jean-Jacques Olier, adopted the motto "Under the Auspices of Mary" for his foundation. He articulated what is sometimes interpreted to be "the richest vein of Marian spirituality in the French School of Spirituality." He taught that Mary, in her submissive response to God, played a key role in the work of the Incarnation and became the model of discipleship.[41] Olier's followers in the United States adopted this theology and honored Mary by naming their institutions in Baltimore and Emmitsburg in her honor. From the time she met Rev. William Dubourg in New York, she was deeply influenced by Sulpician priests, including Pierre Babade, John Dubois, and Simon Bruté, with whom she enjoyed a deep spiritual friendship. She wrote to Bruté, "I place Mary in her leather case on the heart with earnest beggings that she will keep that eye on [God] for us till our Octave in Eternity."[42]

When Elizabeth moved to Emmitsburg in 1809, she and her companions lived in the shadow of St. Mary's Mountain with its church and grotto perched above Mount St. Mary's School. Rev. John Dubois built the church and, several hundred yards up the mountain built a shrine, the oldest in the United States honoring Mary. Elizabeth, her Sisters, and the students at St. Joseph's fell in love with and frequented this grotto. In later years, she described how "we walked to the Mountain Church every Sunday" and after Mass would "ramble for a time around the Grotto." Seated on what would become known as "Mother Seton's rock," she taught catechism to the children. Once they had settled into their new home they adapted the charism and mission of the Daughters of Charity, taking the name Sisters of Charity.

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39 See Joseph P Chinnici, O.F.M., *Living Stones: The History and Structure of Catholic Spiritual Life in the United States* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1996), 33; regarding the influence of Mary in the life and writings of St. Ignatius of Loyola see Margo J. Heydt and Sarah J. Melcher, "Mary, the Hidden Catalyst: Reflections from an Ignatian Pilgrimage to Spain and Rome," accessed 24 February 2017 at https://www.xavier.edu/jesuitresource/jesuit-a-z/terms-w/mary,-the-hidden-catalyst-reflections-from-an-ignatian-pilgrimage-to-spain-and-rome

40 Quoted in Annabelle Melville, *John Carroll of Baltimore* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955), 283.

41 Thomas A. Thompson, S.M., "The Virgin Mary in the French School of Spirituality," *Alive for God in Christ Jesus: Conference on the Contemporary Significance of the French School of Spirituality,* Buffalo, NY: August 18–24, 1995, 215, 221.

42 6.195, "To Rev. Simon Bruté, S.S.," 10 February 1815, *CW*, 2:325–26. Trinity Sunday is the octave of the feast of Pentecost.

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"Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton."

Acrylic on Canvas. Painted by Jim Kuehne (jfkpaint), 2011.
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Elizabeth spent long hours translating the lives of Vincent de Paul and Louise de Marillac, founders of the Daughters of Charity, for the Sisters. Both of these saints were imbued with devotion to Mary, and Louise, like Elizabeth, identified with Mary in the experiences of motherhood. Both Vincent and Louise encouraged devotional practices and reflection on Mary's life, urging the Sisters to imitate Mary's virtues, particularly humility and purity.[43]

As the early Sisters began their life together Elizabeth often appealed for assistance in the name of the Blessed Virgin. Writing for guidance to Archbishop Carroll, she assured him that she was "committing the success of our requests to our dear Virgin Mother."[44] Several months later, she wrote to Antonio Filicchi apprising him of the progress of the community, and reminding him of his "command to draw on [him] in necessity.... Antonio, Antonio," she continued, "do not be angry with me, it is for the family of the blessed Virgin and St. Joseph I act and in their name."[45] Later, she described how the Sisters were asked to take on the care of an ailing woman from the area. Elizabeth was interested, yet hesitant, as she listened "with hands crossed on Marys picture and the crucifix under the shawl," and wondered if this "may be the moment" for the hospital the Sisters had dreamed of opening.[46]

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43 Corpus Delgado, C.M., "Marian Spirituality and the Vincentian Charism," *Vincentiana* 46, no. 4 (July 2002); Kathryn LaFleur, S.P., *Louise de Marillac: A Light in the Darkness* (Hyde Park, NY: New City Press, 1996), 124–26.

44 6.6, "To Archbishop John Carroll," 8 September 1809, *CW*, 2:81.

45 6.39, "To Antonio Filicchi," 20 May 1810, *Ibid.,* 2:128.

46 6.195, "To Rev. Simon Bruté, S.S.," 10 February 1815, *Ibid.,* 2:329.

The Sisters' daily prayer included the rosary and the litany to the Blessed Mother. Objects such as rosaries, crucifixes, and art were close-at-hand as reminders of God's presence. A large painting of Our Lady of Guadalupe hung in the chapel of the White House.[47] In 1816 Elizabeth wrote to her sister, Mary Bayley Post, how, on a stormy night, she dropped asleep "with [her] crucifix under [her] pillow and the blessed Virgins picture pressed on the heart.... [H]ow tight I held my little picture as a mark of confidence in her prayers, who must be tenderly interested for Souls so dearly purchased by her Son."[48]

As Elizabeth's prayer life deepened and her responsibilities as Mother of the community and director of the Sisters' school grew, so too did her devotion to Mary. As already noted, her initial link was forged by St. Bernard's *Memorare*, which expressed confidence that Mary would always respond with care and protection. She found comfort in looking upon Mary as the mother she had always longed for—a mother who would hold, comfort, protect, and care for her, a mother who would serve as a refuge in time of distress or doubt. In one of her reflections, she imagined Mary as a watchful and protective mother bird. "Mary Queen and Virgin pure!" she wrote, "—as poor unfledged Birds uncovered in our cold and hard nests on this Earth we cry to her for her sheltering outspread wings—little hearts not yet knowing sorrow—but poor tired older ones pressed with pains and cares seek peace and rest—O our Mother! and find it in thee.–– "[49]

As a complement to Mary as comforting mother, Elizabeth felt a bond of motherhood with Mary. She saw her own experience as a mother reflected in that of Mary, the Mother of Jesus. In a Christmas letter to Rev. Pierre Babade, she reflected, "let all be hushed as the darling Babe when he first laid his dear mouth to the sweet breast of his Mother."[50] In a sweeping reflection on the feast of the Assumption in 1813, she traced the special blessings Mary received through the stages of motherhood:

> ...her flesh, the very flesh of Jesus O' O' O'
>
> ...Jesus nine months in Mary feeding on her blood O Mary! These nine months—
>
> ...—Jesus on the Breast of Mary feeding on her milk how long she must have delayed the weaning of such a child!!!!
>
> ...the infancy of Jesus—in her lap—on her knees as on his throne, while the rolling Earth within its sphere adorned with mountains, trees and flowers is the throne of Mary and her blessed infant carrissing (sic), playing in her arms—O Mary—how weak these words—

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47 This painting was a gift of Matthias O'Conway, father of Sister Cecilia and friend of Elizabeth.

48 7.271, "Draft to Mary Bayley Post," prior to 1816, *CW*, 2:676.

49 Cf. Ex. 19:4; 11.10, "St. John, Valley," n.d., *Ibid*, 3b:26.

50 6.92, "To Rev. Pierre Babade, S.S.," December n.d., *Ibid.,* 2:204.

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Portraits in later life of Richard Seton (by Constantina Coltellini, ca. 1819); and Catherine Seton (who became a Sister of Mercy).

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> …the youth—the Obscure life—the public life of Jesus, Mary always everywhere in every moment day and night conscious she was his Mother—O glorious happy Mother even through the sufferings and ignominies of her son—her full conformity to him—What continual inexpressible improvement and increase of Grace in her—O Virtues of Mary infinitely perfect the constant delight of the Blessed Trinity she alone giving them more glory than all heaven together—Mother of God! Mary! oh the purity of Mary, the humility, patience, love of Mary—to imitate at humblest distance—
>
> …Mary at the foot of the cross—the piercing sword—the last look—last word of Jesus to Mary—[51]

As she endured the sufferings and deaths of her children Elizabeth identified with Mary's suffering through the crucifixion and death of Jesus. Almost in despair after her daughter Anna Maria's death in 1812, she wrote to Rev. Bruté: "on the grave of Anina—begging crying to Mary to behold her son and plead for us, and to Jesus to behold his Mother—to pity a mother—a poor poor Mother—so uncertain of reunion—then the Soul quieted even by the desolation of the falling leaves around began to cry out from Eternity to Eternity thou art God."[52]

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51 11.9, "Departed St. Teresa's day," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3b:19. For other examples of this type of reflection, see 9.18, "Advent and Christmas Meditations," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3a: 364–65 and *Ibid.,* 3a: 378–82.

52 6.118, "To Rev. Simon Bruté, S.S.," 22 September 1812, *Ibid.,* 2:228–29. Cf. Ps. 90:2.

Several years later, with her daughter Rebecca nearing death, Elizabeth again recalled Mary's motherhood: "My Rebecca we will at last, at last unite in his eternal praise, lost in him, You and I closer still than in the nine months so dear when as I told you I carried you in my bosom as he in our Virgin Mothers—then no more Separation—"[53] She reminded her daughter of "the love of her Mother in heaven—the delight of her good angel presenting every moment of the suffering darling to her crucified Saviour who counts her pains with his—"[54]

For her remaining daughter, Catherine, and her two sons, William and Richard, Elizabeth was a loyal and steadfast presence through their struggles and disappointments. In addition, she served as a surrogate parent to the children at St. Joseph's Academy, free school, and orphan class. Writing to a friend, she observed, "I am as a mother encompassed by many children of different dispositions—not all equally amiable or congenial, but bound to love, instruct, and provide for the happiness of all."[55] She told Antonio Filicchi that her hope was for St. Joseph's "to have been a nursery only for our Saviours poor country children, but it seems it is to be the means of forming city girls to Faith and piety as wives and mothers."[56] Even the boys who visited weekly from Mount St. Mary's developed confiding relationships with her. So much did her maternal presence mean to these young people that they turned to her with confidence, and all came to call her Mother Seton.

Elizabeth recognized Mary as an integral part of salvation history, an intercessor with Jesus, a fellow pilgrim, and a model of virtue. She wrote, "how sweet it is to entreat her who bore Him in the bosom of Peace to take our own case in hand—If she is not heard, who shall be?"[57] At another time, again emphasizing Mary as intercessor, she wrote of "Mary returning our love to Jesus for us—our prayer through her heart with reflected love and excellence as from the heart of a friend… Jesus delighting to receive our love embellished and purified through the heart of Mary— …Jesus in Mary, Mary in Jesus."[58]

Often citing Mary as a model of virtue, Elizabeth held her up for all to imitate. The Blessed Mother is most honored by imitation. She wrote, "—her life a model for all conditions of life; her poverty, humility, purity, love—and sufferings—"[59] In another meditation for Holy Week on the "Sorrows of the Blessed Virgin," she reflected that Mary was justly called the Queen of Martyrs since from the time of Simeon's prophecy she anticipated what her

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53 6.206, "To Rebecca Seton," 25 September 1815, *Ibid.,* 2:343.

54 7.28, "To Rebecca Seton," May 1816, *Ibid.,* 2:399.

55 6.54, "To Eliza Sadler," [Postmarked August 3], *Ibid.,* 2:154.

56 7.87, "To Antonio Filicchi," 1 June 1817, *Ibid.,* 2:479.

57 Ellin Kelly and Annabelle Melville, eds., *Elizabeth Seton: Selected Writings* (New York: Paulist Press, 1987), 56.

58 10.1, "St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi Notebook," n.d., *CW*, 3a:463.

59 *Ibid.*

Son would endure.[60] "O Mary our Mother," she prayed, "lead us with you the way of Sorrow our Jesus has traced out, keep our hearts united with your pains, that at last we may share your glory." And after considering Mary's visit to the Sepulchre and her return to Jerusalem after the crucifixion, she concluded: "O Mother of tenderest mercy… I cast myself with confidence in your arms—you are also My Mother I your child left to you by your Jesus unworthy as I am."[61]

Finally, Elizabeth held Mary up to her Sisters as a model. In translating portions of Louis Abelly's biography of St. Vincent de Paul she chose the section on "the devotion and service we owe to the Blessed Virgin Mother of God, first by daily offering her some particular devotion and duty… 2nd by imitating her virtues as far as we can, especially her humility and purity 3rd by exhorting others to serve and love her whenever we have the opportunity of doing it."[62]

In "A Plan of life for Religious after a Retreat," Elizabeth offered a list of nine practices a Sister should consider in honoring and imitating Mary, which closely mirrored St. Vincent's recommendations.[63] Her "Instructions on Religious Life," present Mary as a "model of a religious soul," and conclude: "Thus does Mary present to the world the first pattern, the first rough draft of a religious life, which cannot be praised for any remarkable virtue, because it is the union of all virtues."[64] In another reflection, "Mary our Mother," she concluded with this tribute: "Mary teaching Patience with life—its commonest offices—daily miseries—a heart of Mary for all duty—above all in communion—Mary the first Sister of Charity on Earth."[65]

As Elizabeth's health deteriorated, she accepted her condition with equanimity and sometimes eagerness, always focusing on God's presence, Mary's comfort and support, and the happiness that would be hers when she joined them in heaven. Writing to one of the Sisters, she said:

> I do not suffer, I am weak, it is true; but how happy and quiet the day passes! If this be the way of death, nothing can be more peaceful and happy; and if I am to recover, still, how sweet to rest in the arms of our Lord! I never felt more sensibly the presence of our Dearest than since I have been sick; it seems as if

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60 Cf. Luke 2:25–35.

61 8.26 "Pyamingo Reflections," 1804, *CW*, 3a:205; *Ibid.,* 3a:208.

62 13.2, "Life of Vincent de Paul," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3b:324.

63 10.1, "St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi Notebook," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3a:447

64 9.1 "Instructions on Religious Life," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3a: 219, 220.

65 10.1, "St. Mary Magdalen de Pazzi Notebook," n.d., *Ibid.,* 3a: 463.

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Basilica of the National Shrine of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton, which includes her tomb, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

our Lord or his blessed Mother stood continually by me in a corporeal form, to comfort, cheer and encourage me, in the different weary and tedious hours of pain. But you will laugh at my imaginations; still, our All has many ways of comforting his little atoms.[66]

Elizabeth approached death peacefully, surrounded by those she loved. The Sisters waited with her, praying words that were familiar and comforting—the *Magnificat,* the *Memorare,* and the Litany of the Blessed Virgin—until she slipped away into the loving arms of that tender Mother she had discovered so long ago, and her beloved Lord whom she had been so faithful in serving.

Conclusion

As Elizabeth immersed herself in Catholicism, she welcomed new forms of prayer and ritual, and fully embraced the high esteem with which the Blessed Virgin Mary was held. Her prayer and spirituality remained centered in God, especially focused on Jesus Christ and the sacrament of Eucharist. She continued to be devoted to reading and meditating on the Scriptures, especially the life of Christ. But the new, important component of her mature spiritual life was her relationship with Mary. The profound spiritual encounter Elizabeth experienced in Livorno in 1804 when she prayed the words of the *Memorare* reached deeply into her soul and had a transformative effect on her life.

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66 7.331, "To The Same Sister," n.d., *Ibid.,* 2:710.

When Elizabeth "discovered" Mary as the mother she had never had she filled a void in her life. Perceiving the Blessed Mother as offering her unconditional love, warmth, nurturance, and strength she dissolved into tears. She felt a profound sense of presence, of release, and of discovery. It reached into the depths of her soul and remained with her. Her encounter with Mary served as a precious touchstone of her spirituality. In her own words: "I felt really I had a mother… and at that moment it seemed as if I had found more than her, even in the tenderness and pity of a Mother—so I cried myself to sleep in her heart."[67]

Once Elizabeth embraced this connection with Mary, it became a rich part of her prayer life and spirituality. She relied on Mary's intercession and strove to imitate her virtue. Her own children, her students, and the Sisters of Charity were beneficiaries of her "discovery" of this mother. It was a discovery that continues to enrich our lives as Elizabeth's story is told and retold.

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67 2.11, "To Rebecca Seton," 28 January 1804, *Ibid.,* 1:292–93

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The lavish interior of the Santissima Annunziata, Florence, Italy.

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The Spanish Chapel and altar of the Church of Santa Maria Novella, Florence, Italy.

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Portrait of John Henry Hobart (1775-1830), who became the third Episcopal bishop of New York (1816-1830).

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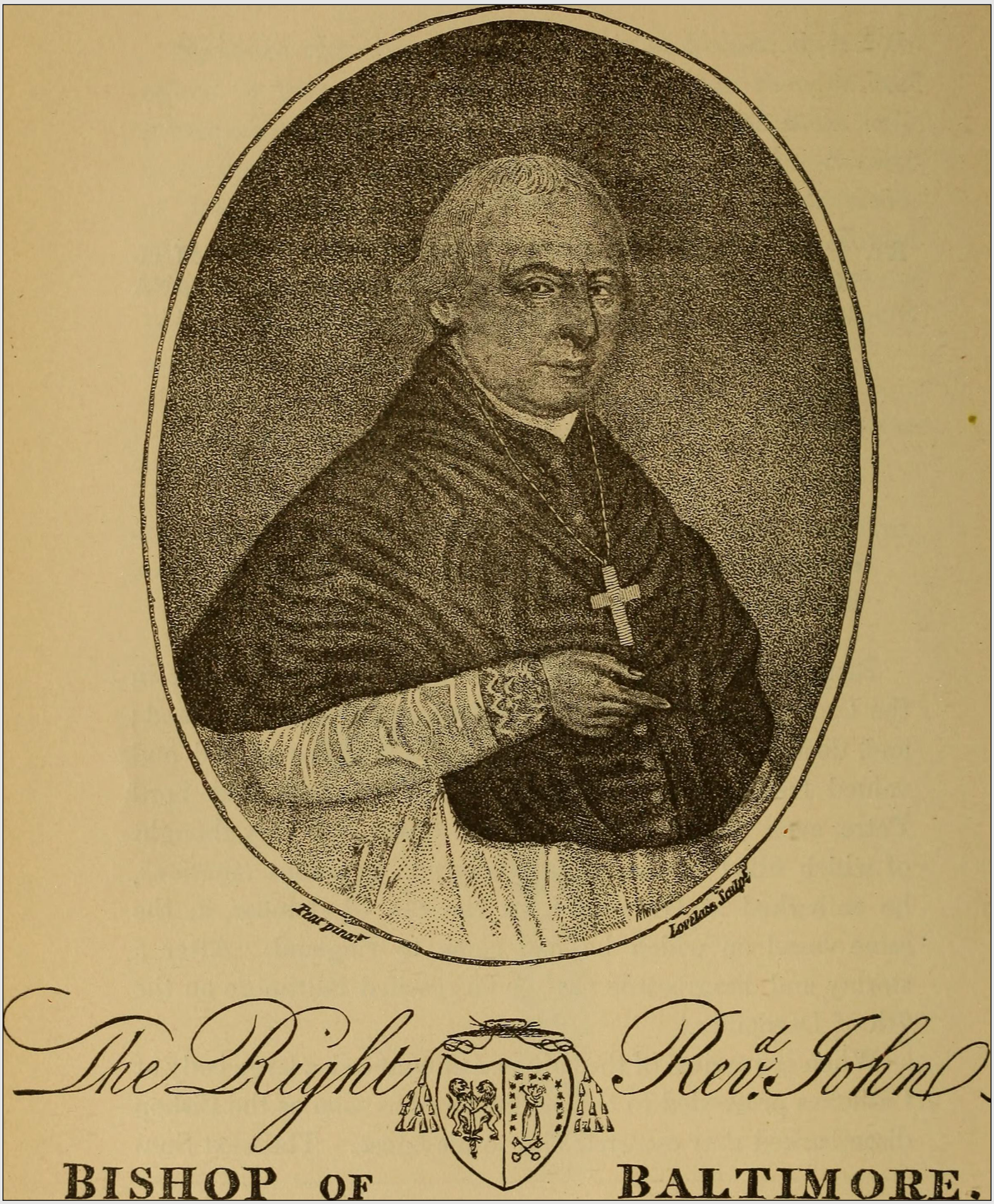

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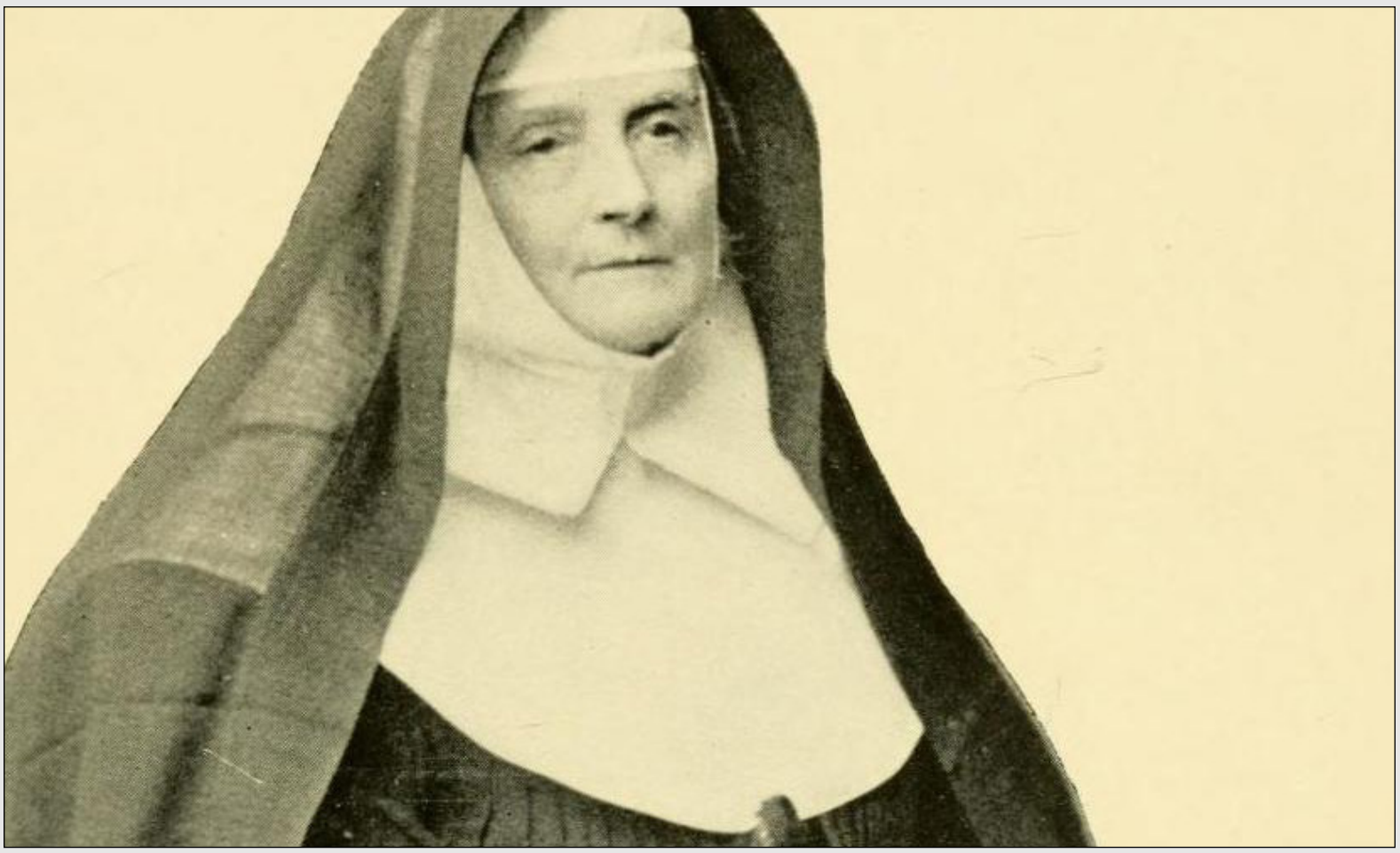

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Basilica of the National Shrine of Saint Elizabeth Ann Seton, which includes her tomb, Emmitsburg, Maryland.

DePaul University Changes and Grows: 1950–1990

Albert Erlebacher, Ph.D.

BIO

ALBERT ERLEBACHER, Ph.D., professor emeritus, History Department, came to DePaul University in 1965 after teaching high school and college in Wisconsin for a decade. He remained on the history faculty until 2007. His doctorate in history is from the University of Wisconsin (Madison). Prof. Erlebacher taught courses in American history specializing in the Civil War and Reconstruction, as well as economic, political, and constitutional issues of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He has written articles on life insurance reform in the twentieth century, and has reviewed books on many political and economic topics. He is also among the co-authors of *DePaul University Centennial History and Images* (1998) and *Rhetoric and Civilization* (2 vols., 1988), and he has lectured on "The Weimar Republic and the Rise of Nazism."

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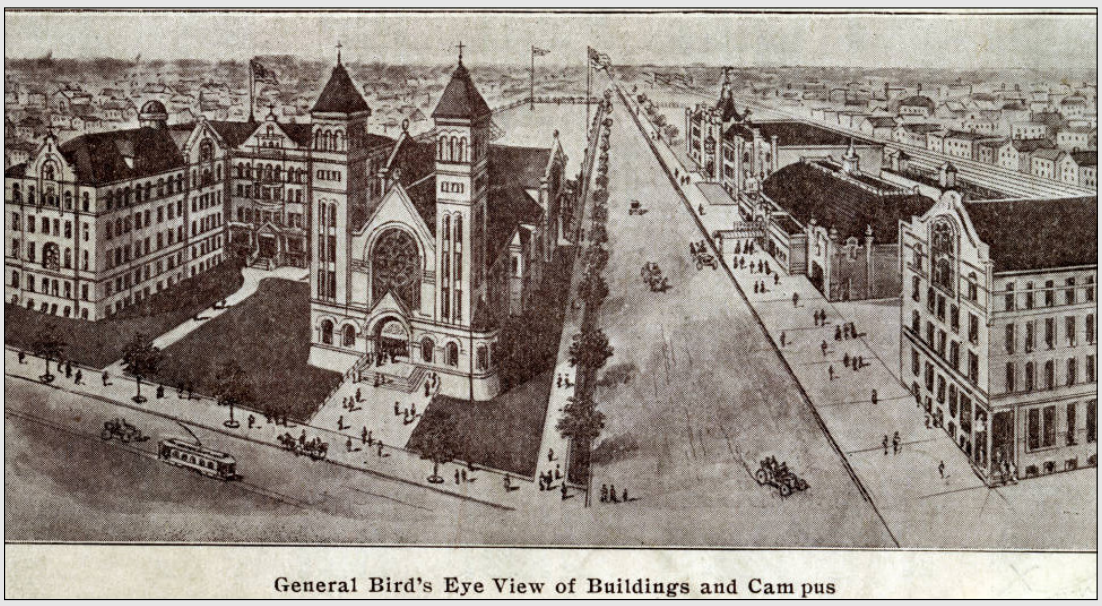

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Aerial view, ca. 1908, of DePaul University's Lincoln Park campus looking north from the corner of Webster and Sheffield Avenues.

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The half-century following the end of World War II brought about major growth and changes in American higher education. Several factors contributed to this. First, higher birth rates beginning in World War II and lasting through the 1950s meant that there was a much larger college-age population beginning in the 1960s. Second, millions of war veterans who might not have otherwise afforded college now benefitted from the G.I. Bill of Rights, which allowed them to pursue undergraduate and graduate education as well as job training.[1] Finally, the Cold War encouraged a renewed federal interest, which provided funds for research and scholarship in many scientific and technical fields. These funds were allocated to public, private, and church-related colleges and universities. Thus, Catholic universities experienced some of the same growth issues as many public higher educational institutions. An analysis of the major changes that occurred at DePaul University during this period will illustrate how a large, urban Catholic university dealt with this new reality. It will also focus on how the university adapted without sacrificing the aspirations that had motivated its Vincentian founders at the end of the nineteenth century.

Founded in 1898 as St. Vincent's College, DePaul acquired its new name and a revised charter in 1907. It dedicated itself to providing educational opportunities to the sons and daughters of the first two generations of European immigrants. During its first half century, the school faced a constant financial struggle. It lacked any endowment other than the services provided by the Vincentian fathers and brothers who taught its classes and served as administrators and student counselors. In addition, at its establishment, St.

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1 A recent history of the GI Bill of Rights can be found in Glenn C. Altschuler and Stuart M. Blumin, *The GI Bill: A New Deal for Veterans* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

Vincent's College had borrowed heavily to construct a campus. In 1929, just as the Great Depression began, the school completed the construction of its own building in Chicago's Loop financed entirely with borrowed funds. These debts owed to the Vincentian order, to individuals, and to financial institutions in Chicago prevented any curriculum expansion or enlargement of the physical facilities for the next two decades.[2] After struggling to gain and maintain accreditation in the 1920s, DePaul managed to remain open during World War II by providing short-term industrial training courses to war workers and by participating in the Army Specialized Training Program. In the immediate postwar years, its facilities were so overwhelmed by the thousands of returning veterans that its Loop building operated from early morning to almost midnight six days a week. When DePaul University celebrated its golden anniversary in 1948, its debts were finally paid off, and it stood as one of the largest Catholic universities in the United States. Shortly afterward, however, the university found itself in a new, desperate, and unexpected struggle to remain open.

In the autumn of 1949, the North Central Association of Schools and Colleges (NCA) conducted its first full accreditation visit to DePaul since before World War II. To the complete surprise of the university's president, Reverend Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M., the report strongly criticized almost every aspect of the university's operations. DePaul lacked qualified faculty and sufficient library resources. Its facilities were overcrowded and did not provide space for student social and recreational activities. The NCA concluded that DePaul had failed to maintain a minimal standard that could be described as "university quality," and it was threatened with the loss of accreditation. If carried out, DePaul's degrees would be worthless. Realizing the danger, Father O'Malley promised to take the necessary actions to restore DePaul's standing.[3]

To reach the goal quickly, Father O'Malley took a number of immediate steps and instituted some long-term policies that he hoped would improve the school. The short-term remedies included hiring a significant number of new faculty who possessed their terminal degrees, and he offered financial assistance to DePaul's students who were close to completing their graduate work. He also approved additional appropriations to the library

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2 My colleagues and I touched upon the topics discussed in this paper in John Rury and Charles S. Suchar, eds., *DePaul University: Centennial Essays and Images* (Chicago: DePaul University, 1998). Of particular interest to me were the chapters by Thomas Croak, C.M., "Towards the Comprehensive University: The Teaching-Research Debate and Developing the Lincoln Park Campus," pp. 253–89; and Charles Strain, "We Ourselves Are Plural: Curricular Changes at DePaul, 1960–1967," pp. 291–342. Many of the sources in this paper were not available when the book was written. Available online: https://via.library.depaul.edu/vincentian_ebooks/20/

3 "North Central Accreditation Report, 1950," in NCA Manuscripts, located in the DePaul University Archives, Special Collections and Archives, Richardson Library, Chicago, IL. All manuscripts cited in this paper are located in the DePaul University Archives (DPUA) unless otherwise noted. One such example notes the hiring of an instructor in the Physics Department who recalled he was "more or less dragooned" into accepting a position when he completed his doctorate at the University of Notre Dame. See author's interview with Professor Edwin Schillinger, 2 July 1992, in author's possession.

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Exterior of the Lewis Center from Wabash Avenue, ca. 1990. The building was acquired in 1955 through a gift from Mr. Frank J. Lewis and is the center for the College of Law.

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budget and promised to develop plans for the physical expansion of the Lincoln Park campus. By the mid-1950s, these plans included an all-purpose physical education facility that had a basketball gymnasium, a swimming pool, some classrooms, and recreational facilities. These initial steps and promises to do more led the NCA to restore full accreditation by the mid-1950s. In 1959, Father O'Malley appointed a committee to study every aspect of the university's operations. The study's major topics were as follows: (1) the size, status, and working conditions of the faculty; (2) financial stability and resources; (3) libraries and other instructional resources; (4) the organization of administrative structure; (5) the need for new physical facilities; (6) the quality of student life; (7) opportunities for transfer students; and (8) new graduate programs. The overall tenor of the several hundred-page report was so replete with criticisms that one administrator advised Father O'Malley to bury it, contending that it was "more damaging to the university's reputation than the NCA report of a decade ago."[4] On the opposite side, one of the younger Vincentians advised the president to circulate the report among the faculty because its recommendations would lead to "many constructive changes," which "if not adopted would place DePaul into a second-class status."[5] In the end, Father O'Malley circulated the report within the university community. The recommendations led to the undergraduate and graduate curricular reforms of the 1960s. These, in turn, led to the curricular and physical growth of the university during the

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4 "Self-Study of DePaul University, 1961," in O'Malley Papers; Arthur Schaefer to Reverend Comerford O'Malley, C.M., 5 December 1961, in O'Malley Papers.

5 Memo, Reverend John T. Richardson, C.M., to Reverend Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M., 13 December 1961, in O'Malley Papers.

next generation. The report's authors would propose and execute the many specific changes that occurred from 1960 to 1990.

In 1955, a benefactor donated an old Loop office building to the university. By the next year, having completely remodeled it, the university was able to concentrate all its downtown activities in this single location. In addition, starting in the late 1950s, the university took advantage of federal slum-clearing legislation to acquire several blocks of older houses near its Lincoln Park campus. This would eventually provide the space for academic buildings and dormitories. Such development enabled DePaul to move forward from near extinction in 1950, emerging as one of the major urban Catholic universities in the United States by 1990.

These educational and physical changes did not occur without internal and external opposition. Father O'Malley, born and raised within blocks of the university, was a conservative man. Rather than engage in major educational reforms, he preferred leaving things as they were. However, he understood that change had to occur for the university to remain viable.

Could the university develop a master plan to assure itself a chance to succeed, especially as it was heavily reliant upon tuition? Father O'Malley and his Vincentian colleagues understood that debts incurred decades earlier thwarted expansion. In the 1950s, the Western provincial, Reverend James A. Stakelum, C.M., created the Board of Control. The board limited the university's borrowing power to $1 million unless it obtained prior approval from the superior general.[6] DePaul's hiring of Vincentian priests and brothers as teachers and administrators also gave the Province a degree of control over the university's growth.

In 1952, Father O'Malley considered several options. One was to move all the university's operations to the Lincoln Park campus in the hope that the archbishop of Chicago, Cardinal Samuel Stritch, might donate an abandoned high school building. A more extreme option was that Cardinal Stritch might consolidate all the Catholic colleges and universities in Chicago into a single institution.[7] Whether Father O'Malley originated these ideas or merely passed them on as suggestions to the provincial is not clear. But what

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6 There was no legal support in the charter or in the bylaws of the university for such a board.

7 Letter, James W. Stakelum, C.M., to Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M., 25 April 1953. Father Stakelum, the provincial, warned Father O'Malley that when the lease on the building at 25 E. Lake Street expired in 1955, the university would lose any surplus funds it may have accumulated over the past few years. The 25 E. Lake Street building opened in 1929 and almost drove the university into bankruptcy, entangling it in many complicated legal battles which lasted until the mid-1950s; Memo, Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M., to Priest Members of Board of Trustees, 10 December 1952, in O'Malley Papers. According to Father O'Malley, these options may have originated with Father Stakelum, the provincial. According to Father Richardson, the idea of moving the entire university to a suburban location was never seriously considered. See Memo, Edward Udovic, C.M., to Albert Erlebacher, 26 February 2011, in author's possession.

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Portrait of (from left to right) John T. Richardson, C.M., and John R. Cortelyou, C.M.

DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Chicago, IL

is certain is that Father O'Malley and the provincial were at odds over the future control of DePaul University. Given these constraints, it is easy to understand why Father O'Malley was reluctant to assume the risks of major curricular reform and large physical expansion, even as he understood the need. Despite this, some progress did occur before the 1960s. The new physical education and student recreation building in Lincoln Park was completed in 1956, and the newly remodeled Lewis Center in the Loop opened that same year.[8]

The major catalyst for change came with the arrival of two young Vincentians who would lead the university between 1964 and 1993: Reverend John R. Cortelyou, C.M., and Reverend John T. Richardson, C.M. They changed and expanded the curriculum, developed several new colleges, increased the size and quality of faculty, and built and acquired new facilities in Chicago and its suburbs.

The two were quite different in background and personality. A native Chicagoan, Father Cortelyou was the first president (1964–1981) whose academic background was not theology. While teaching the sciences at DePaul Academy, a boys' high school connected to the university, he completed his doctorate in biology at Northwestern University and then joined DePaul's Biology Department. His research experience at Northwestern convinced him that full-time college faculty members needed to do research in their disciplines. He rejected the idea, so common at DePaul from its very inception, that good teaching was the sole function of faculty. From the moment he arrived, he urged the university to offer

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8 The newly opened Lewis Center in the Loop housed all the professional schools (Law, Music, and Commerce), and served as home to some Liberal Arts daytime courses, and virtually all its night courses. Altogether, it was home to a large majority of the student body. The Lincoln Park campus mainly served the daytime Liberal Arts students, as well as some evening programs.

a limited number of doctoral programs in the hope that faculty in these disciplines would encourage students to consider a research agenda.

Father Richardson's background was more traditionally that of former DePaul presidents, a theology degree followed by teaching experience at a Vincentian seminary. But, when he was unexpectedly assigned to DePaul at the relatively young age of thirty in 1954, he was determined to listen to both veteran and new faculty who insisted that change was necessary.[9] Although Father Cortelyou and Father Richardson had quite different personalities, they worked well together for almost three decades. For the most part, they enthusiastically supported each other's positions and ideas. One tactic they used was to hire academic chairs who agreed with their aims. These new chairpersons, in turn, would employ faculty to re-energize old programs and initiate new ones as the university's enrollment surged during the 1960s.

What happened at DePaul over this time also reflected larger changes occurring throughout the American Catholic higher education community. Several factors contributed to the timing and nature of these changes. Emerging from World War II, the American Catholic community felt far more confident about its rightful place in American society than it had earlier. Church membership grew rapidly. New parishes and schools opened up as both urban and suburban populations swelled. Enrollments at Catholic colleges and universities also increased. The popularity of Bishop Fulton J. Sheen, whose weekly TV program "Life is Worth Living" had fantastic ratings with both American Catholics and the general population, and the consistent athletic successes of Notre Dame's football team added to a growing feeling of self-confidence and self-respect among American Catholics.

Along with these positive signs came important critiques from several respected Catholic thinkers. The first emerged in 1954 in a lengthy essay by Reverend John Tracy Ellis, a distinguished historian at Catholic University of America, who attacked the lack of intellectual quality in American Catholic universities and colleges. He charged that they had not produced a community of intellectuals and scientists who could match those of other private and public universities. According to Father Ellis, this resulted from a "self-imposed ghetto mentality" exhibited by many Catholic educators.[10] In the realm of Catholic theology, an American Jesuit, Reverend John C. Murray, S.J., argued against what he considered

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9 John T. Richardson, C.M., *The Playful Hand of God: Memoirs of John T. Richardson, C.M.* (Chicago: DePaul University, 2011), pp.48–54.

10 Father Ellis's critique of the contemporary intellectual tradition in American Catholicism can be found in John Tracy Ellis, *American Catholics and the Intellectual Life* (Chicago: The Heritage Foundation, 1956), pp. 14–19. Father Ellis claimed that despite some attempts in nineteenth century to establish such a tradition, it was not present in the mid-twentieth century, although he detected some hopes for the future. Father Ellis's views had a powerful influence on some Catholic university presidents in the 1960s. For a summary of Father Ellis's influence, see Bruce Lambert, "Msgr. John Tracy Ellis, 87, Dies; Dean of U.S. Catholic Historians," *New York Times,* 17 October 1992, https://www.nytimes.com/1992/10/17/us/msgr-john-tracy-ellis-87-dies-dean-of-us-catholic-historians.html

as a reactionary and defensive position of some American bishops towards church-state relations. He advocated a more open discussion, both within and outside of the academy, on issues such as religious freedom. Father Murray preferred the US Constitution's definition of religious freedom and church-state separation to the narrower traditional Catholic one.[11] Church traditionalists could not argue that such criticisms were demonstrations of anti-Catholicism, especially as they emanated from highly respected Catholic leaders. Catholic educators who advocated curricular change and greater lay activism in many Catholic colleges and universities, including DePaul, were influenced by these critiques. The reforms that occurred at DePaul University, and at many other Catholic higher educational institutions in the 1960s and beyond, serve as prime examples of how university reformers used critiques to justify why their schools should improve.[12]

Beyond these critiques, though, the atmosphere created by Pope John XXIII at the second Vatican Council (1962–1965) provided further momentum that encouraged change. Its two major themes were openness to the non-Catholic world and a willingness to re-examine Catholic institutions and move them into the twentieth century. Pope John XXIII called this *aggiornamento,* a term loosely defined as "renewal" or "bringing up to date." In the decree *Perfectae Caritatis,* the Vatican Council required that each religious community renew its particular mission. The Vincentian order initiated its efforts in 1963 and eventually held a general assembly in 1968–1969, during which many changes were adopted, including a reconsideration of the apostolates it wished to accept. Several changes directly influenced what would occur at DePaul. One was a reduction in the term of the superior general of the Congregation. A second shift allowed each province to determine the tenure of its own provincial. In the Western Province, which encompassed DePaul, the provincial would be limited to three three-year terms. One important power held by the provincial was appointing the president and top officials of the university. The new provincial elected in 1962, Reverend James A. Fischer, C.M., used his authority the next year to name Father

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11 Although Father Murray was silenced by church authorities in Rome during the 1950s, he had become extremely influential by the time of Vatican II (1962–1965) and served as a *peritus* (expert). He was a major force behind the document on religious freedom *(Dignitatis Humanae)* issued by the Council. For a good overview of Vatican II, see Maureen Sullivan, O.P., *101 Questions and Answers On Vatican II* (Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press, 2002) or John W. O'Malley, *What Happened at Vatican II* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008).

12 There is a vast amount of literature on this topic. I have mainly consulted Neil J. McCluskey, S.J., ed., *The Catholic University: A Modern Appraisal* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1970) for essays by educators while the process of reform was ongoing; and John P. Langan, S.J., ed., *Catholic Universities in Church and Society: A Dialogue on "Excorde Ecclesiae"* (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 1993) and Alice Gallin, O.S.U., *Negotiating Identity: Catholic Higher Education Since 1960* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000) for a reflective view of what happened. A major force in the movement was Reverend Theodore C. Hesburgh, C.S.C., who served as president of Notre Dame throughout the era. His views about the important issues faced by Catholic higher education are in Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C., *The Hesburgh Papers: Higher Values in Higher Education* (Kansas City, KS: Andrews and McMeel, 1979). Years later, he reflected on the changes that occurred in another book, *The Challenge and Promise of a Catholic University* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994).

Cortelyou president of DePaul University. He made this task easier by transferring several Vincentians who had opposed some of the changes Fathers Cortelyou and Richardson were attempting at DePaul.[13] Father Fischer proved to be supportive of Vatican II's reforms, and he worked hard to implement them within the Vincentian community.

Many Vincentians were asking themselves how to translate the goals of Vatican II to their individual lives and their corporate missions. The reaction to these changes was mixed. For some priests, the reforms enacted did not go far or fast enough; for others, they went too far and too fast.[14] As provincial (1962–1971), Father Fischer exerted a strong but different kind of influence on the university from that of his predecessors. Rather than issuing directives, Father Fischer engaged in an ongoing dialogue with Fathers Cortelyou and Richardson and other Vincentians at DePaul about their ideas. A biblical scholar himself, Father Fischer agreed that faculty should do research, and he understood the arguments of those proposing that DePaul initiate a limited number of doctoral programs. Unlike previous provincials, he saw his role as that of a listener, not a regulator, and he encouraged the faculty at DePaul to decide on their own goals. Father Fischer also talked with lay faculty to find out what changes they wanted, and he was determined to support those changes as long as they clearly represented the considered thought of the administration and faculty.[15] Father Fischer's leadership style offered a much greater degree of autonomy to DePaul's president than had ever existed under previous provincials. He was actively interested in what went on at the university, but he did not wish to micromanage the operation as his predecessor had. He was also strongly committed to the reforms outlined by Vatican II.[16] Father Fischer thought that DePaul should progress by "using a truly Vincentian orientation

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13 An ongoing, lengthy correspondence about the curricular changes that ought to occur at DePaul can be found in a series of letters among Father Fischer, Father Cortelyou, and Father Richardson from 1959 to 1963. See Letters, John Cortelyou to John Richardson, 12 January 1959; John Cortelyou to James Fischer, 17 January 1963; John Cortelyou to James Fischer, 1 March 1963; William Cortelyou to James Fischer, 1 October 1962, all in Cortelyou Mss. Each of these Vincentians was dissatisfied with the status quo and was eager to initiate some of the changes described in this paper.

14 John E. Rybolt, C.M., ed., *The American Vincentians: A Popular History of the Congregation of the Mission in the United States* (Brooklyn, NY: New City Press, 1988), pp. 85–89.

15 Father Fischer very strongly supported those in the Congregation who most favored reform and change. For a statement of his views, see Letter, Reverend James Fischer to Reverend Willian Slattery, C.M. (November–December 1965) in Fischer Mss. in DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives at DPUA. The letter was marked "Preliminary Copy and Not Sent." In discussing the need to do something, Father Fischer remarked, "We should get something going before the zeal evaporates … and we have left only disgruntled and disillusioned men."

16 For examples of some of Father Fischer's views, see Letter, Father James A. Fischer to Father William Slattery, (November–December 1965) in Fischer Mss. The letter is marked "Preliminary Copy and Not Sent," but it expresses Father Fischer's sympathy with the reformers within the Congregation who are eager to implement the reforms of Vatican II into the Congregation. For Fischer's views about academic freedom for Vincentian priests, see Letter, Reverend James A. Fischer to Cornelius Sippel, 2 June 1967, in Fischer Mss. While Father Fischer tried to maintain the confidence of the older, somewhat more conservative priests in the Congregation, it is clear from his correspondence that both his mind and heart were with the reformers. Also see James A. Fischer, C.M., to Robert Schwanne, C.M., 23 February 1966, in Fischer Mss.

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John R. Cortelyou, C.M., president of DePaul University, and Benjamin J. Gingiss examine part of the Lincoln Collection. Photo ca. 1965.

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http://libservices.org/contentdm/index.php

to its education." If this meant moving into more graduate work, he could accept that, rather than forcing "the reality into a mold."

The changes that occurred at DePaul in the 1960s can be identified in several distinct but related moves. The first resulted from a long study by a committee chaired by Father Richardson, who was then serving as executive vice president and dean of faculties. The committee included some of the younger people who had recently arrived at DePaul, such as Father Cortelyou and his younger brother, Reverend William Cortelyou, C.M., as well as the lay chairs of the Philosophy, Mathematics, and Physics Departments. The group convened once a week for almost two years, and in 1964 issued a lengthy report titled "A Curriculum Design." It recommended a total redesign of the general education share of the undergraduate program that would guide students to the "distinctive opportunities for education and service that exist in an urban culture and an urban university."[17] Rather than maintain the lock-step general education requirements, which had been controlled by each college, the new proposal placed direction of general education into a new entity named "DePaul College." Father Richardson, the chief author of the "Curriculum Design," argued that general education courses should lead students to focus on the processes of learning rather than simply accumulating factual knowledge.

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17 "A Curricular Design for DePaul University," April 1964, in Richardson Mss.; Charles Strain says that the "Curricular Design" was the single most important reform because it did not need the approval of Vatican II, and it created "a solid set of core requirements in liberal education during the very period.... when other institutions were abandoning theirs," see "We Ourselves are Plural" in *Centennial Essays and Images,* pp. 298–302. This is a judgment with which I strongly agree.

The purpose of a university curriculum was to encourage students to develop intellectual curiosity and apply that curiosity throughout life. The DePaul College structure contained four divisions: philosophy and religious studies, humanities, social sciences, and physical sciences and mathematics. Each division would create and approve the required and elective courses designed by faculty. For two years prior to its implementation, Father Richardson met with every affected department to explain and defend the new curriculum and to seek suggestions for carrying it out. This was to create uniformity for general education requirements throughout the university rather than leaving it to the judgment of each college. "Curricular Design" was meant to combine a set of common educational experiences as well as offering students some choices in course selection.[18]

DePaul College was launched in 1967. In its first few years, the curriculum was tweaked and adjusted frequently as individual departments attempted to add more courses to their share of the general education pie. DePaul College did not meet with universal applause. The professional colleges did not appreciate losing the autonomy to determine their own general education requirements. Many Liberal Arts departments feared that they might lose some of their authority to set requirements for their majors. The History Department faculty split, with younger members designing a new course titled "Man and History: Historical Concepts and Methods." The class focused on how historians thought and worked, rather than just teaching traditional surveys of Western civilization or American history. The assumption behind this was that first-year students would have already mastered broad historical events in high school. Disagreements also occurred in several other departments. The Philosophy Department, under the leadership of Professor Gerald Kreyche, had introduced a new curriculum with titles such as "Man's Encounter with Man," "Man's Encounter with God," and "Man's Encounter with Morality," prior to DePaul College. These courses considered both Western and non-Western philosophical influences and perspectives. Some senior faculty favored the continuation of a more traditional Catholic philosophical structure based on Neo-Scholasticism. Professor Kreyche wanted to show that philosophy was relevant "to the needs of the twentieth-century lay student, rather than insist on a curriculum which featured only a single Catholic view." Kreyche, who arrived at DePaul in the early 1960s, hired a number of young instructors who had recently completed their training in Continental and phenomenological philosophy and were eager to introduce

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18 See "A Curricular Design for DePaul University," (April 1964), in Richardson Mss.

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Students and faculty line the windows of the College of Liberal Arts, Levan Center, Lincoln Park campus, in a photo dated 1964.

Identifier CampusShots_1960's_008
DePaul Heritage Digital Collections, DePaul University Library, Chicago, IL
http://libservices.org/contentdm/index.php

such ideas to DePaul students. While the traditional Scholastic-based courses remained among the department's offerings, Kreyche was keen to test out his new approach.[19]

Weaknesses in the teaching of theology were already apparent in the late 1950s. Father William Cortelyou, head of the Theology Department, had observed a lack "of spirited and dynamic teaching by some Vincentian priests."[20] He blamed himself for not executing sufficient oversight and cited the example of an instructor who asked students why they were Catholic and then responded, "Because you were born of Catholic parents."[21] A few years later, another theology instructor mused that the courses offered at DePaul were simply "much diluted" versions of what was being taught in Catholic seminaries.[22] In the new DePaul College curriculum, the Theology Department was renamed the Department of Religious Studies, and it included a far broader menu than had been previously offered. Father Richardson raised the quality of both graduate and undergraduate courses by recruiting outstanding instructors such as Reverend John MacKenzie, and Reverend Bruce Vawter, C.M., both Hebrew Scripture scholars, and Reverend John Dominic Crossan, a

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19 A thorough introduction to and examination of the problems DePaul College faced is contained in Memo, Avrom A. Blumberg to Charles Strain, 13 December 1995, in possession of author; Interview, Professor Edward Allemand with Albert Erlebacher, 13 May 2013, in author's possession; Memo, Albert Erlebacher to Charles Strain, 23 December 1995, in author's possession for my analysis of the successes and failures in the course titled "Man History: Historical Concepts and Methods."

20 Memo, William T. Cortelyou, C.M., to Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M, 17 October 1958, in O'Malley Papers.

21 *Ibid.*

22 Letter, Edmund J. Fitzpatrick to Albert Erlebacher, 3 February 1996, in author's possession. Many of the views of how theology was taught at Catholic universities can also be seen in critiques of men like Father Hesburgh, who argued that theology as a discipline should be treated by the same standards as any other discipline.

highly controversial Jesus scholar.[23] These teacher-scholars eventually provided the core of a new graduate program in Religious Studies. The department also took on an ecumenical shape by hiring Protestant and Jewish clergy as instructors. By the end of the 1960s, the new Religious Studies Department was headed by an ordained Presbyterian minister, Professor Paul Camenisch. These curricular modifications soon attracted national attention.[24]

Another example of applying the new curriculum occurred in the mathematics and science division. With the encouragement of Father William Cortelyou, the Mathematics Department hired a number of young men and women who had just completed their doctorates at the University of Chicago or the Illinois Institute of Technology. They were research oriented and eager to design general education courses with topics such as personal financial management and family planning (one such class was titled "Math and Life Decisions").[25]

The second major curricular reform was the introduction of doctoral studies in three areas: philosophy, biology, and psychology. This was a goal of Father Cortelyou's, who had preached about it since he first arrived at DePaul. From its earliest days, the university had offered some master's level graduate work in many liberal arts disciplines, as well as in the Colleges of Music and Commerce. However, these programs were primarily aimed at public and parochial high school teachers or business people needing the degree for promotion. Very few of these programs attracted full-time students who had a strong interest in research. In 1959, based on fourteen years of experience in the Biology Department, Father Cortelyou put forth a well-organized argument. Examining the records of all biology graduate students, he concluded that too many required too long to complete their degrees or simply dropped out altogether. He criticized graduate students who could not see any value "beyond what is able to be presented in a secondary school biology course." He bemoaned, "We do not get the above-average students from institutions with sound majors," and concluded that DePaul students would "never give a performance consonant with graduate level studies." He unfavorably compared the performance of part-time versus full-time students, and concluded the latter would more likely be successful than the former.[26] According to Father Cortelyou, the program existed mostly because "Mother Superior need[ed] Sister X to teach

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23 All three had a national reputation in the field of biblical studies. Crossan was considered one of the earliest of the group of "Jesus Scholars."

24 *Time* featured an unsigned article about the ecumenical character of DePaul's Theology Department. See "Curriculum: Departure at De Paul," *Time,* 23 October 1964, pp. 68–69. Available online: http://content.time.com/time/magazine/article/0,9171,897332,00.html

25 Telephone Interview with Professor Jerry Goldman, 12 March 2013, in possession of author.

26 Letter, Reverend John R. Cortelyou, C.M., to Reverend John Richardson, C.M., 12 January 1959, in O'Malley Papers. When writing to his closet friends, Father Cortelyou did not mince words or rely on overly diplomatic language. In evaluations of his academic colleagues he used blunt language to describe those who did not engage in research.

Biology.... and therefore Sister X should be given a degree simply because of maximum fidelity to attendance in class with a minimum effort and abilities in pursuit of a Graduate Degree."[27] Cortelyou was adamant that education in the sciences had to improve, because "either you go forward or backward—you don't stand still."[28]

Father Cortelyou wanted DePaul to launch a limited number of doctoral programs that would attract faculty committed to research. The result, he hoped, would be a higher quality of teaching at the undergraduate level. In the first years of his presidency, Father Cortelyou focused his efforts on those departments he thought best prepared to proceed rapidly toward doctoral work. Besides biology, they were psychology and philosophy. He repeatedly urged the university trustees to provide greater material resources to hire new faculty, offer graduate assistantships, provide laboratory equipment and modern spaces, and add to the number of scientific journals in the library. These minimal steps would support DePaul's application to begin offering doctoral work. When the NCA accreditation team visited in 1967, it offered provisional approval for the three doctoral programs. The approval came with the expectation that the university would continue to increase funds to hire more faculty, provide additional graduate assistantships, and institute a graduate council that would involve students in designing curriculum. Father Cortelyou was satisfied that this was the beginning of important educational and material improvements. He also hoped that these academic advances would lead to the construction of dormitories so that DePaul could begin to draw students from beyond the metropolitan Chicago area.[29]

The new DePaul College undergraduate curriculum, together with the start of doctoral work, completed the initial steps of a lengthy list of curricular innovations and additions that would mark the next three decades. DePaul, like many urban universities, had always offered nighttime courses for working adults eager to obtain a degree. Such programs were often little more than duplicates of their daytime equivalents, stretched out over a longer period. In 1971, Father Cortelyou hired an outside consultant and directed him to design an entirely new curriculum for adult education. The resulting design was a radically different educational plan which created a new college named School for New Learning (SNL). It aimed to attract adult students over the age of twenty-five who had never had the opportunity for post-secondary education. Instead of structuring the degree around general education and traditional major requirements, SNL accepted students only

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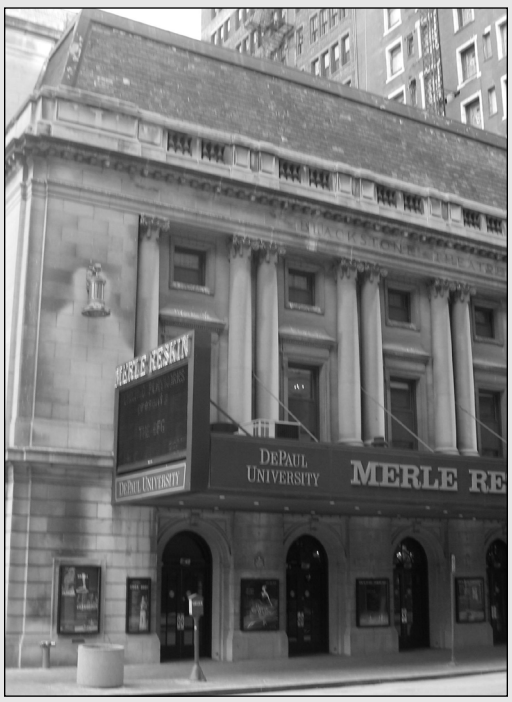
27 *Ibid.*

28 Memos, John R. Cortelyou to James A. Fischer, 17 January 1963 and 1 March 1963, in Fischer Mss. To be fair to Father Cortelyou, he applied the same criteria to other disciplines as well. Perhaps his strong stand for academic progress is what most appealed to Father Fischer when he selected Father Cortelyou as the next president of DePaul.

29 John R. Cortelyou, C.M., "Address to the Faculty," 22 September 1964, in Board of Trustees Mss. Memo, John R. Cortelyou, "To All Faculty and Administrative Officers," 18 July 1967, in Cortelyou Mss.



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The exterior of the Merle Reskin Theatre. Built in 1910, the former Blackstone Theatre was acquired by DePaul in 1988, and renamed in 1992. The venue featured performances by the Theater School as well as the School of Music.

Photograph by Antonio Vernon (original in color)

after they had achieved minimal levels of writing and communication competencies. Each accepted student, along with a faculty advisor, would design an individualized program meant to move him or her toward a degree. Each student's program might include some traditional college courses, but for the most part these new courses were taught by men and women drawn from the business world, the professions, or from nonprofit organizations and governmental agencies. Students' requirements depended upon their own educational background and work needs. SNL students could also be awarded a limited amount of college credits for past work experiences directly related to their educational goals. The school instituted a strong continuous counselling procedure for its students. In the beginning, faculty consisted solely of adjuncts not eligible for tenure, supplemented by a large number of academic counselors. In the decades that followed, SNL modified some of its methods and adopted several traditional academic procedures and policies (such as tenure); by the 1980s, it had even begun to offer a master's degree.

A second innovation, which took place in the 1970s, illustrated DePaul's traditional eagerness to expand and innovate by taking advantage of unexpected academic opportunities. Until the mid-1970s, the Goodman School of Drama had been associated with and housed by the Chicago Art Institute. When the Art Institute required more display space for its collections, it decided to evict the Goodman School. DePaul's leaders quickly negotiated the purchase of the Goodman and incorporated it within the university. DePaul had always maintained a small but strong drama department, but it lacked a theater building and the necessary working space to create large full-scale productions. Several years after the

Goodman was acquired, the school's name was changed to the DePaul Theater School. Most of the Goodman faculty were incorporated with tenure, and some temporary classrooms and lab spaces were obtained on the Lincoln Park campus. At first, plays were produced in the round in a pit on the ground floor of a classroom building. A few years later the university obtained, through donation, an old legitimate theater in the Loop, which it quickly rehabbed. However, the Theater School continued to require space in Lincoln Park for classrooms and set construction. It took more than three decades before the university constructed entirely new quarters for the Theater School. This allowed the school to finally combine classroom teaching with production facilities for set construction, as well as two performance venues, in one building.[30]

Another major expansion of the curriculum occurred in the mid-1970s when computer science courses were separated from the Mathematics Department and emerged as an autonomous department. By the 1990s, it grew into a college.[31] As the field of computer science grew rapidly and developed many subfields, the college expanded its offerings to include master's programs and doctorates in new areas such as game theory and artificial intelligence. By the 1990s, computer science had become one of the largest colleges in the university.

Similarly, but with smaller enrollments, new fields of study were identified in the Colleges of Law, Business, and Music as each quickly adapted to developments within their respective professions. Thus, the curricular adaptations of the 1960s and 1970s transformed DePaul into quite a different institution. Yet another adaptation came in the 1980s when the university began to build or rent satellite campuses in the northern, western, and southern suburbs of Chicago. Students attending them were connected through the internet with library facilities at the two central campuses.

The success of these changes was best measured by examining NCA visitations of the period. The Cortelyou-Richardson years illustrated quite a different approach to these decennial visits. On earlier occasions, the university had furnished information produced by its administrators for the NCA in a straightforward and mostly statistical manner. But the new approach was far more thorough. It relied on a long, in-depth, cooperatively made self-study that began several years prior to a given NCA visitation. It included widespread participation by faculty, staff, and administrators. The foundation of these studies usually

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30 It was not until 2013 that the university completed a building on the Lincoln Park campus solely dedicated to the work of the Theater School. It retained the theater in the Loop as well.

31 The Department of Computer Science was established in 1981; it became an autonomous college in 1995, and it is now known as the College of Computing and Digital Media. See Memo, Jill Tinkle to Albert Erlebacher, 1 August 2017, in author's possession.

emphasized changes that had resulted from the critiques of each previous NCA visit. Emphasis was placed on the successes of traditional academic programs and new programs recently created. The idea was to demonstrate the extent to which the university had met the NCA's previous suggestions and had set forth its own goals for the next decade.

The NCA approved the "Curriculum Design" for the new general education prospectus and provisionally approved doctoral work in 1967. Before the subsequent visit, the NCA fully approved the doctoral programs for biology, psychology, and philosophy. In their regular decennial visit of 1977, the NCA had expressed strong reservations about the DePaul College curriculum. These concerns mirrored some that faculty and administrators had noted, even those of DePaul College's most ardent advocates. One problem was the inability of the university to offer general education credit for DePaul College courses that would satisfy the needs of transfer students from community colleges, a segment of undergraduates rapidly growing in the 1970s. An internal paper noted that "little effort had been spent in the development of integration," and cited a history course that did not provide "sufficient insight into this method" of teaching. Some of the science faculty also expressed strong feelings that their DePaul College courses minimized laboratory experiences. One faculty member, originally part of the group that designed DePaul College, commented that many colleagues were impatient with the constant course adaptations. Numerous Science-Math division courses were too rigorous, and some professors simply continued doing what they had done before the college. A full summary of the changes and their criticisms was compiled by one of DePaul College's strongest supporters.[32] The NCA team concluded that the curriculum was not "sufficiently integrative" and lacked "a cohesive and permeating means of transferring culture."[33] Ultimately, the university decided to eliminate the autonomous status of DePaul College and returned general education courses to the control of academic departments. Despite this, the principle belief continued that general education needed to remain under some university-wide control.

In the early 1980s, a new structure for general education titled "Liberal Studies" succeeded DePaul College. A unique component was a requirement that all undergraduates take a two-quarter world civilization course, combined with a writing and research skills course. Instructional teams were formed consisting of two teachers drawn from the History and English Departments who worked separately with the same group of students. The history instructors wrote their own common text, and their evaluation process included a

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32 Interview with Gerald Kreyche, 1996, in possession of author; Avrom Blumberg, "Report on DePaul College, 1966–1982," 1995, in author's possession; Patricia Ewers, "General Education and DePaul College," 1978, in DPUA is a detailed critique of DePaul College's problems by its final dean. She was sympathetic with its aim, but felt it had created many new problems which it had not solved.

33 NCA Report, 1977, in Box 21 of NCA Mss.

common exam, but they were also encouraged to write their own essay questions. This unique experiment lasted for a decade. However, after the next NCA visitation it was replaced by a generic course titled "Discover Chicago," created so that first-year students received more exposure to the experiences and issues of urban life. The move made sense as a steadily increasing portion of the student body came from outside of Chicago, and it worked well with the idea that Chicago could serve as a laboratory for the university.[34] The willingness of Liberal Arts departments to constantly engage in redesigning existing courses and create new ones became an ongoing characteristic from 1970 to 1990. It was a result of the internal self-studies that preceded each successive NCA visit, and the adoption of some of the NCA's suggestions. Change was expected and planned for; it became the accepted order of the times.

The onset of significant changes to the general education undergraduate program was matched by the introduction of entirely new undergraduate programs. This was accomplished by creating interdisciplinary majors such as women's studies, Latin American and Latino studies, international studies, community service studies, public policy studies, and Catholic studies. Likewise, entirely new departments such as Anthropology and Art and Art History were created. While such programmatic adoptions required some new faculty, the university was also able to staff them by drawing members from traditional departments. Another innovation of the 1980s was the creation of study abroad programs established for undergraduates. This allowed students to travel to many European, Latin American, Middle Eastern, and Asian countries to study for several weeks or up to a full academic year. New joint undergraduate and graduate programs were also established between Liberal Arts departments and the professional colleges. The 1967 onset of doctoral programs in philosophy, biology, and psychology expanded with the addition of new graduate programs in commerce, computer science, and the School for New Learning, as well as joint master's programs in both the Commerce and Law Schools.[35] All of these curricular additions and adaptations followed the same pattern. DePaul's administration responded to the changing needs of the job market and provided new opportunities to attract students from Chicago and elsewhere. The success of the DePaul men's basketball program beginning in the late 1970s also won the university more national exposure on television. Increasingly positive evaluations provided by NCA teams after their 1977, 1987, and 1997 visits led the university to welcome them and to use their visits as a stimulus for continued improvement. No longer did university leaders fear a visit from the NCA.

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34 The world civilization sequence continued to be housed in the History Department after DePaul College. When it was no longer a university-wide requirement, it could still be used by any undergraduate as an elective or a requirement depending on the demands of the student's major.

35 See "DePaul Undergraduate Colleges and Schools Catalog, 2001–2003" and "Graduate Programs of DePaul University, 2001–2003," in DPUA, for samples of many such programs at DePaul.

Click to enlarge

Students studying in the Lewis Center library in the 1960s.

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A summary of key items in these three NCA evaluations demonstrates the breadth and depth of the major changes that occurred over these thirty years. Prior to the regular decennial review in 1977, a special visitation had made the provisional approval of the three doctoral programs permanent. Yet the NCA kept pushing the university to provide more financial aid to students, to encourage more minority students to apply, and to hire more research faculty.[36] The evaluation noted strong faculty morale in these departments, and it praised the willingness of the university to build community support of the Psychology Department by opening a mental health clinic.[37] Unfortunately the biology program, closest to the heart of Father John Cortelyou, needed to be discontinued due to lack of sufficient enrollment. A major negative cited in 1977 was the DePaul College curriculum. The remainder of the report praised the university's openness and its willingness to acquire more space for the new programs it was creating on the Lincoln Park campus. The School for New Learning was singled out for special praise and described as "a significant educational alternative of high quality." However, concern was raised that SNL needed to maintain a cadre of full-time faculty and staff in case the current leadership left the university. Other concerns raised in 1977 mentioned the university's need to develop more long-range planning and to engage more with affirmative action in its hiring practices. The NCA also concluded that

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36 Letter, Thurston Manning to Reverend John R. Cortelyou, 8 August 1975, in Box 21 of NCA Mss.

37 "The Psychology Department: Fifteen Years of Progress," April 1983, in DPUA, offers a complete picture of the successes and problems for one the first disciplines to offer a doctoral program.

DePaul needed "to augment … library resources" and give them "more support." This was a consistent concern in every NCA evaluation, and one that continued for at least another ten years.[38]

In the decade after the 1977 review, Father Cortelyou retired as president and was replaced by Father Richardson. The transition was smooth since the two had worked so closely together over the past twenty years. Also, prior to the next review in 1987, a special evaluation of the Law College was conducted by the Association of American Law Schools. It noted that a legal education at DePaul met society's needs, in part through the development of several specialized institutes and in offering a master of law degree program. But, the report also noted antagonisms between faculty and administration with students from minority communities, and it urged the college to address this.[39]

When the NCA returned in 1987, it found that many of the recommendations from a decade earlier had been successfully addressed. The report affirmed that the administrative structure of the university was lean, that the Board of Trustees understood their mission, and that the university's finances demonstrated a growing ability to support new programs and construction as well providing modest increases to the endowment. It lauded the administration for producing and carrying out systematic five-year plans that guided new areas of curricular growth, as well as the physical expansion necessitated by it. It praised DePaul for providing computer services that benefitted both students and faculty as the university joined a new library consortium of academic colleges and universities throughout Illinois. This vastly increased the breadth of library and research resources available. However, the report did note that the university had not yet constructed a freestanding library on its Lincoln Park campus, and that funding for books and periodicals was still less than it ought to be. Finally, it recommended that professionally trained computer staff should be provided at both campuses as a resource for faculty and students.[40]

By the NCA evaluation conducted in 1997, another major administrative change had occurred. With Father Richardson's retirement in 1993, the Board of Trustees chose another Vincentian, Reverend John Minogue, C.M., as his successor. Father Minogue had limited academic experience at DePaul prior to his appointment, and most of his tenure extends beyond the chronological limits of this paper. Two major trends marked the early part of his

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38 The problem was that the university had not yet constructed a separate building for its library, and this goal was not finally achieved until 1992. See "Report of a Visit to DePaul University by the Commission on Higher Education of NCA," March 20, 1977, in Box 21 of NCA Mss. The lack of a separate library facility on the Lincoln Park campus had been one of the constant criticisms of NCA visitation teams.

39 "Visit of American Association of Law Schools to DePaul University," 22–25 April 1980, in Box 21 of NCA Mss.

40 "Review and Evaluation of DePaul University," 23–25 February 1987, in Box 22 of NCA Mss. Father Richardson stated his reaction to the report in "Memo to the DePaul University Community on the NCA Report," 15 May 1987, in Richardson Mss.

Click to enlarge

The groundbreaking ceremony for the Richardson Library, 1 June 1990, Fr. Richardson standing at far right; early 90s architect's rendering of plans for the Richardson Library and Lincoln Park campus; and a view of the library's construction underway in 1991 [Les Boschke Photography].

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presidency. The first was his determination to improve existing academic programs, as well as continuing to take advantage of any new academic opportunities that arose. The second was a far-reaching expansion of the university's entry into computerization, promoting the use of computers by faculty, staff, and administrators in all phases of their activities. Within the College of Computing and Digital Media, existing programs were expanded and new ones implemented so that it became one of the largest departments within the university. Father Minogue described the necessity of entering the computer and digital age as urgent and comparable to earlier generations learning "to use a pencil and pen."[41]

The 1997 NCA evaluation of DePaul once again examined every aspect of the university's teaching, research, and community service goals. It discussed all the characteristics of change that occurred during the Cortelyou-Richardson years, and, as usual, provided some new direction for qualitative change over the next decade. The NCA reported all constituencies at the university accepted a commitment that their programs fit within "DePaul's Catholic, Urban, and Vincentian" mission, and that this was illustrated by the faculty's concern for its students. Faculty, staff, administrators, and students all had accepted an obligation to improve the lives of disadvantaged individuals and groups within their urban setting.[42] The NCA lauded the strong partnerships the university had developed in all its colleges with public and private institutions in the metropolitan area, thus becoming "a cornerstone for Chicago."

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41 Susy Chan, "DePaul Net*Works: Beyond 1994: DePaul's Technology Outlook," Fall Quarter 1994, in DPUA.

42 Michael Protegra, S.J., to Stephanie Quinn, 16 May 1997, in "Report of a Visit to DePaul University," 27–29 March 1997, in Box 23 of NCA Mss.; Memo, John P. Minogue, C.M., to DePaul Community, "The Accreditation of DePaul University," February 1997, in Box 34 of NCA Mss.

The NCA did note that DePaul had fallen behind in its fund-raising because of a rapid turnover of personnel in the Development department. It also urged DePaul to create a university-wide programmatic evaluation that would improve ways to measure student academic assessments and outcomes. The review also encouraged the university to continue to expand its representation of people of color and of women in all areas of its operations.[43] One of the final recommendations was that every college within the university should appoint an advisory council of professionals in business and industry, some of whom would no doubt be alumni, to serve as a marketing tool and springboard to help support vocational opportunities for graduates. This, the visitors claimed, would aid the university in achieving its goal of using Chicago as "a living laboratory" for teaching, research, and service activities. As to expansion, the report praised the newly constructed freestanding university library, fully opened in 1992, the fulfillment of a long-sought goal. It also suggested that DePaul consider merging all the fine arts programs into a new facility in downtown Chicago.[44]

The last major reform of the 1960s had involved the restructuring of the university's charter so that it would more accurately reflect recent societal and academic changes. When the original 1898 charter was amended in 1907, the document recommended a board of fifteen trustees, ten of whom were to be Vincentians, while the other five were to be laypersons. It included an ironclad provision that this ratio "shall be forever unalterable."[45] This phrase made it difficult to make minor changes without rewriting the entire charter. The ten Vincentians included the president of the university and the provincial, as well as Vincentian priests working at DePaul or at other Vincentian institutions. Lay members were usually Roman Catholic businessmen and professionals from the Chicago area. While Vincentians owned and operated the university, the charter also included provisions that prohibited any religious test for students, staff, or faculty. DePaul was one of the first, if not the first, Catholic universities to admit laywomen as full time students.[46] From its very inception, DePaul hired some non-Catholics as teachers, and one of its earliest deans was a Protestant. However, the provision of ten Vincentians to five laypeople maximized the Province's control over the university.

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43 *Ibid.,* p. 51.

44 *Ibid.,* pp. 52–53. Instead, the university built a new facility for its College of Drama on the Lincoln Park campus that opened it in 2013, and a new building for its School of Music on the Lincoln Park campus, completed in 2018.

45 "Charter of DePaul University," 24 December 1907, in DPUA Mss.

46 There is a dispute among Catholic universities as to whether DePaul University or Marquette University was the first to admit women. The answer depends upon whether the term "women" meant nuns, laywomen, or both. For the Marquette version, consult Raphael Hamilton, S.J., *The Story of Marquette University: An Object Lesson in the Development of Catholic Higher Education* (Milwaukee, WI: Marquette University Press, 1953), pp. 124–27. Both schools had issues with their religious superiors on this policy, DePaul with Chicago's archbishop, who was opposed to coeducation and Marquette with its Jesuit superiors for the same reason. Each found a different way to ignore these objections.

Early on during the post–World War II period, some Vincentians at DePaul began to realize that the governing structure established in 1907 no longer met their needs or society's. By the 1960s, many Catholic higher educational institutions reached the same conclusion. This was but one motivation that moved Catholic colleges and universities towards appearing more similar to private and public higher educational institutions.[47] Looking back at this in her study *Negotiating Identity: Catholic Higher Education Since 1960,* Alice Gallin notes several factors which contributed to these changes. One was the decreasing number of Catholic men and women entering and remaining in religious orders that operated colleges and universities. Another was the eagerness of Catholic colleges and universities to tap into the many new sources of federal and state financial aid, to which certain conditions were attached. One of the most important reasons was the greater willingness by Catholic institutions to accept the norms of academic freedom practiced at their private and public counterparts.

In 1970, Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C., then president of the University of Notre Dame and probably the most well-known Catholic higher education leader in the United States, received the prestigious Alexander Meiklejohn Award for Academic Freedom from the American Association of University Professors. It was the first time the award had been given to a Roman Catholic educator. In accepting the award, Father Hesburgh dismissed an old comment made by George Bernard Shaw that a "Catholic university was a contradiction in terms." He emphasized that a university "does not cease to be free because it is Catholic."[48] Father Hesburgh used his prestige and considerable diplomatic skill to push many of the specific reforms required to enhance the academic standing and status of Catholic higher education.[49] He accepted the challenge issued in the 1950s by Father Ellis. Looking back, Gallin confirmed that many of Father Hesburgh's ideas encouraged major shifts in Catholic higher education. Some of these were as follows: providing faculty with a greater degree of academic freedom; trying to maintain the religious allegiance of a Catholic faculty and student body; improving the quality of both undergraduate and

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47 This issue is discussed from a historical perspective by Alice Gallin, O.S.U., *Negotiating Identity: Catholic Higher Education Since 1960* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2000). For a more contemporary view of how the issue developed in the 1960s see Edward J. Power, *Catholic Higher Education in the Unites States: A History* (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, 1972), and McCluskey, *The Catholic University*. Both authors agreed that the self-identification of what a Catholic university or college stood for was the most single important issue these educators and leaders faced.

48 Father Hesburgh's views on academic freedom are elaborated in *The Hesburgh Papers,* pp. 63–67.

49 *Ibid*. The book contains a series of talks in which Father Hesburgh analyzes the changes occurring in American Catholic higher education in the 1960s and 1970s. Many, but not all, Catholic educators shared his views of reforms. I believe that DePaul's leaders were sympathetic with his ideas. In 1973, DePaul awarded Father Hesburgh the Saint Vincent DePaul Award for his "vision and conviction that the dignity of the human person could be realized only by massive changes in our institutions and mores." See "75th Annual Graduation Exercises," June 1973, in Academic Commencement File, Box 4 in DPUA.

graduate programs; changing the governance of institutions to make them more consistent with accepted American standards; increasing the ability to raise funds from foundations and alumni; and reducing the reliance on student tuition.[50] To some degree, each of these shifts occurred at DePaul University as well.

One Catholic historian noted, "for some years before Vatican Council II, a more critical spirit and greater eagerness for the democratic process had begun to appear among the leading Catholic centers of learning." The vital struggle for academic freedom at Catholic universities faced several obstacles. For example, there was the reaction to the papal silencing of Jesuit Reverend John Courtney Murray, S.J., who had been writing on the topic of religious freedom since the 1950s. The Catholic University of America refused to allow a series of student sponsored lectures that included talks by Father Murray and Fathers Hans Kung and Gustave Weigel. Of most probable interest to the DePaul community was the arbitrary firing of thirty-three faculty, including several priests, at St. John's University, another Vincentian institution. Finally, some local bishops tried to continue to exert control over universities in their dioceses.[51]

At DePaul, the issue of academic freedom was approached more diplomatically than at other Catholic institutions. The local chapter of the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) actively defended faculty rights. In one instance, it helped defend an older priest who felt he was being discriminated against because he would not accept assignments teaching philosophy and theology in the new DePaul College. In the mid-1960s, the AAUP supported a resolution urging the Illinois legislature to repeal a law requiring loyalty oaths for professors at public institutions. It also passed a resolution condemning the firing of faculty at St. John's University, and it urged its members not to accept any academic appointment there. In the mid-1970s, the chapter successfully defended three psychology professors, two of whom were tenured, terminated because their outside grant funding had ceased.[52]

One of the first steps that Father Cortelyou took as president was to cease using the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum,* an old Vatican document that restricted the use of certain

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50 Gallin, *Negotiating Identity,* pp. 1–29, especially p. 29.

51 John Tracy Ellis, "A Tradition of Autonomy" in McCluskey, *The Catholic University,* pp. 207–70. Father Ellis, the doyen of American Catholic historians, had been the first to publicly identify the lack of an intellectual tradition among American Catholic universities as early as 1955. See Footnote 10 of this paper.

52 See "DePaul AAUP Chapter Minutes of May 12, 1966," for a vote to condemn the administration at St. John's University for firing the faculty members; Minutes of May 15, 1967, urging the university to give rank and tenure to full time faculty in the College of Music. "Decision of the Board of Review of DePaul University in the Appeal of Dr. Ernest J. Doleys and Dr. Philip F. Caracena," 8 August 1974, all in DePaul AAUP Mss. The DePaul AAUP chapter provided both moral and financial assistance to the two in their struggle. The university accepted the decision of a board appointed by the university that the two professors should have their tenured status and positions restored; "DePaul University AAUP Chapter Minutes," May 12, 1966, in AAUP Mss.

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Aerial views of the Lincoln Park campus from the 1950s, early 1970s, and 1990s reveal the growth and development of DePaul University over the last half of the twentieth century.

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books by faculty and students unless they had prior permission.[53] After the St. John's University firing, faculty at many other universities came to the aid of their beleaguered colleagues. Father Fischer, the Western provincial, was disturbed by what had occurred at St. John's. However, based on talks with lay faculty and administrators at DePaul, he felt that the situation was much better there and illustrative of a more mature and collegial relationship.[54] One Vincentian at DePaul even suggested that his criteria for academic freedom would be whether the university would allow a known homosexual spokesperson to address students.[55]

In the 1940s, DePaul's Vincentians began to assume greater control over their institution and to increase lay participation and influence, reaching a culmination in 1967. In 1945, Father O'Malley created the Lay Advisory Board of Trustees, which he hoped would assist with fund-raising and promote the university to the larger Chicago community. But this board, while helpful, was purely advisory. It lacked any legal power to deal with policies, budgets, curricula, or the appointments of top administrative officers. The financial restrictions imposed by the provincial in the early 1950s, and DePaul's continuing

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53 As late as 1962, Father O'Malley had told the bookstore manager that he had seen some books on the list sitting on open bookstore shelves. See Memo, Comerford J .O'Malley to Joe Keenan, 19 April 1962, in O'Malley Papers. Pope Paul VI finally dropped the Index altogether in 1966.

54 Letter, James C. Fischer, C.M., to Reverend John Zimmerman, C.M., 14 January 1966, in Fischer Mss. The St. John's episode is fully and sympathetically covered in John Leo, "Some Problem Areas of Catholic Higher Education" in *The Shape of Catholic Higher Education,* ed. Robert Hassenger (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), pp. 93–201. Another full consideration of what happened at St. John's is by Anthony Dosen, C.M., *Catholic Higher Education in the 1960s: Issues of Identity, Issues of Governance* (Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing, 2009), pp. 170–86.

55 Memo, William Cortelyou, C.M., to John Richardson, C.M., 1 November 1973, in Richardson Mss.

dependence on the Province to provide priests as teachers and administrators hampered the university's attempts to expand physically, modernize and enlarge its curriculum, and improve its financial strength.[56]

What occurred at DePaul in the 1960s typified some of the trends experienced at many Catholic higher educational institutions. Not only did undergraduate, professional, and graduate enrollments rise sharply, but many Catholic institutions also began broadening their graduate, research, and professional offerings. The spirit of Vatican II motivated some presidents in Catholic higher education to become more assertive about expanding curricula, increasing lay involvement in control, and embracing academic freedoms to promote a higher quality of academic life at their schools.

Prominent scholar Andrew Greeley believed that American Catholic higher education had gone through an "identity crisis" during the postwar period.[57] Father Greeley thought that Catholic institutions that accepted the basic values and overall style of American higher education would be the quickest to adapt. However, he also warned that the methods of control at the time were "at variance with what has traditionally been considered the proper spirit of a Roman Catholic religious order," and added "the leadership … must, by one means or another, create acceptance within the religious order for the innovations it proposes."[58] Greeley and others cautioned "that academic freedom is a new idea to American Catholic educators because they have only recently arrived at the point where it has a vital bearing on the activity of the college."[59]

The question of academic freedom was foremost in the minds of many critics. One such observer claimed that the obedience demanded by some religious orders might seem "to fly in the face of the ideas set forth by Pope John and Vatican II."[60] Another critic cited the mass firings of faculty at St. John's University and felt that this demonstrated that the relationship between the faculty and administration was a time bomb at many Catholic colleges. He believed St. John's administrators had done all in their power to ignore and reject every reform that emanated from faculty with regard to finances, academic freedom, and tenure.[61] Administrators and faculty at DePaul understood what was occurring at St. John's, and they were determined to avoid it. Father Fischer told one of his colleagues, "We

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56 The history and functions of the Lay Board of Trustees are described in Dosen, *Catholic Higher Education,* pp. 202–04.

57 The phrase is Phillip Gleason's and is quoted in Andrew Greeley, *From Backwater to Mainstream: A Profile of Catholic Higher Education* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1969), p. 5.

58 Andrew Greeley, *The Changing Catholic College* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1967), p.10.

59 Ibid. p. 100.

60 Frances E. Kearns, "Social Consciousness and Academic Freedom in Catholic Higher Education," in *The Shape of Catholic Higher Education,* p. 201.

61 Leo, "Some Problem Areas of Catholic Higher Education," p. 201.

are taking quite a beating over the St. John's affair. … DePaul has a lot of explaining to do to professors they are trying to hire;" but the outlook wasn't entirely negative as he added, "I just talked to a half-dozen of the lay professors … and there is not the slightest feeling I can detect that would cause any worry. They keep talking about 'our university.'"[62] In 1970, Father Cortelyou increased faculty and staff influence over decision-making by launching a university senate.[63]

As previously noted, Professor Gerald Kreyche had been hired to design a different approach to the study of philosophy and theology, which had gone a long way in making the disciplines more relevant to students' needs and experiences.[64] Father Fischer had defined DePaul as an "eclectic" school not wedded to any one school of philosophical or theological thought. Instead, DePaul was devoted to finding the best ways to approach truth and the best methods for relaying knowledge to students. He declared, "crucifixes, Roman collars and pious sayings do not make a university Catholic."[65]

Several of the older priests did not appreciate the de-emphasis of the Scholastic philosophical tradition, long the bedrock of philosophical instruction at most Catholic universities and colleges. However, by offering students choices beyond courses based on Scholasticism, DePaul was at the forefront of change among Catholic universities. Academic freedom was also evident in the way the Religious Studies Department's offerings and faculty reached beyond traditional Catholic theological perspectives, as previously noted. These moves and others described in this paper's section on DePaul College improved the quality of philosophy and religion courses at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. They pushed the reputations of these disciplines forward as earlier reforms supported by Father Fischer had suggested.

The Soviet Union's successful launch of the first space vehicle in 1957, prior to American space exploration, became another factor in stimulating qualitative improvement of American higher education. Public reaction to the Soviet achievement was shock and amazement, and many Americans felt they had lost a round in the Cold War. Public and political pressure stimulated both the executive and legislative branches to react quickly. From the late 1950s through the 1960s, congressional leaders and the Eisenhower, Kennedy,

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62 Letter, Reverend James C. Fischer, C.M., to Reverend John Zimmerman, C.M., 14 January 1966, in Box 1 of Fischer Mss. Father Fischer was also heavily involved in bringing about changes within the structure and activities of the Vincentian order.

63 "DePaul University Senate: Underlying Principles, Constitution, By-Laws" (1970) in Cortelyou Mss. I chaired the committee. The structure proved to be cumbersome and unwieldy. In the mid-1980s it was replaced by a series of separate councils representing students, faculty, and staff each elected by their constituents. See Richardson, *The Playful Hand of God,* p. 96.

64 For specifics, see earlier discussion of Kreyche in this paper.

65 Minutes of Board of Trustees, 19 November 1963, in Board of Trustees Minutes at DPUA.

and Johnson administrations used the space race to prod Congress to enact a massive increase of federal funds into scientific research and applied technology. These funds provided research grants for academics and awards for high school science, mathematics, and foreign language that teachers used to renew and expand their subject matter competencies. Loans and grants were made available to build and expand research facilities at many universities and scientific laboratories, especially those related to space.[66] These laws were in addition to earlier ones that provided federal funds and loans for classroom buildings and dormitories, as well as research grants and scholarships for students at both the graduate and undergraduate levels. All of the laws were written to make church-related schools eligible for their benefits, provided that such benefits did not directly relate to any sectarian religious activity.

The issue for Catholic colleges and universities was whether they could qualify for these new governmental benefits without diminishing or destroying their religious affiliation and ethos. Not receiving a share of these federal and state benefits would make it more difficult for them to attract high-quality faculty and students in competition with public and other private institutions. Legal issues first arose at the state level in Maryland in 1962. Maryland had appropriated public funds to improve the teaching of physical sciences and mathematics by providing for the construction of buildings and scientific laboratories. The question was whether religiously affiliated or sponsored schools qualify for such funds. The Maryland court constructed a set of criteria that allowed the government to provide funding if the particular college or university which received them was not fundamentally a religiously run institution.[67] The court did allow such monetary awards if the institution receiving them was primarily sectarian. Under this interpretation, the burden of proof rested on the institution.

While this case applied only to Maryland, federal courts began using similar criteria to decide whether religiously affiliated schools might receive federal funds. The ultimate decision permitting Catholic and other church-related colleges to received federal funds came in 1971, when the United States Supreme Court handed down a verdict in Richardson v. Tilton.[68] The statute in question was the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963, but

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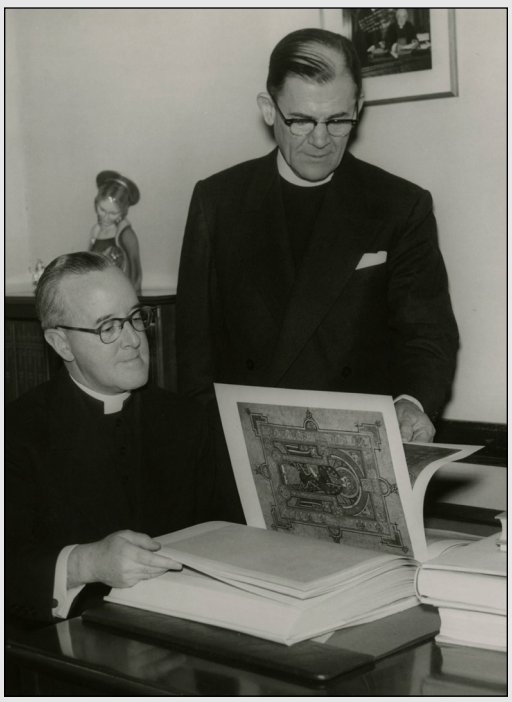
66 The major laws that contained these funds were the National Aeronautics and Space Act of 1958, 72 US. Stat. 426–2; the National Defense Education Act of 1958, 75 U.S. Stat. 1580; and the Higher Education Act of 1965, 79 U.S. Stat. 1219. Each was amended frequently in the following years.

67 The case was *Horace Mann League of the United States v. Board of Public Works,* (1966), 242 Md. 645, 220. The case is analyzed in Walter Gelhorn and R. Kent Greenwalt, "Public Support and the Sectarian University," *Fordham Law Review* 38, no. 3 (1970): 404–05. It provided the aid if schools could demonstrate that they were not essentially religious institutions. For example, theological seminaries could not receive state funds even if they were accredited.

68 *Tilton v. Richardson,* 403 US. 672 (1971). The US Supreme Court allowed church-sponsored universities to receive grants and loans under the Higher Education Facilities Act of 1963 if those funds provided a "legitimate secular objective entirely appropriate for government action without having the effect of advancing religion." See *Ibid.*



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A 1951 photograph captures Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M., seated at left, and a fellow priest examining a book.

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the court's language allowed it to be applied to other federal statutes providing monetary benefits to non-public colleges and universities. The key issue was that federal funds could not be used for purely sectarian purposes. For example, a chapel inside a school's science building would not be eligible for federal funds. This decision was vital for the future of Catholic institutions.[69]

DePaul, like many other Catholic institutions, was eager to tap into this federal largesse. However, administrators were concerned by the political ramifications of engaging in the constitutional issue of church-state separation. A single example illustrates their dilemma and how the problem was managed.

Since the early 1950s, the archbishop of Chicago had served as the university's honorary chancellor. During this period, Father O'Malley enthusiastically sponsored an effort to obtain papal recognition for DePaul's College of Music from the Papal College of Music. Father O'Malley thought that such a gesture, if approved, would substantially improve the university's prestige. With a great deal of work, which included extensive clerical lobbying in Rome, DePaul gained this papal acknowledgment for its College of

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69 Paul C. Reinert, S.J., *The Urban Catholic University* (New York: Sheed and Ward,1970), pp. 61–69. Father Reinert, the president of St. Louis University and a leading Catholic higher education reformer, urged increasing lay control in boards of trustees and administration. He emphasized finding more financial resources from foundations, corporations, and government. He also advocated avoiding duplication of programs among various Catholic schools in the same metropolitan area, and even possibly merging Catholic higher education institutions within a metropolitan region.

Music.[70] Yet during Father Cortelyou's administration, this recognition became a sensitive issue. Fears arose that it might indicate DePaul had too close a legal relationship with an arm of the Catholic Church and that a federal court might argue DePaul was under papal control. This would severely limit the university's ability to qualify for federal and state funds, as well as loans, for construction, faculty research grants, and scholarship funding for students. Therefore, Fathers Cortelyou and Richardson led a determined effort to have the papal designation rescinded. This required even more intensive lobbying than their earlier attempt to obtain recognition. Finally, the Papal certification was removed from DePaul's catalog in 1973.[71] This example illustrates how important obtaining Federal and state funds was to the administration.

An important ideological challenge for DePaul was maintaining the Vincentian spirit and ethos that motivated the institution. Fathers Cortelyou and Richardson had pushed for reform even before Vatican II, but they used its goals to support their own ideas. Principally, these were that Catholic institutions must broaden and deepen their curricula, especially in disciplines related to the nation's need to improve education in the sciences and its application in technology. This was largely part of a national response within higher education to the burgeoning Cold War.[72]

By the 1960s, Father John Tracy Ellis's criticism of the quality of intellectuals produced at American Catholic universities were shared by the presidents of Notre Dame and St. Louis University, and others, including several nuns who presided over women's colleges. They were motivated by the spirit of Vatican II. They also recognized that public and private institutions were growing in size and improving the quality of their academic offerings. Since there were so many different types of institutions within Catholic higher

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70 "DePaul University is canonically erected by the Sacred Congregation of Seminaries and Universities, Rome. The School of Music is affiliated with the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music, Rome." See *DePaul University Bulletin,* Vol. LXI2, 1958), p. 2, in DPUA. This statement continued in one form or another through *DePaul University Bulletin* (1970–1971). The archbishop of Chicago is listed as the chancellor or grand chancellor of the university through 1971. After that, Reverend Comerford J. O'Malley, the emeritus president, is listed as chancellor. The practice of the president emeritus serving as chancellor has become customary since then.

71 Letters, John R. Cortelyou, C.M., to James W. Richardson, C.M., 23 January 1973 and 20 February 1973, in Cortelyou Mss. These letters discuss some of the complications involved in getting rid of this papal designation. Father Cortelyou wanted to avoid "excessive entanglements with religious organizations outside the university which could render DePaul legally ineligible for public funds." It was fortunate for DePaul that the superior general of the Vincentians at the time was Father James W. Richardson, the older brother of Father John W. Richardson, who used his influence at the Vatican to get this accomplished.

72 John W. Gardner, "The University in Our Civilization," in *Vision and Purpose in Higher Education: Twenty College Presidents Examine Developments during the Past Decade,* ed. Raymond F. Howers (Washington, DC: American Council on Education, 1962), pp. 207–15. Gardner had been the president of the University of California system and was considered the foremost spokesperson and internal critic for American higher education during the post–World War II period. He served as secretary of Health, Education and Welfare from 1965 to 1968. Howers's anthology includes essays by many leaders of higher education in the 1950s about what its major achievements were and what future its challenges would be.

education, it would have been impossible and undesirable to design a single plan for all them. What, then, would be the plan for DePaul, an urban institution offering a large variety of baccalaureate programs as well as professional degrees in business, law, and music?[73]

The issue of what it meant to be a Catholic and Vincentian institution was a complex one for DePaul's leaders, and it has remained a frequent topic of internal discussion since the 1960s. There were many factors behind this. One was the decreasing presence of Vincentian fathers and brothers at the university. Concurrently with Vatican II, the number of Catholic men and women entering religious life dropped sharply. Also, an increasing number of men and women were leaving clerical orders for a variety of personal and professional reasons.[74] Practically, this meant fewer Vincentians serving DePaul's students. In a larger sense, it also contributed to changes in the various apostolates that the Vincentian order assumed.[75] Could there be a time when very few or even no Vincentians were present? This was partially addressed in 1976 by the Midwest Province. It was concluded that in future there ought to be at least twenty active Vincentians at DePaul, with four serving in administrative positions, ten holding teaching appointments, and the rest serving as chaplains or in middle management positions. The Province proposed sustaining the university's goal to provide educations for a high percentage of inner-city students, and to offer the school's resources to those most in need of help in Chicago. This, they felt, would maintain the traditional Vincentian identification and heritage of the university.[76]

The twin issues of maintaining a Vincentian presence and according laypeople a greater say in policy-making were linked together in the 1960s at DePaul. This tension was felt at other Catholic schools as well. A leading scholar on this topic has argued that the addition of laymen and laywomen to the governing boards of Catholic higher education institutions was a necessary step in their growth. This change was achieved through a variety of processes and resulted in a number of different leadership models.[77] Not only did increasing lay leadership help to fulfill the spirit of Vatican II, it also provided a satisfactory response to some of the legal challenges caused by the *Horace Mann* and *Tilton* decisions.

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73 A rich literature on contemporary critiques of American Catholic higher education in the United States in the 1960s is cited in this paper. See the books by Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C.; Alice Gallin, O.S.U.; Robert Hassenger; Neil G. McCluskey, S.J.; and Edward J. Power previously cited. An early retrospective of the solutions can be found in Germaine Grisez, "American Catholic Higher Education: The Experience Evaluated" in *Why Should the Catholic University Survive? A Study of the Character and Commitments of Catholic Higher Education,* ed. George A. Kelly (New York: St. John's University Press,1973), pp. 41–58.

74 I can offer no judgment as to the cause and effect relationship between Vatican II and the fall in the number of men and women joining or remaining in religious orders.

75 See Rybolt, *The American Vincentians,* pp. 85–94 for a full discussion of the immediate changes within the Vincentian order as a result of Vatican II.

76 William MacKinley, C.M., and others, "Report of the Commission on the Allocation of Resources," 20 March 1976, pp. 51–53, in Box 4 of Provincial Records in DeAndreis-Rosati Memorial Archives. The fears of this group became a reality. As of 2017, only twelve Vincentians were actively employed at DePaul.

77 On the national level, the result of these changes is fully discussed in Gallin, *Negotiating Identity,* pp. xiv–xv.

Vincentian reformers who questioned the future of DePaul feared that the declining number of religious could mean the school would lose its connection with their order. One solution began to evolve in the late 1960s. The larger issue, greater lay control, posed a difficult problem considering the ironclad provision contained in the school's 1907 charter that a ratio of ten Vincentians to five laymen must be maintained. The university was not interested in the complexity of having to re-charter itself. Fathers Cortelyou and Richardson recognized, however, that the major social and educational upheavals that had occurred since the charter was created did not destroy or even alter the school's spiritual obligations. What had motivated the founders of the university would remain essential, as would a Vincentian presence.

The question was how this presence be would be defined. Laypersons had gradually become a larger part of every aspect of the university's organization and programs. If laypeople could be more involved in determining university policies, they might also then provide greater material resources to support development. Between 1965 and 1967, Father Cortelyou considered how this could be achieved. Counselled by Father Richardson and the provincial, Father Fischer, as well as by his Vincentian colleagues, Father Cortelyou developed proposals that would result in a plan "more representative of the body being governed."[78] The Vincentians were simply formalizing what had been done since 1946 when the Lay Board of Trustees was created.[79] Recognizing the changing nature of the faculty, administration, and student body, and relying on the inspiration of Vatican II, they proposed to alter the makeup of the Board of Trustees. They also cited the importance of the 1962 case in Maryland and the need to raise money from sources other than tuition. The university would still adhere to its religious orientation "along the bases of the Judaic-Christian tradition," and it would pass on the "heritage of St. Vincent de Paul," while remaining "intellectually free.... to distinguish between the pursuit of it and a commitment to it."[80]

By November of 1967, the board had completed the revision. The former board would be transformed into a body called Members of the Corporation with the sole power to appoint the new Board of Trustees. The new Board of Trustees would become much larger than the former, and it would be dominated by laypeople with the power to determine the goals and policies of the university including the appointment of the president and

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78 John R. Cortelyou, C.M., "Consideration of the DePaul University Board of Trustees Considering Charter Revisions," 20 February 1967, in Cortelyou Mss. The same discussions occurred at many Catholic colleges and universities.

79 John R. Cortelyou, C.M., "Considerations of Report of DePaul University Legal Committee Considering Charter Revisions," 20 February 1967, in Board of Trustee Minutes. The changing degree of influence of the Lay Board is discussed in Dosen, *Catholic Higher Education in the United States,* pp. 203–04.

80 *Ibid.,* p.2.

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The site clearing ceremony held 1 April 1965 in preparation for construction of the Arthur J. Schmitt Academic Center. John T. Richardson, C.M., stands at far left, John R. Cortelyou, C.M., fourth from right, Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley second from right, and Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M., at far right.

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executive vice president. These two top executives would not necessarily be members of the Vincentian order. Since laypeople were now a majority of the new board, the former Board of Lay Advisors was abolished. It is worth noting that a high percentage of members were drawn from this old lay board.[81] There were reservations. One Vincentian felt the lay dominance of the board over-represented the "moneyed class," and that the lay members might emphasize financial concerns while sacrificing academic freedom. Father Cortelyou defended the new scheme by replying that the necessity of relying on contributions from Vincentians was over. He reiterated that the university required greater funding than what tuition could bring in.[82]

The qualitative and quantitative changes that took place at DePaul University from the 1960s to the 1990s resulted in an institution quite different from that which existed at its founding in 1897. The initial step that ignited these changes was the NCA threat to remove DePaul from its list of accredited institutions in 1950. When Catholic sociologist Father Andrew Greeley looked at DePaul in the late 1960s, he described it as a commuter school that took great pride in producing many lawyers who held city, county, and state positions. He thought its challenge would be to "combine scholastic excellence … with

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81 "By-Laws of DePaul University" (1984) in Board of Trustees Mss. The first two presidents appointed under the new rules were Vincentians, but in 2017 the Board chose a layman as president.

82 Bruce Vawter, C.M., to John R. Cortelyou, C.M., 28 March 1967; John R. Cortelyou to Bruce Vawter, 11 April 1967, in Cortelyou Mss.

a distinctive atmosphere that facilitates personal growth."[83] To meet this challenge, the university launched a series of initiatives. It restructured its undergraduate general education program, expanded its graduate and professional programs in commerce, music, and law, and added a huge new computer science college, as well as a drama school. Thus, a complex institution was born, one that constantly reviewed and updated its curricula to meet the demands of a rapidly changing society in post–World War II America. In four decades, DePaul emerged from its debts, its reliance solely on tuition, and its need for a constant supply of Vincentian priests to fill teaching and administrative functions. These former characteristics had limited the school's physical expansion and curricular improvement. That change for the better occurred can be explained by a number of factors as follows:

1. The need to respond quickly and positively to the NCA challenge in order to maintain accreditation; and the willingness of Father O'Malley to begin a process of change that would alter the school.
2. The arrival of Fathers Cortelyou and Richardson, who understood the need for change and were willing to take the necessary steps to bring DePaul into the post–World War II world of American higher education.
3. The institutionalization of a regular planning process that would demonstrate to NCA that the university knew how to involve all its constituents in the review process and how to use this process to bring about change.
4. The determination to make fundamental changes to its general education program and to bring it under university-wide regulation.
5. The constant willingness to recognize shifts in the educational marketplace, and to introduce professional and graduate programs that would satisfy those needs, as well as aid in attracting students not only from the Chicago region, but also beyond.

In addition to the above, several other factors occurred within the larger sphere of American Catholicism that had a profound influence upon the university:

1. The challenge of the Vatican II council to the Vincentians to reexamine their activities and align them with the contemporary world.
2. The willingness of the Vincentian community to modify some of its structures and apostolates, and thereby adapt them to contemporary life.

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83 Greeley, *From Backwater to Mainstream,* pp. 26–27. Greeley's view of DePaul at that moment is quite critical, but he offered some hope that the new undergraduate curriculum might "prompt the student to ask ultimate questions, and maintain some sort of environment of Christian community and morality." See *Ibid.,* p. 76.

3. The stimulus Vatican II provided American Catholic educational leaders, which spurred change in how institutions would be led and the improvement of programs.
4. The increased willingness of the federal government (and to a lesser degree, state government) to financially assist institutions and students in higher education. This was rooted in the GI Bill and the generous treatment the program accorded to World War II veterans.
5. The eagerness of institutions within Catholic higher education to adapt their policies so that they might better take advantage of new federal and state financial incentives.

As a result of a combination of the factors discussed in this article, both internal and external in nature, DePaul University evolved from "the little school under the El" to become one of America's major Catholic universities. Several decades prior to the end of the twentieth century Father Theodore Hesburgh identified a number principles that might help distinguish Catholic higher education. Among them was the need to develop values that "would serve as constants with a great need to challenge our students to create a rather new kind of world, characterized by quite different social, economic, and political arrangements."[84] The steps that DePaul University took from 1960 to 1990 served it and its students well in ultimately progressing to reach this goal.

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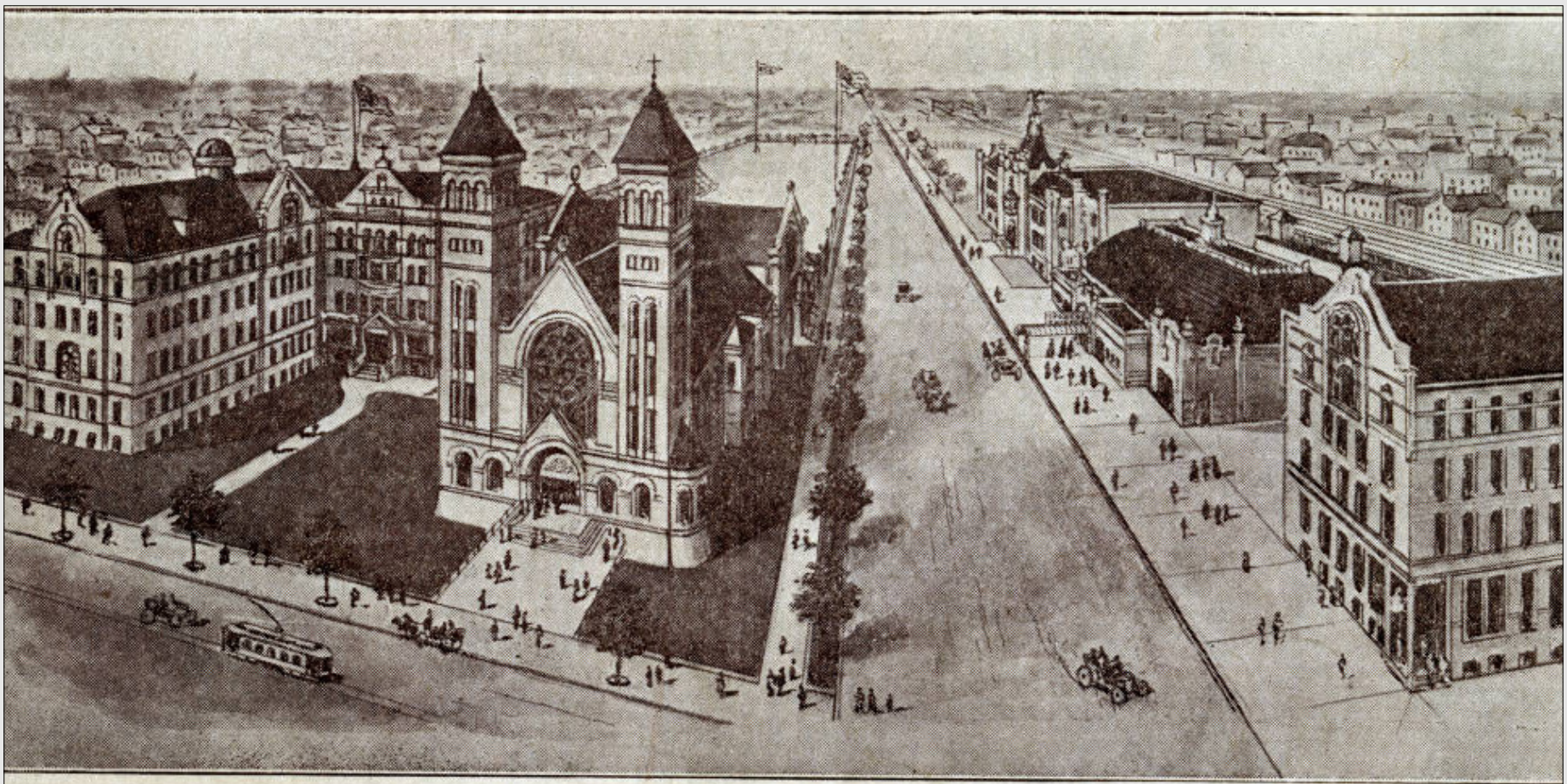
84 Hesburgh, *The Hesburgh Papers,* pp. 192–195.



General Bird's Eye View of Buildings and Cam pus

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Aerial view, ca. 1908, of DePaul University's Lincoln Park campus looking north from the corner of Webster and Sheffield Avenues.

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Exterior of the Lewis Center from Wabash Avenue, ca. 1990. The building was acquired in 1955 through a gift from Mr. Frank J. Lewis and is the center for the College of Law.

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Portrait of (from left to right) John T. Richardson, C.M., and John R. Cortelyou, C.M.

DePaul University Special Collections and Archives, Chicago, IL

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John R. Cortelyou, C.M., president of DePaul University, and Benjamin J. Gingiss examine part of the Lincoln Collection. Photo ca. 1965.

Identifier LibrariesSpecialCollections_1940's-2003_002.tif, Photography by Joseph J. Lucas, Jr. DePaul Heritage Digital Collections, DePaul University Library, Chicago, IL
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Students and faculty line the windows of the College of Liberal Arts, Levan Center, Lincoln Park campus, in a photo dated 1964.

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The exterior of the Merle Reskin Theatre. Built in 1910, the former Blackstone Theatre was acquired by DePaul in 1988, and renamed in 1992. The venue featured performances by the Theater School as well as the School of Music.

Photograph by Antonio Vernon (original in color)

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Students studying in the Lewis Center library in the 1960s.

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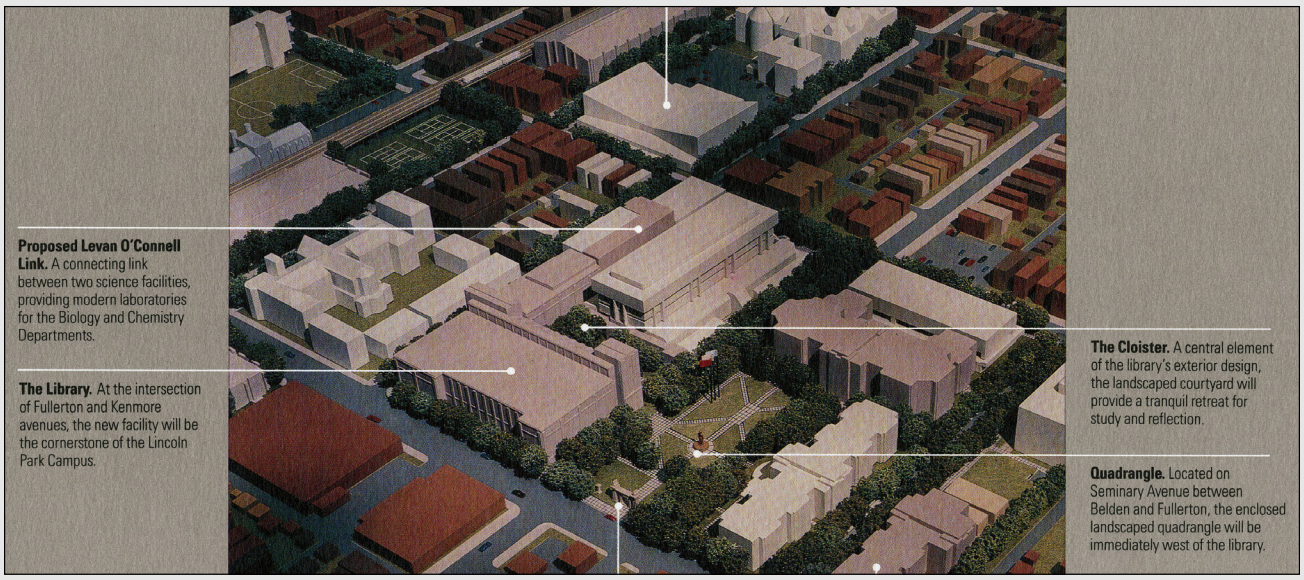

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The groundbreaking ceremony for the Richardson Library, 1 June 1990, Fr. Richardson standing at far right; early 90s architect's rendering of plans for the Richardson Library and Lincoln Park campus; and a view of the library's construction underway in 1991 [Les Boschke Photography].

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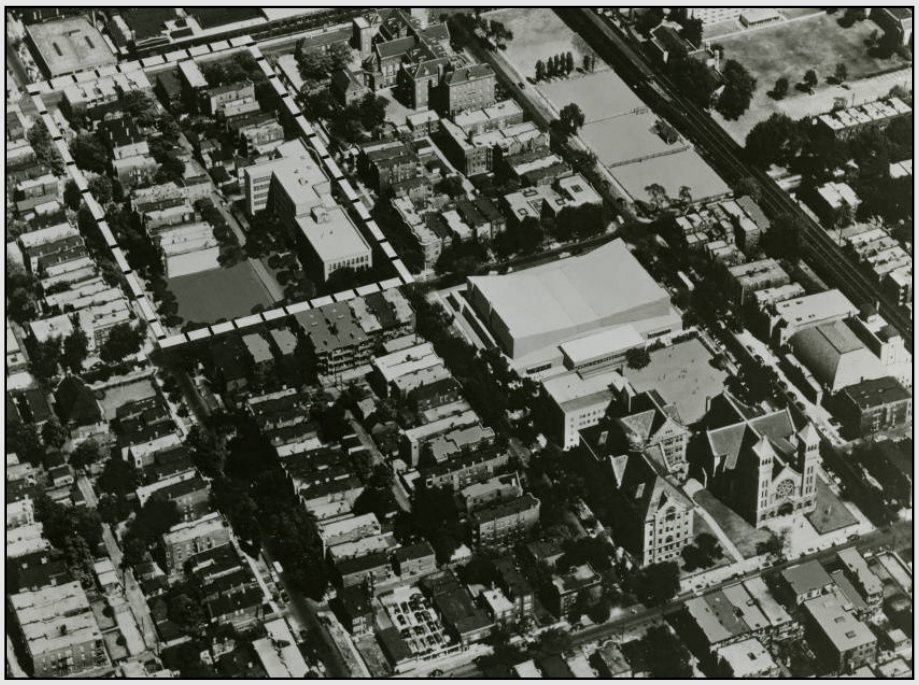

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Aerial views of the Lincoln Park campus from the 1950s, early 1970s, and 1990s reveal the growth and development of DePaul University over the last half of the twentieth century.

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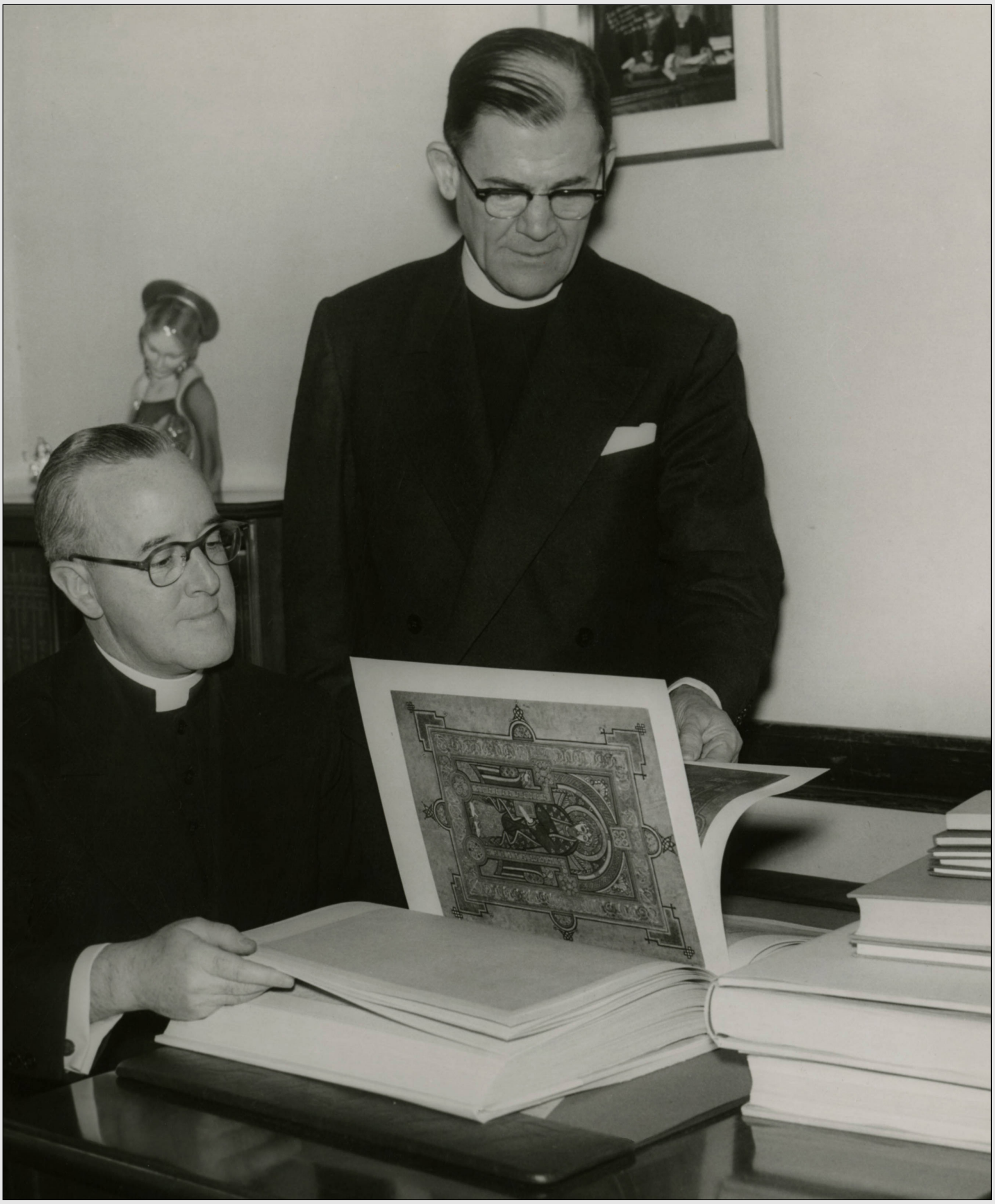

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A 1951 photograph captures Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M., seated at left, and a fellow priest examining a book.

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The site clearing ceremony held 1 April 1965 in preparation for construction of the Arthur J. Schmitt Academic Center. John T. Richardson, C.M., stands at far left, John R. Cortelyou, C.M., fourth from right, Chicago mayor Richard J. Daley second from right, and Comerford J. O'Malley, C.M., at far right.

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NEWSNOTES

NEWS

In Memoriam: Sister Sheila O'Friel, D.C., Former Long-Time Member of the Vincentian Studies Institute

The Vincentian Studies Institute is saddened to learn of the recent passing of Sr. Sheila O'Friel, D.C. Sr. O'Friel was a longtime member of the Vincentian Studies Institute's Editorial Board and contributed greatly to our publications agenda and programs over the years. We will miss her lively spirit, quick wit, and kind heart.

From the Daughters of Charity: "A Mass of Christian Burial for Sister Sheila O'Friel, D.C., was celebrated 4 May 2019, at the Basilica of the National Shrine of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton in Emmitsburg, Md. Burial followed at Sacred Heart Cemetery in Emmitsburg. Sr. Sheila died 28 April 2019, at Villa St. Michael in Emmitsburg. She was 89 years of age and 65 years vocation as a Daughter of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul.

Born in Altoona, Pa., on 9 October 1929, Sr. Sheila (baptized Patricia Sheila) was a 1947 graduate of St. Paul's Cathedral High School in Pittsburgh. Sr. Sheila entered the Community of the Daughters of Charity of St. Vincent de Paul from St. Joseph Parish in Emmitsburg in December 1953. She earned her Bachelor of Science Degree in Home Economics Education from Margaret Morrison College of Carnegie Mellon University in 1951, and her Master's Degree in Home Economics from Cornell University in 1952.

Following initial formation, Sr. Sheila served as a teacher at Holy Cross Academy in Lynchburg, Va. (1955 to 1959); St. Joseph College, Emmitsburg (1959 to 1964); and Elizabeth Seton High School, Bladensburg, Md. (1964 to 1969). Sr. Sheila then served as an Administrator at Labouré Center, South Boston, Mass. (1969 to 1976); Astor Home for Children, Rhinebeck, N.Y. (1976 to 1979; she also served as Local Community Superior during this time); and Kennedy Child Study Center, New York, N.Y. (1979 to 1981). In 1981, Sr. Sheila was missioned to Nazareth Child Care Center in South Boston where she served as an Assistant Administrator (1981 to 1982). Sr. Sheila then returned to Labouré Center where she served as Administrator (1982 to 1984); then was missioned to Maryvale in Rosemead, Ca., where she served as an Assistant Administrator (1984 to 1986). In 1986, Sr. Sheila returned to Kennedy Child Study where she served as Executive Director (1986 to 1992; she also served as Local Community Superior during this time). Sr. Sheila was then missioned to Carney Hospital in Boston, Mass., where she served as a Pastoral Care Associate (1992 to 1993), and as Vice President of Mission Services (1993 to 1997). In 1997, Sr. Sheila was missioned to the Archdiocese of New York, where she served at Catholic Charities (1997 to 2001). Beginning in 2001, Sr. Sheila served three times as a Parish Visitor at Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament Parish in Bayside, N.Y. (2001 to 2015; she also served as Local Community Superior from 2006 to 2009). During the 14 years she served as Parish Visitor in Bayside, N.Y., Sr. Sheila was missioned twice to serve as Docent at the National Shrine of St. Elizabeth Ann Seton in Emmitsburg (2004 to 2005, and 2011). In 2015, Sr. Sheila joined the Ministry of Prayer at Villa St. Michael in Emmitsburg, where she served until the time of her death."

New Online Exhibition

From 26 January to 2 April, 2017, the DePaul University Art Museum hosted *The Many Faces of Vincent de Paul: Nineteenth-Century French Romanticism and the Sacred*. The exhibition was guest-curated by Rev. Edward R. Udovic, C.M., Ph.D., as a companion to "Four Saints in Three Acts," and featured nineteenth-century sculptures, holy cards, textiles, decorative arts and prints from the university's collection. It explored how Romanticism impacted the iconographic representations of Saint Vincent de Paul (1581-1660), at the dawn of the modern era.

Now, DePaul's Division of Mission & Ministry is set to debut an online exhibition based around the collection displayed at the 2017 event. These nineteenth-century items clearly depict an iconic narrative shift to the Romantic. The vast majority of depictions of Vincent from his death in 1660 up to the time of the French Revolution portray him in a stance that identifies him as an Evangelizer, most often preaching while holding a crucifix

aloft. The classic example of this pose comes from Pietro Bracci's (1700-1773) statue of the saint installed in Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome in 1754. By contrast, the iconic post-revolutionary image of Vincent shows him holding a foundling or surrounded by foundlings. This exhibit is dedicated to the post-revolutionary images of Vincent.

For a sneak-peek of this new interactive, online exhibition, click here: Many Faces of Vincent de Paul Online Exhibit

2019 Conference on the History of Women Religious, St. Mary's College

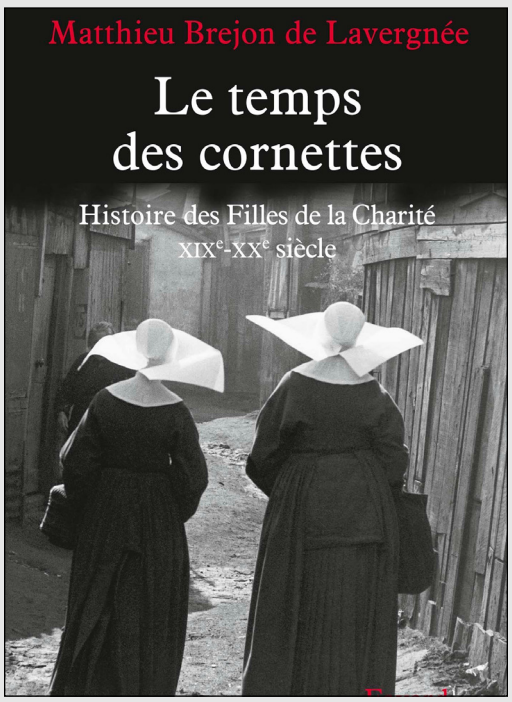
The eleventh triennial conference was themed *Commemoration, Preservation, Celebration,* and took place June 23-26, 2019. As the centennials of women's suffrage in North America, Europe, and beyond generate renewed interest in women's history, the conference sought to explore how the history of women religious has been commemorated, preserved, and celebrated. How has that history been told, documented, and remembered? How have religious communities entrusted their history to others? How have anniversaries been moments of significance or transformation? How does the history of women religious intersect with turning points within women's history more broadly?

Of particular interest, three panel presentations touched on topics related to the Vincentian-Setonian history and legacy in the U.S.:

- *Canonized American Sisters: How Congregations Commemorate, Preserve, and Celebrate Sainted Sisters' Legacies in the Twenty-First Century* featured panelist Regina Bechtle, S.C., Sisters of Charity of New York, on "St. Elizabeth Ann Seton."
- *The Role of the Sisters and Daughters of Charity in Settling the West* included panelist Judith Metz, S.C., Sisters of Charity of Cincinnati, discussing "Onward to New Mexico and Colorado."
- *Accessing Sisters' Stories: Research and Teaching Applications for the History of Women Religious* featured panelist Betty Ann McNeil, D.C., Scholar in Residence at DePaul University, on "'Memory Matters': The Journals of Cecilia Maria O'Conway and Rose Landry White."

400th Anniversary Vincent de Paul Colloque Papers Now Available

To purchase a collection of the papers presented at *La Charité de saint Vincent de Paul, un défi?,* held September 26-28, 2017, at Châtillon-sur-Chalaronne, visit: La Charite de saint Vincent



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Congratulations to our V.S.I. Colleague Alison Forrestal, Ph.D., upon her Election to the Royal Irish Academy

From an NUI Galway press release: "Dr. Alison Forrestal has been elected a Member of the Royal Irish Academy, the highest academic honor in Ireland, awarded after international peer-review to those with distinguished international research reputations. For information on Alison's research and publications, see: NUI Galway faculty. For reviews of her most recent book, *Vincent de Paul, the Lazarist Mission, and French Catholic Reform* (Oxford University Press, 2017), see: Oxford University Press."

PUBLICATIONS

NOTABLE BOOKS

Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée, *Le temps des cornettes: Histoire des filles de la Charité, XIXe-XXe siècle,* vol. 2 (Fayard, 2018), 700 pp. ISBN: 978-2213709796. Available in print or Kindle at: Amazon.com

From the publisher: "Qui ne connaît, au moins par leur riche iconographie, les célèbres cornettes des Filles de la Charité? Fondée par saint Vincent de Paul et Louise de Marillac au xviie siècle, la petite communauté parisienne a rapidement gagné la France des villes et des villages pour devenir la principale congrégation de sœurs actives à la fin de l'Ancien Régime. «La rue pour cloître»: telle était la règle de vie originale de ces femmes, ni cloîtrées ni mariées mais célibataires vouées au service des pauvres. Après un premier

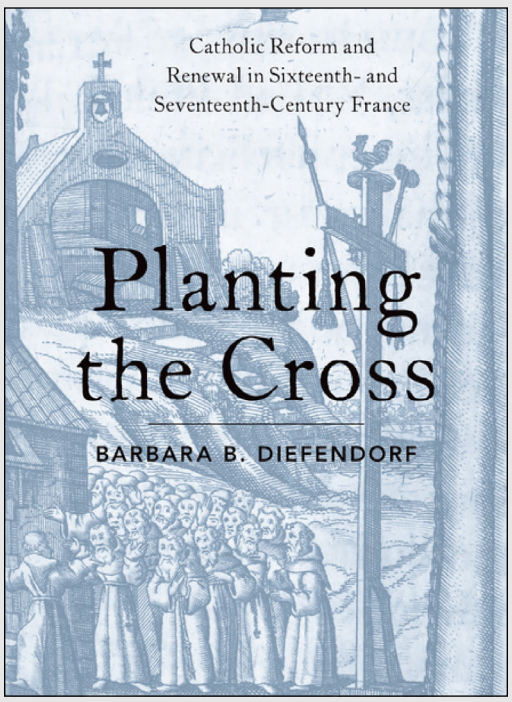
tome consacré à la période moderne, Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée aborde ici les deux siècles suivants, entre Révolution française et Deuxième Guerre mondiale. «Le temps des cornettes»: c'est celui d'un nouveau contrat social entre États et Églises pour répondre aux pauvretés de l'âge industriel comme à la forte demande d'éducation, de santé et de loisirs des sociétés urbanisées. Sensibles à la conjoncture politique, les Sœurs de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul connaissent aussi exil et martyre en France, au Mexique ou en Chine. L'échelle des cornettes est désormais globale, de l'Europe à ses espaces coloniaux comme aux nouveaux mondes américains. Missionnaires, elles exportent un culte marial si français depuis les apparitions de Catherine Labouré en 1830. Mais encore institutrices, infirmières, éducatrices ou syndicalistes, elles accompagnent les nouveaux fronts de la professionnalisation féminine au xxe siècle. Elles contribuent ainsi à redessiner les rapports de genre au sein de sociétés dures aux femmes. Féministes, les bonnes sœurs? La question mérite d'être posée. C'est tout l'intérêt de cet ouvrage, appuyé sur de riches archives, que d'évoquer avec rigueur le rôle capital joué par des générations de femmes qui ont lié horizon spirituel et travail social."

Abbé J. Chevalier, *Soeur Apolline Andriveau: Fille de la Charité et le Scapulaire de la Passion* (Rassemblement à Son Image Editions, 2016), 318 pp. ISBN: 978-2364634640. Available at: Amazon.com

From the jacket: "Apolline Andriveau naît le 7 mai 1810 à Saint Pourçain dans l'Allier. Après de brillantes études, elle quitte le monde à 23 ans et entre dans la Compagnie des Filles de la Charité à Troyes où tous les témoignages concordent pour louer sa piété, sa douceur, sa charité. Dès 1846, elle reçut des faveurs de Notre Seigneur au sujet de Sa Passion et elle fut appelée par la Providence à remplir une mission toute surnaturelle concernant la propagation du Scapulaire de la Passion de Jésus et de la Compassion de la Très sainte Vierge Marie. Ce livre révèle les sentiments de l'âme de S ur Apolline, embrasée de l'amour de Jésus crucifié. Elle est une gloire pour la Compagnie des Filles de la Charité et un exemple pour tous ceux qui veulent se joindre à elle pour ranimer la dévotion aux mystères douloureux de la Passion."

Abbé Léonard de Corbiac, *Correspondance Frédéric Ozanam et Amélie Soulacroix: Poèmes, prières et notes intimes* (Desclée De Brouwer, 2018), 864 pp. ASIN: B07GCFGXX4. Available in print or Kindle: Amazon.com

A new volume of Frédéric Ozanam's correspondence. From the publisher: "Cette édition de la correspondance entre Amélie Soulacroix et Frédéric Ozanam réunit en un seul document les deux voix du couple, les lettres d'Amélie jusque-là inédites et celles de



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Frédéric, déjà publiées. On connaît Frédéric Ozanam: le principal fondateur de la Société de Saint-Vincent-de-Paul, le serviteur de la Vérité, le défenseur de la question sociale, celui qui s'agenouillait devant les pauvres, «images sacrées de ce Dieu que nous ne voyons pas». Mais on redécouvre l'homme, l'amoureux, le père, l'universitaire, le poète, un homme plus simple, sans autres fards que ceux de son éloquence. Amélie nous était jusque-là presque inconnue: cette correspondance fait sortir de l'ombre une femme attachante par sa simplicité et son naturel, étonnante par ce qu'elle révèle à la fois d'elle-même mais aussi de Frédéric, véritable compagne qui a fait avec lui ce cheminement vers la sainteté. Par-delà ce regard intime qui éclaire une facette plus secrète d'un homme public, c'est un amour conjugal qui se découvre, sans pour autant être indiscret. Comme l'écrit Xavier Lacroix: «ce qu'expriment Frédéric et Amélie est tellement beau, Vrai surtout, juste, que cela en quelque sorte, par le haut, ne leur appartient plus. Le Vrai est universel. Il exprime une vérité de l'humain qui est en chacun de nous».”

Barbara B. Diefendorf, *Planting the Cross: Catholic Reform and Renewal in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century France* (Oxford University Press, 2019), 227 pp. ISBN: 978-0190887025. Available in print or Kindle: Amazon.com

From the publisher: “The first thing that Catholic religious orders did when they arrived in a town to establish a new community was to plant the cross—to erect a large wooden cross where the church was to stand. The cross was a contested symbol in the civil wars that reduced France to near anarchy in the sixteenth century. Protestants tore down crosses to mark their disdain for “popish” superstition; Catholics swore to erect a thousand new crosses for every one destroyed. Fighting words at the time, the vow to erect a thousand

new crosses was expressed in the rapid multiplication of reformed religious congregations once peace arrived.

In this book, Barbara B. Diefendorf examines the beginnings of the Catholic Reformation in France and shows how profoundly the movement was shaped by the experience of religious war. She analyzes convents and monasteries in three regions—Paris, Provence, and Languedoc—as they struggled to survive the wars and then to raise standards and instill a new piety in their members in their aftermath. What emerges are stories of nuns left homeless by the wars, of monks rebelling against both abbot and king, of ascetic friars reviving Catholic devotion in a Protestant-dominated South, and of a Dominican order battling demonic possession.

Illuminating persistent debates about the purpose of monastic life, *Planting the Cross* underscores the diverse paths religious reform took within different local settings and offers new perspectives on the evolution of early modern French Catholicism."

Thomas A. Donlan, *The Reform of Zeal: François de Sales and Militant French Catholicism,* St. Andrews Studies in French History and Culture, no. 9 (Centre for French History and Culture of the University of St. Andrews, 2018), 156 pp. This publication is open-source (free) and may be downloaded from the Centre's web site at: St. Andrews Research Repository

From the publisher: "*The Reform of Zeal* explores the origins, nature, and impact of François de Sales's vision of Catholic *douceur* (gentleness) in the era of the French Wars of Religion. Since Natalie Zemon Davis's pioneering work on the 'rites of violence,' scholarship has focused on the militant Catholic cultures of early modern France. Taking a fresh approach to de Sales's work as a missionary, spiritual director, and founder of the Order of Visitation, this volume documents the evolution of de Sales's spirituality and his championing of religious cultures of nonviolence within French Catholicism. *The Reform of Zeal* argues that Salesian *douceur* not only constituted one of the most effective critiques of French Catholic militancy in the period, but also a unique source of religious renewal in the seventeenth century, independent of Leaguer and early *dévot fervour*."

Frédéric Jiméno, Karen Bowie, and Florence Bourillon (dir.), *Du clos Saint-Lazare à la gare du Nord: Histoire d'un quartier de Paris* (Coédition PU Rennes, 2018), 256 pp. ISBN: 978-2753566125. Available at: Amazon.com

This new book focuses on the history of Saint-Lazare and its surrounding neighborhood. From the cover: "La léproserie Saint-Lazare devint en 1632 le berceau de la congrégation de la Mission que Saint Vincent de Paul avait fondée quelques années

auparavant. Cet espace subit d'importantes transformations au cours des XIXe et XXe siècles. C'est l'histoire de la maison Saint-Lazare et de son clos que ce livre tente d'éclaircir, non pas tant la prison pour femmes, que l'économie de la maison mère d'une des principales congrégations de la France de l'Ancien Régime et son adaptation successive à différents usages."

Catherine O'Donnell, *Elizabeth Seton: American Saint* (Three Hills, 2018), 524 pp. ISBN: 978-1501705786. Available in print: Amazon.com or on Kindle: Amazon Kindle

An important new biography of the revered American saint. From the publisher: "In 1975, two centuries after her birth, Pope Paul VI canonized Elizabeth Ann Seton, making her the first saint to be a native-born citizen of the United States in the Roman Catholic Church. Seton came of age in Manhattan as the city and her family struggled to rebuild themselves after the Revolution, explored both contemporary philosophy and Christianity, converted to Catholicism from her native Episcopalian faith, and built the St. Joseph's Academy and Free School in Emmitsburg, Maryland. Hers was an exemplary early American life of struggle, ambition, questioning, and faith, and in this flowing biography, Catherine O'Donnell has given Seton her due.

O'Donnell places Seton squarely in the context of the dynamic and risky years of the American and French Revolutions and their aftermath. Just as Seton's dramatic life was studded with hardship, achievement, and grief so were the social, economic, political, and religious scenes of the Early American Republic in which she lived. O'Donnell provides the reader with a strong sense of this remarkable woman's intelligence and compassion as she withstood her husband's financial failures and untimely death, undertook a slow conversion to Catholicism, and struggled to reconcile her single-minded faith with her respect for others' different choices. The fruit of her labors were the creation of a spirituality that embraced human connections as well as divine love and the American Sisters of Charity, part of an enduring global community with a specific apostolate for teaching.

The trove of correspondence, journals, reflections, and community records that O'Donnell weaves together throughout Elizabeth Seton provides deep insight into her life and her world. Each source enriches our understanding of women's friendships and choices, illuminates the relationships within the often-opaque world of early religious communities, and upends conventional wisdom about the ways Americans of different faiths competed and collaborated during the nation's earliest years. Through her close and sympathetic reading of Seton's letters and journals, O'Donnell reveals Seton the person and shows us how, with both pride and humility, she came to understand her own importance as Mother Seton in the years before her death in 1821."

NOTABLE VIDEOS

Watch Rev. Craig B. Mousin, University Ombudsperson at DePaul University, deliver the lecture given at the 15 March 2018, Sister Mary Schmidt Lecture at Seton Hill University, titled: *Debating Immigration: Law in the Midst of Exile*.

Recognizing the pressing needs of refugees at our nation's borders, the 2018 Sister Mary Schmidt, S.C., lecture at Seton Hill University proposes to re-examine Catholic Social Thought and the biblical narrative in seeking new responses to refugees and immigrants. After reviewing United States immigration law in the light of the biblical narrative and Catholic Social Thought, the lecture argues against deportation and private detention as a state remedy to unauthorized immigration or as a deterrent to asylum applicants. Relying upon the framework of the Seton Hill University Centennial in 2018, the lecture recalls that deportation did not arise as a significant remedy for violations of immigration law until 1918. Through understanding the biblical narrative within its context of exile, the lecture urges people of faith to work towards eliminating deportation and private detention as our mission in the century ahead. View online: Debating Immigration: Law in the Midst of Exile

Watch the social justice women's panel discussion featuring Sister Helen Prejean, Tamar Manasseh, Zaynab Shahar, and Joy Zavala, which took place 10 April 2019 at DePaul University, titled: *Women's Power: Fueled by Faith*.

Join us for an evening celebrating the struggles and power unique to women working for social change. Hear stories from Sr. Helen Prejean and a panel of extraordinary women from different faith perspectives who are on the front lines of resistance in Chicago. Learn about their rootedness in relationship and collaboration. Come be inspired by the energy and spirit of women's power. View online: Women's Power: Fueled by Faith

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Matthieu Brejon de Lavergnée

Le temps des cornettes

Histoire des Filles de la Charité XIX^e^-XX^e^ siècle

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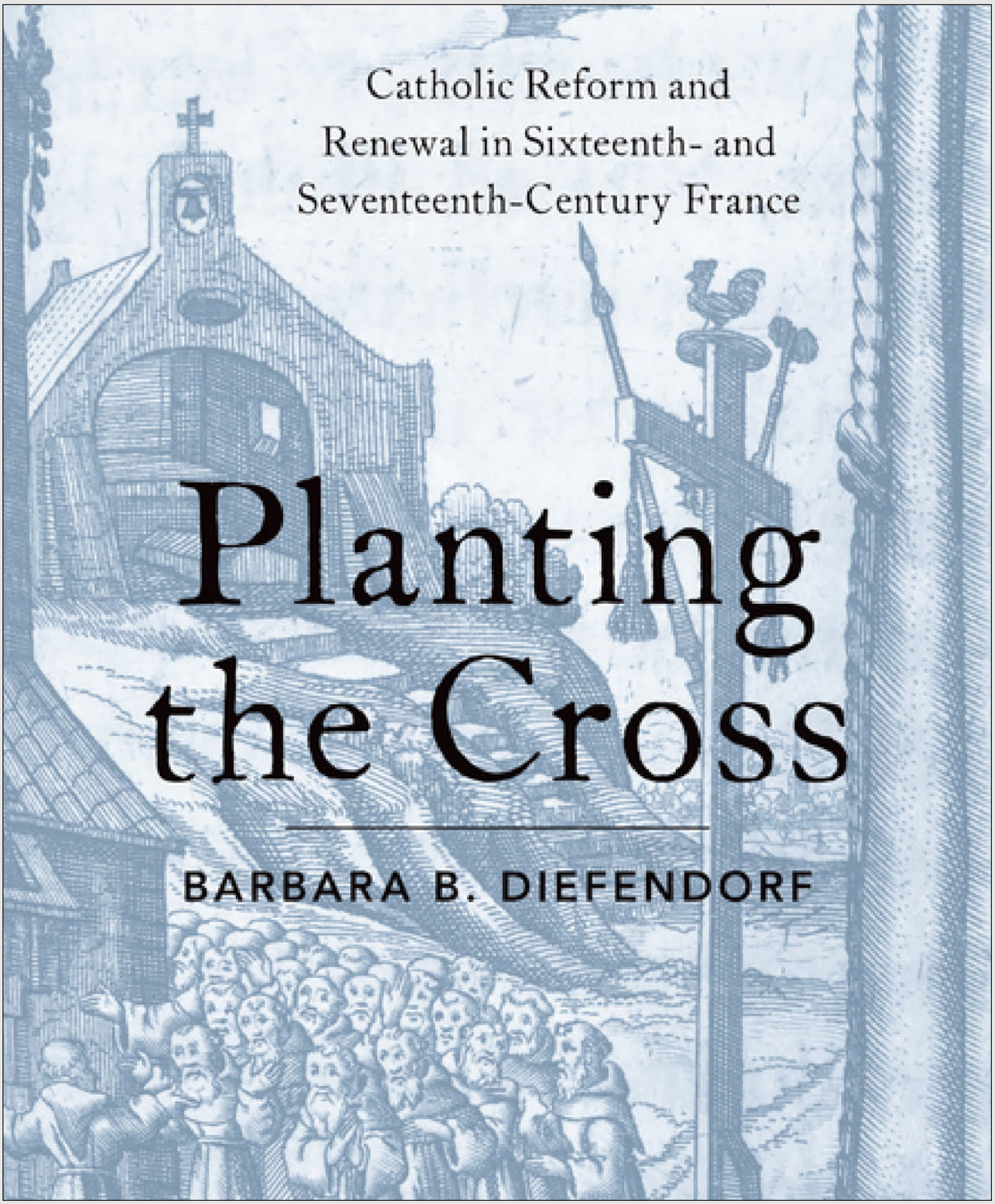

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Vincentian Heritage is the journal of the Vincentian Studies Institute of the United States. Founded in 1979 the Institute is dedicated to promoting a living interest in the historical and spiritual heritage of Saint Vincent de Paul (1581-660) and Saint Louise de Marillac (1591-1660), the patrons of the wide-ranging Vincentian Family including the Congregation of the Mission, the Daughters of Charity, the Ladies of Charity, the Sisters of Charity, the Society of St. Vincent de Paul, and a number of other congregations, communities, and lay movements who share a common dedication to serving those in need.

Vincentian Heritage welcomes manuscripts, poetry, and other expressions of Vincentian themes that meet the publication criteria. All articles should relate directly to topics of Vincentian interest, be researched and documented in a scholarly fashion, and directed toward Vincentian oriented groups in the reading public and the Vincentian family. Ordinarily, articles should not exceed thirty typewritten pages and should be submitted twelve months prior to anticipated publication.

All manuscripts and editorial correspondence should be addressed to:

Mr. Nathaniel Michaud
Editorial Director
DePaul University Vincentian Studies Institute
Division of Mission & Ministry
Suite 850F
55 East Jackson Blvd.
Chicago, IL 60604
nmichaud@depaul.edu

Cover image: Oil painting of Vincent de Paul; original in Vincentian house, San Silvestro, Rome, Italy. Courtesy St. Vincent de Paul Image Archive Online.
Nathaniel Michaud, editor; Miranda Lukatch contributing.

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Scott P. Kelley, Ph.D.
Associate Vice President for Mission Integration
Division of Mission & Ministry
DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois

Nathaniel Michaud
Editorial Director
Vincentian Studies Institute
DePaul University, Chicago, Illinois

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