

the
SCALABRINIANS
in
NORTH AMERICA



1887~1934

MARY ELIZABETH BROWN



The Scalabrinians
in
North America
(1887-1934)

Front Cover Photo:

Participants in Leonardo Quaglia's silver anniversary of ordination, New Haven, CT May 1932. *From left to right, top row:* Pietro Maschi, Giacomo Buffo, Bartolomeo Tabbia, unidentified but perhaps Pietro Dotto, Giuseppe Chiminello, Nazareno Properzi, Giuseppe Sorzana. *Middle row:* Silvio Sartori, Pietro Gorret, Arnaldo Vanoli, Francesco Berti, Carlo Celotto, Guglielmo Pizzoglio, Flaminio Parenti. *Bottom row:* Antonio Demo, Giorgio Cafigliolo, unknown, Giovanni Marchegiani, Leonardo Quaglia, Ludovico Toma, and Vincenzo Jannuzzi.

Back Cover Photo:

Bishop John Baptist Scalabrini lays the cornerstone for the Church of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Utica, New York, September 15, 1901.

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North America

(1887-1934)

Mary Elizabeth Brown

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Center for Migration Studies
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The Scalabrinians in North America (1887-1934)

First Edition

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Introduction and Acknowledgments

It is especially appropriate to combine the introduction and the acknowledgements for this volume. The purpose of an introduction is to orient the readers to the body of the work, and the purpose of an acknowledgement is to render thanks to those who have provided assistance. In the case of this volume, one thing I must acknowledge is assistance in developing an analytical framework. This combination of introduction and acknowledgements is organized around identifying the concerns that surfaced in writing a history of the Society of Saint Charles—Scalabrinians in North America from 1887 to 1934, and in explaining how these various concerns were addressed.

The first concern is to separate the founder, Bishop Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, from his foundation, the Society of Saint Charles. This is especially difficult, for three reasons. The first is pure convenience: the formal name of this community of male religious has varied over the years, so I use the informal name, Scalabrinians. Secondly, efforts have been underway since 1936 to see if Bishop Scalabrini should be included in the Roman Catholic canon of saints. Thirdly, in 1965, the Second Vatican Council issued its "Decree on the Appropriate Renewal of Religious Life," or *Perfectae Caritatis*, which directed that each religious order study its founder's charism, or particular spiritual gifts and vision, for guidance in reforming the community for spiritual perfection and ministry in the modern world. The result was, as Father Mario Francesconi, C.S., explained: "If we wish to follow the guidelines outlined for us by the decree *Perfectae Caritatis* concerning renewal, which calls for a 'return to the original spirit of the Institutes,' i.e., to [the] spirit of the Founders and to 'sound traditions,' we cannot ignore the memory of our forefathers."¹

Biographical works on Bishop Scalabrini have proved useful for the present study because they collected many valuable documents and provide interpretations of the bishop's life and work. Particularly helpful were the works of Father Mario Francesconi, C.S. (1919-1989). In 1968, Father Francesconi and Bishop Marco Caliaro published *L'Apostolo degli Emigranti, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Vescovo di Piacenza: La sua Opera e la sua Spiritualità*. Alba I. Zizzamia translated this volume into English and in 1977 the Center for Migration Studies published it as *John Baptist Scalabrini: Apostle to Emigrants*. In 1973 CMS published *John Baptist Scalabrini: An Insight into his Spirituality*, an English translation by J. Cinquino and Vincent Monaco, C.S. In 1985, Father Francesconi published a second biography of the bishop, *Giovanni Battista Scalabrini: Vescovo di Piacenza e degli emigrati*; this has yet to be translated into English. The Scalabrinians published Father Francesconi's last work on the bishop, *Giovanni Battista Scalabrini: Spiritualità d'Incarnazione*, the year of the scholar's death.

¹ Mario Francesconi, *John Baptist Scalabrini: An Insight into his Spirituality*, trans. J. Cinquino and Vincent Monaco (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1973), p. 86.

Useful as they are, biographical works on Bishop Scalabrini can also have a chilling effect. They run the risk of setting up a situation in which everything that happens after the bishop's death becomes a deviation from the norm or a decline from a golden era. Such interpretations would be especially unfortunate in the Scalabrinians' case; Bishop Scalabrini himself expected that experience would guide the development of the migrant ministry he founded. Therefore, although this study begins with Bishop Scalabrini, it continues after his death in 1905 and treats the years from 1905 to 1934 as being equally important as the years of the bishop's life. It follows the advice of Velasio De Paolis, C.S., who wrote that, "The charisma of an institute ... is made up of that which it derives from the Founder and that which it derives from its history."²

A second concern is to put the Scalabrinians within the context of the history of the Roman Catholic Church. Here we confront one of the central (and, to this historian, engaging) paradoxes of Catholicism. Roman Catholic belief stresses the unity of the community of believers. Roman Catholic experience is tremendously diverse, depending on who the individual believer is (age, sex, station in life), and when and where that believer lived. The Scalabrinians experienced the diversity of Catholicism with particular intensity. Bishop Scalabrini founded the institute in a specific setting, amidst the national and ecclesiastical politics of late nineteenth-century Italy; some of the articles in Gianfausto Rosoli's *Scalabrini Tra Vecchio e Nuovo Mondo* were helpful in understanding that context. The Italian immigrants to whom Bishop Scalabrini's missionaries ministered had a different experience of late nineteenth-century Italian Catholicism; works such as Michael James Eula's dissertation, "Between *Contadino* and Urban Villager," were helpful in understanding the dynamics of southern Italian Catholicism in its community setting. Both the Scalabrinians and the Italian immigrants took their particular experiences of turn-of-the-century Italian Catholicism with them to the United States, which in turn had its own particular version of the Catholic experience. I have followed the observation made in Jay Dolan's *The American Catholic Parish: A History from 1850 to the Present*, that is, that American Catholicism, like Italian Catholicism, breaks down into regional variations. In understanding the American context for the Scalabrinians' work I have relied on a variety of local-history monographs to set the scene.

This study stresses the Scalabrinians' American experience. In some ways, this is ironic. Many very good scholars have described the Scalabrinians as missionaries who helped the Italians preserve their culture and values in the face of pressure to assimilate to American ways. But time and again, the research produced instances of Scalabrinians using American methods to finance and manage the parishes in which they preserved Italian customs or adopting American ways to hold on to American-born Italians.

The Scalabrinians experienced the diversity of Catholicism even more intensely because they did not experience only its regional variations. They were also part of the heterogeneous world of Roman Catholic religious institutes. There is a long tradition of writing histories of these various institutes. The Scalabrinians have participated in this

² Velasio De Paolis, C.S., trans. Thomas E. Carlesimo, C.S., *Evolution of the Mission of the Scalabrinian Congregation* (New York: Center for Migration Studies [Occasional Papers: Pastoral Series No.4], January 1985), p.41.

tradition. Besides his biographies of Bishop Scalabrini, Father Mario Francesconi produced a corpus of significant writing on the bishop's foundation. Between 1969 and 1975, the Centro Studi Emigrazione in Rome published five volumes of Father Francesconi's history of the Scalabrinians. These five volumes have been translated into English, and CMS has editions of the history in both languages. Father Francesconi did valuable work gathering documents, outlining the Scalabrinians' complex organizational and legal history, and setting a standard to help later historians identify temporary issues and ongoing concerns. Because Father Francesconi did that work, it is possible to try another approach here, one pioneered by Peter R. D'Agostino in his dissertation on "Missionaries in Babylon: The Adaptation of Italian Priests to Chicago's Church, 1870-1940." The dissertation charted the adaptations the Scalabrinians made in the mission field of Chicago between 1903 and 1940. This study casts the net more broadly and considers the Scalabrinians in North America more generally. In this, I follow Alba I. Zizzamia's *A Vision Unfolding*, a centennial history of the Scalabrinians in North America.

There is a mode of discourse which treats individualism and institutionalism as opposing forces. Complaints are raised against "institutional self-interest as a stultifying force."³ On the other hand, a common criticism of the Scalabrinians in the period between 1905 and 1934 is that the priests looked after their own interests rather than those of the institute. One conclusion this research supports is that in the early twentieth-century Scalabrinians' case, the absence of adequate leadership meant individuals made the decisions that shaped institutional life. Individual Scalabrinians and the institute they were unwittingly shaping cannot really be separated.

Mention has already been made of a third concern, placing the Scalabrinians in the proper ethnic context. Contemporary Scalabrinians have followed Bishop Scalabrini's vision of a ministry to those of migrant status, regardless of ethnic background. In the time period under study, though, the Scalabrinians worked primarily among Italians. There is some debate among historians as to the exact role Catholicism played in Italian immigrant life. This book starts with the assumption that religion played an important role, but that "religion" is not equivalent to "Scalabrinian-staffed Italian national parishes." One finding was the degree to which the Scalabrinians negotiated their position with other claimants to religious leadership: the *prominenti* who organized mutual benefit societies, the wives and mothers who maintained family faith, and the sisters who staffed parochial schools and Catholic charitable institutions.

The Scalabrinians came to minister to immigrants. They were also immigrants themselves and can be analyzed as such. Although the answers will be slightly different, the questions traditionally posed in immigrant historiography can be put to them. Why did they leave their homeland? How did they choose their destination? How did they travel? What work did they do? What homes did they make? What communities did they live in? How did they adapt to life in their new settings?

There are some analytical methods that are so new that they might best be left to future historians, people who are trained to utilize sources for more innovative ends. One

³ *American Catholic Studies Newsletter* XXI:2 (Fall 1994), 15.

new analytical method worth mentioning is men's studies. When women's studies began, scholars concentrated on observing women's experiences in society. A theoretical breakthrough came with the thesis that women did not have different experiences just because they were born women, but because society has different expectations of men and women. This realization opened the way for gender studies, or how being male or female led to different historical experiences. From there it was a short step to men's studies, or how being a man shapes one's social experience. However, it may be a longer step to studying the experience of men's religious communities. The documents give examples of sex-differentiated behavior: the Scalabrinian missionaries, for example, considered having to do without a housekeeper a real hardship while the female religious found housekeepers among their own ranks. However, there is not enough material, and not enough theoretical work to draw the material together into a coherent chapter on the Scalabrinians as men.

In summary, this volume tries to study the interaction between the Scalabrinians and the various historical forces which shaped their ministry in the United States and Canada between 1887, when Bishop Scalabrini first conceived the idea of sending out missionaries, to 1934, when the community underwent an important organizational change, the reintroduction of perpetual vows. Church-state relations in the newly nationalized Italy of the late nineteenth century form the background for the chapter on "Italian Beginnings." The expectations of the American ordinaries who invited the Scalabrinians into their sees and the different expectations of the Italian-American communities where the Scalabrinians exercised their ministry influence the events in the three chapters on "American Missions," "Hard Realities" and "Expanding Visions." "On Their Own" covers what the Scalabrinians did to maintain Bishop Scalabrini's work after his death; "Specialized Ministries" covers what they did not do. "Immigrant Priests" takes up the Scalabrinians as migrants. "The Network of Community Life" explores the Scalabrinians' role in Italian-American neighborhoods. "Women" is my one effort at gender studies, and examines the different roles played by the women in Scalabrinian parishes. "A New World Order" is a transitional chapter, discussing how World War I altered Italian-American parish life and precipitated a crisis in the Scalabrinian organization. "Drastic Remedies" describes the Vatican's efforts to reorganize the Scalabrinians and sets up the potential for conflict between the veteran missionaries and those who had been admitted to the institute since the Vatican reorganization. "High Tide and Undertow" returns to the issues of the clergy as leaders of Italian-American communities, this time when the veterans had the advantages of long experience and a booming economy. "Ambiguous Endings" closes the book: the young Scalabrinians trained under Vatican auspices were just beginning to revitalize the work in the mission field, but at the cost of ending the careers of many veterans.

Having acknowledged the influence of those whose books I read, I need to give thanks to those who rendered other sorts of help. The present volume is a study commissioned for the Interprovincial Scalabrinian History Project organized by the Center for Migration Studies of New York and funded by the two North American provinces of the Society of Saint Charles, the (eastern) province of Saint Charles

Borromeo and the (western) Province of Saint John the Baptist. I am grateful for the confidence expressed by the investment of precious financial resources.

The bulk of the writing was done at the Center for Migration Studies, Staten Island, New York, which has much of the material from the Scalabrinians' eastern and western provinces. CMS Executive Director, the Rev. Lydio F. Tomasi, C.S., was helpful in providing access to material there and in making arrangements for travel to material elsewhere, and in providing word-processor-printing, photocopying, long-distance telephone service, and other office amenities. CMS librarian, Diana Zimmerman, and her secretary, Maria Del Giudice, helped with both secondary literature in the library and primary material in the archives. Zelide Ceccagno, Richard Del Giudice, Carolyn Durante, Mona Hesterhagan, Darlene Pfluger, the Rev. Dominic Rodighiero and Sister Mary Louise Sullivan, M.S.C., made CMS a pleasant place to work.

When I ventured out to other archives, I encountered other helpful people. Mr. Robert Johnson-Lally provided access to the Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston; Thomas, Josie, and Luke Brown provided overnight accommodations in Cambridge. The Very Rev. Livio Stella, C.S., and Ms. Peggy Moro provided access to the archives of the Province of Saint John the Baptist in Oak Park, Illinois. The Sisters of Saint Charles provided accommodations during my stay in Chicago. Sister Marguerita Smith provided access to the Archives of the Archdiocese of New York.

Material regarding the Scalabrinians also came through the mail. The Archives of the Diocese of Cleveland sent material to the Center for Migration Studies in 1992; the archives' material on Father Gibelli is incorporated in Chapter five. Sister Theresa McQueeney, S.N.D., photocopied and mailed materials from the Archives of the Archdiocese of Hartford. Sister Joan Markley of the Archives of the Diocese of Kansas City-Saint Joseph photocopied and mailed material on the Scalabrinians at Holy Rosary parish in Kansas City. Father Robert Hayman mailed galleys of his history of the Diocese of Providence. Sister Celestine of the Archives of the Diocese of Charleston-Wheeling not only mailed the original of a pamphlet on Catholicism in Monongah, West Virginia, but when it turned out that the pamphlet was missing some pages, she found a second copy of the pamphlet in the local public library and photocopied the missing pages. Mr. Roman Godzak of the Archives Office of the Archdiocese of Detroit sent material on Francesco Beccherini. Father Darryl J. Pepin sent material on Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Iron Mountain, Michigan. The Rev. Patrick J. Moran sent material on Immaculate Conception of Eveleth, Minnesota. Rose Mastrogiovanni sent materials on the Blessed Virgin of Pompei and Saint Rita's in Milwaukee. The Rev. Michael Mendl, S.D.B., and Don Mieczysław Kaczmarzk, Director of the Salesians' central archives, furnished biographical data on the Rev. Ernesto Coppo, S.D.B. Professor Alejandro Dieguez provided unexpected and welcome information about one of Don Luigi Guanella's foundations, the Daughters of Saint Mary of Providence. Mr. Brandon Di Rayata sent photocopies of biographical and bibliographical material on the Rev. Joseph Zacchello. The late Rev. Ottaviano Sartori, C.S., and the Rev. Silvano M. Tomasi, C.S., found, photocopied, and mailed biographical information on various Scalabrinians from Rome.

Sister Laura Sullivan, A.S.C.J., went above and beyond the call of duty, visited CMS, and brought a number of documents on the Apostles of the Sacred Heart.

Two individuals assisted with translation. Maria Del Giudice at CMS helped when I was reading a document and got stuck on a word, phrase, or piece of handwriting. The Rev Thomas F. Carlesimo, C.S., translated memoirs by Pio Parolin and Giacomo Gambera. CMS published Gambera's memoirs as *A Migrant Missionary Story* in 1994.

A number of people read the work-in-progress. Several Scalabrinians, include past superior general Giulivo Tessarolo and scholar Velasio De Paolis, read the first draft. John Brock read chapter one. Dean Edward Stibili of Calumet College of Saint Joseph read chapter three. Christopher Kauffman read a version of chapter eight, which appeared in the 1996 volume of *U.S. Catholic Historian*, Professor Joanne Emge of Kutztown University read chapters seven and nine. Sister Laura Sullivan, A.S.C.J., and Wandajune Bishop also read chapter nine.

It is also fitting to acknowledge the collegiality of the Rev. Gerald P Fogarty, S.J.

The finished text went to the capable hands of the publication section at CMS. Anastasia T. Mather set type, Jacqueline Williams edited, Tommaso Gianotta designed the cover, and Rocco Galatioto made copies of the archival photographs.

Generally, personal experience with a subject is not a prerequisite for doing historical research and writing. Other women, including Leslie Tentler Woodcock, have written well about the priesthood.⁴ Nevertheless, I have often thought that in this project subject and author made a strange pair. Perhaps these Scalabrinians would have preferred a younger man from their own community, perhaps an American-born Italian, to pry into their correspondence and write their history? Instead, they got me: criticizing the slackers among them, second-guessing the decisions of even the best-intentioned, admiring their abilities, sympathizing with their troubles, feeling sad when one of them died, and appreciating the tough choices they made in ensuring the survival of the parishes they served and the religious institute to which they belonged. I have thoroughly enjoyed my acquaintance with them and am delighted to share them with the readers of this work.

⁴ Leslie Tentler Woodcock. "'How I Would Save Them All:' Priests on the Michigan Frontier," *U.S. Catholic Historian* XII: 4 (Fall 1994), 16-36



Abbreviations for Religious Institutes Mentioned in Text

ASCJ	Apostles of the Sacred Heart of Jesus
CRS	Somascan Fathers
CS	Sisters of Charity
CSAC	Sisters of the Catholic Apostolate (Pallottine)
CSP	Paulist Fathers and Brothers
DSMP	Daughters of Saint Mary of Providence
MCCJ	Comboni Missionaries of the Heart of Jesus
MSC	Missionaries of the Sacred Heart
MSSCB	Missionary Sisters of Saint Charles Borromeo (Scalabrini Sisters)
MZSH	Missionary Zelatrices of the Sacred Heart, former name of Apostles of the Sacred Heart
OCD	Order of Discalced Carmelites
OFM	Order of Friars Minor
OMI	Oblates of Mary Immaculate
OP	Order of Preachers
OSB	Benedictine Monks
OSM	Servites
PSSC	Pious Society of Saint Charles, former name of Society of Saint Charles — Scalabrinians
SAC	Society of the Catholic Apostolate (Pallottines)
SC	Society of Saint Charles — Scalabrinians
SCSIA	Sisters of Charity of Saint Joan Antida
SDB	Salesians of Don Bosco
SJ	Society of Jesus
SSA	Sisters of Saint Ann



1

Italian Beginnings

Bishop Scalabrini himself described his interest in the migrant apostolate as beginning with one Epiphany-like experience which took place at some unknown time at the railway station in Milan:

From the sidewalk in front of the station I saw a vast room, the doorways on the sides and the plaza in front invaded by three or four hundred poorly dressed individuals, divided into diverse groups. On their sun-bronzed faces were lines imprinted there by need and showing the tumult of feelings agitating their hearts. There were senior citizens bent with age and fatigue, men in the flower of youth, women leading or carrying babies, and children and youth all united by a single thought, all directed to a single goal.

They were migrants. They had left the various provinces of northern Italy and now awaited with trepidation the steamship that would carry them from this shore of the Mediterranean to distant America, where they hoped to find a less adverse fortune, a land less ungrateful for their labor.⁵

Bishop Scalabrini's look into the Milan railway station's open door was a meeting of the man and the hour. Migration out of Italy was as much a part of late nineteenth-century Italian history as migration into the United States was a part of late nineteenth-century American history. Bishop Scalabrini's contribution was to realize the need for a specialized ministry for those caught up in the phenomenon of transnational human migration.

The impersonal socioeconomic and political forces that brought the migrants to the Milan railroad station had been gathering strength throughout the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁶ Travel had long been part of the strategy of Italian laborers: farmhands followed the crops, the merchant marine sailed the world in the course of its duty, anyone with anything to sell journeyed at least a little distance to go to market,

⁵ Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, *L'Emigrazione Italiana in America* (Piacenza: Tip. dell'Amico del Popolo, 1887), 3-4. The pamphlet is reprinted in Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, *Scritti*, 14 vols. (Rome: Congregazione Scalabriniana, 1980) volume I, 18-71. Hereafter *Scritti*.

⁶ There is a lengthy bibliography on the push and pull factors in Italian migration, with works in Italian and in the languages of the countries that received Italian migrants. The most detailed work in English is still Robert F. Foerster, *The Italian Emigration of Our Times* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press [Harvard Economic Studies volume XX], 1924). For an English-language overview of Italian migration to countries other than the United States, see Lydio F. Tomasi, Piero Gastaldo and Thomas Row, *The Columbus People: Perspectives in Italian Immigration to the Americas and Australia* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994).

those with natural talent moved about in search of training, and those with training moved about in search of customers for their skills. Circumstances in the late nineteenth century forced the Italian workers to travel further. The extractive industries, the mining, logging, and oil-drilling that in the late nineteenth century laid the foundations for some American family fortunes, could not help the Italian economy. Italy lacked some natural resources, such as coal and oil, and it had already exploited other resources, cutting down so much of its forests as to create serious soil erosion problems. Italy's agriculture could not compete with the fresh soil and the climates of the United States, the South American countries, and the areas colonized by the European Great Powers. Italy's manufacturing sector lagged behind that of other nations.

Scholars have added the Italian government to the list of factors pushing Italians out of Italy. Italy became a unified nation-state in 1870. Its new government was liberal in the nineteenth-century sense of that word. The national government balanced power between a royal line, the House of Savoy in the Piedmont, and a parliament whose members were elected by voters who met certain sex, age, and property-holding requirements. Italy's nineteenth-century liberals were committed to the idea of the nation-state, and to make the newly unified Italian nation-state more powerful they conscripted youths into the military and levied taxes, both of which encouraged migration. Italy's nineteenth-century liberals took two other steps which shaped the nation's migration. First, they took a *laissez-faire* attitude toward migration, which meant that people were free to migrate, but also that they migrated unprotected by any government regulation that would preserve them from exploitation. Second, they separated church and state. The church-state controversy in Italy adversely effected Italian reception in the United States, and it also deprived the migrants of an institution that might have been useful in defending them from exploitation.

Because the next few paragraphs deal with what sometimes seem like radically different perspectives on Catholicism's role in unified Italy, it is worth emphasizing how limited the legitimate political spectrum in Italy really was. Italy did have people who were more liberal, and more radical, than those who sat in its parliament. The leadership in the Italian government and in Italian Catholicism did not think they had much in common in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but in reality, they shared a common attitude toward leftist political groups such as anarchists, communists, and socialists.

Unification and rule under nineteenth-century liberals caused Italian Catholicism problems that distracted the hierarchy from its pastoral ministry. The last military action in uniting Italy was the attack on Rome, the heart of papal territory, which took place September 20, 1870. Once in power, the new Italian parliament considered how to handle relations with the pope, who insisted that spiritual leadership required political independence. The Italian government offered the reigning pope, Pius IX, a Law of Guaranties, promising to respect papal religious liberty. Pius IX rejected the offer on the grounds that what promises the Italian government made it could also revoke. Pius then reasoned that since he had rejected the Law of Guaranties the Italian government had not bound itself to respect his person, and he confined himself to his home, the Vatican, where Italian authorities could not touch him, thus setting a precedent for his successors

Leo XIII (who reigned from 1878 to 1903), Pius X (1903-1914) and Pius XI (1914-1939), under whom the situation was finally resolved by the signing of the Lateran Treaties. Few members of the Italian hierarchy openly criticized Pius IX's making himself a prisoner of the Vatican. The Vatican and most of the Italian hierarchy were intransigents, holding that no compromise was possible with the unified government.

These events had already taken place by the time Giovanni Battista Scalabrini became a bishop. Scalabrini was born and baptized on July 8, 1839, at Fino Mornasco in the province of Como in northwestern Italy. He received his elementary education in Fino Mornasco, and the equivalent of a high school education at the Liceo Volta, Como. His pastor at Fino Mornasco, Father Philip Gatti, began to notice a possible vocation to the priesthood in his 15-year-old parishioner, and in 1857 Scalabrini entered the minor seminary of Saint Abbondio in Como. He was ordained a priest May 30, 1863, by Bishop Pietro Luigi Speranza of Bergamo for service in the diocese of Como. That same year, Scalabrini showed his first recorded interest in the mission field. He asked his ordinary, Bishop Giuseppe Marzorati, for permission to join the Institute of Foreign Missions of Milan. Bishop Marzorati turned him down. Instead, Scalabrini spent a few months as curate in Valtellina and in Fino Mornasco, and then was assigned to educational work. In November 1863, he became Director of Discipline and teacher of history and Greek at Saint Abbondio. Two years later he became the teacher of Greek at the Castellini College in Camerlata. Then he began to move into administration. In 1868 he became rector of Saint Abbondio. In 1870 he was appointed pastor of San Bartolomeo in the city of Como. In this position, he also showed signs of awareness of the problems of migrants, and he instituted a policy of issuing to those leaving his parish letters of introduction to the clergy in their new homes, thus attempting to assist them in keeping up with their religious obligations. In 1875 Bishop Antonio Ranza of the Diocese of Piacenza, near Como, died, and on January 30, 1876, Scalabrini was consecrated Ranza's successor. Despite his involvement in the migrant apostolate, he remained Bishop of Piacenza until his death June 1, 1905.⁷

Bishop Scalabrini announced his first pastoral visit of his diocese November 4, 1876 and began by visiting the people of his cathedral on December 8 of that same year. Three years later, he had visited every parish in the diocese, a trip he repeated five times during the 28 years of his episcopate. At his 1879 diocesan synod, he issued a decree deploring the economic situation that displaced people from their homelands, and requiring his pastors to take up the policy he himself had used at San Bartolomeo and issue each migrant a letter of recommendation to the clergy in the area to which the migrant was going.⁸ According to Mario Francesconi, 1879 was also the year that Bishop Scalabrini made his first venture in the pastoral care of migrants once they had left his diocese; the

⁷ The most complete English-language biography of Bishop Scalabrini is Marco Caliaro and Mario Francesconi, CS., *John Baptist Scalabrini: Apostle to Emigrants*, trans. Alba I. Zizzamia (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977). The most complete biography of Bishop Scalabrini in any language is Mario Francesconi, C.S., *Giovanni Battista Scalabrini: Vescovo di Piacenza e degli Emigranti* (Rome: Città Nuova Editrice, 1985).

⁸ Caliaro, *John Baptist Scalabrini*, 171-172.

bishop's papers contain a letter from Pope Leo XIII's secretary of state, Lorenzo Cardinal Nina, referring to Bishop Scalabrini's suggestion that a particular church in Paris be designated for the pastoral care of Italians in that city.⁹

Bishop Scalabrini was also getting more involved in migration in a personal way through Father Francesco Zaboglio. Father Zaboglio was born at Campodolcino in the province of Sondrio, February 25, 1852, and was thus twelve years younger than Bishop Scalabrini. In fact, he met Scalabrini when he was a student and Scalabrini his teacher. Zaboglio was ordained for service in the diocese of Como in 1875, where he worked as prefect of discipline at Gallio College and as pastor in the towns of Menarola and Grossotto in the province of Sondrio. He resigned to join the Somascan Fathers but did not take vows with them. At some unknown date, Father Zaboglio's immediate family had migrated to the United States: his parents, brother, sister-in-law and their children lived in Genoa, Wisconsin, and other relatives lived in Louisiana and the Dakotas.¹⁰ Francesconi notes that by 1886 Bishop Scalabrini and Father Zaboglio were corresponding about the Italian migrant problem.¹¹ Most likely what happened was that about then Father Zaboglio wrote to Bishop Scalabrini in 1886, describing a trip he took to Wisconsin to escort his father and sister back to Italy. It was this letter Bishop Scalabrini alluded to when he wrote Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Pope Leo XIII's Secretary of Propaganda Fide:

A former student of mine, now a priest and professor, who went to America to see his father and family, returned profoundly disturbed and saddened by the state of religious abandonment in which he found the many hundreds of Italian migrants who have gone there. There are groups who would form parishes for hundreds of souls who live and die without seeing a priest's face, without hearing a word about religion, without receiving the sacraments, who live and die like beasts.

Oh, Excellency! Would we know no way to provide for so many poor souls? Do we do so much for the conversion of infidels and lose our own Catholic compatriots? This would not be the case, Excellency, if we think toward an association of Italian priests who would have for their scope the spiritual existence of Italian emigrants in America, who would watch their departure and arrival and provide for their Christian future in every way possible?¹²

The next month, Bishop Scalabrini notified Father Zaboglio that the Holy Father had approved their plans and wanted them amplified and asked him to come to Piacenza to draft a proposal for the care of migrants.¹³ He also sent Cardinal Simeoni a letter expanding on his plans and announcing the publication of his first work on migration.¹⁴

⁹ Mario Francesconi, CS., "Initial Phases of the Scalabrinian Congregation, 1886-1888," trans. M. Bortolazzo, C.S. (typescript, 1983), 10. Hereafter, Francesconi I.

¹⁰ Francesconi, I, 12, notes the relatives in Wisconsin and the Dakotas. Francesco Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, August 5, 1889, indicates Father Zaboglio's brother Albert lived in Saint Louis, Missouri, at that time. See Mario Francesconi, C.S., *The Scalabrini Fathers in North America, 1888-1895*, volume II, trans. Joseph Zappulla (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1983), 149. Hereafter, Francesconi II.

¹¹ Francesconi, I, 16-17.

¹² Scalabrini to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Piacenza, January 11, 1887, *Scritti* I, 3.

¹³ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, n.p., February 15, 1887, *Scritti* I, 4.

¹⁴ Scalabrini to Simeoni, Piacenza, February 16, 1887, *Scritti* I, 4-5.

This was a reference to the pamphlet *Italian Emigration to America*, which the Amico del Popolo Press of Piacenza published in 1887. Shortly thereafter, in 1888, the bishop published *The Parliamentary Bill on Italian Emigration: Observations and Proposals*. After he founded the Scalabrinians, the bishop travelled throughout Italy speaking about the migrant ministry, and some of these talks found their way into print. The Scalabrinian motherhouse published the *First Conference on Italian Emigration* in 1891. Another Piacenzan press, Marchesotti and Porta, published a talk the bishop gave at the Exposition of Palermo, *On Assistance to National Emigration and the Institutions that Provide It* in 1899. The Turin firm of Roux Frassati and Company published *Italy Abroad*, a talk Scalabrini gave at the Exposition of Sacred Art held in that city in 1898. In 1899 the bishop addressed the Sixteenth Italian Catholic Congress in Ferrara on *The Emigration of Italian Workers*, and had his remarks included in the congress's papers, published in Venice that same year. *Italian Emigration in America* shows the intellectual tradition in which Bishop Scalabrini was trained and the new path he was exploring at the start of his work in the migrant apostolate.

Italian Emigration to America began by assuming its readers shared the same definition of migration as human movement from one geographic area to another. ("Geographic area," not one country to another or one government to another.) The pamphlet immediately moved on to the moral definition of migration, which Bishop Scalabrini declared a "providential phenomenon," that is, not good in and of itself, but good in its place. The bishop located migration in a particular place in the great chain of moral goods, and a historian might locate the bishop's great chain of moral goods in its place in nineteenth-century intellectual history.

Because Bishop Scalabrini is honored for his ministry to migrants, it is important to emphasize that he did not begin with migration. He began with the pastoral care of his people. From that perspective, migration was a danger. It could be an indication his flock was susceptible to the "feverish itch for quick gains that has infected Italian society." It took them away from their bishops and priests and thus from the people who guided them toward salvations. Given the chance they might end up in an unhealthy climate exploited for their labor, migration threatened their physical well-being. Migration was not a good if it was going to encourage people in their greed, if it led them to neglect salvation for wealth, or if it enriched the exploiters rather than the migrants.

However, migration could be a good because it promoted three other goods. The first was the good of the individual. Like philosophers as disparate as Thomas Aquinas and Thomas Jefferson, Bishop Scalabrini began with natural law and thus with inalienable human rights. One of those inalienable rights was the right to life. In order to exercise their right to life, individuals had to have the right to earn a living. If their native land could not provide them with sufficient opportunity, then they had the right to go somewhere else in search of livelihood. Bishop Scalabrini consistently opposed provisions of Italian law which treated migrants as though one reason for migrating was to evade Italy's conscription. Migrants, he insisted, by and large left Italy reluctantly, living outside its borders only because they could not live within them.

Second, migration promoted the good of society. Bishop Scalabrini subscribed to the safety-valve theory of migration. If people were not allowed to migrate at all, then the

poor might grow so desperate as to steal or to adopt radical politics. Migration provided the poor with a way to better themselves in accordance with natural law. Rather than resort to communism or anarchism, rather than take the law into one's own hands and expropriate another's belongings, individuals could go elsewhere and earn their lawful livings.

Third, migration promoted the good of particular nations, or so Bishop Scalabrini thought. "After the discovery and occupation of America, Spain reached the peak of its grandeur. England possesses an inexhaustible source of power and wealth in its vast dominions in India." Actually, neither migration from Spain to the Americas nor migration from England to India was a major factor in the exploitation of those colonies; Spain relied on African slaves and the English relied on the Indians. And at least thirteen of the colonies to which the English did migrate in great numbers did not continue to contribute to English wealth and power but declared their independence and became the United States of America. Bishop Scalabrini was on surer ground when he alluded to how the ancient Greece profited from colonies across the Mediterranean. However, the more important question is not the accuracy of the bishop's historical anecdotes but his connection between individuals and society. Bishop Scalabrini saw individuals and society as fitting together neatly. Individuals drew their identities from their surrounding societies; that was one reason why migration was so menacing and why the migrants needed pastoral care in their own languages. Societies in turn owed individuals something; that was why Bishop Scalabrini called for regulations to protect migrants from exploitation and to direct them to places where they were most likely to find livings. Bishop Scalabrini and the nineteenth-century liberals in power in the Italian secular government both started with the premise of a system of natural law that recognized inalienable human rights. Nineteenth-century liberals took that premise to the conclusion that nature should be left unhindered, and thus migration should be freed from government interference. Bishop Scalabrini took the premise to the conclusion that society should follow natural law and provide for migrant care.

Ideally, then, wherever migrants went, they would be surrounded by nurturing and protective societies. Again, although he was mistaken, this was how Bishop Scalabrini thought England, France, Germany, Portugal, and Greece arranged their colonies. Migrants went from the home country to the colony, all along the way enjoying the protection of their national laws, backed up by diplomatic and military power. Charitable and government-subsidized agencies assisted them in transit and as they settled in their new homes, where they preserved intact their language, customs, and religious practice. Bishop Scalabrini made special mention of Peter Paul Cahensly, a Limburg an der Lahn businessman, Catholic, and philanthropist, who in 1871 founded the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of German Catholic Emigrants. The bishop would be involved with Mr. Cahensly and the German Saint Raphael Society in the Lucerne Memorial of 1890-1891.

Could Italy establish colonies for its population? Bishop Scalabrini did not doubt the worthiness of colonial enterprises. When the bishop wrote about the European conquest of Africa and the Americas, he envisioned empty lands. Rather than focus on the conflict between the aborigines and colonists, Bishop Scalabrini sped forward to describe nineteenth-century Americans. In some passages, he sounds like a stereotypical

Eurocentric conqueror describing heathen aborigines, because, as far as he was concerned, the Americas still needed evangelization. Secular liberals dominated their governments. The United States, at least, was full of Protestants and Freemasons. The real name for the driving force of American economies was not the nineteenth-century liberals' "invisible hand of the marketplace" but greed. The entire hemisphere needed a peaceful invasion of those who would leaven it with the virtues of Christian civilization.

Bishop Scalabrini did doubt whether the Italians should attempt the worthy goal of establishing colonies in the Americas akin to the European colonies then being organized in Africa. Perhaps out of a sense of diplomacy and tact, perhaps out of a sense of patriotism, he praised Italy's history as a colonizer of the Mediterranean and went on to praise Italy for being realistic enough to understand the peninsula could no longer play that role on the world stage. Certainly, because he was both a patriot and a pastor, he inserted his judgment that "Italy is in no position to acquire any more [colonies] without clearly violating international law and getting involved in bloody conflicts." In any event, the bishop did not attach overriding importance to colonies. It might be more in keeping with his view of the essential harmony of individual and society if migrants and the government of the country from which they came expanded together but it was not necessary. The real points were the spread of Christian civilization and the improved material well-being of the migrants. (In *Italy Abroad*, Scalabrini labelled colonization is political migration, and migration to territory controlled by another government as agricultural-commercial colonization.)

Discussion of evangelization and of the protection of migrants led Bishop Scalabrini to a discussion of what Catholicism and the government of Italy could do together. *Italian Emigration in America* suggested five tasks on which church and state could collaborate. The first and fourth items on the list sound alike: "To keep the emigrant from falling victim to the shameful exploitation of certain emigration agents" and "to declare open war, if I may use this term, on the merchants of human flesh who are prepared to use the most sordid means for the sake of money." The second, third, and fifth suggestions were different: the second called for setting up an employment agency; the third for providing health care; and the fifth for giving religious training. In *The Parliamentary Bill on Italian Emigration*, Bishop Scalabrini continued his campaign against migration agents. The bill showed both the strengths and the limits of liberalism, he said: it was strong in recognizing human rights, including that of migration, but, with its laissez-faire attitude, it was weak in protecting those rights, and left the migrants vulnerable to exploitation. In *The Parliamentary Bill on Italian Emigration*, the bishop made a further suggestion: that all seminarians be allowed to replace their three years of compulsory military service with five years of ministry in the mission field. In *Italy Abroad* he also advocated change of conscription laws that discouraged males of military-service age from returning to Italy for fear of being forced into the army.

Bishop Scalabrini leavened his logical arguments with rhetorical allusions to Italian and world literature, comparing the migrants' vision of financial security to Don Quixote's vision of El Dorado. However, in *Italian Emigration in America*, he made a different kind of literary reference. In 1877, the year after Scalabrini became bishop of Piacenza, James Gibbons was transferred from his post as bishop of Richmond to a new

post as archbishop of Baltimore. The archbishop of Baltimore enjoyed a certain prestige by virtue of the fact of presiding over the oldest see in the United States, and Gibbons enhanced that prestige with his own accomplishments. In the early 1880s, he became a defender of an organization called the Knights of Labor. The Vatican, and some Roman-minded ordinaries, put the Knights of Labor in the same category as the Freemasons: it was an organization that required its members to swear not to tell any of its secrets to outsiders, which impaired the members' ability to confess their sins freely and fully, which meant Catholics should not be allowed to join. Even more ordinaries were suspicious of the Knights of Labor because it was a union, and some labor organizations (such as the Molly Maguires) planned violent actions that should have been matter for confession. Gibbons argued that instead of being condemned as a secret society, the Knights of Labor should be seen in the context of the industrial capitalism that threatened workers' dignity and livelihood. Bishop Scalabrini saw the connection between Gibbons' defense of labor unions and his own defense of migration as ways of helping the working class, and he quoted Gibbons extensively:

Everyone who carefully meditates on the ways Divine Providence is directing history will recognize the important role people's power is playing at present and will have to play in the future. With deep sadness, we see the efforts the Prince of Darkness is making to cause this power to become dangerous for social good, the efforts he is making to drag the masses of the people away from the influence of religion and to push them down the dangerous road of license and anarchy. Until now, our country has offered an entirely different picture, that of people's power guided by love for good order, by respect for religion, and by obedience to the authority of law. This is not a democracy of licentiousness and violence but a true democracy that seeks the common good through solid principles and good social order.

To conserve this desirable state, it is absolutely necessary that religion continue to keep the people's loyalty and, in this way, influence the conduct of the masses. As Cardinal Manning has well said: 'In the future, it will not be with princes and parliaments but with the great masses of the people that the Church will have to deal. Whether we like it or not, this is our task, a task that, to be fulfilled, requires of us a new spirit, a new model of life and action.' To lose our influence over the masses means to lose our entire future. And it is first of all with the heart more than with the mind that we must hold on to and guide this immense power for better or for worse.

Among all the glorious titles which the Church has earned down through history, there is none that, in our day, will bring greater luster to it than the title Friend of the People. In our democratic country, it is this title that earns the Church not only the enthusiastic devotion of millions of her children but also the respect and admiration of all our citizens, whatever their religious affiliation. It is the power of this title that will avert persecution or make it almost impossible. It is this title that attracts the generous heart of the American people to our Holy Church.

Since everyone knows that the great issues of the future are not the issues of war, of trade or of the economy, but social issues that deal with the betterment of the conditions of vast masses of the people and especially the working class, it is highly important that the Church be always and firmly on the side of the people, on the side of justice toward the multitudes that make up the human family)¹⁵

¹⁵ Scalabrini, *L'Emigrazione Italiana in America*, 53. At the same time that this history was in preparation, the Center for Migration Studies was typesetting a book of English translations of Bishop Scalabrini's

One might wonder if the quote was intended partly to compliment the United States' ordinaries. After all, Bishop Scalabrini's desire to send missionaries implicitly criticized U.S. pastoral care of Italian migrants, and portions of *Italian Emigration in America* explicitly condemned the materialism Bishop Scalabrini thought was rampant in the Americas, so it behooved the bishop to find something nice to say. However, there is no evidence Bishop Scalabrini intended many Americans to read his pamphlets, and there is no evidence many did. The quote was definitely directed at Italians, both in the Quirinal and in the Vatican. In other places, Bishop Scalabrini pictured the United States as full of spiritual dangers. In this pamphlet, he portrayed its speakers as having a message for Italy, developing a model of the alliance of church and state on the solid ground of a popular piety that required a government response.

However, Bishop Scalabrini differed in several ways from the archbishop whom he quoted. Gibbons was not interested in the same kind of closer alliance of church and state. He was interested in class divisions; he thought that Catholicism in Europe had made the mistake of allying with the aristocrats and landowners, thus losing the working class, and he wanted to avoid repeating that mistake in the United States. Bishop Scalabrini was not interested in emphasizing class differences. He recognized them, but he thought they should be overcome by common nationalism. While Gibbons argued that there was no necessary conflict between church and state, he did think of the two institutions as operating in different spheres. Bishop Scalabrini tended toward unity. An interest in Italian nationalism was an interest in everything that concerned the Italians' material situation: the economy that drove the poor to migration, the government that left the migrants vulnerable to exploitation, the charitable aid the working poor needed. Bishop Scalabrini ended *Italian Emigration in America* with a rhetorical flourish emphasizing this harmony of secular and spiritual interests:

Religion and country: these two supreme aspirations of every noble soul are intertwined. They complement each other in this labor of love, which is the protection of the defenseless. They unite in a wonderful symphony. The ignominious barriers created by hatred and resentment will disappear; arms will open out in a fraternal embrace; hands will shake in a warm sign of love; lips will open to smile and to kiss, and, once all class and party discrimination will have been eliminated, we will see in all its Christian splendor the meaning of the aphorism: man is brother to man.¹⁶

Over the next 30 years, Bishop Scalabrini would have opportunity to return to these themes. Over the next 50 years, his missionaries would have opportunity to test the connections he made between religion and homeland. In 1887, though, Bishop Scalabrini was eager to organize an institution to implement his plans.

As he thought about the form his institution should take, Bishop Scalabrini corresponded frequently with Vatican officials. As a member of the Catholic Church, he accepted his place in the hierarchy, and it was both courteous and politically sensible to consult the Vatican so as not to inadvertently create problems with the Italian

writings on migration, translated and edited by Silvano M. Tomasi and Edward C. Stibili. The translation of *L'emigrazione Italiana in America* used here comes from that collection.

¹⁶ Scalabrini, *L'Emigrazione Italiana in America*, 53-54.

government. Since he was initiating a project which touched upon international matters, Bishop Scalabrini addressed some of his early letters to Ludovico Cardinal Jacobini, Pope Leo XIII's secretary of state from December 16, 1880, until his death February 28, 1887. On June 1, 1887, Pope Leo XIII appointed Mariano Cardinal Rampolla Del Tindaro to succeed Cardinal Jacobini. Cardinal Rampolla served until 1903, when Leo XIII himself died. Pope Pius X appointed another secretary of state, Rafael Cardinal Merry Del Val, who was still in office at the time of Bishop Scalabrini's death. More often, though, Bishop Scalabrini wrote to the secretaries of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the Latin name of which gives this congregation its most common English-language name, Propaganda. The reason for this was that part of Bishop Scalabrini's proposal involved sending priests and religious to the United States of America, which was until 1908 considered "mission territory," and thus a Propaganda responsibility. When Bishop Scalabrini began thinking seriously about an institution to serve migrants, the secretary of Propaganda was Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni. Cardinal Simeoni had been secretary of state under Pope Pius IX from December 18, 1876, to February 7, 1878. Pope Leo XIII appointed him to Propaganda, in which capacity he served from February 7, 1878, to his death January 14, 1892. Pope Leo XIII then appointed as the secretary of Propaganda Mieczysław Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski, who served from 1892 until his death January 22, 1902.

Most of all, though, Bishop Scalabrini corresponded with Father Zaboglio, whom historian Pietro Borzomati considered as supporting the project from the beginning.¹⁷ When Bishop Scalabrini asked Father Zaboglio to hurry to Piacenza to help work on a draft of the proposal, the latter came right away, but found the bishop away. Father Zaboglio returned to his parish in Spello and wrote down his own thoughts on the migrant apostolate. His immediate family's experience was mostly with migration from Italy to a rural area in another country. Also, there was already in print a body of opinion that the best method of pastoral care for immigrants to the United States was to gather the migrants into rural communities, isolated from the twin temptations of secularism and Protestantism. As Father Zaboglio explained to the bishop: "As I understand, these 'colonies' are just Catholic parishes, run as such, with their priests and schools. Thus, kept together from wandering like lost sheep, emigrants live with other Catholics, benefiting from the spiritual assistance they receive, and have the feelings of life in their mother country."¹⁸

Questions abounded. Did the Catholic Church really need an institution permanently dedicated to the migrant apostolate? Most people thought not. Father Philip Valentini, whom Bishop Scalabrini consulted on the rules for his proposed institute, estimated the apostolate to the migrants would last a maximum of ten years.¹⁹ Pietro Borzomati explained that throughout Bishop Scalabrini's life Vatican authorities did not want the

¹⁷ "Pietro Borzomati, 'I Missionari di San Carlo dal 1887 alla Morte di Scalabrini (1905),' in Gianfausto Rosoli, *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989), p. 340.

¹⁸ Francesconi, I, 23.

¹⁹ Francesconi, I, 32.

Scalabrinians to adopt perpetual vows because they thought the community's *raison d'être* would taper off.²⁰ Those who supervised the Scalabrinian community in the 1920s and those who questioned the need for the Scalabrinians' "centers for migration studies" in the 1960s thought the same thing.

Who should be admitted to the new institute? At different times, Bishop Scalabrini suggested various qualifications for recruits to his proposed institute. The first call for recruits announced minimal standards: applicants had to supply letters from their bishops testifying to their fidelity to the principles of episcopal authority in general and obedience to one's ordinary in particular. Inevitably, some people who came with lukewarm recommendations got into the mission field.²¹ Had Bishop Scalabrini started with candidates for the priesthood and trained them in a seminary according to his desires, he might have had a more reliable group of clergy. He would also have had to wait years to send out his first missionaries. As it was, he hastened to send priests abroad and shouldered the burden of constantly evaluating his missionaries' qualifications for their work.

How much of a community should the new institute be? From the beginning, Bishop Scalabrini intended his missionaries to live some sort of community life. Exactly why the bishop wanted a religious community is not clear. In some ways, community life was impractical. Why require priests to live in community when the Italian migrants they served were themselves highly transient people who lived in widely scattered areas that could not financially support several priests? And there is some irony in the picture of a "family" of clergy serving people whose own family lives had been disrupted by migration. Perhaps this was just another manifestation of Bishop Scalabrini's conviction that international migration was a permanent phenomenon and the pastoral care of migrants required a lifetime commitment. And, as Father Valentini pointed out, a religious institute had its practical aspect. If Bishop Scalabrini's institute simply served to screen and place would-be migrant priests, those priests would be completely under the supervision of the ordinaries to whose sees they migrated. Even though Bishop Scalabrini thought of his missionaries as being under the supervision of the ordinaries in whose sees they worked, some sort of institutional identity would give the missionaries some independence to identify and carry out their mission.²²

A new institute faced particular challenges. As with the decision to recruit priests and send them to the mission field rather than recruit those with a vocation to the priesthood, Bishop Scalabrini made a choice to meet an immediate need, and in doing so, shouldered an additional burden of fostering an *esprit de corps*. Historian Peter D'Agostino has pointed out:

²⁰ Borzomati, 335-347.

²¹ "Apostolic Institute for Colonies Abroad," *Scritti* I, 82; Edoardo to Rev. Signore, Novara, November 23, 1889, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1889 folder Edoardo was the bishop of Novara. His letter explained he could not recommend a certain individual as that person had been suspended. The person nevertheless was accepted by the Scalabrinians, entered the mission field and for a time performed acceptably.

²² Francesconi, I, 32.

[P]ermanent vows consistently administered could establish uniform commitment, a shared common life could develop a collective identity to fuel activity; a long history rich in geographical, architectural, devotional, and hagiographical associations could help to maintain discipline, order, and guide practical action. The Pious Society had none of these aids when its first priests migrated to the Americas to work among Italian emigrants.²³

Bishop Scalabrini made preliminary decisions about the concrete form his plan for the pastoral care of migrants should take, and transmitted a formal proposal to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, who, on June 26, 1887, presented the bishop's basic ideas to Pope Leo XIII. This first full expression of Bishop Scalabrini's plan was comprehensive in several senses of the word. The bishop wanted to start by creating in three or four Italian ports embarkation committees consisting of a priest and several members of the laity, so as to offer both spiritual and practical assistance. These committees would have their central headquarters in Rome. The committees would be matched by similar committees at ports in the Americas where the Italian migrants debarked. There would also be houses in the Americas where the missionaries priests could live in community while they served in the mission field. Finally, there should be a superior for the central committee. The proposals were inclusive in that they provided shore-to-settlement care for Italian migrants, the care was of a spiritual and a charitable nature, and the laity were to have a role in providing the care.²⁴

Father Francesconi noted that Leo was concerned with the prominence Bishop Scalabrini gave to the laity, preferring more episcopal supervision. The Holy Father was also concerned about the unfavorable comparisons that people could draw between Bishop Scalabrini's proposals and the proposals of other people of whom the bishop knew little or nothing. Just before Cardinal Simeoni presented Bishop Scalabrini's prospectus to Leo, the Vatican had rejected a document known as the Abbelard petition, named for Peter Abbelard, a German priest serving in the United States.²⁵ Father Abbelard had complained that the Germans had difficulty preserving their language and their pious practices in the United States, and he called for special measures designed to allow the Germans, and other ethnic groups, to maintain the cultures and customs which gave them their identities. The American bishops had protested against this sort of particularism, claiming that American-born Protestants already feared that immigrants and Catholics were not good Americans, and that implementing suggestions such as those made by Father Abbelard would only add fuel to the fire. Leo himself was concerned about the divisive tendency of national or ethnic loyalties, and he worried that Bishop Scalabrini's suggestions seemed to foster such loyalties.

²³ Peter R. D'Agostino, "Missionaries in Babylon: the Adaptation of Italian Priests to Chicago's Church, 1870-1940" (Ph.D., The University of Chicago Divinity School, 1993), 84.

²⁴ Francesconi, I, 36. For more on port conditions, see Augusta Molinari, "Emigration Traffic in the Port of Genoa between the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Shipping and Problems of Social Hygiene," *Journal of American Ethnic History* XIII: 1 (Fall 1993), 102-115, in which the conclusion is drawn that "The Genoese ruling classes were not very open to the social problems which migration raised, and their sole concern seemed to be how to cope with the enormous business opportunities offered by mass transatlantic migration in the most profitable manner and with the least investment."

²⁵ Francesconi, I, 37.

Several scholars have probed for differences of opinion between pope and bishop. Mario Francesconi, Danilo Veneruso, and Fausto Fonzi have concurred that the bishop was more optimistic than the pope was about the possibilities of cooperation between the Catholic Church and the Italian secular government.²⁶ It might be worthwhile to point out two other considerations. First, as far as Italy was concerned, the bishop and the pontiff occupied different roles. Bishop Scalabrini was charged with the pastoral care of those in his diocese, and his interest in the immigration problem was an extension of this role. To Leo fell responsibility for church-state concerns, and he would look at any proposal with an eye to its effect in that field. Second, as far as the United States was concerned, Leo was being pulled two ways. While some American bishops complained that incidents such as the Abbelard petition made Catholic immigrants seem disloyal to America, other American bishops were calling for special measures to be taken regarding Italian migrants. On the one hand, Leo wanted to lead the faithful from loyalty to national or ethnic pious practices toward loyalty to the universal faith; on the other hand, he wanted to provide for the special needs of particular groups of Catholics.

Increasing the pressure on the pontiff to give a favorable response was the fact that Bishop Scalabrini was already attracting missionaries. The first he heard from was Marcellino Moroni. Born in Agnadello, Cremona, in 1828, Father Moroni was a Capuchin monk from 1846 to 1870, when the Capuchins granted him permission to leave. He worked as a priest in the Diocese of Cremona from 1870 until 1884, when, apparently, he himself came up with the idea of a mission to Italian migrants in the state of Espiritu Santo, Brazil. The bishop of Cremona at that time was Geremia Bonomelli, who was as interested in Italian migration across Europe as Bishop Scalabrini was interested in Italian migration to the Americas. Bishop Bonomelli gave permission for the venture, and Father Moroni spent the years from 1884 to 1887 in Espiritu Santo. When he returned to Italy to recruit additional priests for Brazil, Bishop Scalabrini was in the process of organizing his community of missionaries for the Americas, and Bishop Bonomelli referred Father Moroni to Piacenza. Father Moroni spent the rest of 1887 and part of 1888 in New York City assisting Father Thomas Lynch with the Italian parishioners of the Church of the Transfiguration, which was at 29 Mott Street, adjacent to the city's Mulberry Street "Little Italy." Father Moroni became a Scalabrinian June 12, 1888 and spent most of the rest of his career in Brazil.²⁷

On November 9, 1887, Bishop Scalabrini had a major meeting with Vatican officials to discuss plans for his institute. The two most significant steps taken at the meeting were the approval of the idea of sending priests to the Americas to establish central houses in which the groups of missionaries could live in community and from which individual missionaries could go to preach to migrants in isolated area, and the decision to postpone founding port committees.²⁸ Already Bishop Scalabrini had to narrow his vision; instead

²⁶ Francesconi, I, 38-39; Fausto Fonzi, "Scalabrini e la Vita Politica Italiana (Piacenza, 1886);" Danilo Veneruso, "Mon. Giovanni Battista Scalabrini e la Santa Sede," in Rosoli, *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo*, pp. 17-33, 35-59.

²⁷ Francesconi, I, 46-47.

²⁸ Francesconi, I, 53.

of getting his clerical-and-lay committees, he was left with the work of organizing missionary priests. He set a precedent for a strategy the Scalabrinians followed later: narrowing their vision in the name of institutional survival.

Between November 9 and November 14, Vatican officials took the information from their meeting with Bishop Scalabrini and used it to prepare a report for Pope Leo XIII. Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni presented this report November 14. The Holy Father agreed with the idea of establishing houses that combined community living with itinerant preaching, and also with the postponement of the port ministry. He also spent some time at this meeting working out procedural details: he planned to write to both U.S. and Brazilian bishops to ask them to request priests for their Italian migrants through Propaganda, which would get the priests from Piacenza, which would recruit and train Italian clergy for the mission field. Leo's interest in developing a process for requests again shows that he was thinking along slightly different lines than was Bishop Scalabrini, befitting his responsibilities for maintaining civil relations between the Catholic Church and various secular governments, and also for maintaining fraternal relations between ordinaries of different sees. The pressure Leo felt from complaints about the Italian migrants' practice of their faith and the quality of the clergy who had already migrated showed itself in one final note from the meeting. The pontiff suggested it might be necessary to send an Italian bishop to investigate conditions in the Americas. No one followed up on this suggestion in 1887.²⁹

The day after the November 14 meeting, Leo issued a pontifical decree *Libenter Agnovimus*, giving formal, written approval of Bishop Scalabrini's institute. The decree made its first public appearance November 25 of that year. Bishop Scalabrini was ready for it. At 11:00 a.m. on November 28, 1887, the first three Scalabrinians took their first vows. One, Monsignor Dominic Costa, was the provost of the Basilica of Sant' Antonino the Martyr, where the first vowing ceremony was held. Monsignor Costa never went out in the mission field; instead, he served as superior of the missionaries-in-training during 1887 and 1888, at which point the Scalabrinians' administration was transferred from the Sant' Antonino rectory to Pio Ritiro Cerati, a Carmelite monastery.

The other two in the first group of vowed Scalabrinians did serve in the mission field. They were Domenico Mantese and Giuseppe Molinari. Father Mantese was born in Torrelbelvicino, Vicenza, April 25, 1847, and ordained for service in the Diocese of Vicenza on August 8, 1875. His first assignment was as an assistant in his hometown, where he served until 1879. Then he was transferred to Quinto Vicentino, where he was an assistant from 1879 to 1881, and transferred again to Poianella, where he was a pastor from 1881 to 1887. By 1886 he was corresponding about the possibility of missionary work in Brazil with Father Pietro Colbacchini, who became one of Bishop Scalabrini's priests in that country. Father Molinari's route into the Scalabrinians was more direct. Father Molinari had been born in Piacenza on August 21, 1856 and had been ordained by Bishop Scalabrini himself on May 22, 1880. He served as an assistant at Sarmato and at Sant'Antonino, Piacenza, until he entered the Scalabrinians.³⁰

²⁹ Francesconi, I, 55.

³⁰ Francesconi, I, 47-48.

On December 3, 1887, five days after the first Scalabrinians had taken their vows, Bishop Scalabrini published announcements of the formation of an "Apostolic Institute for Colonies Abroad." This was the announcement with the brief list of qualifications asking candidate to furnish reference letters testifying to their devotion to the virtue of obedience. Successful applicants were to receive six months of formation at Piacenza and then to depart for the mission field. Propaganda would give them their faculties (the ability to administer the sacraments) at the time of departure. The missionaries were to take temporary vows of five years, after which they were free to petition for permission to return to Italy. During their time as missionaries, the institute would supply travel, board, and clothing, but the missionaries were to take a variation on the vow of poverty. They were to vow to turn over to their superiors their stole fees, that is, the money received for administering sacraments (for example, saying mass for someone's intention, performing a baptism, or presiding over a wedding). They were also to vow to turn over to their superiors any other money that might come their way. Bishop Scalabrini gave the name Christopher Columbus Institute to the school that prepared missionaries for the field. It was another indication of how he thought about his project. He saw Columbus as the first missionary to the Americas, planting a Christian civilization in a place that had neither. Although it had been almost four centuries since Columbus's first voyage, Bishop Scalabrini still thought of Italian migrants as bearers of Christian civilization to an American wilderness.³¹

Now that he had an organization, Bishop Scalabrini had to develop public interest in it. Of necessity, he had to become something of a public relations agent, with an eye to protecting and promoting his fledgling organization's reputation. This involved keeping close watch on the Scalabrinians' behavior, to make sure none caused any scandal that would discredit the whole organization and trying to avoid public financial embarrassments. It also involved putting forward the Scalabrinians' name on various occasions. For example, in 1896, Bishop Scalabrini learned that various Catholic institutions planned to hold an exhibition in Turin in 1898 to demonstrate the faith's work in different fields, and he wrote Father Zaboglio to make sure the Scalabrinians' migrant ministry was represented. Another public relations tactic was to highlight the careers of the missionaries by recommending them for papal honors, a technique the bishop used especially during the administration of Pius X.³²

Bishop Scalabrini also had to find missionaries. The quickest way to do so would be to find groups of priests ready for mission field, and there is a letter from Bishop Scalabrini to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni regarding a Father De Martinis, the rector of the Asiatic College of Naples. Apparently, the Neapolitan organization had problems, and Bishop Scalabrini entertained the notion of saving its priests for the missions by bringing

³¹ "Apostolic Institute for Colonies Abroad," *Scritti* I, 82; Gerald P Fogarty, S.J., "1892 and 1992: From Celebration of Discovery to Encounter of Cultures," *Catholic Historical Review* LXXIX:4 (October 1993), 621-647.

³² Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, October 10, 1896, *Scritti* II, 96; Scalabrini to Pius X, n.p., November 25, 1903, and to Raffaele Cardinal Merry Del Val, Piacenza, February 3, 1904, *Scritti* II, 271-272, 275.

them into his institute.³³ Nothing came of the idea. The main way of attracting missionaries was for Bishop Scalabrini to contact the ordinaries of the sees throughout Italy, by travelling to see them or by writing them, and by recruiting priests from their sees. This did not work well. Bishop Scalabrini repeatedly remarked to Cardinal Simeoni that the ordinaries did not want to let priests out of their sees.³⁴

Insofar as the United States was concerned, the recruitment situation was complicated by the American ordinaries' suspicions of Italian clergy. Historian Stephen Michael Di Giovanni documented several cases of Italian clergy leaving Italy to escape the consequences of bad behavior there, and then skipping about the United States one step ahead of their reputations.³⁵ In 1893, the Sacred Concistorial Congregation forbade Italian bishops from issuing departure permits to clergy not affiliated with religious orders.³⁶ On the one hand, this promised to improve the Scalabrinians' recruitment situation, because any priest wanting to go to the American field had to be a member of a religious institute. On the other hand, that was precisely what was wrong — priests might apply to the Scalabrinians with less than pure motives. Bishop Scalabrini had always been sensitive to the possibility that priests might use the Scalabrinians to escape bad situations in Italy, and he frequently brought specific applicants to Propaganda's attention with words such as these: "already an African missionary where he cannot return, according to him, for health reasons, asked for entrance in our Congregation. His papers are excellent, but there is nothing on his deportment in Africa. Can he be accepted?"³⁷ American ordinaries were even more suspicious of Sicilians than they were of priests from the Italian mainland. Even mainland Italians tended to look down on Sicilians. Bishop Scalabrini did his best to recruit for this special need. In 1892 he wrote Father Zaboglio: "It is likely that after Easter I shall resume my travels to the Italian cities to make our work known. God willing, I shall go as far as Palermo where I shall do my best to find a Sicilian priest. . . ."³⁸ As Bishop Scalabrini grew older and as he had some priests to spare for this work, other priests began to travel around Italy and recruit: Francesco Beccherini made such a tour in 1904.³⁹

There was a chance that the Scalabrinians would find recruits among Italians in the United States. As early as 1896 at least one priest, Father Vincenzo Sciolla, came to the institute that way.⁴⁰ And Bishop Scalabrini intended to attract youths in Italy and in the

³³ Scalabrini to Simeoni, Piacenza, February 23, 1888, *Scritti* I, 90-91.

³⁴ "Scalabrini to Simeoni, Piacenza, September 17, 1890, *Scritti* I, 269-270; and Scalabrini to Simeoni, Piacenza, March 10, 1891, *Scritti* I, 312-313.

³⁵ Stephen Michael Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants: The Relationship between the Church and the Italians in the Archdiocese of New York, 1885-1902" (Ph.D., Pontifical Gregorian University [Rome], 1983), 177-180.

³⁶ Scalabrini to Bartolomeo Roller, Piacenza, August 14, 1893, *Scritti* II, 13.

³⁷ Scalabrini to Simeoni, Piacenza, January 18, 1889, *Scritti* I, 220-221.

³⁸ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, March 4, 1892, *Francesconi* II, 184-185.

³⁹ "Circolare di Mons. G. B. Scalabrini ai Vescovi d'Italia," Piacenza, February 22, 1904, *Scritti* II, 296.

⁴⁰ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New York, July 30, 1896, *Francesconi* II, 221-223.

immigrant receiving countries who might have vocations to the migrant apostolate. For the time being, though, Bishop Scalabrini had to establish a personal relationship with a priest that was strong enough to outweigh that priest's ties to family and ministry in Italy. He wrote several letters to Massimo Rinaldi, later a Scalabrinian missionary to Brazil, an administrator within the institute, and a bishop, to attract the young priest to the institute.⁴¹ He even had to do some recruiting work with Father Zaboglio, who still had ties to the Somascan Fathers.⁴²

Bishop Scalabrini also had to find ways to finance his institute. In a newspaper interview given in 1901, the bishop outlined his approach to finance: "First we plan, then we do and finally we pay."⁴³ Despite the levity in the remark, it was an apt description of the bishop's approach. He wanted to see the work among the migrants proceed, although finding the means to support the work was a constant battle.

The bishop began his fundraising by tapping his colleagues. On February 23, 1888, Bishop Scalabrini sent circulars to the bishops of Italy, Belgium and Germany announcing the founding of his institute and soliciting prayers and funds.⁴⁴ He received a variety of gifts: 2,000 lire from the Comitato Centrale Della Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Cattolici (Central Committee of the National Association to Aid Catholic Missionaries); 2,500 lire from banker A. Cuneo of New York; 2,000 lire from Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan, with whom the bishop later worked closely; 1,000 lire from a Father Charles M. De Broglie; and 875.72 lire from Andrea Cardinal Ferrari, the Archbishop of Milan, who reported the money came from an archdiocesan-wide collection for the migrants' needs.⁴⁵

A second source of donations was Propaganda. When in April 1888, he saw in the newspapers that Pope Leo XIII had given 500,000 lire to Propaganda, he wrote that body requesting a subsidy for his institute.⁴⁶ In July, he received word that Pope Leo XIII had granted the Scalabrinians a 20,000-lire subsidy.⁴⁷ This was not always enough. In 1890, the bishop wrote Cardinal Simeoni of Propaganda in some desperation: in fiscal year 1889 the missionaries received 19,740.84 lire and spent 36,620.32 lire. How was he to cover the deficit?⁴⁸ Bishop Scalabrini continued to lobby Cardinal Simeoni for subsidies for his

⁴¹ Scalabrini to Massimo Rinaldi, Piacenza, April 21, 1900, *Scritti* II, 170.

⁴² Scalabrini to Zaboglio, no place, February 28, 1888, *Scritti* I, 95.

⁴³ "I Missionari all'estero-Un'intervista col Vescovo Mons. G. B. Scalabrini," *Corriere della Sera*, June 1, 1901, *Scritti* II, 195-198.

⁴⁴ Scalabrini to the bishops of Italy, Belgium and Germany, no place, February 23, 1888, *Scritti* I, 91-92.

⁴⁵ Scalabrini to the Comitato Centrale Della Associazione Nazionale per Soccorrere i Missionari Cattolici, [Piacenza,] June 22, 1888, *Scritti* I, 20; Scalabrini to "Banker A. Cuneo," Piacenza, June 22, 1888, *Scritti* I, 121; Scalabrini to Michael Augustine Corrigan, Piacenza, October 26, 1888, *Francesconi* II, 234; Scalabrini to Father Charles M. De Broglie, n.p., November 1888, *Scritti* I, 195; and Scalabrini to Andrea Cardinal Ferrari, Piacenza, April 28, 1894, *Scritti* II, 38.

⁴⁶ Scalabrini to Bishop D. [Domenico] Jacobini, Piacenza, April 5, 1888, *Scritti* I, 112-113.

⁴⁷ Scalabrini to Simeoni, Piacenza, July 10, 1888, *Scritti* I, 121.

⁴⁸ Scalabrini to Simeoni, Piacenza, January 15, 1890, *Scritti* I, 258.

institute, and after Cardinal Simeoni died, he lobbied his successor, Cardinal Ledóchowski. Besides lobbying for money from Propaganda, Bishop Scalabrini also lobbied for Propaganda to arrange for a collection to be taken up in every see in Italy for the support of the American missions, something like Peter's pence or the American collection for the evangelization of African Americans and Native Americans.⁴⁹

The source Bishop Scalabrini most hoped to cultivate was his own priests. At that time, many Italian institutes faced financial difficulties. Those institutes with foundations in the United States expected the American foundations to provide income. In the Scalabrinians' case, the institute was too new to have "foundations," and contributions tended to come from individual priests. Bishop Scalabrini kept reminding his missionaries to "Try to send a little subsidy soon."⁵⁰ Father Oreste Alussi, who worked in Scalabrinian missions in New York and New England, was a model of what the bishop hoped his other missionaries might be. When Father Alussi came to the mission field in the 1890s it was difficult for him to set aside much.⁵¹ As Father Alussi's circumstances in the United States grew more comfortable his contributions increased. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of Bishop Scalabrini's elevation to the episcopate, Father Alussi presented him with \$100.⁵² Other Scalabrinians gave through Father Zaboglio, who sent the bishop a money order for the whole amount and a letter listing the contributors and their contributions.⁵³

Besides calling for donations of money, Bishop Scalabrini called for mass stipends.⁵⁴ In this case, an individual layperson gave money to have mass said for a particular intention, and the responsibility for saying the mass, as well as the donation, were passed on to Piacenza. As the Scalabrinians developed more missions in the United States, they distributed resources among themselves by sending mass stipends from parishes which had plenty to parishes which had few.

Bishop Scalabrini eventually had missionaries in several places in the United States and Brazil, two countries with different economies, and not all his missionaries were experienced administrators. It was difficult for him to balance the budget by controlling his expenses. Nevertheless, he fretted that "It is important to change our administrative system, and to know how and why money is spent."⁵⁵ One expense the bishop could try to control was the cost of sending missionaries abroad. He wrote Father Zaboglio, "If you can obtain something for our travelling expenses, so much the better"⁵⁶ When he had a

⁴⁹ Scalabrini to Mieczysław Cardinal Ledóchowski, Rome, May 8, 1897, *Scritti* II, 103.

⁵⁰ 'Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, November 29, 1895, Francesconi II, 213.

⁵¹ Scalabrini to Oreste Alussi, Piacenza, June 10, 1891, *Scritti* I, 328; Scalabrini to Alussi, Piacenza, August 26, 1893, *Scritti* II, 14; and Scalabrini to Alussi, Piacenza, February 26, 1894, *Scritti* II, 33-34.

⁵² Scalabrini to Alussi, Piacenza, July 6, 1901, *Scritti* II, 200.

⁵³ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, August 21, 1895, Francesconi II, 202-03; and Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, January 12, 1896, Francesconi II, 213-215.

⁵⁴ Scalabrini to Antonio Demo, Piacenza, January 10, 1905, *Scritti* II, 316-362.

⁵⁵ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, December 11, 1896, Francesconi II, 226.

⁵⁶ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, n.p., March 25, 1889, Francesconi II, 143-144.

missionary at New York harbor assisting the migrants in transit and coming into daily contact with the steamship companies, he hoped "Perhaps Father Bandini could obtain some travel tickets with a discount."⁵⁷

Besides missionaries and finding, Bishop Scalabrini had to have a mission field, someplace where his missionaries could go to minister to the Italians. Although the bishop thought of the Americas as a wilderness, neither the migrants nor the missionaries were going to places where the Gospel was not preached. The United States was already divided into sees with ordinaries whose approval was necessary for the missionaries to work. At the beginning of 1888, Bishop Scalabrini began to make the contacts necessary to opening these "mission fields" to his priests. On January 7, 1888, he wrote a letter to Michael Augustine Corrigan, Archbishop of New York. In the letter he mentioned "the project of the zealous and dear Father Marcellino [Moroni], whom I highly recommend to Your Excellency," and announced the organization of his institute.⁵⁸ This was the first letter in a long relationship.

Archbishop Corrigan was born in New Jersey, August 13, 1839. He and at least two of his siblings showed a vocation toward the priesthood or religious life. The future archbishop was educated at a private school directed by his godfather, Bernard Kearney, then at Saint Mary's College, Wilmington, Delaware, Mount Saint Mary's College, Emmitsburg, Maryland, and the North American College in Rome. He was ordained September 19, 1863. His first steps in his career were in education and educational administration at Seton Hall University. Appointed professor of dogmatic theology and scripture and seminary director in 1864, he became vice-president of the institution in 1865 and president in 1868. That same year he began to move into diocesan administration with an appointment as vicar general of the Diocese of Newark. In 1873 he became bishop of the Diocese of Newark. One of his actions as bishop was to ask his assistant at the cathedral, Father Joseph Borghese, to take a census of the Italian Catholics of Newark. The information that this population was increasing led the bishop to erect Saint Paul of the Cross in North Vineland to minister to the Italians. Saint Paul's was dedicated in June 1880. On October 1 of that same year, the Bishop of Newark was named coadjutor with the right of succession for the Archdiocese of New York.⁵⁹

The Archbishop of New York, John Cardinal McCloskey, had already set some precedents for Italian pastoral care. In 1866 he invited Italian Franciscans from the Province of the Immaculate Conception to staff the new parish of Saint Anthony of Padua on Sullivan Street in what is now SoHo. Saint Anthony's was a "national parish" in that the Franciscans had permission to minister to Italians who came to them, no matter where in the city the Italians lived. It was also a "territorial parish" in that it had responsibility for the care of souls within certain geographical boundaries. Cardinal McCloskey deemed the territorial aspect necessary because he feared the Italians could

⁵⁷ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, July 28, 1895, Francesconi II, 200. This reference is to Pietro Bandini, then director of the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants.

⁵⁸ Scalabrini to Michael Augustine Corrigan, Piacenza, January 7, 1888, *Scritti* I, 88-89.

⁵⁹ Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan," 143-162.

not or would not support the parish, whereas Catholics who lived within the boundaries of a territorial parish were supposed to support that parish just as that parish was supposed to minister to them.⁶⁰ In 1884, during the period that Corrigan served as coadjutor, the Archdiocese of New York opened a second Italian parish, inviting priests from the Pallottines, or Pious Society of Missions, to staff Our Lady of Mount Carmel on East 115th Street in East Harlem. That parish, too, served both Italians from all over the city and non-Italians within geographical boundaries.⁶¹

Corrigan became involved in New York's Italian ministry in November 1883, when he went to Rome as Cardinal McCloskey's representative at a meeting to draw up an agenda for the Third Plenary Council, or meeting of the United States Roman Catholic hierarchy, scheduled for Baltimore in late 1884. Members of Propaganda had called for the meeting. As historian John Tracy Ellis described the events of 1883, Vatican authorities asked the Americans to call a plenary council, and to come to a preliminary meeting, because they were concerned about how the American hierarchy exercised its ministry: there had been complaints of episcopal actions toward priests that were seen as high-handed, arbitrary, and contrary to canon law.⁶² As Stephen Michael Di Giovanni described the same events, the Italian migrants assumed more importance. Certainly, for anyone describing the 1883 meeting from coadjutor Corrigan's point of view, the Italian migrants were central. When the representatives of Propaganda suggested American prelates might show more zeal and creativity in their pastoral care of Italians, Corrigan explained that it was difficult to minister to the Italians because 1) they did not attend church regularly; 2) they lived in small, scattered groups and therefore could not be gathered into one Italian national parish; and 3) they did not contribute to the support of priests or parishes. This explanation did not persuade the Propaganda officials, and the meeting ended with the officials still committed to the idea that the American bishops should establish national parishes exclusively for the Italians and the American bishops still committed to the idea that Italian hierarchy should improve the laity's religious education and provide qualified Italian priests.

The American prelates returned to the United States and continued preparations for the 1884 meeting. Since Propaganda authorities had asked that the meeting take up Italian pastoral care Cardinal Gibbons obediently did so. However, he assigned the task of drafting proposals for the Italian apostolate (and the general migrant ministry) to Archbishop William Henry Elder of Cincinnati, who had few Italians in his own see and little experience with the issue. Coadjutor Corrigan, on the other hand, prepared for the upcoming meeting by sending Propaganda the observations of the priests in the Archdiocese of New York who came into contact with Italians in their parishes.⁶³ The 1884

⁶⁰ Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan," 251-265.

⁶¹ Robert Anthony Orsi, *The Madonna of 115th Street: Faith and Community in East Harlem, 1880-1950* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

⁶² John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons*, 2 vols. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952), 1:210-217.

⁶³ Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan," 27.

Plenary Council meeting in Baltimore repeated certain aspects of the 1883 preparatory meeting in Rome. Archbishop Elder produced his report, which was based on Propaganda's contribution to the 1883 meeting. Bishop Joseph Dwenger of Fort Wayne, Indiana, moved to accept the report. Corrigan, attending the meeting for Cardinal McCloskey, objected, and amplified with new evidence what he had said in 1883. This time he showed an awareness of how the Italians' economic situation hindered their religious practice: he explained that many Italians were bound to work for *padrone*, or labor-gang organizers, and thus did not have the freedom to practice their faith, and that other Italians were so poor that they skipped mass in order to work and put their children to work instead of sending them to catechism classes. As a compromise between Propaganda's theory that the Italian migrants needed more zealous American ordinaries and Corrigan's theory that the Italians needed good Italian clergy and better training in Italy, the plenary council voted to rewrite its work on the pastoral care of migrants without mentioning Italians at all, and to send a separate letter to Propaganda regarding the Italians. The letter, written on behalf of the American hierarchy by Bishop Thomas Becker of Wilmington, Delaware, did set forth the Americans' theory that the Italians had to be better educated before they left Italy. However, it was unlikely that the Italian hierarchy would call for remedial catechism classes, and the suggestions were no help at all for the Italians who had already migrated. The migrants needed priests in their new homes who spoke their language. Coadjutor Corrigan was already looking for them.

Before Corrigan came to New York, the Franciscans had already begun to expand from Saint Anthony of Padua on Sullivan Street. In the 1870s, Father James McGean arranged for a Franciscan, Giulio Arcese, to come to his parish, the Church of the Transfiguration on Mott Street, to minister to an Italian congregation meeting in Transfiguration's basement chapel. The Franciscans continued coming after Father McGean was transferred and Father Thomas Lynch, who could not speak Italian, became pastor of Transfiguration. Stephen Michael Di Giovanni referred to documents describing the Franciscans as seeming "totally inefficient in working with the immigrants."⁶⁴ Another factor might have been that care of migrant and ethnic groups was not the Franciscans' *raison d'être*. The order did different kinds of work within Catholicism, and thus had many ministries to staff. The Franciscans did continue to expand their Italian work in New York, but it was unwise to rely only on them to supply clergy. In 1883, Cardinal McCloskey asked his coadjutor then in Rome attending the preliminary meeting for the Third Plenary Council, to ask Don Giovanni Bosco, the founder of the Salesians, for priests. Don Bosco pleaded he had none to give at the moment and Italian Salesians did not come to New York until 1898. The Archdiocese of New York did make arrangements with the Pallottines to staff Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and the Pallottines eventually expanded to take Saint Anne's in East Harlem as well, but, like the Franciscans, the Pallottines had other ministries which required personnel. On October 10, 1885, Cardinal McCloskey died and his coadjutor became Archbishop Corrigan. He continued to keep New York's Italians in mind.

⁶⁴ Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan," 31.

In January 1888, one of Archbishop Corrigan's assistants, Father Charles E. McDonnell, was in Italy. Perhaps part of Father McDonnell's work in Italy concerned recruiting Italian priests for service in the Archdiocese of New York. If so, he was not having an easy time, as one letter to Archbishop Corrigan shows:

Mgr. ["Monsignor," which Italians, and Americans in Italy, used to address bishops] Contini Riccardi, whose card I received, called on me on Wednesday last to say that Mgr. [Domenico] Jacobini [of Propaganda] desired to see me about a project in which he, Mgr. C. R., is interested. That same morning, I had the interview with Mgr. Secretario [Jacobini], of which I put Your Grace [Corrigan] in account by that day's mail, but no mention was made then of this project. Mgr. C. R. would not give me the slightest intimation of the nature of his project, that he left entirely to Mgr. Secretario. On Friday evening word was left here that Mgr. Jacobini desired to see me the following morning, and accordingly I went over to Propaganda on Saturday morning [,] the day I had fixed for the call. There I learned the nature of the project. Mgr. C. R. is without occupation and is disposed until such time as a chance presents itself to the Holy Father to give a suitable position, to devote himself to missionary work among the Italians in the United States.⁶⁵

As far as Archbishop Corrigan was concerned that was the problem: individual Italian priests came to the United States for their individual reasons. Perhaps serving time until another opportunity presented itself was a better reason than some: Archbishop Corrigan had received warnings about priests whose reasons for coming to the United States were that they were unwelcome elsewhere. However, it would be better if these priests came for the reasons the archbishop wanted, that is, to help him minister to the Italians in his see. Perhaps Bishop Scalabrini's new institute could supply such pastorally-minded priests. Perhaps not. On February 9, 1888, Father McDonnell wrote Archbishop Corrigan a long letter with an obscure passage: "Do you think it well to have me stop over on the way back to see Mgr. Scalabrini? Miss Edes showed me the copy of the letter of the Bishop of Cremona, and that letter made me doubt whether you would wish me to go to Piacenza."⁶⁶ Ella B. Edes was an American-born woman living in Rome who gathered and disseminated local intelligence for Archbishop Corrigan and some of his colleagues. The Bishop of Cremona was Geremia Bonomelli, whose interest in transalpine migration paralleled Bishop Scalabrini's interest in transoceanic migration. Bishop Bonomelli also had a reputation for being less than intransigent in Italian church-state affairs. It is not clear what in Bishop Bonomelli's letter made Father McDonnell hesitate to go to Piacenza.

The day after Father McDonnell wrote this letter, and before Archbishop Corrigan could have received it, the archbishop wrote to Bishop Scalabrini and enclosed a donation, so Archbishop Corrigan, at least, seemed to think the bishop's project merited encouragement. On February 27, Bishop Scalabrini thanked Archbishop Corrigan and broached his plan for the Italians in New York. The bishop wanted to send three missionaries and a lay brother to act as catechist. These four were to have a building in which they could live communally and open a chapel for Italians, jurisdiction over whom would be transferred from territorial parishes to the Scalabrinians. From this *de facto*

⁶⁵ Charles E. McDonnell to Corrigan, Rome, January 29, 1888, AANY microfilm roll No. 12.

⁶⁶ McDonnell to Corrigan, Rome, February 9, 1888, AANY microfilm roll No.12.

national parish, the priests would develop more parishes and also at least one nonparochial ministry, a traveler's aid organization for Italians. At this point, Father Marcellino Moroni was already at Transfiguration, testing the waters for later missionaries.⁶⁷

Father McDonnell paid a visit to Bishop Scalabrini Wednesday, February 29, 1888, and reported the event to Archbishop Corrigan on Thursday, March 8:

I spent the night at [Bishop Scalabrini's] Palazzo Vescovile [episcopal palace], a magnificent old pile he inherited from his predecessors. We spent the evening conversing of his efforts on behalf of the Italian Emigrants, of their condition and needs in the United States, and of the need you have for priests for the Italians in New York. The Bishop is very much taken up with his work. He is very anxious to establish a house in New York for his community of priests, which will be a center whence priests may go to various parishes and even dioceses, as they are needed. If he can arrange with Your Grace for a separate establishment, he will spread out to two or three others. He is prepared also to supply you with religious (or sisters) of the community in Piacenza [this may be a reference to the Daughters of Saint Anne] if you need them. They devote themselves to the work of asylums, to the day nursery and to attending the sick poor. They will cheerfully undertake any or all these works for the Italians in New York as you may determine on in case you bring them to the diocese. I told him I had already put the question of sisters in the hands of Mgr. Jacobini and it would be necessary to correspond with him on the subject. The Bishop is also very anxious to obtain control of the work of supplying the foreign Italian missions so that no secular priest will be taken into the missions except such as recommended as coming from him. He says he has many applications but it is necessary to exercise discretion in selecting the missionaries. The Bishop was very much amused with your comments on his proposed exaction of the vow of poverty from his missionaries, which you called 'poetical.' The Bishop is very much in earnest, is up to the times, and is very determined. He is also very affable. He received me very graciously and was very grateful for your encouragement of his work as well as for the offering [sent February 9]. He says there are those who do not seem to favor his work and many who favor the work but the Archbishop of New York not only encourages but helps.⁶⁸

While Archbishop Corrigan and Father McDonnell discussed how Bishop Scalabrini's new institute might be useful to their archdiocese, Bishop Scalabrini was gathering data on how the missionaries might fare in the mission field of New York. On May 16, 1888, Father Marcellino Moroni wrote to inform the bishop of the difficulties that might lie ahead. When Father Moroni arrived in New York he first reported to Archbishop Corrigan, who assigned him to assist Father Thomas Lynch of Transfiguration, whose neighborhood included two groups of Italians, one from northern Italy and one from Sicily. Father Lynch's brother, Bernard Lynch, wrote "it would seem probably that the North Italians are a fairly instructed people . . . But the old Neapolitan States are daily sending to all quarters of this hemisphere grown men and women who are not well enough instructed to receive the sacraments. . . ."⁶⁹ Father Moroni also favored northern Italians. According to him, when he came to the Transfiguration, Father Lynch had as an assistant an Italian priest from Salerno who, by devoting himself to bringing over his relatives, had alienated the northern Italians. Father Moroni concentrated on the

⁶⁷ Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, February 27, 1888, *Scritti* I, 93-94.

⁶⁸ McDonnell to Corrigan, Paris, March 8, 1888, AANY microfilm roll No. 12.

⁶⁹ Bernard Lynch, "The Italians in New York," *The Catholic World* XLVII (1888), 69.

northern Italians. As financial contributions from the northern Italians increased, Father Moroni won some flexibility from Father Lynch, but he still had to negotiate preaching at two masses, celebrating vespers, giving moral instruction, and teaching catechism, holding novenas, sponsoring Marian devotions, and scheduling Benediction for First Fridays. Bishop Scalabrini responded to these letters of frustration by urging Father Moroni to stay at his post and telling him that Father Zaboglio was coming to New York and then the two priests could draw up the regulations for the Scalabrinians in that city. But by the time Father Zaboglio reached New York, Father Moroni had left.⁷⁰

The Italian laity at Transfiguration reinforced Father Moroni's story. On March 27, 1888, eight of them signed a letter to Bishop Scalabrini. All eight were men, at least two shared the same family name, and, in this case, all were from northern Italy. They expressed their pleasure in getting Father Moroni, a priest from northern Italy, and also their hope that this was a first step toward a parish with Italians as pastors rather than as curates.⁷¹ The letter is the first example of a pattern that repeated itself in numerous situations. Local prominent laymen involved themselves in parish organization and expressed themselves as to the desirability of exclusively Italian parishes staffed by Italian clergy. The laymen's involvement is open to multiple interpretations. Both Bishop Scalabrini and Father Zaboglio seem to have taken this correspondence at face value, as a sign the Italians needed better pastoral care. Historians have suggested some of the *prominenti* were motivated by nonspiritual motives; that they were trying to organize the community for the sake of their own prestige rather than for the sake of its spiritual growth, or that the class difference between themselves and the masses of poor migrants rendered them ineffective community representatives.⁷² Working with the *prominenti* for the sake of the larger community was going to be a constant problem for the Scalabrinians.

Whatever motivated the laymen at Transfiguration, they were attuned to Bishop Scalabrini's and Father Moroni's thinking. While he was at Transfiguration, Father Moroni explored the possibilities for a separate Italian parish in the neighborhood. Father Lynch clearly balked at the idea. For a while, Father Lynch's neighbor, Father John E. Kearney at Saint Patrick's Old Cathedral on Mulberry Street, talked about finding a house and a church for the missionaries within his parish boundaries. But then Father Kearney began making the same charge as most of New York's secular priests: if the archdiocese

⁷⁰ Francesconi I, 86-92.

⁷¹ Francesconi I, 86. The signers were Giuseppe Barbieri of Padua, Andrea Casazza of Padua, Giovanni Casazza of Padua, Gerolamo Ferrari of Genoa, Francesco Isola of Novara, Lorenzo Perona of Turin, Fortunato Pierano of Genoa and Giovanni Rapuzzi of Genoa.

⁷² Stephen Michael Di Giovanni, "Mother Cabrini: Early Years in New York," *Catholic Historical Review* IMCVII: 1 (January 1991), 56-77, 61, 63, and 69 charges that Countess Mary Reid De Cesnola, who proposed to fund an orphanage for Italian girls, actually wanted to develop a supply of inexpensively-trained domestic help. Michael James Eula, "Between *Contadino* and Urban Villager: Italian Americans of New Jersey and New York, 1880-1980: A Comparative Exploration into the Limits of Bourgeois Hegemony" (Ph.D., University of California at Irvine, 1987), 270-365, discusses the particular understanding of Catholicism held by those who came from peasant backgrounds and entered the working class.

opened a parish specifically for Italians, the surrounding parishes would lose even the possibility of financial support from the Italians. On the other hand, these priests complained about taking care of the Italians in their own parishes, the Italians manifested unhappiness over the quality of pastoral care they were getting, and Bishop Scalabrini wanted his priests to live in community rather than as assistants in established parishes. Thus, forces existed that would eventually produce the separate parishes.

Archbishop Corrigan gave another perspective on Father Moroni's work at Transfiguration. His success with northern Italians, he wrote Bishop Scalabrini, stemmed from his habit of praising northerners and criticizing southerners. "I do not reproach him; but last Sunday, I had to call the police department in order to calm a fight inside the church while services were being held. This had never happened before."⁷³

As the day drew closer to sending the missionaries and preparations became more numerous and complex, Bishop Scalabrini needed a personal representative in the United States. On June 1, 1888, he wrote out a letter to Archbishop Corrigan introducing Father Zaboglio as the "General Secretary of the Congregation of the Missionaries for Emigrants." Father Zaboglio's mission was to study other ethnic groups' travelers' aid societies so as to find a model for the Italians, and to obtain information on Italian migrants settled in the United States so as to come to an understanding regarding the establishment of the Scalabrinians there.⁷⁴ Father Zaboglio left Piacenza shortly thereafter and travelled north to Le Havre, France. On June 9, 1888, he sailed from that port. The ship docked in New York on June 17, and soon thereafter Father Zaboglio began making a round of visits.

Archbishop Corrigan was perhaps the most important person on Father Zaboglio's list, but there were others. He also saw Monsignor Gennaro De Concilio. Born in Naples in 1836 and ordained in Genoa in 1859, De Concilio migrated to the United States in 1865. At the time Father Zaboglio met him he was pastor of Saint Michael's in Jersey City. In 1888 he published a pamphlet on the pastoral care of Italian migrants and until his death in 1898 he was one of the people regularly consulted on Italian migrant affairs.⁷⁵ In New York, Father Zaboglio saw Father John Edwards, pastor of Immaculate Conception on East 14th Street, who interested himself in Italian care. Perhaps he also saw Father Lynch and Father Kearney.

At the end of June, Father Zaboglio wrote Bishop Scalabrini about his progress, or lack of it. Archbishop Corrigan still had not found a house for the Scalabrinians, though on June 21 Corrigan had written Scalabrini to say he was looking.⁷⁶ Actually, Archbishop Corrigan had given the task of finding a building to Father Kearney, who had his eye on a site on Hester Street. Father Zaboglio and the Italians at Transfiguration thought the lot was too far away, but Father Kearney and Monsignor De Concilio thought it was just fine. Father Zaboglio assessed Monsignor De Concilio as similar to "the Irish" (several Scalabrinians referred to American secular priests this way) in wanting to control the

⁷³ Corrigan to Scalabrini, Newburgh, May 8, 1889, Francesconi II, 237-238.

⁷⁴ Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, June 1, 1888, Francesconi II, 230.

⁷⁵ Francesconi I, 103-104.

⁷⁶ Corrigan to Scalabrini, Ellenville, New York, June 21, 1888, Francesconi II, 230-231.

Italian apostolate. As for Archbishop Corrigan, "I have reason to believe at this moment that the Archbishop is as acquainted with the proceedings as King Humbert is!!!"⁷⁷ Other people proved more useful in helping Father Zaboglio obtain his ends. A Mr. Cuneo, probably the same banker who gave the donation to Bishop Scalabrini, offered use of his home basement for a chapel, but the building was within the boundaries of Transfiguration and the vicar general, to whom Father Zaboglio applied for permission, did not want to trouble Father Lynch, so he denied permission. Father Pietro Massi, S.J., suggested that Father Zaboglio rent an apartment so the Scalabrinians would not have to live, even temporarily, in "Irish" rectories. This idea proved its usefulness when Father Kearney asked where the Scalabrinians would stay and intimated he needed some assistants at the old cathedral. Father Zaboglio was able to respond that the Scalabrinians were a religious institute whose rules required them to live in common, and that was the end of that.⁷⁸

While Father Zaboglio prepared a place for the missionaries to stay, other people in Rome and in Piacenza prepared to send the first missionaries out. At the time Father Zaboglio left for the United States, the Scalabrinians had a dozen members: Fathers Amos V. Astorri, Domenico Mantese, Marcellino Moroni, Giuseppe Molinari, Felice Morelli, Remigio Pezzotti, Bartolomeo Roller and Giuseppe Vencletti, and Brothers Angelo Armani, Victor Gabuardi, Francis Pizzolotto and Vincenzo Spada. (Brother Spada may have actually been a seminarian.) Negotiations had opened with Archbishop Corrigan and with ordinaries in Brazil. On July 11, 1888, Bishop Scalabrini wrote Father Zaboglio not to be surprised at the arrival of two colleagues, saying Rome had decided to send them and obedience to Rome was a source of victory over the world.⁷⁹ (Father Francesconi, on the other hand, thought that the decision to send the missionaries rested with Bishop Scalabrini.⁸⁰) The departure ceremony took place July 12 at the Basilica of Sant' Antonino in Piacenza. Bishop Scalabrini said mass. The choir sang *Veni Creator*, a chant used to implore the Holy Spirit's blessings on a new enterprise. The missionaries, who had been seated on the right side of the church, rose to stand before the altar. Each one in turn knelt before Bishop Scalabrini and pronounced five-year vows. The bishop then blessed and distributed mission crosses and delivered his farewell address. He began by discussing Catholicism's general call to missionaries and then moved to the specific situation: "Leave these shores; the Angel of the United States is inviting you to a field where over half a million Italians lie forgotten." After listing the migrants' needs and expressing faith that divine Providence was inspiring the Scalabrinians to meet those needs, the bishop ended with a paragraph that showed his sense that religion was both the highest of goods and that it was firmly embedded in the network of human culture:

Never lower the standard [as in flag] of religion, never debase it to the level of human interests! Hold it up high and unblemished, always and everywhere! Everywhere and at all times, provide

⁷⁷ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New York, July 19, 1888, Francesconi II, 98-101.

⁷⁸ Francesconi I, 99-100.

⁷⁹ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, n.p., July 11, 1888, *Scritti* I, 123.

⁸⁰ Francesconi I, 128.

that together with the sign of religion, the flag of our country also be honored and respected, the flag of this Italy of ours, where the heart of the Church throbs and God has chosen to place the center of His religion.⁸¹

Five months later, after the missionaries had arrived in the United States and were already hard at work, Pope Leo XIII's letter introducing them arrived. Bishop Scalabrini had drafted the letter for the holy father, who then worked from that draft to produce the document *Quam Aerumnosa*. The letter took its title from the first few words in Latin, which alluded to the bitterness and sorrow of the migrants' lot. The finished letter followed Bishop Scalabrini's lead in depicting migration as a function of the search for a living: it referred to "so many unfortunate Italians, forced by poverty to change their residence." Leo XIII also followed Bishop Scalabrini in identifying the moral and material dangers of migration. Bishop Scalabrini, though, had gone on from this point to explain that since the migrants derived their identities from their society, they needed to preserve as much of their culture as possible, and that was why they needed priests who spoke their language and understood their culture. *Quam Aerumnosa* did not discuss the need for cultural continuity. Rather, it referred to "the great multitude of these emigrants, the extent of the territory, and the local difficulties" as the reasons why the Americas needed Italian priests. The closest Pope Leo XIII came to admitting a role for nationalism was when he referred to his "love for men sprung from the same soil as ourselves," and in that same sentence he also referred to his "sure hope" that the American hierarchy was as interested as he was in the Italians, even though they did not spring from the same soil. The Scalabrinians were there simply to provide specialized pastoral skills, and Leo XIII reinforced Bishop Scalabrini's promise that the priests "will come to you to labor under the authority of those of you in whose dioceses they dwell." Leo XIII finished his letter by inviting the American hierarchy to become full partners in the Italian ministry: "If any of you should discover . . . anything further that can be done by us for the welfare of comfort of those in whose behalf we are writing, let him know that he will do us a favor if he will carefully relate his proposal to the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda."⁸²

Bishop Scalabrini's vision was already being altered. He had imagined cooperation between priests and laity; he got an order of male religious. He predicted a permanent need for missionaries to Italian migrants; others thought migration would end and the missionaries would no longer be necessary. He thought of missionaries as integrated into the larger community, providing cultural continuity and protecting the migrants from economic exploitation; the papal letter was less specific about the missionaries' cultural and economic roles and said the clergy were coming "to provide among [the migrants] a salutary administration of the sacraments, to form the growing offspring to religion and good conduct, and to help them in every way by advice and assistance, and to foster them by priestly care." The actual work of the missionaries in the United States would further alter Bishop Scalabrini's original vision.

⁸¹ Francesconi I, 128-132

⁸² John Tracy Ellis, *Documents of American Catholic History* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956), 482-485. Father Francesconi also has a translation of *Quam Aerumnosa* with a point-by-point comparison of the papal letter with Bishop Scalabrini's draft.



2

American Missions

Between 1888 and 1895 the Scalabrinians fanned out across the eastern part of the United States. Starting in New York City, they moved east to Boston, north to upstate New York, west to Ohio and south to New Orleans. Historians Mario Francesconi, C.S., and Alba I. Zizzamia have treated this period of Scalabrinian history geographically, narrating the foundations of parishes in New York, then Boston, then Providence, then New Haven, and so on. However, it is important to have a sense of chronology as well. When one considers all the activity from 1888 to 1895 year by year, one gets closer to the Scalabrinians' own sense of how fast their institution was expanding. Then one can ask what the Scalabrinians learned from this experience of rapid expansion, and then one can try to analyze the events.

Of those who pronounced their five-year vows and received their missionary crosses on July 11, 1888, three came to North America: Father Felice Morelli, the superior of the mission band, Father Amos Vincent Astorri, and Brother Pietro Pizzolotto. The three left Piacenza soon after July 12. Apparently, they went by way of Le Havre; there is a letter from Francesco Zaboglio to Giovanni Battista Scalabrini mentioning that a Father Lambertini had welcomed Morelli's band in Paris.⁸³ On July 22, 1888, they arrived in New York. By this time, Bishop Scalabrini, Father Zaboglio, and probably the missionaries themselves, had decided it was important to maintain the missionaries' independence from local pastors by emphasizing their need to live communally and to minister to the Italians from their own houses of worship; while Scalabrinians could take non-Scalabrinians as assistants, they could not themselves be assistants outside their own parishes. Accordingly, Father Morelli and his companions rented a few rooms in a tenement on Grand Street, which ran east-west through what was at that time a large Italian colony. They also leased a warehouse on Centre Street in which they established the Chapel of the Resurrection, the first house of worship in the parish of Saint Joachim. It is not clear who named the parish, but all the historical sources agree on its significance. Saint Joachim was the husband of Saint Anne and thus the father of the Blessed Mother; the family of Joachim, Anne and Mary were popular figures in Italian

⁸³ Francesco Zaboglio to Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Boston, September 25, 1888, Mario Francesconi, C.S., *The Scalabrini Fathers in North America, 1888-1895*, volume II, trans. Joseph Zappulla (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1983), 128-129. Hereafter, Francesconi II.

devotional life. Joachim was also Pope Leo XIII's baptismal name, and so was chosen to honor the pontiff who was so supportive of the Scalabrinians.⁸⁴

The Scalabrinians opened Resurrection August 5, 1888. On August 10, Archbishop Corrigan reported to Bishop Scalabrini on the first week of activities:

They celebrated four masses and are now holding a novena for the feast of the Assumption. Last Sunday the collection amounted to three hundred lire [circa \$60], and another fifteen to twenty lire were collected every night. Therefore, Monsignor, although this place is a very humble and small one, people are beginning to come and it seems that initially, at least, the Mission is functioning well. This, I am sure, will bring you as much pleasure and consolation as it has brought me. Gradually we may acquire the sympathy of our immigrants and bring them to the Lord. I think we should open other chapels so that the flock may at least attend the celebration of mass and hear the Word of God. There is plenty of room for many more Italian churches and Your Excellency would do me a great favor if he sent me another preacher as soon as possible.⁸⁵

Archbishop Corrigan's comment that there was plenty of room for more Italian churches is open to several interpretations. There was indeed a certain amount of geographic space: the archdiocese was still erecting territorial parishes in those parts of the see to which Catholics were moving. However, there was not that much space in the neighborhoods such as the one around Resurrection, and the local pastors feared new Italian parishes would divert contributions from the established parishes. There was, though, a certain amount of psychic space. The same pastors who feared losing the Italians' potential contributions also feared getting the Italians as parishioners, and Italians themselves had similar ethnic and class prejudices. The Italians who first attended Resurrection came from southern Italy. Northern Italians, including Father Morelli, felt uncomfortable around them: they had a different culture and different religious customs, and many of them were unskilled laborers. The prominenti, the men who hailed from northern Italy and who owned the businesses or had professional positions in the community, wanted to worship separately. Father Morelli accommodated them, and the result was the rental of a former Presbyterian church on Roosevelt Street. The new Catholic house of worship was named Saint Joachim, and it became the parish church. Its opening indicated another difference between Italian and American Catholicism. The first mass in the new church took place at midnight Christmas Eve, at a time when many ordinaries did not permit traditional European Christmas midnight masses.⁸⁶

About five months after Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop Scalabrini reporting on opening activities at Saint Joachim and asking for another priest, new missionaries started on their way. On January 24, 1889, at the Basilica of Saint Antonino, Bishop Scalabrini took the five-year vows of and distributed the missionary cross to Father Giuseppe Martini, Father Luigi Paroli, Father Giacomo Annovazzi, Father Oreste Alussi, Brother Angelo Armani, Brother Carlo Villa, Brother Giacomo Borsella, and Brother Vincenzo Arcelli. Father Annovazzi and Father Alussi took up residence at Saint Joachim's on

⁸⁴ Francesconi II, 34.

⁸⁵ Michael Augustine Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, August 10, 1888, Francesconi II, 232.

⁸⁶ Francesconi II, 34.

February 3, 1889. Sometime about November 1889, Saint Joachim's moved to its final home, a building at 22-32 Roosevelt Street.⁸⁷

The same month that Father Morelli's group arrived in New York, Father Zaboglio began work on establishing a Scalabrinian mission in Boston. Like New York, Boston had history of providing pastoral care to Italians. As historian William De Marco has described the history, it began in 1868, when Simon Dompieri, S.J., became pastor of Saint Mary's territorial parish, which had been erected on Thatcher Street in Boston's North End in 1835 and had been entrusted to the Jesuits in 1847. The Italians actually worshipped at a modest storefront chapel, while the majority of the parishioners gathered in the actual parish church, a situation that could not have fostered effective pastoral care. In 1873 Archbishop John J. Williams made other arrangements for the Italians. On June 7, he purchased the Free Will Baptist Meeting House on North Bennett Street, engaged Franciscans to staff the parish, and opened it to both Portuguese and Italian migrants for a period of two years. Whichever ethnic group raised the most money in that two-year period was to keep the North Bennett Street church. The Portuguese won this fundraising contest, collecting over \$12,000, while the Italians gathered less than \$10,000. In 1875, the Portuguese named their new parish in honor of Saint John the Baptist, and the Italians took their funds and again went elsewhere. On February 23, 1876, Italian Franciscans and laity celebrated the opening of the parish church of Saint Leonard of Port Maurice, a small wooden building on the corner of Prince and Hanover Streets.⁸⁸

When Archbishop Williams authorized Saint Leonard's, he directed that the Franciscans at this Italian parish should also hear confessions in English. Perhaps he was concerned that the Italians alone would not be able to support their parish and he wanted to give them the opportunity for extra income by permitting to minister to English-speakers as well; the previous chapter explained that Cardinal McCloskey followed that logic in opening Saint Anthony of Padua to English-and-Italian-speakers. If so, Archbishop Williams helped to create the very lack of support he feared. Father Joachim Guerrini, O.F.M., Saint Leonard's founding pastor, instituted weekly devotions to Saint Anthony of Padua, foreshadowing the appearance of the perpetual novena in the late 1930s. Many non-Italians came to these devotions and the Italians, feeling that Saint Leonard's was losing its Italian character, stopped attending. Donations dropped, the parish went into debt, and the creditors got a warrant for Father Guerrini's arrest for nonpayment of bills. Father Guerrini then went to the headquarters for the Custos of the Immaculate Conception, the American province for the Italian Franciscans, located near Saint Anthony of Padua in New York. The Franciscans sent Father Boniface Bragantini to Boston to be Saint Leonard's second pastor. The balkanization of the parish continued. Besides the split between Italians and non-Italians, an influx of migrants created a split

⁸⁷ Francesconi II, 43; Stephen Michael Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants: The Relationship between the Church and the Italians in the Archdiocese of New York, 1885-1902" (Ph.D., Pontifical Gregorian University [Rome], 1983), 177-180. 298.

⁸⁸ William De Marco, "Ethnics and Enclaves: The Italian Settlement in the North End of Boston" (Ph.D., Boston College, 1890), 92-96.

between southern Italians, who frequented Saint Leonard's, and Genoans, who withdrew from Saint Leonard's and commenced planning a parish of their own.⁸⁹

On Sunday, April 27, 1884, a group of Genoan men met at the North End's Lusitania Hall to create a permanent organization, elect officers, and approve a method for purchasing Father Taylor's Seaman's Bethel fronting North Square. At this meeting, the prominenti also took one symbolic step to halt the further fragmentation of the community. Rather than name their new organization after a patron of one of the villages or provinces represented at the meeting, the group decided to put themselves under the protection of a saint who understood their common need for gospel preaching, Saint Mark the Evangelist. Thus, the Società Cattolica Italiana di San Marco, or Saint Mark Society, was born.⁹⁰

By June 1885, the Saint Mark Society had purchased the North Square building, an action which created a new conflict. In addition to the splits between Italians and non-Italians, and between northern and southern Italians, there was now one between the laity and the ordinary. The laity followed the *fabbriceria* system of church ownership, in which lay trustees were the legal owners of parish property. Archbishop Williams followed the law of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, in which the ordinary of the see was the only trustee of the corporation which owned the see's property, a system known popularly as "corporation sole."⁹¹ From 1885 to 1888, the archbishop and the Saint Mark Society corresponded as to how to end this impasse, but neither side altered its basic position on church ownership. Meanwhile, the Saint Mark Society did what it could to establish itself as the lay leadership of a Catholic congregation. Bishop Scalabrini reported to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni of the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith that the Saint Mark Society and its followers met for feast days, sang the parts of the mass proper to the laity, recited the rosary in the morning and recited vespers and a second rosary in the evening.⁹²

Scalabrinians as well as Saint Mark Society leaders recalled that in July 1888, Father Zaboglio contacted the Society, offering to meet with the archbishop regarding opening the Saint Mark Society's church and also to obtain permission to supply clergy.⁹³ The Saint Mark Society then sent representatives to New York to talk to Father Zaboglio.⁹⁴ On

⁸⁹ De Marco, "Ethnics and Enclaves," 97.

⁹⁰ *Venticinque Anni di Missione fra gl'Immigrati Italiani di Boston, Mass., 1888-1913* (Milan: Tipografia Santa Lega Eucaristica, 1913), 64. This is the group's own account of the meeting. Saint Mark is famous as the patron of Venice, but it is not clear that there were enough Venetians at the meeting to create a majority in his favor.

⁹¹ De Marco, "Ethnics and Enclaves," 98.

⁹² Scalabrini to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Piacenza, September 8, 1888, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, *Scritti*, 14 vols. (Rome: Congregazione Scalabriniana, 1980) volume 1, 130-132. Hereafter *Scritti*.

⁹³ *Venticinque Anni*, 82; Remo Rizzato, *Figure di Missionari Scalabriniani* (New York: D'Alatri's Press, n.d.), 41-42.

⁹⁴ *Venticinque Anni*, 82.

August 16, Bishop Scalabrini wrote Father Zaboglio directing him to go to Boston.⁹⁵ Father Zaboglio was definitely in Boston by September. He met with the archbishop September 13 and reported on the meeting to Bishop Scalabrini September 19. Although he was not yet certain of the meeting's outcome, Father Zaboglio was so sure it would be favorable that he was making concrete plans for staffing the parish. He proposed serving as pastor himself at first, mostly because he wanted to ward off any trouble from the Franciscans, who could not be expected to take lightly the fact that the rebels from the parish of Saint Leonard of Port Maurice now had a parish and priests of their own. However, new missionaries should be sent to Boston as soon as possible because, "my health does not permit me to administer a parish for too long a period." Apparently, Father Zaboglio was sturdy enough to undertake arduous traveling and negotiating, for he was already planning the next move: "This morning I saw the Bishop of Providence, a city located halfway between New York and Boston, as Your Excellency can see on the enclosed map. He would like to have a priest, whom he would lodge in his own residence, and who would be the parish priest for the Italians in his city. They are only about one thousand five hundred Italians, but His Excellency thinks that their number will increase, therefore, he would like to start the parish on a firm basis now that they are few."⁹⁶

On September 25, Father Zaboglio received word that the archbishop's decision had indeed favored the Scalabrinians.⁹⁷ Bishop Scalabrini responded with a promise to send missionaries to Boston soon and observed that "I think Providence will be an excellent location."⁹⁸ Thereafter, Father Zaboglio stayed in Boston, but also traveled to Providence to collect information. Even more fields were opening for the missionaries. On November 20, Bishop Scalabrini wrote his American agent: "I have replied today to Bishop McMahon of Hartford, who wrote me a beautiful letter."⁹⁹

Meanwhile, progress slowed in Boston. On Halloween night, Archbishop Williams told Father Zaboglio he would not allow the Scalabrinians to come to the archdiocese and minister to the congregation which the Saint Mark Society had formed.¹⁰⁰ Three weeks later, the archbishop softened his position and agreed to allow the Scalabrinians into the archdiocese to minister to the congregation if the Saint Mark Society agreed to sell its building. Understanding that the Saint Mark Society wanted to maintain ownership to assure that the parish would be managed in a manner acceptable to them, Father Zaboglio spoke to the organization's leaders, and got them to agree to hire a hall which they would use as their house of worship to avoid irritating the archbishop.¹⁰¹ Bishop

⁹⁵ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, n.p., August 16, 1888, *Scritti* 1, 127-128; Episcopal Register, 1856-1888, entries for September 27, 1888, and December 13, 1888, in AAB.

⁹⁶ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, September 19, 1888, Francesconi II, 127-128.

⁹⁷ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, September 25, 1888, Francesconi II, 128-129.

⁹⁸ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, n.p., October 17, 1888, Francesconi II, 129-130.

⁹⁹ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, November 20, 1888, Francesconi II, 135-136.

¹⁰⁰ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, November 3, 1888, Francesconi II, 134-135.

¹⁰¹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, November 16, 1888, Francesconi II, 136-137.

Scalabrini questioned the wisdom of even this much intervention on Father Zaboglio's part: "If the bishops do not request missionaries from us, it is dangerous to enter their dioceses." Besides, now the Scalabrinians had opened negotiations not only with Providence and Hartford, but also with New Orleans.¹⁰²

Father Zaboglio pressed on, though. He rented a hall at 86 Beverly Street. Historian Alba Zizzamia described it as "a second-floor shop, badly ventilated, amid noisy surroundings and accessible only by a steep and narrow outside stairway," but at least it was not the building the Saint Mark Society owned. The society even agreed not to dedicate the chapel to Saint Mark, as using that name was interpreted as further antagonizing the archbishop.¹⁰³ They chose the name Sacred Heart instead. After these conciliatory gestures, the archbishop permitted the Scalabrinians to minister to the congregation, and Father Zaboglio officially became the first pastor on December 23, 1888. He reported to Bishop Scalabrini on the first Christmas:

During mass and vespers, one thousand two hundred people crowded the church, not counting those who were compelled to stay on the stairs and on the sidewalk or to go away. Here they want sermons and sermons. On Christmas Day, I delivered four sermons and last Sunday three—one for each mass (since I celebrated two) and one at Vespers. . . . It is the custom here to take up a collection on Christmas Day which is offered to the pastor as a gift for the holiday. It was taken up for me, too, and amounted to one hundred and fifty-one dollars and fourteen cents, the equivalent of a little over seven hundred and fifty-five lire.¹⁰⁴

The same expedition that brought Father Giacomo Annovazzi and Father Oreste Alussi to New York also supplied Scalabrinians for Boston. Brother Vincenzo Arcelli, Brother Giacomo Borsella, Father Giuseppe Martini, and Father Luigi Paroli arrived in Boston on February 7, 1889.¹⁰⁵ On that same day, Father Zaboglio ceded the position of pastor to Father Paroli.¹⁰⁶ This did not quite end the story of setting up the Scalabrinian mission in Boston, but it did mean that there were people to carry on the work in that city, and that the Scalabrinians could expand further. During 1889, Father Zaboglio visited Hartford, New Haven, Springfield (Massachusetts), New Orleans, Saint Louis, Genoa (Wisconsin, where he had relatives), Saint Paul, Cincinnati, Chicago, and Pittsburgh.¹⁰⁷ Most of these visits were to collect information on the local Italian communities and to see if the local ordinary would like to have the Scalabrinians provide

¹⁰² Scalabrini to Zaboglio, n.p., n.d., Francesconi II, 137-138.

¹⁰³ Alba I. Zizzamia, *A Vision Unfolding: The Scalabrinians in North America, 1888-1988* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1989), 47.

¹⁰⁴ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, January 1, 1889, Francesconi II, 140-141.

¹⁰⁵ Francesconi II, 72.

¹⁰⁶ *Venticinque Anni*, 115.

¹⁰⁷ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, April 13, 1889, Francesconi II, 144, describes stopping in New Haven, Hartford, and Springfield. Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Genoa, Wisconsin, June 29, 1889, Francesconi II, 148-149; describes visits to New Orleans and Saint Louis and discusses plans for Saint Paul and Cincinnati. Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, August 5, 1889, Francesconi II, 149-151 describes visits to Saint Paul, Chicago, Cincinnati, and Pittsburgh.

for their pastoral care. Meanwhile, Father Morelli and Father Astorri at Saint Joachim's and Father Paroli at Boston made concrete plans for Providence, New Haven, and Pittsburgh.

In 1889, Bishop John Tuigg of the Diocese of Pittsburgh asked the New York Scalabrinians to preach a mission. A mission was a kind of Catholic devotion. Missions generally lasted one or two weeks, depending on the congregation's size and complexity. If the congregation was large enough to afford it, it had a week-long mission for men and another for women, or, if the congregation was bilingual, it had a week for English-speakers and a week for those who spoke another language. The parish hired special missionaries for the devotion. The missionaries came and set up a schedule of daily devotions for that week. The high point of each day's devotions was the evening one, at which the guest preachers inspired the congregation to more frequent reception of the sacraments. At the end of the mission, there were opportunities for participants to express their increased faith through confession, communion, and the renewal of baptismal vows.¹⁰⁸ Father Zaboglio had observed that upon arrival in a new city, the Scalabrinians should preach missions, as some of the potential members of the congregation had been away from the sacraments for a while.¹⁰⁹

In Pittsburgh's case, the mission seemed to generate interest in a permanent parish. Father Astorri of New York remained in Pittsburgh while a committee of laity collected funds for the church. In July 1889, Father Astorri left to preach a mission in Providence, another city where the Scalabrinians hoped to gather a congregation. Father Giacomo Annovazzi of New York then came to Pittsburgh. In late 1890, Father Domenico Mantese and Father Giuseppe Molinari succeeded Father Annovazzi. In 1892, the Pittsburgh staff consisted of Father Molinari as pastor and Father Vincenzo Sciolla as assistant. In April 1893, Father Giacomo Gambera came from New Orleans to succeed Father Molinari. The Italian Catholic parish in Pittsburgh did acquire a name, Saint Peter's, and a church. The basement chapel was blessed April 14, 1892, and the finished church on December 18, 1893.¹¹⁰ In reporting the basement blessing to Bishop Scalabrini, Father Zaboglio showed how the Scalabrinians had already Americanized to the point of being aware of every opportunity for fundraising: "The honor of carrying Saint Peter's banner for the first time was auctioned off and produced a goodly sum of one hundred dollars paid by Mr. Monteverde, the highest bidder."¹¹¹

In Providence, as historian Robert Hayman has written, Bishop Matthew Harkins had begun providing pastoral care for Italians about the same time that Bishop Scalabrini was organizing his missionaries. Father Henry F. Conboy, the pastor of Saint John's on Atwells Avenue, near the Italian neighborhood of Federal Hill, began by holding evening services for Italians at his church. By 1887, an Italian congregation met in Lyceum Hall at the

¹⁰⁸ Jay P. Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830-1900* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978).

¹⁰⁹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, January 1889, Francesconi II, 140-141.

¹¹⁰ Francesconi II, 74-76.

¹¹¹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Cincinnati, May 3, 1892, Francesconi II, 187-190.

corner of Brayton and Dean Streets, where Father Conboy said mass for them. Bishop Harkins transferred Father Conboy out of Saint John's in 1888, and asked the new pastor, Father John J. McCabe, to continue ministering to the Italians.¹¹² It was in September of that year that Father Zaboglio talked to Bishop Harkins in Boston. After this meeting, Bishop Harkins journeyed to New York to talk to Father Morelli. On October 18, while waiting for the situation in Boston to improve, Father Zaboglio took the 90-minute train ride to Providence. He reported to Bishop Scalabrini that Bishop Harkins offered to house in his episcopal residence the Italian priest whom he hoped the Scalabrinians would send. He proposed a church basement where the Italians could meet, and also held out the possibility of renting a secular location. In his letter to Bishop Scalabrini, Father Zaboglio expressed a preference for renting halls over church basements. Insofar as staying with the bishop was concerned: "if were to live in a bishop's house, I would be unable to breathe, and unable to resign myself to its etiquette. Perhaps some of my confreres from Italy share my opinion. There is also the fact that American and Italian cuisine differ a great deal. Moreover, I believe that if an Italian priest has his own home, the poor would feel less restrained to visit him, — and of this there is dire need!"¹¹³

Apparently, Father Zaboglio was also in touch with laity, for on January 16, 1889, two laymen, Tommaso Mancini and Giovanni Rabbeccio sent him a letter. One of the oldest and most respectable Italians in the colony had died, they said, and this had led to the Italians to think there ought to be a church for these occasions. Interest in an Italian parish had increased, and perhaps the Scalabrinians could find an opportunity.¹¹⁴ Father Zaboglio reported to Bishop Scalabrini that Bishop Harkins identified Mr. Mancini as "a useful person." and passed along Father Morelli's suggestion that Father Amos Vincent Astorri, who was with the mission band in New York, go to Providence.¹¹⁵ Early February is just before the Lent and Easter seasons, which are busy ones in Catholic parishes; that perhaps accounts for the lateness in following up on contacts established in Providence. It was not until July 3 that Father Astorri called on Bishop Harkins to discuss the parish further. Father Astorri's meeting paved the way for Father Morelli to come up from New York and organize a meeting for July 25. Father Morelli led the meeting's 300 participants in forming a fundraising committee.¹¹⁶ On August 21, 1889, Father Morelli of New York brought Father Luigi Paroli of Boston to meet Bishop Harkins. The priest met with the bishop's approval, and Father Morelli booked a second trip to Providence for Father Paroli, for 10:00 a.m. August 23.¹¹⁷ Father Paroli, who had been pastor of Sacred Heart only

¹¹² Robert J. Hayman, *Catholicism in Rhode Island, and the Diocese of Providence: 1886-1921*, 2 vols. (Providence: The Diocese of Providence, 1995), II, 170-172.

¹¹³ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, October 18, 1888, Francesconi II, 130-131.

¹¹⁴ Tommaso Mancini and Giovanni Rabbeccio to Zaboglio, Providence, January 16, 1889, CMS Collection No. 021, Box 3, unlabeled folder.

¹¹⁵ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, January 31 and February 20, 1889, Francesconi II, 142, 143.

¹¹⁶ Hayman, II, 173.

¹¹⁷ Felix Morelli and Luigi Paroli to "Molto Rev. Padre," New York, August 21, 1889, CMS Collection No. 021, Box 3, unlabeled folder.

since February 3 of that year, turned over that post to Father Giuseppe Martini on August 25.¹¹⁸

Like Archbishop Corrigan's remark about their being plenty of room for more Italian parishes, Father Paroli's move is open to several interpretations. Taken together with events in New York and Boston, it indicated that the Scalabrinians were expanding rapidly. It also indicated some of the problems accompanying the expansion. In reporting these events to Bishop Scalabrini, Father Zaboglio commented, "Between Father Paroli and Father Martini, now that I know them well, I prefer the latter a hundred times more. Providence is a good parish, relatively small, with few difficulties, and Father Paroli could do some good there."¹¹⁹

Father Paroli and Father Astorri began at Providence by preaching a mission, using space Bishop Harkins lent them at his pro-cathedral.¹²⁰ Following Father Zaboglio's advice, the priests sought to regularize the parishioners' spiritual status (make sure they had been baptized and married according to canon law and that they were regular participants in confession and communion) and then once they had taken steps to make the individuals practicing Catholics they went on to form them into a parish community. Some Italians, though, thought the parish ought to be put on firm financial footing as soon as possible. Mr. Mancini was eager to continuing collecting for an Italian church, and berated Father Paroli for leaving Providence to preach missions at other Scalabrinian parishes.¹²¹

Fundraising did proceed, and on November 4, 1889, the parish filed for incorporation papers. Rhode Island's law was different from that of Massachusetts's law of corporation sole. Rhode Island's law erected five-person boards of trustees for each parish. Each board always included the ordinary and one other person of the ordinary's choosing, the pastor, and two members of the laity. In the case of the new Scalabrinian parish, the lay trustees were Tommaso Mancini and Antonio Baroni.¹²² As with the Saint Mark Society, the parish's new name was chosen by avoiding all those patron saints and titles for the Madonna in use in the parishioners' hometowns in Italy. Instead, following Father Paroli's suggestion, the church was dedicated to the Holy Ghost, although the parish's patron was Saint Rocco. A building soon followed. The parish broke ground on April 21, 1890 and opened the building August 17 of the same year with a mass said by Father Henry F. Conboy, who had started the Italian ministry.¹²³

Historian Dolores Liptak has described the policies guiding pastoral care of ethnic Minorities in the Archdiocese of Hartford in the late nineteenth and early twentieth

¹¹⁸ *Venticinque Anni*, 110.

¹¹⁹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, September 7, 1889, Francesconi II, 151-153.

¹²⁰ Hayman, II, 173.

¹²¹ Paroli to "Eccellenza Reverendissima, Amatissimo Padre," Providence, September 3, 1889, CMS Collection No. 021, Box 3, unlabeled folder.

¹²² Incorporation papers for Holy Ghost, November 4, 1889, CMS Collection No. 021, Box 3, unlabeled folder.

¹²³ Hayman, II, 174-175; Francesconi II, 78.

centuries.¹²⁴ Like Providence and Boston, New Haven had prominenti who exercised their community leadership by promoting Italian parishes. About 1886, a Mr. Paul Russo called Bishop Lawrence S. McMahon's attention to the 1,500 Italians in New Haven. McMahon then assigned a Father Riviaccio, a migrant priest with previous experience with Italians in South America, to minister to the Italians of New Haven, and Father Riviaccio became pastor of the parish of Saint Michael the Archangel. Father John Russell, pastor of Saint Patrick's, lent the Italians a hall on Wallace Street. When the Italians thought they could afford a building of their own, they moved to a chapel on Union Avenue. A railroad bought that site for other uses, and Saint Michael's moved again, this time to the seventh floor of a building on Chapel and State streets.¹²⁵ By this point, Saint Michael's had lost Father Riviaccio. Father Francesconi thought that this was because the Italians did not support their pastor. On October 19, 1888, Bishop McMahon wrote Bishop Scalabrini that he had a 2,000 Italians, a church, and no pastor.¹²⁶ On November 17, Bishop Scalabrini replied that he was sending two missionaries and a lay catechist to New Haven and requested that they have a house near their church.¹²⁷ On November 20, Bishop Scalabrini notified Father Zaboglio that he had made this promise, so that the two could take care of requests for priests in the order in which they arrived.¹²⁸

However, requests for priests were coming in faster than the priests could be sent out, and the Scalabrinian outposts at New York and Boston needed reinforcements before other priests could be sent further afield. It was only after Father Astorri had preached in Pittsburgh in May, and in Providence in July, that he came to New Haven, by which time it was August 1889.¹²⁹ By this point, Saint Michael's congregation met in the church which Bishop McMahon had mentioned to Bishop Scalabrini, a 150-seat Lutheran church on Wooster and Brewery streets. Father Astorri said his first mass there September 1, 1889.¹³⁰ By November, Father Astorri concluded that if he enlarged the church, he would attract more donors, and he commenced construction. On January 6, 1890, the Italians opened the enlarged Saint Michael's with one of customs that set them apart from other American Catholics. They Italians observed Epiphany with a procession in which parishioners lined up to follow the Magi and visit the Christ Child in the manger.¹³¹ Father

¹²⁴ Dolores Liptak, R.S.M. "European Immigrants and the Catholic Church in Connecticut, 1870-1920" (Ph.D., The University of Connecticut, 1979), published as *European Immigrants and the Catholic Church in Connecticut, 1870-1920* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1987).

¹²⁵ Clipping from *New Haven Register*, May 16, 1965, CMS Collection No. 045, Box 8, Newspaper Clippings and Tear Sheets folder.

¹²⁶ Francesconi II, 78-79.

¹²⁷ Scalabrini to Monsignor [Lawrence S.] McMahon, Piacenza, November 17, 1888, *Scritti* I, 193.

¹²⁸ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, November 20, 1888, *Scritti* I, 194.

¹²⁹ Francesconi II, 79.

¹³⁰ Clipping from *New Haven Register*, May 16, 1965, CMS Collection No. 045, Box 8, Newspaper Clippings and Tear Sheets folder.

¹³¹ Francesconi II, 79.

Astorri was transferred six weeks later, on February 25, and Father Oreste Alussi arrived.¹³²

The next few years were difficult ones for Father Alussi. Unlike the Boston, Providence, and New York congregations, Saint Michael the Archangel was named for the patron saint of one of the hometowns represented in the congregation. This offended parishioners from other towns. Factions formed. The situation worsened when on August 16, 1894, Father Francesco Beccherini succeeded Father Alussi as pastor of Saint Michael's and, instead of being transferred to another parish; Father Alussi continued as curate.¹³³ The building was enlarged under Father Beccherini's direction and was rededicated February 3, 1895.

The last Scalabrinian mission opened in 1889 was in New Orleans. According to Father Giacomo Gambera, who was a member of the first party sent there, New Orleans represented a readjustment of Bishop Scalabrini's plans. At the same time, he was sending priests to North America, the bishop was sending other priests to South America, specifically to Brazil, which had abolished slavery in 1888 and was importing Italian labor for its expanding coffee industry.¹³⁴ The bishop intended to send Father Gambera to Curitiba, a town on Brazil's coast. Then Archbishop Francis Janssens of New Orleans came to Piacenza to request two missionaries, to whom he promised temporary use of a portion of his old seminary. Bishop Scalabrini reassigned Father Gambera to New Orleans. On November 20, 1889, after pronouncing their five-year vows and receiving their missionary crosses at the Church of Saint Raymond in Piacenza, the third party of Scalabrinians departed for the mission field. The party consisted of Father Angelo Chiariglione, Father Giacomo Gambera, Father Antonio Gibelli, Father Ludovico Martinelli, Brother Luigi Snider and Brother Angelo Svanera. The missionaries left Piacenza for Le Havre and then for New York, meeting Father Zaboglio there on December 7, 1889. On December 16, Father Chiariglione, Father Gambera, Brother Svanera, and Brother Snider boarded the train for a 30-hour ride to New Orleans.¹³⁵

New Orleans was like New York, Boston, Providence, and New Haven in that the Scalabrinians were not the first to provide pastoral care. Father Joachim Manoritta, a Sardinian migrant, had been in New Orleans for some time and had positioned himself as pastor to Italians. New Orleans was also like New York and Boston, at least, in that those who were already involved in Italian pastoral care wanted to keep their hand in the field. Father Zaboglio wrote Bishop Scalabrini that Father Manoritta might request a Scalabrinian as an assistant; while this usually had the disadvantage of disrupting

¹³² Anthony Bua, C.S., "Historical Notes on Saint Michael's Parish in New Haven, Connecticut," *Ninetieth Anniversary: Saint Michael's Church, New Haven, Conn.* (n.p., n.d., [1979]), unpaginated.

¹³³ Francesconi II, 80.

¹³⁴ Mario Francesconi, C.S., *Storia della Congregazione Scalabriniana*, vol. III, *Le Prime Missioni nel Brasile* (1889-1905) (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1973); Lice Maria Signor, *John Baptist Scalabrini and Italian Migration: A Socio-Pastoral Project* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994).

¹³⁵ Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 12.

community life and curtailing Scalabrinian independence, it might have an advantage in New Orleans in that the Scalabrinians would be in a position to inherit the parish later.¹³⁶ However, as in Boston and New Haven, this first plan for the pastoral care of Italians was not working out well. Father Manoritta also attracted French Catholics to his masses and ended up providing more care for them than he did for the Italians. Part of the reason was another factor common to Italian colonies throughout the United States, the diversity of the Italian community. In terms of its northern Italian population, New Orleans was more varied than many other cities. The northern Italians, though, were outnumbered by unskilled, transient labor from Sicily.

The New Orleans mission band began their ministry by taking a census of the Italians in their neighborhood and soliciting funds for a church and school for their compatriots. They may have still been involved primarily in these activities eleven months after their arrival, when a series of events suddenly brought New Orleans international notoriety. On the evening of October 15, 1890, New Orleans Chief of Police David C. Hennessey attended a banquet sponsored in part by members of the Italian community who wanted to thank him for his role in suppressing racketeering and syndicate crime. Some participants in the banquet even accompanied the police chief home. As they left him on the sidewalk in front of his house, assassins hiding in a nearby wagon ambushed him. Chief Hennessey died the next day. Twice before his death he got out words to the effect that the Italians had been behind the ambush. A total of nineteen Italians were indicted for conspiracy to murder Chief Hennessey and a trial began on February 6, 1891. On March 13, the jury acquitted thirteen outright and claimed it had insufficient evidence to find the other six guilty. A number of the Italians, although declared not guilty, were returned to the city jail to await the completion of nulle prose papers in connection with the murder charges. That night, a mob of citizens dissatisfied with the jury's verdict broke into the jail and lynched or clubbed to death eleven Italians, seven who had just been declared not guilty of the murder and another four who had nothing to do with the murder but happened to be in jail that night on other charges. "Needless to say," Father Gambera recalled, "that brutal event greatly discouraged the colony."¹³⁷ It discouraged the Scalabrinians, too. By the end of 1891, Father Gambera was apparently the only Scalabrinian priest in New Orleans, and Father Zaboglio was writing to Bishop Scalabrini that "Father Gambera is very active, is doing his utmost in this difficult field. He is well-liked by the Archbishop and by the Italians."¹³⁸

There could have been even more missions; Bishop Scalabrini mentioned to Father Zaboglio he had received a request for a priest from Costa Rica, and he corresponded with Cardinal Simeoni about missions in Africa.¹³⁹ Of the four missions the Scalabrinians began in 1889, two survived. Father Gambera did do his utmost in New Orleans, even

¹³⁶ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Genoa, Wisconsin, June 29, 1889, Francesconi II, 148-149.

¹³⁷ Gambera, 21-2, 79-81; quote on page 81.

¹³⁸ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Orleans, December 21, 1891, Francesconi II, 177-182.

¹³⁹ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, n.p., March 25, 1889, and to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Piacenza, October 4, 1890, *Scritti* I, 238-239, 266-267.

talking Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini into sending Missionaries of the Sacred Heart to teach the young, so that he could lay a firm foundation for the future.¹⁴⁰ Father Gambera succeeded Father Giuseppe Molinari at Saint Peter's, Pittsburgh, and stayed there from 1893 to 1895, at which point he was transferred to Boston. The Scalabrinians did not have a priest available to succeed him in Pittsburgh. Father Gambera spoke with the chancellor about assigning someone to Saint Peter's temporarily, until the Scalabrinians could do so, but instead the Franciscans took the Pittsburgh parish.¹⁴¹ Both the Boston mission and Holy Ghost survived, but neither was doing as well as it could. Boston was still embroiled in the controversy over whether the Saint Mark Society could keep legal possession of the church building, and both missions were plagued by rapid turnover of personnel.

Two other events of 1889 stand out. On March 31, 1889, Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini and her first band of missionaries arrived in New York to begin a dual mission: Countess Mary Reid de Cesnola offered to support an orphanage for Italian girls, which the sisters would staff, and Father Morelli requested their assistance teaching at Saint Joachim's school.¹⁴² Later that year, Archbishop Francesco Satolli visited the United States. Officially, he came to represent Pope Leo XIII at the commemoration of the centennial of the U.S. hierarchy and at the ceremonies marking the opening of the Catholic University of America, but while he was in the country, he carried out some other errands as well. One of them was in Boston, where he visited the Beverley Street chapel of the Sacred Heart.¹⁴³

In 1890, the Scalabrinians opened new missions in Cincinnati and Buffalo. In Buffalo, efforts to create an Italian national parish had begun about the time Bishop Scalabrini was organizing his missionaries. In 1887, Bishop Stephen V. Ryan assigned an Italian-speaking Hungarian, Father Kofler, to the Italian ministry. In 1888, Buffalo priest James E. Quigley, presided over a meeting which created a committee to collect funds for a church. In February 1889, the nascent congregation had enough money for the land at the corner of Court and Morgan (later Elmwood) streets. The next year, it got its first priest. Scalabrinian missionary Antonio Gibelli arrived October 23, 1890. He lived with Father Quigley, who was at that time rector of the cathedral. Soon after his arrival, Father Gibelli concluded that the chapel was too small. During the summer, there were only 3,000 Italians in Buffalo, but with the coming of winter and the return of those who went into the countryside as migrant farmworkers, the population swelled to 7,000 or 8,000. On June 10, 1891, Father Gibelli secured a contract to build a new, larger church. The church was completed August 2, 1891 and dedicated to Saint Anthony of Padua. On December 7, 1891, the congregation opened a parochial school. Launching so many projects left Father Gibelli in ill health. In 1892, he got some assistance from Father Giacomo Annovazzi,

¹⁴⁰ Gambera, 85-86.

¹⁴¹ Gambera, 100.

¹⁴² Mary Louise Sullivan, M.S.C., *Mother Cabrini: "Italian Immigrant of the Century"* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992), 57, 63.

¹⁴³ John Tracy Ellis, *The Life of James Cardinal Gibbons*, 2 vols. (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952), I, 618; De Marco, "Ethnics and Enclaves," 99.

formerly of Saint Joachim, and from Brother Benedetto Riva, In 1893, however, he had to return to Italy briefly for his health, at which point Father Ludovico Martinelli succeeded him as pastor of Saint Anthony of Padua.¹⁴⁴

The mission in Cincinnati had a longer history. Father Louis Bolzan, C.S., who served as parish historian, wrote that as early as 1867 the Italians had launched a subscription campaign for a church.¹⁴⁵ The campaign itself was unsuccessful, and then Catholic Cincinnati suffered a financial disaster. As Father Zaboglio explained to Bishop Scalabrini: "I learned that [Archbishop John Baptist Purcell, Cincinnati's ordinary from October 13, 1833, to July 4, 1883], together with a brother of his, who was also a priest, had a bank which failed, losing four million dollars. Many Italians had deposited their hard-earned money in the bank and were left penniless! The Archbishop and his brother had both died of broken hearts." The new archbishop, William Henry Elder, contacted Father Zaboglio about sending Scalabrinians to Cincinnati, and Zaboglio visited the city in the summer of 1889. By the time he was had an opportunity to write to Bishop Scalabrini, Father Zaboglio thought that "Archbishop Elder has perhaps written about this to Your Excellency."¹⁴⁶ Bishop Scalabrini wrote Archbishop Elder December 10, 1889, to tell him that as soon as New Orleans had been staffed, he would attend to Cincinnati.¹⁴⁷ Apparently, it was New Orleans that supplied Cincinnati. Father Angelo Chiariglione, one of the party which arrived in New Orleans in December 1889, was in Cincinnati by July 1890. Two years later, Father Vincenzo Spada was there, writing that Cincinnati was a good place for a mission: more and more Italians were arriving every day and consequently the variety of food available was increasing.¹⁴⁸

Father Chiariglione began saying mass for the Cincinnati Italians at the Sisters of the Sacred Heart's chapel, 240 Broadway. Archbishop Elder blessed this chapel November 8, 1890. In 1891, Father Vincent Sciolla arrived in Cincinnati to assist Father Chiariglione. Later Father Giuseppe Strumia arrived. Lay leadership also played a role. A group of laity held a meeting at the home of Mr. Mario Cancellieri. Mr. Giuseppe Zanone presided, and Mr. Paolo Arata proposed the name the group adopted for the parish, Sacred Heart. The parish celebrated Columbus Day, 1892, by laying the cornerstone for its new church. The completed building was blessed August 27, 1893.¹⁴⁹

The Scalabrinians had one other opportunity for expansion in 1890. On April 16, Bishop Scalabrini wrote Father Morelli that a letter had come from the Abbey of the Immaculate Conception in Newark, New Jersey. Apparently, Father Morelli had ambitions to expand into the Diocese of Newark, across the Hudson River from the Archdiocese of

¹⁴⁴ Francesconi II, 106-107.

¹⁴⁵ Louis Bolzan, C.S., *Memories of an Italian Parish* (n.p., [1974?]), I.

¹⁴⁶ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, August 5, 1889, Francesconi II, 149-151.

¹⁴⁷ Scalabrini to Monsignor [William Henry] Elder n.p., December 10, 1889, *Scritti* I, 253-254.

¹⁴⁸ Vincenzo Spada to Carlini, Cincinnati, January 15, 1892, CMS Collection No.078A, Box 3, Records of Antonio Demo—Father Spada folder.

¹⁴⁹ Francesconi II, 107-109; Bolzan, 2.

New York. Bishop Scalabrini counseled patience while he decided whom to send.¹⁵⁰ The Scalabrinians did not go to Newark at that time, although Father Morelli himself later did. As for the Buffalo and Cincinnati foundations, both lasted into the twentieth century. In December 1968, urban renewal in Cincinnati, specifically an improved route to the city's stadium, disrupted the neighborhood in which Sacred Heart was located. In 1969, the parish merged with another Sacred Heart, this one in the suburb of Camp Washington.¹⁵¹

The New York and Boston missions seemed to be progressing in 1890. This was the year Archbishop Williams and the Saint Mark Society negotiated an agreement concerning ownership of Father Taylor's Seaman's Bethel. The property remained in the Saint Mark Society's hands. One trustee recalled that Archbishop Williams exacted as a price for this concession (perhaps to keep this exception to the rules from becoming a well-known precedent); he did not want the parish to be named in honor of Saint Mark.¹⁵² The trustees then took for the parish the name they had used for the Beverley Street, chapel, Sacred Heart. Father Zaboglio described for Bishop Scalabrini the blessing of the building, and also the clouds remaining on the horizon: "the Franciscans protested against the opening of Saint Mark's church, and it is probable that they will write formally to the Holy See."¹⁵³

Archbishop Corrigan had to make an *ad limina* visit, that is, he had to go to Rome in person to report on conditions in his archdiocese, in 1890. He wrote Bishop Scalabrini to inquire whether he could visit him also.¹⁵⁴ The two had some difficulty getting together. Bishop Scalabrini's physician sent him first to Levico and then to Rabbi, resort towns in which the bishop might rest, and the bishop had to send the archbishop several notes as to where to find him.¹⁵⁵ They met at Rabbi, but what they discussed is not recorded. By November, Archbishop Corrigan was back home and writing Bishop Scalabrini that the New York Scalabrinians were expanding again. Father Morelli wanted to buy a site for a second chapel to replace Resurrection chapel. He had found three adjacent lots for \$82,000 and had brought the legal papers for the archbishop's approval.¹⁵⁶

Father Zaboglio had spent part of 1890 in Italy. His role as the Scalabrinians' advance agent, visiting the local ordinary, collecting data, and otherwise laying the groundwork for missionaries who established houses and parishes, was coming to an end. During 1891 and 1892 the Scalabrinians expanded not by having Father Zaboglio seek out Italian communities and ordinaries willing to admit the Scalabrinians into their sees, but by

¹⁵⁰ Scalabrini to Morelli, Piacenza, April 16, 1890, *Scritti* I, 259.

¹⁵¹ Bolzan, 131-143.

¹⁵² De Marco, "Ethnics and Enclaves," 99.

¹⁵³ "Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, May 27, 1890, Francesconi II, 158-159.

¹⁵⁴ "Corrigan to Scalabrini, Rome, May 21, 1890, Francesconi II, 239-240.

¹⁵⁵ "Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, June 24, 1890, and Levico, July 1, 1890, Francesconi II, 240-241.

¹⁵⁶ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, November 14, 1890, Francesconi II, 242.

Bishop Scalabrini's work fulfilling a backlog of requests and by the Scalabrinians of one parish expanding to nearby areas.

In 1891, the Scalabrinians opened missions in three new areas: Bridgeport, Connecticut, Cleveland, and Kansas City, Missouri. Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland was one of those who had written for Scalabrinian priests earlier, in 1889. By the time Bishop Scalabrini was able to accommodate the request, Cleveland already had arrangements for the pastoral care of Italians. A Father Capitani was the pastor of the Church of Saint Anthony. The parish, though, ministered to non-Italians as well as Italians. Bishop Gilmour did not want to establish parishes especially for Italians; he thought of Italian-speaking priests not as the conservators of Italian culture but as providers of a special skill the diocese needed only temporarily, and he wanted priests who were willing to travel where the migrants were, providing the sacraments in the language the migrants needed. While Bishop Scalabrini had begun with the vision of itinerant missionaries, he had come to accept that parishes provided his missionaries with a foundation that set them free to determine the type of pastoral care the Italians ought to receive. When Bishop Scalabrini was ready to send missionaries to Cleveland, Father Capitani was firmly established. To get their own parish, the Scalabrinians moved to another neighborhood, East Cleveland. A lay committee, headed by Mr. Giuseppe Carabelli, rented a hall for mass. Father Giuseppe Strumia arrived in 1891 and began to work with the nascent parish of Holy Rosary. The community got a church in 1893.¹⁵⁷

Similarly, Bishop Joseph Hogan of Kansas City, Missouri, early on had expressed a desire for Scalabrinian missionaries in his diocese; he wrote the bishop on December 30, 1888.¹⁵⁸ It was not until October 1891, that the Bishop Scalabrini sent a missionary, Father Ferdinando Santipolo. In November 1891, Father Santipolo gathered the congregation for mass at a storefront on the corner of Fifth Street near Forest. In December, the congregation moved to a larger storefront on Independence Avenue between Cherry and Locust streets. About March 1892, the congregation moved to a third storefront at 619 East Fifth Street. The parish, named Holy Rosary, rented the East Fifth Street storefront for three years while saving money to buy land for a church.¹⁵⁹

Scalabrinian missionary Pietro Lotti came to Bridgeport, Connecticut in May 1891, in response to Bishop McMahon of Hartford's requests for more missionaries. At that time, Bridgeport had about 1,000 Italians, enough to require confessions and masses on Sundays and feast days, but not enough to generate weekday work teaching youngsters or making sick calls. The congregation could not support a church, so Father Lotti began by saying mass at the chapel of a community of sisters. Of the three missions opened in 1891, the Bridgeport one proved the least viable. Father Lotti fell ill late in 1891. Father Carlo Bertorelli succeeded Father Lotti, but stayed only until July 1892, when Father Morelli decided the Scalabrinians did not have enough priests to support the Bridgeport mission. A Father Beniamino Berto served the Bridgeport congregation beginning sometime after

¹⁵⁷ "Francesconi II, 110-115.

¹⁵⁸ "Michael Coleman, *This Far by Faith: A History of the Diocese of Kansas City-Saint Joseph* (n.p., n.d.), 157.

¹⁵⁹ "Francesconi II, 110.

July 1892, but he stayed only until he had completed his promise of five years of service with the Scalabrinians.¹⁶⁰ The mission at Cleveland lasted until 1907. Despite its impoverished beginnings, Holy Rosary at Kansas City turned out to be a durable mission.

The news from the established missions continued to be encouraging. On February 20, 1891, Father Morelli purchased for \$3,700 property on Staten Island for a proposed seminary for Italian-American recruits to the Scalabrinian institute.¹⁶¹ On March 29, Father Pietro Bandini steamed into New York harbor. Within days he was at work at Castle Garden, establishing the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Emigrants. With Father Bandini came six members of the Sisters of Saint Anne, who were to staff the hospital Father Morelli was organizing. On September 27, Resurrection chapel ceased to function and the southern Italians who had attended it began going to Most Precious Blood at 113-117 Baxter Street, the property Father Morelli had bought late the last year. Although at this point only a basement chapel, Most Precious Blood was to be an Italian national parish taking care not only of the Italians the Scalabrinians had tended at Resurrection but also those the Franciscans had ministered to in the basement chapel at Transfiguration. Relations between Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop Scalabrini continued cordial. For Christmas, 1890, the bishop sent the archbishop a stole. In March, the archbishop sent the bishop an article for his publication, *The Catechist*, and when Bishop Scalabrini sent his thanks, he also sent along all the gossip in Rome that reflected favorably on Archbishop Corrigan.¹⁶²

Father Zaboglio spent much of 1891 traveling. The early part of the year found him in New York. Apparently, he had to be on hand to welcome Father Pietro Bandini and to help him establish the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society. He also had to be on hand to welcome the Daughters of Saint Anne and to help them enter into their duties at Father Morelli's hospital. For reasons that will be explained in chapter six, he also had to arrange for the Daughters of Saint Anne to go back to Italy. On October 27, Father Zaboglio escorted Father Vincenzo Sciolla and Father Ferdinando Santipolo to Pittsburgh, from which Father Sciolla left for Cincinnati and Father Santipolo for Kansas City. Father Zaboglio visited Father Molinari in Pittsburgh, then went to Youngstown, near Cleveland, to see Father Strumia of Saint Anthony. From there Zaboglio continued south and west, visiting Saint Louis with an eye to establishing a mission there, and then swinging down to New Orleans to see Father Gambera. He stayed in New Orleans through the beginning of 1892, partly to visit relatives in the area and partly to allow Father Gambera to travel to Cincinnati to preach at a mission preparing the congregation of Sacred Heart, Cincinnati, for their cornerstone-laying ceremony. During 1892, Father Zaboglio continued to travel, again mostly to check on the progress of established missions rather than to found new missions.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ "Francesconi II, 13.

¹⁶¹ Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan," 312-313.

¹⁶² "Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, January 9, 1891, and n.p., n.d., Francesconi II, 243-244, 246-247.

¹⁶³ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New York, March 30, 1891, Francesconi II, 165-167, describes Zaboglio's whereabouts during the early part of that year. Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Pittsburgh, November 2, 1891, Francesconi II, 175-176, gives his itinerary for November and December. Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary*

The opening of Most Precious Blood indicated a new trend. Rather than expand to new cities, the Scalabrinians began opening new missions within easy commuting distances of established ones. The original vision of widely scattered central houses from which missionaries made flying visits to small, isolated congregations was turning into a new vision of Scalabrinian-staffed Italian national parishes. This trend continued in 1892. On May 8, Father Bandini, having purchased a house at 113 Waverly Street for his Saint Raphael Society work, said the first mass in the chapel of Our Lady of Pompei, installed in a room on the building's ground floor. In September, Father Zaboglio began travelling from the North End to the nearby town of East Boston. There he said mass for the Italians of the Orient Heights neighborhood in the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank De Marchi of 35 Leyden Street. A committee, composed of Messrs. Augustine Botto, B. Consiglia, Andrew Crovo, Frank De Marchi, John Lavezzo, Dominic Repetto, G. Solari and Michael Solari, met at the Lavezzo home on Ford Street to discuss fundraising, real estate purchases, and construction.¹⁶⁴ Father Angelo Chiariglione arrived in Hartford, Connecticut, by October 20, 1892.¹⁶⁵ Father Giuseppe Strumia became pastor of Holy Rosary, Cleveland.¹⁶⁶

In 1893 the community at Orient Heights got a chapel at 121 Leyden Street and a rectory at 125 Leyden. Father Domenico Vicentini blessed the house of worship, and it must have been about this point the parish acquired the name Saint Lazarus. However, no one as yet lived at the rectory; Scalabrinians from Sacred Heart continued to travel to Orient Heights for the weekend. That same year, Father Morelli began organizing a community in Meriden, Connecticut, and Father Antonio Gibelli began travelling from Buffalo to Erie, Pennsylvania.¹⁶⁷ However, the Erie mission lasted only until 1894.

The next year, the Scalabrinians erected a more durable mission in Syracuse, New York. In 1893, a Father Michael Clune had opened a chapel for the Italians of that upstate New York city in the basement of his parish church, Saint John the Evangelist. For a while, a Father Manella shepherded the congregation. Scalabrinian Francesco Beccherini may have reached Syracuse before 1895, but his first recorded activity took place in that year, when he bought a former German Lutheran church on North State Street and Burnet Avenue for \$12,000. The church was dedicated to Saint Peter on October 6, 1895.¹⁶⁸

Story, 86-87, describes the winter of 1891-1892 (not 1892-1893, as the footnotes to that volume have it). Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Jennings, Louisiana, March 7, 1892, Francesconi II, 185-186, describes his visit to relatives "in the country." Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Cincinnati, May 3, 1892, Francesconi H, 187-190, gives a report of recent visits to Sacred Heart, Cincinnati, Saint Peter's, Pittsburgh, Saint Anthony's, Buffalo, and Saint Anthony's, Cleveland.

¹⁶⁴ "Ludovico Toma, C.S.C.B., *The Story of St. Lazarus Church, Orient Heights, Massachusetts* (n.p., 1922), 1; *Diamond Jubilee of Saint Lazarus Church, 1892-1967* (n.p., n.d.).

¹⁶⁵ "Francesconi II, 120.

¹⁶⁶ Gene P. Veronese, *Italian Americans and Their Communities of Cleveland* (Cleveland: Cleveland State University [Cleveland Ethnic Heritage Studies], 1977), 202-219.

¹⁶⁷ Francesconi II, 120.

¹⁶⁸ William P Hewitt, *History of the Diocese of Syracuse: Story of the Parishes, 1615-1909* (Syracuse: Catholic Sun Press, 1909), 105-106.

However, by 1895, Scalabrinian expansion was slowing. What had the Scalabrinians learned during this period of rapid growth?

First and most generally, the Scalabrinian had learned that they were not operating in a vacuum. It does not seem to be the case that the American hierarchy was unaware of an Italian presence in the United States until they read Pope Leo XIII's *Quam Aerumnosa*, at which point, suddenly realizing an obligation to Italian migrants, the ordinaries called on Bishop Scalabrini for assistance. More often, the Italian laity called attention to themselves. The ordinaries usually did not call the Scalabrinians first, but tried to provide pastoral care by using non-Italian but Italian-speaking priests (Providence), taking advantage of the fortuitous migration of Italian secular priests (Hartford), or recruiting other religious orders with Italian-speaking members (New York and Boston). Thus, by the time the Scalabrinians arrived there were at least two entities — the laity and the ordinary — who already had formed their own opinions of what constituted good Italian pastoral care, and the Scalabrinians had to respond to those expectations, either to meet them or to explain why they could not be met.

Second, the Scalabrinians had learned more about the people to whom they ministered. The Italians were not so helpless as Bishop Scalabrini pictured them in his speeches and writings. Some had already decided they did not need religious assistance. Historians such as Rudolph Vecoli have described Italian culture's anticlerical streak, and historians such as Paul Avrich have explored the network of Italian anarchists, who thought of Catholicism as one of society's oppressive institutions.¹⁶⁹ Both Father Zaboglio and Father Gambera thought that the Italian community in New Orleans contained criminal elements; sometimes "criminal elements" was a euphemism for anarchists, but in New Orleans it seems to have been a synonym for racketeers, another group unlikely to frequent the sacraments.¹⁷⁰ What concerned the Scalabrinians more were the Italians who were indeed interested in Catholicism, but on their own terms. As Father Gambera complained, mutual benefit societies founded to provide insurance for migrants from a particular place in Italy celebrated the hometown patron saints' feast day with gusto but did not support parishes.¹⁷¹ Even lay trustees who wanted parishes sometimes had different ideas from the Scalabrinians.

Nor were the Italians so unified as Bishop Scalabrini's writing about the importance of maintaining national loyalties might suggest. Although Father Zaboglio sometimes wrote as though a common language united the Italians as it did the Germans, the reality was that the Italians divided into groups based on regional origin in Italy.¹⁷² There was also a broader division between those from the northern part of the peninsula and those from south of Rome and from Sicily. Father Zaboglio warned Bishop Scalabrini that: "All

¹⁶⁹ Rudolph John Vecoli, "Chicago's Italians prior to World War I: A Study of their Social and Economic Adjustment" (Ph.D., University of Wisconsin, 1963); Paul Avrich, *Sacco and Vanzetti: The Anarchist Background* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991).

¹⁷⁰ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, October 18, 1889, Francesconi II, 154-157; Gambera, 83-84.

¹⁷¹ Gambera, 89, 157.

¹⁷² Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, October 19, 1888, Francesconi II, 130-132.

over the United States, wherever there are Italians, all the bishops and the priests (Italian and non-Italian alike) are greatly surprised at the incredible, phenomenal religious ignorance of the Italians who come to America, especially the Italians from the old Kingdom of Naples. The clergy ask in wonder: 'What in God's name are the priests and bishops of that region doing?' I am not judging anybody — I am just relating facts."¹⁷³ Father Morelli made no pretense about not judging his compatriots and coreligionists, Father Gambera left a comparison of the northern and southern Italians that left no doubt he favored northerners, and one Scalabrinian summed up the feelings of many when he described himself as "far, far from all I know, stranger in a strange land, entirely surrounded by Sicilians."¹⁷⁴ Even southern priests were suspect. When Father Zaboglio suggested sending a Neapolitan priests to New York, he added "he should have such character and virtue as to be able to always agree with Father Felice and be submissive to him as his superior. I say this because of the well-known diversity of character between the Neapolitans and other Italians."¹⁷⁵ Contemporary historians may think of these documents as revealing something about the Scalabrinians, but the Scalabrinians thought they were learning something about their potential parishioners.

A third subject about which the Scalabrinians learned a great deal in a short time was their American milieu. At first, individual Scalabrinians discovered discrete pieces of information about American life, and then gradually moved to generalizations which guided them in their ministry. The chief reporter of these early discoveries was Father Zaboglio, who sometimes took time to write Bishop Scalabrini describing some aspect of American culture. The most important findings concerned politics, parish management, and finding a name for Bishop Scalabrini's institute.

Regarding politics, Father Zaboglio warned Bishop Scalabrini:

When our missionaries live in the United States, they, in my opinion (I am rather convinced of it) would do well never to touch, neither publicly nor privately, any question concerning Italian politics, and leave to their own business Vittorio Emmanuel, Mazzini, Garibaldi, and others. Here we are standing on a volcano, and by speaking of these men we are sure to touch substantial and important interests, thus putting roadblocks in our path. Some of our missionaries are full of fervor. . . . Let them do what they are supposed to do — preach the Gospel, administer the sacraments, save souls!¹⁷⁶

American Catholics followed the papacy in seeing the national, liberal Italian government as antithetical to Catholic concerns. Bishop Scalabrini, who saw church and state as two institutions of a Christian civilization, had problems convincing Catholics and the government in Italy that they shared common concerns for the welfare of those in their care. In the United States, his point of view came across as displaying questionable loyalty to the papacy. Father Zaboglio's advice on discretion was important.

¹⁷³ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, August 5, 1889, Francesconi II, 150-151.

¹⁷⁴ Di Giovanni, "Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants," 216; Gambera, 69-70; Giovanni Calestrini to Antonio Demo, Kansas City, January 25, 1914, SIB Box 28, folder E.

¹⁷⁵ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New York, October 28, 1888, Francesconi II, 133-134.

¹⁷⁶ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, October 18, 1889, Francesconi II, 154-157.

Cardinal Simeoni reported to Bishop Scalabrini he had received word of some anonymous Scalabrinian who "expressed political and religious opinions and has taken part in celebrations contrary to the Catholic spirit."¹⁷⁷ Father Thomas Lynch reported to Archbishop Corrigan on the Scalabrinians' patriotic activities:

In reference to the conduct of the Piacenzan priests in this city on the occasion of the 20th of September, I have learned that the members of the Society of Saint Anthony attached to their church marched in a body in the procession on that day. The members did not assemble at the church, nor carry the church insignia.

The Piacenzan fathers never speak in defense of the rights of the Holy Father either in or out of the pulpit and made no allusion to the celebration on the previous Sunday. They think it would be 'bad policy' in a worldly point of view and would estrange the people from them.¹⁷⁸

American politics, by contrast, seemed benign. The year after the Scalabrinians arrived was the centennial of George Washington's first inauguration as president of the United States. In New England, the archbishop of Boston ordered every parish in the province to commemorate the event, and Father Luigi of Paroli did so at Holy Ghost with a mass and special talks to the children in catechism class. "These you certainly don't call political events," he explained, "rather, they foster love and respect for religion by means of fostering filial love and respect for every legitimate authority."¹⁷⁹

Father Zaboglio also commented on the differences between American and Italian approaches to parish management:

According to the law, the custom and the wish of the bishops of this country, a parish priest is the administrator of the church. But it seems that our missionaries, on arriving here, are reluctant to assume this burden. Nevertheless, they must resign themselves to it. This was one of the first things that the Archbishop of Boston requested, and the advice repeatedly given by Father Edwards, by Msgr. De Concilio and by the best priests of New York and Boston: that we did not let the till of the church slip from our hands. Not long ago, in New Haven, an Italian priest who let the administration of the church fall into the hands of laymen became the slave of his parishioners. He had to leave town in a bitter mood. He had become the slave of his parishioners because the Neapolitans (who are the majority of the Italians in New Haven), although more civilized and better-off than those in New York and Boston, are more demanding and it seems that in church affairs they want to dominate more than the northern Italians do.

One of the first things that the Irish priests who are now taking care of Italians did was to get hold of the ledgers and the safe of the church. I should remark here, incidentally, that priests who have studied in Rome are more kind and just toward Italians. They learned what Christian charity is — something that many Irish priests do not know. To go back to administration — we have kept it in our hands both in New York and in Boston. Italians dislike being deprived of this privilege, which the laity enjoys in Italy, but here it is necessary to take it away from them, and our missionaries should be informed of this before they leave Piacenza.

In Saint Louis, I became more than ever convinced of the danger of leaving the temporal administration of the churches in this country to laity instead of conforming to ecclesiastical law

¹⁷⁷ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, October 8, 1891, *Scritti* I, 343-344.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas Lynch to Corrigan, New York, October 12, 1891, CMS Collection No. 019, Box 1, Church of the Transfiguration folder.

¹⁷⁹ Paroli to Morelli, Providence, January 24, 1890, CMS Collection No. 021, unlabeled folder.

and to local custom. Father Orfei, who was the last Italian pastor and is now an assistant in another parish, had left the church administration entirely in the hands of laymen and the church was sold, in spite of opposition from ecclesiastical authorities. I learned this from him. It made me think of the event that took place in New Haven [described in the quotation above]. For us missionaries, the administration of the church is a burden, but a necessary one.¹⁸⁰

Father Gambera's memoirs echoed Father Zaboglio's comments. Father Gambera was a priest in the Diocese of Brescia for ten years before he joined the Scalabrinians. His memoirs of his duties as parish priest in Italy include ministering the sacraments, presiding over devotions, catechizing children, tending the sick, and occasionally upholding Catholic teaching in the face of government or social pressure. His memories of his duties in Italian-American parishes include the above plus fundraising, construction, the organization of day care and the recruitment of orders of sisters to share in the work.¹⁸¹ Perhaps those Scalabrinians branded as poor administrators were those who, like Father Gambera, lacked experience but, unlike Gambera, also lacked the ability to adapt to American requirements.

When it came time to think of a name for the missionary institution, Father Zaboglio showed he had already learned much about American racial notions:

It would be a good thing to hold in all our houses an annual solemn celebration (never held so far) in honor of the principal protector of our congregation. Now, who is this protector? Is it the Queen of Angels? Is it Saint Francis Xavier? Or Saint Peter Claver?

For my part I would exclude the latter (I hope he will forgive me) as our principal protector. First, because, if I am not mistaken, he has been chosen as protector of the society of missionaries organized by Bishop Salford in England at the same time as ours, mainly for the conversion of American blacks. Second, because, as the New York archbishop wrote to Your Excellency, in many parts of the United States the Italians are placed on the same level as the blacks. Now, if we assumed Saint Peter Claver as our protector, we would somehow reinforce this prejudice and I am sure the Italians would object because, naturally, they do not like to be considered as blacks.

After choosing the protector I would like our Congregation to be called "Congregation (or Society) of the Missionaries Regina Apostolorum (or Saint Francesco Saverio, or another saint) for the Italians Abroad."

The Society of the Missionaries for the blacks is called Society of the Missionaries of Saint Joseph (since their protector is Saint Joseph) for the Colored People, which is abbreviated as Society of the Missionaries of Saint Joseph, and the Missionaries called Josephites.¹⁸²

Bishop Scalabrini was learning along with his missionaries. The bishop always had a few fixed ideas about the migrant apostolate: he always saw pastoral care as encompassing the ministry of the sacraments, the administration of charity and the advocacy of justice; he thought of Christian civilization in such a way as to make the church and state partners, at least in migrant care; and he wanted his missionaries to live communally. Beyond that, Bishop Scalabrini was willing to watch and see how the

¹⁸⁰ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, April 13 and June 29, 1889, Francesconi II, 144-147; Zaboglio to Scalabrini, June 29, 1889, Francesconi II, 144-147, 148-149.

¹⁸¹ Gambera, 53-60, 117-118, 147-148.

¹⁸² Zaboglio to Scalabrini, December 21, 1891, Francesconi II, 177-182.

institute developed and then make decisions as to whether and how to institutionalize the developments.

The process by which Bishop Scalabrini arrived at a name for his missionaries indicates his manner of thought. Father Zaboglio had a list of names with the advantages and disadvantages each name might bring. Bishop Scalabrini "prayed a day for this intention and . . . invoked the light of the Holy Spirit," and waited. Then, "the person of the great Saint Charles presented itself to my mind more radiantly and sweetly than ever before."¹⁸³ So Saint Charles it was.

Saint Charles Borromeo was born in Rocca d'Arona October 2, 1535, to Count Giberto Borromeo and Margherita de' Medici. Being a second son meant he would not be the primary heir, and this might have been why his parents settled on a career in Catholicism for him. His parentage, though, gave him certain advantages insofar as advancement was concerned; he received clerical tonsure and the title of the abbacy of San Gratiniano at age 12. On December 25, 1556, his maternal uncle, Giovan Angelo Cardinal de' Medici, became Pope Pius IV, and thereafter Borromeo worked for him. More honors and lucrative positions fell his way. In 1560 he became cardinal of Saints Vitus and Modestus (later Saint Praxedus), cardinal protector of Portugal, the Low Countries, the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, a religious order called the Humiliati, the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross of Coimbra, the Knights of Malta, the Knights of the Holy Cross of Christ in Portugal, administrator of the Archdiocese of Milan, administrator of the legations of Bologna, Romagna, and the Marches, prefect secretary of state and assistant to his uncle during the third session of the Council of Trent. The death of his older brother Federico on November 19, 1562, changed Charles's life. He received ordination July 17, 1563. Of all his posts, he took the one at Milan most seriously and in April 1565, he took up residence there. In October 1584, Borromeo left Milan for a course of spiritual exercises. He became ill during his retreat and died on his way back to Milan, on November 3, 1584. The tercentenary of his death had been celebrated only three years before Bishop Scalabrini accepted the first missionaries for his immigrant pastoral care project.

Shortly after picking a name, Bishop Scalabrini took steps to secure a headquarters for his institute. In the beginning, he used space at the Basilica of Saint Antoninus in Piacenza to house the Christopher Columbus Institute. When the recruits to the community grew more numerous, he moved to the Pio Ritiro Cerati near Saint Theresa's church, also in Piacenza. In July 1892, he moved the organization to a former Capuchin sisters' convent that had been built in 1610. On October 22, 1893, he dedicated the building for the Christopher Columbus Institute. The U.S. Scalabrinians called it the motherhouse.¹⁸⁴

Gradually, Bishop Scalabrini developed a more elaborate administration for his institute. At first, his organization had four key positions. The bishop handled the work

¹⁸³ Mario Francesconi, C.S., *John Baptist Scalabrini: An Insight into his Spirituality* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1973), 105.

¹⁸⁴ Francesconi II, 11.

that took place in Italy, such as recruitment, fundraising, advocacy, and answering correspondence that came to Piacenza. On March 7, 1888, he appointed Father Bartolomeo Rolleri superior of the motherhouse, which meant Father Rolleri also prepared recruits for the missions.¹⁸⁵ Father Zaboglio handled affairs in the United States that required brief but intense attention: contacting ordinaries, establishing missions, and taking temporary charge of troubled Scalabrinian parishes. Each mission had someone who resided there, handled the work in that location, and took responsibility for fostering new missions nearby, as Father Morelli did in New York. Under that system, Bishop Scalabrini's title was superior general, Father Zaboglio's was secretary general, and Father Rolleri, Father Morelli and other on-site administrators were house superiors.

Of these positions, the lynchpin was the relationship between Bishop Scalabrini and Father Zaboglio. Some measure of both men may be had in a letter the priest sent the bishop in 1889:

I beg Your Excellency, as I did verbally, not to give any assignments to the missionaries, either verbally or in writing, because it may happen (as it has happened before) that due to changed circumstances, the destinations indicated by Your Excellency have to be altered, and the missionary, on the strength of the assignment received from you does as he pleases. I would prefer that if Your Excellency wants to assign a missionary to a particular destination that you would inform me privately. I add that it would be useful, in sending me a new missionary, to give me all possible information regarding his character, attitude and other things which would help me in assigning him to a place for which he is best qualified.¹⁸⁶

Bishop Scalabrini's lack of reaction can be interpreted several ways. He did prize humility so much it became the Scalabrinians' motto; perhaps he reminded himself to practice it when subordinates told him what to do in so important a matter as personnel assignments. He also gave the impression of being so fixed on his goals as to shrug off what happened on the way to meeting them. And he sometimes gave the impression of being willing not to involve himself in even important details, which led to problems later in New York and Boston. Regarding Father Zaboglio's personality, given his many detailed letters to the bishop, his constant travel, and his work at the parish level in Boston and New York, one can see him as so determined to have the migrant ministry project succeed that he could be guilty of a certain ruthlessness.¹⁸⁷

Bishop Scalabrini appointed Father Zaboglio vicar general in October 1890, which changed Zaboglio's title but not his job description. The bishop gave the title of provincial superior to Felix Morelli, who took up his duties the next year. In 1892, he redesigned the whole administrative hierarchy. Father Rolleri was not working out well as superior of the motherhouse. As Father Francesconi wrote, "in addition to being old, [he] was too rigid and narrow-minded to train those already in advanced age for a missionary life which required solid and deep preparation and complete resilience in their methods and programs." In 1892, when Father Zaboglio returned to Italy, Bishop Scalabrini made him

¹⁸⁵ Marco Caliaro and Mario Francesconi, C.S., *John Baptist Scalabrini: Apostle to Emigrants*, trans. Alba I. Zizzamia (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977). 189.

¹⁸⁶ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, July 24, 1895, Francesconi II, 199-200.

¹⁸⁷ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, May 18, 1891, Francesconi II, 169-170.

superior of the motherhouse, and gave Father Rolleri the title of vicar general, though he did not have the same duties in that position that Father Zaboglio had undertaken. Abbe Alphonse Villeneuve, whom Father Zaboglio had met as a French-Canadian priest stationed in Albany, New York, likewise came to Italy and accepted the position of procurator general, thus relieving Bishop Scalabrini of bookkeeping obligations. Bishop Scalabrini also appointed a new provincial superior for North America, Father Domenico Vicentini.¹⁸⁸

Bishop Scalabrini's most radical reorganization was his introduction of simple, perpetual vows. In taking this step, he consulted with men who were members of other religious congregations with perpetual vows. The first announcement came in September 1894. As the bishop wrote to provincial superior Vicentini: "Here Father [Saverio] Rondina [S.J.] gave spiritual exercises. He left happy and contented, etc., etc. It is desirable to introduce solemn and perpetual vows and a regular novitiate."¹⁸⁹ In a letter to secretary of Propaganda Mieczyslaw Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski, Bishop Scalabrini changed one word. "With [Father Rondina] I have consulted on the reform of the rules and I have believed it necessary to introduce simple but perpetual vows."¹⁹⁰ It was a difference which made little difference. Up through the Counterreformation, orders of priests and cloistered nuns tended toward solemn vows. By the nineteenth century, among orders with specific apostolates in the world, simple vows were more common. The first ceremony was held at the 7:00 a.m. mass at the Church of San Carlo in Piacenza on the feast of the Immaculate Conception, December 8, 1894. Just before receiving communion a group of fifteen recited the Apostles' Creed and their vows: Father Oreste Alussi, Father Ermenegildo Battaglia, Father Francesco Brescianini, Father Faustino Consoni, Father Giuseppe Molinari, Brother Pietro Pugnetti and seminarians Antonio Demo, Pietro Dotto, Stefano Franco, Luigi Lango, Riccardo Lorenzoni, Bartolomeo Marenchino, Natale Pigato, Antonio Segnanfreddo and Marco Simoni. The vows mostly likely took the form written out by Beniamino Franch when he took them in 1905: "I ... in the presence of God Almighty, the Most Holy, Immaculate Mary and the entire heavenly court, full of gratitude for their inestimable benefits, make a perpetual vow of chastity, of obedience and of poverty according to the rules of the Congregation of Saint Charles in which I hope, with Divine aid, to persevere until death."¹⁹¹

Simple, perpetual vows were included in the Rule of the Congregation of the Missionaries of Saint Charles for the Italian Emigrants published in Piacenza in 1895. The rules outlined the congregation's place in Catholicism's organizational scheme: it was an institute erected in Italy under the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith but with its own superior general. It also outlined the institute's internal management. The superior general chose a vicar general, procurator and consultors (among which was the superior of the motherhouse) to assist him. The geographical area covered by the

¹⁸⁸ Francesconi 11, 9, 11.

¹⁸⁹ Scalabrini to Domenico Vicentini, n.p., September, 1894, *Scritti* I, 44-45.

¹⁹⁰ Scalabrini to Mieczyslaw Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski, Piacenza, September 26, 1894, *Scritti* II, 42-43.

¹⁹¹ Beniamino Franch, "Formula dei S. Voti," SJB Box 20, folder A10.

missionaries was divided into provinces, each with its superior and consultors. Each house had its own superior, who doubled as pastor. Each house was supposed to have a treasurer distinct from its superior, and, if the house population increased over ten, the superior might have assistants. After their novitiate, candidates took their three simple, perpetual vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience. During their stay at the motherhouse, novices and seminarians studied various subjects: canon law, scripture, preaching, church history, Gregorian chant, and liturgy. Three subjects require some more explanation. The students studied specifically Thomistic dogmatic theology: Pope Leo XIII had stimulated a revival of Thomism in Catholicism, and Bishop Scalabrini followed the pope's lead. They also studied specifically Ligurian moral theology: Joseph M. White, a historian of U.S. seminaries, has explained that of the various systems in use in the nineteenth century, the one first outlined by Saint Alphonsus Liguori, by basing itself on a profound relationship with the creator ("Love God and do what you will"), was more holistic in weighing penitents' guilt or innocence in specific situations.¹⁹² Bishop Scalabrini also thought the seminarians should study the "languages necessary to the exercise of the sacred ministry."¹⁹³ Common sense suggests that meant the language of the mission fields to which they were going, but at least as far as the U.S. mission was concerned it must have meant something else; the poor English of newly arrived Scalabrinians burdened the experienced missionaries until at least the 1920s.

So far, the story has been one of continued growth. The Scalabrinians grew geographically; they expanded to new fields. They also grew in sophistication, becoming a religious congregation with vows and an internal structure. Perhaps this growth was not all in the direction Bishop Scalabrini had originally foreseen; the Scalabrinians were spending less time on flying missions or dockside care of migrants and more time on establishing themselves as the institute to be entrusted with Italian national parishes in the United States. On the other hand, the emphasis on fitting into the established structure may have served the Scalabrinians well in the long run. They fit into American Catholicism in a way other American Catholics could understand, and, having been accepted into American Catholicism, they now had a base for their own future maturation as a community with a distinctive mission.

Attentive readers may notice some signs of trouble. Expansion outstripped the supply of personnel. The rapid turnover in personnel may have been the corollary of development; it may also have been testimony to the difficulty some of these missionaries had in finding their niche or their superiors had in finding it for them. The multiplication of Italian parishes testified to the enormity of the mission field, and also to the fragmentation of the Italian community along regional and class lines.

Other documents bear witness to this underside of Scalabrinian growth. They show the conflict and controversy Bishop Scalabrini's plans for the pastoral care of immigrants aroused. They also show the Scalabrinians on the brink of disaster, threatened with losing

¹⁹² Joseph M. White, *The Diocesan Seminary in the United States: A History from the 1780s to the Present* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press [Notre Dame Studies in American Catholicism], 1989).

¹⁹³ *Regola della Congregazione dei Missionari di S. Carlo per gl'Italiani Emigrati* (Piacenza: Tip. Vesc. G. Tedeschi, 1895), *Scritti* II, 55-76.

their flagship missions in the very port city through which most Italian migrants entered the United States and with whose archbishop Bishop Scalabrini had enjoyed conversation and correspondence. The next chapter takes up the difficult times of the 1890s.



3

Hard Realities

The Scalabrinians laid some solid foundations for future growth in the late 1880s and early 1890s. However, the institute's rapid expansion was not well supported. During the middle and late 1890s, a series of crises beset the institute. Five forces seem especially important in setting the stage for these crises; perhaps the Scalabrinians could have dealt with any one force alone, but the combination proved unmanageable. Human nature was such that insufficient priests and brothers volunteered for the mission field, and those that did volunteer did not always fit in the mission environment. Community socioeconomic conditions — regional, class-based, and personal rivalries and insufficient resources diverted to religion — destabilized individual missions and clouded the Scalabrinians' reputation generally. Ecclesiastical and political events outside the migration community hindered the Scalabrinians' apostolate; mention has already been made of the effect of the 1891 lynching on the New Orleans Italian community. Social and intellectual trends also hampered the Scalabrinians' ministry; chapter one has already explained that not all Italians, particularly those in government, shared Bishop Scalabrini's vision of a Christian civilization in which secular and religious institutions cooperated in the care of the needy, and this chapter will discuss social and intellectual developments taking place at the same time in the United States.

Finally, there was that most basic problem that in order to ensure the survival of their particular vision of migrant pastoral care, the Scalabrinians had to ensure the survival of their own religious institute. There were a number of ways to do this. Without ever arguing about which was the proper way, Bishop Scalabrini and Father Zaboglio were actually following two different theories as to how to guarantee Scalabrinian survival. One might criticize them for doing it at all, pointing out that the important thing was the pastoral care of migrants, whether by this or that person or religious institute. One might also criticize the criticism as a naive view of how human nature, especially human nature inspired by a vision, works. Whatever one's view of the ethics of the situation, the Scalabrinians were not entirely innocent victims of forces beyond their control. Individuals made decisions, the Scalabrinian leadership made decisions for the institute, and those decisions, while they sometimes had the long-term effect of securing institutional survival, had the short-term effect of reducing Scalabrinian effectiveness by involving the Scalabrinians in unseemly disputes with others who professed equal concern about good Italian migrant pastoral care.

The Scalabrinians had been organized to counter some of the problems inherent in human nature. American priests and ordinaries complained about the quality of secular Italian migrant priests. Membership in the Scalabrinians was supposed to imply a kind of guarantee that the individual was a respectable priest.¹⁹⁴ Generally, Scalabrinian credentials were accepted in good faith, so much so that Bishop Scalabrini claimed some unworthy clergy were sailing to the Americas and falsely presenting themselves as Scalabrinians.¹⁹⁵

Real Scalabrinians could cause problems, too. Bishop Scalabrini kept busy writing various individual missionaries regarding their obedience to the rules and authorizing local superiors to discipline the missionaries.¹⁹⁶ Most often though, he tried to prevent disciplinary problems. He repeatedly enjoined local superiors to obey the rules themselves, particularly those calling for regular community devotions.¹⁹⁷ Living in a house in which the senior members gave such a public example of their obedience might inspire younger members to similar virtue.

The superior general himself was occasionally a culprit in this regard. While discussing a proposal for sending missionaries to Philadelphia (which came to naught), Bishop Scalabrini noted that the proposal for sending just one missionary to that city was contrary to the rules for community life, but "every rule has its exceptions."¹⁹⁸ The bishop repeatedly made exceptions for individual missionaries. Father Zaboglio fretted that this raised other missionaries' hopes that exceptions would be made for them, too, and that it confused local superiors, who were not sure whether they were overriding the superior general's decision in particular cases.¹⁹⁹

The most pressing disciplinary problem of the 1890s seems to have been keeping the missionaries at their posts. Bishop Scalabrini wrote restless missionaries often to try to get them to stay in their places. Despite his authority as superior general, he seldom gave direct orders. More often he appealed to the individual's sense of guilt and held out the promise that he would work to lighten the faithful missionaries' burdens.²⁰⁰

Between 1887 and 1894, the Scalabrinians took five-year vows. Sometimes this proved to be a blessing, for when unsatisfactory missionaries' vows expired, such unsuccessful vocations could quietly depart the community. Those who did acceptable jobs, though,

¹⁹⁴ Vincent, Bishop of Diano to Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, November 6, 1889, CMS Collection No. 019, Box 1, Folder 3.

¹⁹⁵ Scalabrini to Mariano Cardinal Rampolla Del Tindaro, Piacenza, May 25, 1893, *Scritti*, 14 vols. (Rome: Congregazione Scalabriniana, 1980) volume II, 9-10. Hereafter *Scritti*.

¹⁹⁶ Scalabrini to Francesco Beccherini, n.p., n.d., *Scritti* II, 149; Scalabrini to Domenico Vicentini, n.p., n.d., *Scritti* II, 29, and Scalabrini to Francesco Zaboglio, Piacenza, October 25, 1895, Mario Francesconi, *History of the Scalabrinian Congregation*, vol. 2, *The Scalabrinian Fathers in North America*, trans. Joseph Zappulla (typescript, 1983), 212. Hereafter Francesconi II.

¹⁹⁷ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, August 31, 1895, Francesconi II, 203-204.

¹⁹⁸ Scalabrini to Rafael Cardinal Merry Del Val, Piacenza, February 18, 1904, *Scritti* II, 295.

¹⁹⁹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New York, September 4, 1896, Francesconi II, 223-225.

²⁰⁰ Scalabrini to Oreste Alussi, Piacenza, February 15, 1900, *Scritti* II, 190-191.

were encouraged to renew their vows permanently. Again, Bishop Scalabrini seldom resorted to direct action; instead, he tried to place his missionaries in positions in which renewal seemed inevitable. Father Giacomo Gambera recalled that as his five-year vows came to an end, he was exhausted by his mission in New Orleans and wanted to go back to Italy. Instead, a little before his vows expired, he was transferred to Pittsburgh. By the time Father Gambera finished his stint in Pittsburgh, he had been in the United States one year more than he promised, and at that time it seemed like one year too much. Upon leaving Pittsburgh he headed to New York, determined to catch the first ship for Italy. Instead, Father Domenico Vicentini, the provincial superior, met him, saying that Bishop Scalabrini had telegraphed asking Father Gambera to take the job as pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston. His colleagues assured him that Boston was a good mission that would repay all the effort he put into it. Faith in his colleagues' judgment, loyalty to Bishop Scalabrini and devotion to the mission overcame fatigue, and Father Gambera settled in Boston.²⁰¹

Another problem was getting those who did not renew their vows to follow the policy of returning to Italy.²⁰² Bishop Scalabrini had instituted the mandatory repatriation policy when his missionaries took five-year vows. Although he did not leave an explanation, it is likely he wanted to forestall cases of clergy living out the stereotype of clerical fortune-hunters, searching for comfortable livings in countries where priests had more opportunities than they had in impoverished, anticlerical Italy.

Punitive action could create other problems. Father Zaboglio explained the consequences of a particular disciplinary case thus: if the priest in question were expelled, that would mean two less masses at the parish, with a consequent decline in revenue, and this at a time when the parish struggled under heavy debts.²⁰³ Thus their scarcity gave the missionaries some bargaining power, which some exploited for all it was worth. Father Zaboglio reported one missionary's negotiating position to Bishop Scalabrini. The priest was willing to renew his vows if he received an annual subsidy so he could support his aging mother, a hundred dollars so that he could return that sum to his housekeeper (she had given it to him for safekeeping and it had been stolen) and a trip to Italy.²⁰⁴ Characteristically, Bishop Scalabrini accepted this shift from obedience to bargaining as a step on the way to the migrant apostolate's full development. Even Father Zaboglio, who tended to think that one had to build the Scalabrinians' future by prevailing over each small problem as it arose, bowed to reality. When a new band of missionaries disembarked in October 1895, he wrote Bishop Scalabrini that he was giving a particular assignment to the new missionary he judged "least resistant" to taking it.²⁰⁵

²⁰¹ Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 107.

²⁰² Scalabrini to Miescyslaw Ha(Ica Cardinal Ledóchowski, Piacenza, September 26, 1894, *Scritti* II, 42-43.

²⁰³ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, July 4, 1895, Francesconi II, 197-198.

²⁰⁴ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New York, July 30, 1896, Francesconi II, 221-223.

²⁰⁵ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, October 9, 1895, Francesconi II, 210-211.

Even with this willingness to compromise, there were never enough priests and brothers. In order to expedite sending laborers to the vineyard, the Scalabrinians first resorted to curtailing their training. Father Gambera spent only five months at Piacenza before departing for the United States, and part of that time was taken up assisting Bishop Scalabrini with his first catechetical conference; it was hardly a proper novitiate.²⁰⁶ Seminarians who entered the Christopher Columbus Institute received similar short shrift. Father Pio Parolin who, unlike others, did not come to the Scalabrinians as a priest or seminarian but received all his priestly training under Scalabrinian auspices, recalled that:

Here I must say that the studies I went through during my lifetime were not like those undergone in other institutes or seminaries, but they were rather accelerated; and even though pursued with scrupulous attention, they were very abridged and concise. The need for workers in the Lord's vineyard was so great that it was necessary to compel the students to complete their courses as soon as possible so that they might run to the aid of the other missionaries, who were constantly clamoring for new priests.²⁰⁷

Some idea of the Scalabrinian leadership's desperation may be had from a case in 1895. In July, Bishop Scalabrini notified Father Zaboglio that another mission band was on its way. Among its members was Father Giuseppe Quadranti, who "has not yet finished his studies."²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, when Father Quadranti arrived, Father Zaboglio summed him up as "the strongest" of those sent, judged that "I think I can trust him in distant places," and dispatched him to Cincinnati.²⁰⁹

Even truncated training proved insufficient. The Scalabrinians also resorted to recruiting priests who did not take vows but who worked with the community. Presently, the Scalabrinians work cooperatively with non-Scalabrinians who work in the migrant apostolate and who provide language skills or other expertise lacking in the vowed Scalabrinian community. The practices of the early twentieth century were not a self-conscious precursor of present programs. Rather, the Scalabrinians used non-Scalabrinian priests as assistants who apparently lived with them in their rectories, or as adjuncts who lived elsewhere and came to say mass and hear confessions. They called these helpers by a variety of Italian and English words; the term *auxiliary* seems the most apt. The earliest reference to them appeared in 1896, in a rare English-language letter from Father Zaboglio to the archbishop of Hartford: "I had to send the Rev. E[rmenegildo] Battaglia to supply [substitute for] a sick missionary. I and Fr. Vincent Sciolla have to work very hard and I must be out for a few days. As I have no other priest free of our congregation to help us alone, I sent for a good secular priest of New York, whose name is 'Gaetano Orlando'

²⁰⁶ Gambera, 63.

²⁰⁷ Pio Parolin, "El Toso de Andrian Pedro, Pio Parolin" (undated typescript), 14, CMS No. 073, Box 1, Autobiography folder.

²⁰⁸ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, July 28, 1895, Francesconi II, 200.

²⁰⁹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, October 9, 1895, Francesconi II, 210-211.

for whom I beg from you all the necessary faculties."²¹⁰ Auxiliaries were a Scalabrinian innovation; no other institute had any similar arrangement. It may have allowed the Scalabrinians to minister to more Italians, but it severely compromised their institutional integrity and community life.

The problem of ensuring sufficient obedience to the rules was not entirely the missionaries' fault. Sometimes the rules were not there to obey. In 1888, the Holy See had approved Bishop Scalabrini's regulations for his new community for a period of five years. In 1893 the approval expired. Bishop Scalabrini notified Mieczyslaw Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski that the Scalabrinians would continue to observe the 1888 regulations, except for the provision for five-year vows, which had been replaced by one for perpetual vows.²¹¹ Also, during the Scalabrinians' early years in North America, the local leadership placed a low priority on community formation. Father Zaboglio performed some of the work of a provincial superior, but there was no official superior until September 1889. At that point, Bishop Scalabrini appointed Father Felice Morelli provincial superior.²¹² The work in New York increasingly absorbed Father Morelli's energies, and his way of handling that work indicated he might not be an effective superior. On October 9, 1892, Bishop Scalabrini appointed Domenico Vicentini to succeed him.²¹³ Father Vicentini repeatedly tried to resign his position, and by July 28, 1895, Father Zaboglio had for the first time taken the official title of provincial superior.²¹⁴ On July 14, 1897, Father Zaboglio suffered an accident that left him unable to fulfill his many roles. At this point, Bishop Scalabrini appointed the first person who set himself to the task of community formation, Father Giacomo Gambera.²¹⁵

Fathers Vicentini and Gambera were an interesting study in the mysteries of human nature and the nurture of experience. Born at Pescantini, Verona, July 6, 1847, Father Vicentini was educated at the diocesan seminary, ordained for service in the Diocese of Verona, and labored as a pastor in that diocese until 1881, when he entered the Stigmatine Fathers in Verona. In 1882 he asked to go to the African missions. In 1883 he came to Khartoum in the Sudan, which was in the midst of a native insurrection. In 1884 he accompanied a diplomatic party from Cairo to Dongola at the source of the Nile and helped negotiate the release of missionaries taken captive. The Stigmatines ended their African mission in 1888. In 1890, Father Vicentini returned to the mission field by joining the Scalabrinians. One might think that with his interest and experience, Father Vicentini would dedicate himself to making the Scalabrinians a going concern. He did eventually

²¹⁰ Zaboglio to Michael Tierney, New Haven, March 23, 1896, photocopy courtesy of Sister Theresa McQueeney, S.N.D., Archivist of the Archdiocese of Hartford. For more on contemporary Scalabrinian auxiliaries, see Lydio E Tomasi, C. S., "The Scalabrinian Pastoral Approach in North America Today: An Overview" (typescript, undated), 2.

²¹¹ Scalabrini to Ledódcowski, Piacenza, March 21, 1898, *Scritti* II, 120-121.

²¹² Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, September 25, 1889, Francesconi II, 153-154.

²¹³ Scalabrini to Domenico Vicentini, Piacenza, October 19, 1892, *Scritti* I, 408-409.

²¹⁴ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, Holy Thursday, 1895, and July 28, 1895, Francesconi II, 195-196, 200.

²¹⁵ Scalabrini to Gambera, n.p., n.d., *Scritti* II, 115-116.

have a long and distinguished career with them, but in the 1890s he hesitated to take on a leadership role.

Father Gambera came from another background. Born in Brescia September 17, 1856, and ordained for service in that diocese on May 31, 1879, he worked for ten years as curate and then pastor in the same province in which he was born. When he took his five-year vows on November 20, 1889, his family voiced concern over his joining the Scalabrinians, and he reassured them he would be gone only five years. Eight years later he was still in the United States and had been appointed superior of a province he had intended to leave. His commitment getting the better of him, he set himself to work strengthening the Scalabrinians' existing missions.

Father Gambera introduced himself to the ordinaries in whose sees the Scalabrinians worked.²¹⁶ He also issued a circular to the Scalabrinians themselves. The areas he cited as needing improvement are worth noting, for they became a litany which Scalabrinian superiors after him chanted regularly. In summary, they were: 1) attracting the people's affection by providing public worship, and nourishing the missionaries' ability to preside over liturgy by observing the devotions of community life; 2) preserving the privacy of the house, as the presence of non-Scalabrinians led to gossip and scandal; 3) keeping the Scalabrinians in the house, rather than out visiting relatives and friends; 4) curbing the Scalabrinians' tendency to share what was happening in the house with outsiders; 5) reducing the use of auxiliaries; 6) keeping good accounts of parish expenses; 7) keeping equally good accounts of house expenses; and 8) keeping track of which priests and brothers had not renewed their five-year vows and encouraging them to take perpetual vows.²¹⁷

Beyond the foibles of individuals lay the forces of community life. Contemporary observers and historians have written volumes describing the poverty of the various communities the Scalabrinians served, so it need only be mentioned here as a factor affecting the Scalabrinians' ministry. The Scalabrinians came into the mission field undercapitalized. Some Catholic institutions had endowments; the Italian apostolate did not. In the business world, one could borrow money to start an enterprise and repay the loan out of profits later; the Scalabrinians were not in a profit-making field. They had to get funds from the people they were trying to serve, usually before they had established much of a record of providing good service. Financial constraints limited the Scalabrinians' actions and rendered impossible what would have otherwise been manageable situations.

The people to whom the Scalabrinians ministered came from folk cultures shot through with anticlericalism. Some had political convictions that led them to oppose Catholicism and its clergy. Even those closer to the faith did not necessarily see the Scalabrinians as the proper ministers for their Little Italies. One incident, although it happened a little later than the time under consideration — in the 1920s rather than the 1890s — brings together in one place all the various reasons why an Italian colony might

²¹⁶ Gambera to Michael Augustine Corrigan, Boston, January 6, 1898, AANY microfilm roll No. 20.

²¹⁷ Gambera to Reverendi Padri, Carissimi Confratelli, n.p., n.d., AANY microfilm roll No. 20.

reject a particular Scalabrinian. In July 1920, a portion of the Italian community of Boston's North End began sending protests to the archdiocesan chancery regarding the unsuitability of the pastor at the neighborhood's Sacred Heart parish. A number of the parishioners who wrote, in Italian and halting English mentioned the pastor's courting of the organist. However, if that were the only problem, it could be solved by adopting one parishioner's advice that the parish hire a "man organist." This, though, would not have settled other parishioners' complaints. The pastor in question was from southern Italy, and, as one parishioner explained, "Pastors of Abruzzi no good — thei [sic] are N[e]apolitan—they are Lazzaroni [thieves]." For another parishioner, even a nonsoutherner was not good enough: "American priests good—[I]talian priests no good. [I]talian priests to be business." The ironic ending of the story came in 1922, after the pastor had been transferred. Then the president of the Saint Mark Society and other local dignitaries neatly typed up a two-page English letter detailing the same pastor's impressive accomplishments and asking for another pastor of the same caliber.²¹⁸

The situation in Providence exemplified a common scenario: the local Italian residents wanted churches and priests, but not necessarily for the same reasons the Scalabrinians wanted them. In June 1892, the first pastor of Providence's Holy Ghost parish, Luigi Paroli, was transferred to New York. Father Paroli was succeeded by Francesco Beccherini, who in was Providence until 1893, and then by Antonio Franchi, who was there until 1894.²¹⁹ Representatives from the Italian community approached both priests about a second Italian parish. Holy Ghost parish church was located on Federal Hill, some distance from the new Italian colony developing on the North End. The parish was dedicated to the Holy Ghost; the North End Italians wanted a parish dedicated to their hometown patroness, Saint Ann. One layman, Francesco Barone, purchased the old town hall in the neighborhood and spearheaded a collection designed to raise funds to buy the property from him and fit it for a church. This recital of facts points to varied motives for establishing a second church: proper pastoral care, community pride, and personal status. The Scalabrinians may have not been aware of the varied motives. They had, though, already learned enthusiasm for a new church did not always translate into support for it. Father Beccherini and Father Franchi stalled on the project until both were transferred and the controversy became the new pastor's problem.²²⁰

Holy Ghost's fourth pastor in five years was Paolo Novati. He arrived in January 1894. Diocesan historian Robert Hayman noted Father Novati was in poor health from the beginning of his tenure, but that was not immediately apparent. Father Zaboglio was not sure what to think except, "Let us hope that he becomes more active. He has plenty to do if he wants work, considering that he has to take care of five thousand Italians in the city, and two or three thousand in the suburbs."²²¹ Whatever Father Novati's problem was,

²¹⁸ AAB RG 5.3, Box 6, folders 16-25.

²¹⁹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, September 5, 1895, Francesconi II, 207-08.

²²⁰ Robert J. Hayman, *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence: 1886-1921*, 2 volumes (Providence: The Diocese of Providence, 1995), II, 175-177.

²²¹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, August 21, 1895, Francesconi II, 202-203.

Father Zaboglio was reluctant to criticize him too much, as he had "gained the people's sympathy" and "the bishop likes him," a rare combination.²²² Whether through ill health, inactivity, or by following his predecessors' policies of stalling in the face of pressure to divide Holy Ghost, Father Novati lost an opportunity for the Scalabrinians in Providence. In 1896, Bishop Harkins authorized an Italian parish dedicated to Saint Ann on the city's North End. Its pastor was Giulio Triolo, a secular migrant priest who had arrived in Providence while Father Franchi was pastor of Holy Ghost.²²³

More exacerbated community tensions lay behind the death threats in New Haven. Amos Vincent Astorri, who had come in 1889, left February 25, 1890. His successor, Oreste Alussi, served from that date until August 16, 1894, when Francesco Beccherini arrived from Providence. Father Beccherini was still in New Haven February 3, 1895, when Apostolic Delegate Francesco Satolli rededicated the enlarged church. Some time after that, Father Zaboglio transferred Father Beccherini and tried to return Father Alussi to his former post. Then, "Father Alussi wrote me that he had heard from some prudent people that the Italians had sworn to kill him." Father Zaboglio immediately took the train to New Haven to investigate. He concluded Father Alussi's sources were impeccable, but the source's sources were unreliable and the real problem was a faction of the parish wanted Father Beccherini back. Nevertheless, he took charge of Saint Michael's himself, and stayed there from September 1895, until January 1896, when a graver crisis called him to New York.²²⁴

Nor were the Scalabrinian always welcomed outside the Italian community. By "outside the Italian community" is meant the non-Italians with whom the Scalabrinians were most likely to associate, the priests and brothers from other ethnic groups. The Scalabrinians quickly developed a set of generalizations to guide them through contact with other ethnic clergy. They distrusted the "Irish," by which they meant the secular clergy born in Ireland or in the United States of Irish ancestry; many of the secular clergy in New England and New York were indeed of that background. They were also suspicious of Italian secular clergy, reasoning that if the Italian clergy they found in American cities were truly doing their jobs, the ordinaries would not ask for the Scalabrinians. The Scalabrinians found non-Italians in other religious orders to be the friendliest priests. This was partly because they seemed to be in the same position as the Scalabrinians; some told Father Zaboglio which "Irish" had been given other ethnic groups trouble before the Italians arrived.²²⁵

Relations with Italian clergy from other religious orders proved particularly ticklish. The conflict between Scalabrinians and Franciscans in Boston in 1889 is a good example of it, and an important one for later. In March 1889, Bishop Scalabrini was visiting Rome when he found out, almost by accident, that problems in Boston were more complicated than he had imagined. Officials at the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith

²²² Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, September 5, 1895, Francesconi II, 207-208.

²²³ Hayman, II, 177-179.

²²⁴ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, September 5, 1895, Francesconi II, 207-208.

²²⁵ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, April 13, 1889, Francesconi II, 144-148.

showed him some documents that the Franciscans had submitted protesting that the Scalabrinians were encroaching on their territory by setting up Sacred Heart so near to Saint Leonard of Port Maurice on the North End. Bishop Scalabrini did what he could to protect his missionaries: he protested that he himself had been unaware that the Franciscans were in Boston, claimed that Father Zaboglio had not trespassed on the Franciscans' claim but had responded to lay overtures, noted that the Scalabrinians' work had been carried out with Archbishop Williams's knowledge, and offered to do what he could to solve the problem.²²⁶ Insofar as Bishop Scalabrini's claim not to know the Franciscans were in Boston goes, it seems to have been true at least in 1888, when the bishop described the Italians in that city as dependent on local clergy.²²⁷ However this lays Bishop Scalabrini open to the charge of not carefully reading his mail; Father Zaboglio had mentioned the Franciscans by name in his descriptions of events in Boston.²²⁸

Bishop Scalabrini believed the Franciscans misunderstood Father Zaboglio's actions in Boston. When one Boston Franciscan presented his version of the story, which pictured Father Zaboglio as an interloper encouraging the rebellious Saint Mark Society, the bishop pointed out that the letter presented the Franciscan as one "who interprets with hostility even the simplest actions. With the best of intentions people like him cannot help causing a conflict."²²⁹

The Franciscans in turn referred to Bishop Scalabrini's migrant mission as "saintly," but even among these people who took sanctity seriously, the word seems to have had negative connotations.²³⁰ In this case, Bishop Scalabrini was "saintly," but also irrelevant. The real problem, insofar as the Franciscans were concerned, was that Father Zaboglio had exceeded the saintly Bishop Scalabrini's instruction. When the bishop defended his subordinate, the Franciscans interpreted his actions as another example of saintly blindness to others' faults: Bishop Scalabrini was "a very righteous man but a little too worried about Father Zaboglio, whom he thinks as righteous as he but who is not."²³¹ Bishop Scalabrini could not be the problem. He was, as the Franciscans said, saintly; he was a bishop and it was neither courteous nor politically sensible to appear to disagree with him; and by his very passivity and resignation to events he could get what he wanted. In early 1890, he wrote the Franciscans that the situation in Boston was hopeless: "I wrote several letters there and urged the interested parties to find a solution to their controversy. . . . I, Venerable Father, cannot do more. The matter is entirely in the archbishop's hands and I am certain that his decision will satisfy both sides."²³² The

²²⁶ Bernardino Da Portogruaro, O.F.M., to Bonifacio Bragantini, O.F.M., Rome, March 16, 1889, Francesconi II, 284.

²²⁷ Scalabrini to Simeoni, Piacenza, September 8, 1888, *Scritti* I, 130-132.

²²⁸ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Boston, September 19, 1888, Francesconi II, 127-128.

²²⁹ Scalabrini to the Minister General of the Franciscans, San Polo, April 30, 1889, Francesconi II, 286-287.

²³⁰ Athanasio, O.F.M., to Bragantini, Boston, March 30, 1889, Francesconi II, 285-286.

²³¹ Da Portogruaro, to Bragantini, n.p., November 21, 1889, Francesconi II, 287-289.

²³² Scalabrini to the Minister General of the Franciscans, Piacenza, January 14, 1890, Francesconi II, 289-290.

Scalabrinians stayed at Sacred Heart. Bishop Scalabrini did not get his heart's desire of peace with the Franciscans, but he did get the consolation of a parish in Boston. The Franciscans, though, bided their time, and were able to expand their Italian mission in different times and places.

Several of the problems described above — human nature, Italian poverty, problems in American Catholicism and in Catholicism generally over which the Scalabrinians had no control, and the Scalabrinians' perception that preserving their vision of the Italian apostolate meant preserving their institutional identity — came to a head in New York. The story opens in 1892. At that point, the Scalabrinians had six projects in New York City: Saint Joachim, the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Emigrants, Most Precious Blood, Our Lady of Pompei, a hospital, and land being held for a seminary. The local superior, Father Felice Morelli, was directly involved in Saint Joachim, Most Precious Blood, the hospital and the seminary, and Father Pietro Bandini supervised Saint Raphael and Our Lady of Pompei.

Father Morelli had not come to Bishop Scalabrini highly recommended. According to historian Stephen Michael Di Giovanni, Morelli had formerly been pastor of a parish in Ravenna. There he had been accused of not paying debts incurred in reconstructing his parish church and rectory, and also of forgery.²³³ Bishop Scalabrini did tell Father Zaboglio to tell Father Morelli "he must absolutely require that the accounts of the house and churches be kept with scrupulous precision," but Bishop Scalabrini sent a steady stream of such reminders to a number of missionaries, either through the local superiors or through personal letters.²³⁴ Generally, though, the bishop trusted Father Morelli, appointing him superior of the New York mission, provincial superior, and defending him when Father Zaboglio criticized him in front of non-Scalabrinians.²³⁵ The bishop continued to defend Father Morelli at least through March, 1892.²³⁶

In July 1893, Bishop Scalabrini's support abruptly stopped. He told the local superior that Father Morelli's five-year vows had expired and the priest was free to go, a sure sign of displeasure given the Scalabrinians' desperate personnel shortage.²³⁷ It was not that Father Morelli wished to leave; in August Bishop Scalabrini sent another missive instructing Domenico Vicentini, who was then provincial superior and who was soon to become more involved in New York matters, to tell Father Morelli to place all administrative matters in the hands of Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan of New York, and to undertake a series of spiritual exercises.²³⁸

²³³ Stephen Michael Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants: The Relationship between the Church and the Italians in the Archdiocese of New York, 1885-1902" (Ph.D. diss., Pontifical Gregorian University [Rome], 1983), 229-230; Scalabrini to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, n.p., May 14, 1889, *Scritti* I, 246.

²³⁴ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, March 29, 1891, *Francesconi* II, 167-168.

²³⁵ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, June 17, 1891, *Francesconi* II, 170-171.

²³⁶ Scalabrini to Vicentini, Piacenza, March 5, 1892, *Scritti* I, 382-383.

²³⁷ Scalabrini to Vicentini, Piacenza, July 5, 1893, *Scritti* II, 11-12.

²³⁸ Scalabrini to Vicentini, Piacenza, August 28, 1893, *Scritti* II, 14-15.

The criticisms directed at Father Morelli were numerous and they also tended to be expressed in imprecise terms; people tended to write that he was "bad" or "unworthy" person rather than precisely what he did. This makes it difficult to separate his actions from how much a particular action displeased his superiors. Clearly, apart from any dishonesty or incompetence on his part, and apart from any lack of financial support on his parishioners' part, some of Father Morelli's problems stemmed from his imposing Italian models of parish management in the United States. Father Morelli positioned Saint Joachim's and Most Precious Blood to provide services for, and to receive compensation from, a variety of mutual benefit societies. A society would give either parish a sum of money, and make the parish church the home of the statue of its patron saint. The society would also pay the parish another sum upon the death of any society member. In return, the parish would let the society use the church building to celebrate the saint's feast day, would let society members take the statue out of the church on that occasion for a procession, would provide clergy to give a feast day panegyric and would say mass when a society member died.²³⁹

Father Morelli also borrowed money from various lay sources in the community around Saint Joachim's and Most Precious Blood. At first, the chancery did not realize this. The information came to light only when Archbishop Corrigan was away, His vicar general, Father Thomas S. Preston, happened to notice that Father Morelli was holding parish property in his own name.²⁴⁰ The chancery hastened to bring the situation at Saint Joachim's into accord with that in the rest of the see, which meant getting a five-man board of trustees that included the archbishop, another chancery official, the pastor, and two laymen. When Father Morelli sent the deed to William O'Connor, the archdiocese's attorney, the lawyer noticed more problems. Father Morelli had borrowed money from twenty different individuals to buy Saint Joachim's and had promised to pay back every lender within three years. If anyone lender went unpaid, Father Morelli was obliged to sell the church in order to secure funds for repayment, which meant that he could not sell Saint Joachim's to a twenty-first party, the board of trustees. "In all my experience I have never known such a manner of transacting business," Mt O'Connor sighed, "It only shows what may be done by such people when not properly advised."²⁴¹

Neither the canon law governing the Archdiocese of New York nor the laws of the State of New York recognized arrangements such as Father Morelli's. As far as Father Vicentini was concerned, it was Father Morelli's dealings with local lay lenders that got him into trouble. The archdiocese took the steps it did in Father Morelli's case because of "the necessity of eliminating the unjust interference of lay people in church affairs."²⁴²

Besides his involvement with the laity, Father Morelli racked up debts. Had he kept the arrangement he had rather than submit to canon and state law and incorporate Saint Joachim, he might have had to sell the property, as he could not repay the debt on

²³⁹ CMS No. 079, Box 5, folders 118-119, 128-131.

²⁴⁰ Thomas S. Preston to Corrigan, n.p., May 23, 1890, AANY microfilm roll No. 13.

²⁴¹ William O'Connor to Corrigan, New York, October 28, 1890, AANY microfilm roll No. 13.

²⁴² Vicentini to Bartolomeo Roller, New York, February 28, 1894, Francesconi II, 260-262.

schedule. He was in more serious trouble at Most Precious Blood. By September 1893, Bishop Scalabrini had lost confidence in Father Morelli's ability and told Father Vicentini that he would agree to whatever Vicentini and Archbishop Corrigan decided to do in Morelli's case.²⁴³ Archbishop Corrigan had also lost confidence in Father Morelli, and asked Father Vicentini to take over from him. Father Morelli retreated to Saint Joachim while Father Vicentini took over at Most Precious Blood and tried to figure out how deep the debts were.

There were rumors that Father Morelli had incurred his debts dishonestly. The Archdiocese of New York claimed that he had embezzled either \$14,000 or \$25,000.²⁴⁴ Father Vicentini thought that Father Morelli had taken \$4,000 of the Scalabrinians' money and spent it on Saint Joachim and/or Most Precious Blood.²⁴⁵ If circumstantial evidence means anything, more people who knew and worked with him accused Father Morelli of incompetence than of dishonesty, and if he embezzled money, it is difficult to determine what he did with it.

Father Morelli compounded his other sins of omission and commission by refusing to leave quietly, claiming he could indeed repay his debts.²⁴⁶ "I do not know how to dismiss Father Morelli," Archbishop Corrigan wrote Bishop Scalabrini. "He asks for too many things which I cannot grant him. I think that I must soon revoke my permission for him to act within the Diocese."²⁴⁷ In November 1893, Father Giuseppe Strumia arrived to succeed Father Morelli at Saint Joachim, but Father Strumia would not go to Saint Joachim until Father Morelli left. Father Morelli refused to leave because he wanted guarantees that Archbishop Corrigan would assume his debts, but Archbishop Corrigan refused to assume the debts because he did not know what Father Morelli had spent the money on.²⁴⁸

Father Morelli's difficulties at Most Precious Blood reflected badly on those who had authority over him and over the parish, Bishop Scalabrini and Archbishop Corrigan. These two had slightly different responsibilities.²⁴⁹ They met those responsibilities in different ways and their actions worsened the situation. Bishop Scalabrini's response reflected his strategy of sacrificing the present to preserve the future. He thought that since Archbishop Corrigan was more directly affected, he should make the decisions about Most Precious Blood, and he apologized profusely for the trouble Father Morelli

²⁴³ Scalabrini to Vicentini, Piacenza, September 22, 1893, *Scritti* II, 19-20.

²⁴⁴ For \$14,000 figure, see Vicentini to Scalabrini, New York, February 16, 1894, Francesconi II, 272-273; for \$25,000, see Vicentini to Scalabrini, New York, March 6, 1894, Francesconi II, page 284 in the *Italian* original. This letter did not make it into the English translation.

²⁴⁵ Vicentini to Scalabrini, New York, February 16, 1894, Francesconi II, 272-273.

²⁴⁶ Vicentini to Scalabrini, New York, February 16, 1894, Francesconi II, 272-273.

²⁴⁷ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, September 29, 1893, Francesconi II, 251-252.

²⁴⁸ Di Giovanni's dissertation concludes that Corrigan was the proper person to take responsibility for the Italians entering his archdiocese, and also that he was the most logical person, given his overall understanding of issues facing the archdiocese.

²⁴⁹ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, November 22, 1893, Francesconi II, 254.

caused.²⁵⁰ He made some effort to save the Scalabrinians' mission at Most Precious Blood, sending suggestions for how the debts might be paid and lobbying with Vatican officials for their support in keeping the Scalabrinians in the mission field.²⁵¹ He also wrote letters to the Vatican to ensure continuing support for the Scalabrinian apostolate. In late November, when the situation at Most Precious Blood became public knowledge, Mariano Cardinal Rampolla of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation wrote Bishop Scalabrini, telling him that Pope Leo XIII had heard about the problems and did not want another such failure.²⁵² Cardinal Ledóchowski also wrote the bishop about the situation. In both cases, Bishop Scalabrini responded to ensure Vatican officials saw the situation at Most Precious Blood as he did, as an isolated incident unrepresentative of the Scalabrinians' efforts.²⁵³

Archbishop Corrigan had a different personality and different responsibilities. Although Corrigan had known Father Morelli was building Most Precious Blood, he apparently had not kept up with the details. On the morning of August 29, 1893, the city newspapers enlightened him in an embarrassing way, making public that Saint Joachim's had \$2,000 in debts and Most Precious Blood \$125,000. The archbishop calculated that Saint Joachim's could pay its debt but that Most Precious Blood could not. Most Precious Blood declared bankruptcy and the court ordered its property sold so as to compensate the creditors at least partially.²⁵⁴ Archbishop Corrigan thought Father Morelli had a \$72,000 mortgage on Most Precious Blood; the mortgage holder bought the property for only \$60,000.²⁵⁵ This did settle the mortgage, but there were still other debts from the construction work on the basement.

Bishop Scalabrini held out hope that the Scalabrinians might save their mission. Why he thought this is unclear, but he had the impression that Archbishop Corrigan was planning to improve the Scalabrinians' position by giving them another parish. In November 1893, he wrote Father Vicentini that the Scalabrinians must await God's will regarding the Church of the Transfiguration.²⁵⁶ This church building, a few blocks from the unfinished basement at Most Precious Blood, was where Father Marcellino Moroni had started the Scalabrinian ministry in 1887. The secular priest at the parish during Father Moroni's tenure, Father Thomas Lynch, had given evidence of finding Italian

²⁵⁰ Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, October 22, 1893, Francesconi II, 253-254.

²⁵¹ Scalabrini to Vicentini, n.p., October 16, 1893, *Scritti* II, 20-21.

²⁵² Mariano Cardinal Rampolla Del Tindaro to Scalabrini, Rome, November 23, 1893, Francesconi II, 264.

²⁵³ Scalabrini to Rampolla, n.p., November 1893, *Scritti* II, 26-27; Scalabrini to Ledóchowski, Piacenza, February 26, 1894, *Scritti* II, 34-36.

²⁵⁴ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, August 29, 1893, Francesconi II, 250.

²⁵⁵ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, October 15, 1893, Francesconi II, 252-253; unsigned English translation of a letter to "Most Rev. Father," New York, February 2, 1894, at Imm. Con.

²⁵⁶ Scalabrini to Vicentini, Piacenza, November 22, 1893, *Scritti* II, 24. Regarding the Franciscan efforts to reclaim their mission among Italians near Transfiguration, one should also recall that a little after this, the Franciscans also succeeded the Scalabrinians at Saint Peter's, Pittsburgh. The competition to care between the two religious institutes went on in several cities in the United States.

pastoral care burdensome. However, a look around the neighborhood made it clear that the Italians (and Chinese) were increasing. Transfiguration had to change its mission, and if the secular priests would not do it, it was Bishop Scalabrini's hope that Archbishop Corrigan would give the parish to the Scalabrinians, who would.

Instead, in December 1894, Archbishop Corrigan sent a member of the chancery to tell Father Vicentini that he was closing Most Precious Blood and that the Scalabrinians could not continue their ministry at all. On December 27, Father Vicentini sent a long letter of protest. If Most Precious Blood's real problem was its poor administration, Father Morelli had been removed. If the problem was the amount of lay involvement, that could be eliminated when the Scalabrinians would reopen Most Precious Blood at a new location, where they would not take out loans from local lay leaders. If the problem was other priests' complaints that the Scalabrinians charged less than the archdiocesan minimum in stole fees (the first time this complaint had been recorded), the chancery should remember the Italians' poverty.²⁵⁷ When this long argument failed to sway the archbishop, Father Vicentini began sending a string of shorter letters, asking for a written statement that Most Precious Blood had been closed, and then asking the chancery to tie up loose ends regarding the ownership of the sacred objects in the church building and the payment of debts left unsatisfied by the auction.²⁵⁸ Archbishop Corrigan responded by presenting Father Vicentini's December 27 letter to his Diocesan Council, which voted to stick with its decision to close the parish.²⁵⁹ Insofar as church furnishings and creditors were concerned, the archbishop referred the frantic pastor to the chancery.²⁶⁰ This exchange of letters later became part of a controversy between the archbishop and Bishop Scalabrini.

What Archbishop Corrigan apparently did not tell the Scalabrinians was that the Franciscans had offered to help him meet his primary responsibility of providing pastoral care for the Italians in the Most Precious Blood area. The Franciscans had pioneered Italian pastoral care in that area, having sent friars from Saint Anthony of Padua on Sullivan Street to minister to the southern Italians meeting in the basement chapel of Transfiguration. When Father Morelli bought the land and built the basement for Most Precious Blood, some of his parishioners came from the Transfiguration congregation. The Franciscans watched and waited until the person who had sold Father Morelli the land for Most Precious Blood repurchased that land at a loss. Then they made their move.

Coincidentally, the Paulist Fathers were observing their order's most important feast day with a special celebration.²⁶¹ The Paulists had been founded in 1858 as missionaries to

²⁵⁷ Vicentini to Corrigan, New York, December 27, 1893, Francesconi II, 265-267.

²⁵⁸ Vicentini to Corrigan, n.p., n.d., January 5, 1894, January 7, 1894, and January 8, 1894, Francesconi II, 267-269, 272.

²⁵⁹ Corrigan to Vicentini, New York, January 4, 1894, Francesconi II, 271.

²⁶⁰ Corrigan to Vicentini, New York, January 8, 1894, Francesconi II, 271.

²⁶¹ Unsigned letter to "Most Rev. Father," New York, February 2, 1894, at Imm. Con.; see also Father Anacleto, O.F.M., to the Minister General of the Order of Friars Minor New York, February 2, 1894, Francesconi II, 290-291.

the United States. Their founder, Isaac Hecker, was an American-born convert, and thought that other Americans could also be converted. Their important feast day was the Conversion of Saint Paul, which falls on January 25. In 1893, the Paulists invited the Apostolic Delegate, Archbishop Francesco Satolli, to say mass at their mother church, Saint Paul the Apostle in New York City, just south of present-day Lincoln Center. The archbishop agreed, and the Paulists announced upcoming ceremonies. A delegation of Italian laity then called upon the Paulists asking to have a word with Archbishop Satolli when he came up for their mass. On the feast day, in the evening after the festivities were over, the Franciscans themselves came to see the archbishop at the Paulists' residence. Satolli read the laity's petition, which described how the Franciscans had gathered the congregation at Transfiguration, how the Scalabrinians had developed it into the parish of the Most Precious Blood, and how the parish had been closed. When after the reading Archbishop Satolli exclaimed that the Franciscans ought to have the church, the friars took this as a sign for further action and invited him to see their Italian ministry at Saint Anthony of Padua. "Then we had a beautiful function in Ch[urch,] which we filled with people," one Franciscan explained. Archbishop Satolli gave solemn Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament one evening and returned the next morning to celebrate the 8:00 a.m. mass. The apostolic delegate had to catch a 10:30 train back to Washington. The Franciscans evaluated his short visit as a success that would lead him to support the friars in their next move. Before January 30, they wrote to the chancery offering to purchase the lot and basement from its present owner and reopen Most Precious Blood. Chancery officials responded favorably on January 30, and Archbishop Corrigan himself sent his approval February 2.²⁶²

Most Precious Blood went to the Franciscans, in whose hands it remained. Transfiguration, which Bishop Scalabrini hoped to receive when Most Precious Blood closed, went to the Salesians of Don Bosco in 1902. The Salesians ran it as an Italian mission until 1950, when it became a Chinese mission. Father Morelli went on to a new life in New Jersey. In December, 1894, in one of those exceptions to the rules that could be so confusing to the local superiors, Bishop Scalabrini explained to Father Vicentini that "Morelli I permit to take a parish in Newark in which the spiritual and temporal administration depend solely on the ordinary, but I cannot absolve him from his vows, for which he depends on me personally."²⁶³ By February, 1896, Bishop Scalabrini was telling his missionaries that "Father Morelli does not belong to our congregation any longer."²⁶⁴ However, Father Morelli maintained contacts with the Scalabrinians, and they with him.

The Scalabrinians were left with two other New York parishes, Saint Joachim, and Our Lady of Pompei. Saint Joachim no longer suffered from an immediate financial crisis, but it was beginning a long border war. In January 1898, the Scalabrinian provincial superior checked into complaints that Saint Joachim's had celebrated marriages between

²⁶² Joseph E Mooney to Father Anacleto, O.F.M., New York, January 30, 1894, and Corrigan to Father Provincial, New York, February 2, 1894. Copies at Imm. Con.

²⁶³ Scalabrini to Vicentini, n.p., December 14, 1894, *Scritti* II, 49-50.

²⁶⁴ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, February 25, 1896, Francesconi II, 215-216.

English-speaking Catholics, who were supposed to receive their sacraments from the parish for English-speaking people in the neighborhood, Saint James on Oliver Street.²⁶⁵ The investigation resulted in reminders from the provincial superior to the house superiors to honor established borders.²⁶⁶ Apparently this that did not solve the problem at Saint Joachim, and the Scalabrinians replaced pastor Giuseppe Strumia, who had been there since Father Morelli's difficulties surfaced, with Oreste Alussi, and also sent a new assistant, Bartolomeo Marenchino.²⁶⁷ Soon thereafter, Father Marenchino complained that Saint Joachim's was a victim of similar border-raiding; an Italian priest stationed at Transfiguration was trying to lure the parishioners away from the Scalabrinians and toward himself.²⁶⁸

The problems at Our Lady of Pompei were more acute. In the midst of the Most Precious Blood crisis, Bishop Scalabrini alerted Archbishop Corrigan to another possible disaster: "I am still worried about Father Bandini."²⁶⁹ Like Father Morelli, Father Bandini had something of a history. Born March 31, 1852, in Forlì in the province of Romagna, he had entered the Society of Jesus September 24, 1869. He made his novitiate in Monaco and was ordained September 27, 1877, in Bertinoro, south of Forlì. The Jesuits sent him to Montana in 1882. In 1889, they recalled him to Europe to serve as vice rector of their Thomas Aquinas School in Cuneo, in the southern Piedmont. He left the Jesuits July 22, 1890, and began looking for another community that would allow him to continue in the American mission. Thus, he came in contact with the Scalabrinians, who needed someone who spoke good English for their proposed New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Emigrants, for which purpose Father Bandini landed in New York March 29, 1891. He bought a building in which to house Saint Raphael activities. He opened the Pompei chapel in 1892 and moved it to a building on Sullivan Street in 1895.²⁷⁰

Historian Edward C. Stibili has hypothesized that Father Bandini fit into the United States of his day because he was the ecclesiastical counterpart of familiar American type, a clerical entrepreneur. He was at his best on the frontier, scouting for new opportunities. Early in 1896, another new opportunity presented itself. Father Zaboglio described it to Bishop Scalabrini: "I warn Your Excellency against the tales which Father Bandini might tell you regarding the Italian colony in Arkansas which he went to visit this week I would like to know who authorized Father Bandini to become involved in the affairs of the Italian colony in Arkansas while his own parish needs all his attention."²⁷¹

²⁶⁵ Gambera to Corrigan, Boston, January 14, 1898, AANY microfilm roll No. 20.

²⁶⁶ Gambera to Corrigan, Boston, January 10, 1898, AANY microfilm roll No. 20.

²⁶⁷ Gambera to Corrigan, Boston, March 9, 1898, AANY microfilm roll No. 20.

²⁶⁸ Bartolomeo Marenchino to Corrigan, New York, February 23, 1900, AANY microfilm roll No. 1.

²⁶⁹ Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, August 9, 1893, Francesconi II, 251.

²⁷⁰ Mary Elizabeth Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village: Our Lady of Pompei, 1892-1992* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992), 13, 20.

²⁷¹ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, January 12, 1896, Francesconi II, 213-215.

The Italian colony in Arkansas was not a Scalabrinian project. It was the project of Mr. Austin Corbin, a wealthy investor who had purchased land at Sunnyside, Arkansas. The land around there was usually devoted to cotton, and Mr. Corbin intended to continue that practice. However, he wished to change the usual laborers. Normally, plantation owners used African Americans who worked on a sharecropper basis. Mr. Corbin intended to replace blacks with whites. He contacted Prince Emmanuel Ruspoli, who owned estates in the Marches region of Italy which was also farmed by sharecroppers. Together these two men talked the Italians into trying their luck in Arkansas. In order to do that, they had to promise them some of the amenities of Italy, including access to religious services. That is where Father Bandini came in.

Father Zaboglio was determined to avoid a repeat of the situation at Most Precious Blood. He alerted Bishop Scalabrini to the problems as soon as he heard about them. "Pay attention, Excellency, to what I am about to write — I call your special attention to my words, so that no one might say one day that I have not sounded the alarm. We are in danger of a new catastrophe—the church on Sullivan Street is crushed by enormous debts. This is certain, and Father Bandini is trying to wash his hands of it."²⁷²

As usual, Bishop Scalabrini focused on future goals, and thus was disinclined to worry too much about Pompei. "Father Bandini has terminated his five-year period and is free," he wrote Father Zaboglio. "I never did like his way of doing things." Regarding the parish, "I am of the opinion that we should not accept Bandini's church with its debts. Let the archbishop give it to someone he trusts, as he says in the letter I am enclosing for your information. We have no priests, my dear father."²⁷³

Father Zaboglio's colleagues in the United States had come to the same conclusion.²⁷⁴ However, when Father Zaboglio tried to tell archdiocesan officials of the Scalabrinians' decision, they countered with another offer. Perhaps instead of renting the Sullivan Street building, the Scalabrinians could purchase another, less expensive building. Chancery officials had just the building in mind. In 1883, the archdiocese had opened a parish, Saint Benedict the Moor, for African American Roman Catholics, at a former Unitarian Universalist church at 210 Bleecker Street, southwest of Washington Square Park in Greenwich Village. By 1896, the black community was moving to a new neighborhood, and Saint Benedict the Moor was being relocated to a new address at West 53rd Street. Maybe the board of trustees of Saint Benedict the Moor could sell its property to the board of trustees of Our Lady of Pompei.²⁷⁵

Bishop Scalabrini still said no, but again the peculiarities of individuals played a role. Father Zaboglio realized that to refuse to keep Pompei might ruin the Scalabrinians' already damaged reputation in New York, and rather than obey his superior general, he did what he could to hold onto the parish. First, he called upon divine assistance. He telegraphed Bartolo Longo, a pious attorney who had built a shrine to Our Lady of the

²⁷² Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, January 23, 1896, Francesconi II, 215.

²⁷³ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, February 25, 1896, Francesconi II, 215-216.

²⁷⁴ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, March 13, 1896, Francesconi II, 216-217.

²⁷⁵ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, April 12, 1896, Francesconi II, 219.

Rosary at Pompei, Italy. He explained that in New York City stood an Italian parish named in honor of this shrine and requested a novena to ask the Blessed Mother to come to the aid of her parish. Second, he took the train to Washington to see Archbishop Satolli and explained why the Scalabrinians could not accept Pompei, so as to forestall New York's applying pressure through Rome.

Father Zaboglio had to return to New York to attend a meeting with archdiocesan officials. He was not looking forward to it, for he would be telling them something he did not want to say and they did not want to hear. The pressures of time and poverty further burdened his mind; he had to rush to catch the train back from Washington to New York, then make his way by public transportation or on foot from the depot to Pompei's rectory. It could not have improved his state of mind to find he had a guest. It was Annie Leary, a single Catholic heiress who was using her inheritance on various charities. She had become interested in Our Lady of Pompei when Father Bandini was there; it is not clear what errand brought her to Pompei's rectory that day. Noticing Father Zaboglio was out of sorts, she asked him what was wrong and got a longer answer than she had bargained for. The result was Miss Leary accompanied him to his meeting at the chancery where, instead of telling the officials the Scalabrinians could not possibly accept responsibility for Pompei, Father Zaboglio found himself accepting Leary's help in paying the debts. Looking back on it, Father Zaboglio decided it was an example of the power of prayer.²⁷⁶

With a renewed spirit, Father Zaboglio accepted the position of pastor of Pompei himself. From May 1896, to July, 1897, he made quiet, steady progress bringing order to the parish. He found Miss Leary's financial assistance invaluable. "If it had not been for her," he wrote Bishop Scalabrini, "our church. . . would have closed."²⁷⁷

Then came the accident. On July 14, 1897, Father Zaboglio and two laymen, sexton Samuel Vicentini, and Saint Raphael Society agent Francesco Isola, caught the odor of gas coming from the basement of the church on Sullivan Street. The three descended to investigate. It was dark, one of them lit a match, and the resulting explosion killed Messrs. Vicentini and Isola and left Father Zaboglio's life in danger for months.²⁷⁸

Father Zaboglio did recover, and lived until 1911, but his recuperation was so slow that at least one person feared it was nonexistent and took a step toward replacing him. At the time of the explosion, the Scalabrinians' U.S. superior was the pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston, Father Giacomo Gambera. On September 29, 1897, Father Gambera got a new assistant from Piacenza. After assessing both Father Zaboglio's condition and the new assistant's ability, Father Gambera transferred the assistant to Pompei. While Father Zaboglio kept the title of pastor, Father Antonio Demo assumed the burden of the day-to-day work beginning January 6, 1899.²⁷⁹ Father Demo left so fast he did not have time to

²⁷⁶ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Haven, Easter Eve, 1896, and May 7, 1896, Francesco II, 217-221.

²⁷⁷ Di Giovanni, "Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Italian Immigrants," 373.

²⁷⁸ Brown, *From Italian Villages*, 22.

²⁷⁹ Gambera to Antonio Demo, Boston, January 6, 1899, CMS No. 037, Box 7, Folder 62. For date of Demo's arrival in Boston, see Scalabrini to Ledóchowski, Piacenza, January 23, 1898, *Scritti* II, 117-118.

pack, and even left his introductory textbook on English grammar behind him in Boston.²⁸⁰ On July 19, 1899, Father Gambera gave up his hope that Father Zaboglio would recover, and appointed Father Demo pastor of Pompei.²⁸¹ This sudden appointment shaped Scalabrinian history in North America for the first third of the twentieth century.

Mention has not even been made of the problems of Father Morelli's hospital, his seminary plans, or the Saint Raphael Society; these topics will be taken up in the chapter on specialized ministries. The point here is that if Archbishop Corrigan ever planned to use the Scalabrinians to provide the bulk of pastoral care for Italians, he ceased doing so as early as 1891. The Jesuits opened Our Lady of Loreto that year. Mention has already been made of the Franciscans' reclamation of the parish of Most Precious Blood in 1894. The Salesians arrived in 1898; they eventually had two parishes in New York; the aforementioned Transfiguration and Mary, Help of Christians, which they opened in 1912. An Italian-speaking Irish American secular priest, Daniel Burke, opened Saint Philip Neri in 1898, thus bringing pastoral care to the Italians in the North Bronx. Carlo Ferina, an Italian migrant secular priest, performed the same service for the South Bronx by founding Saint Rita of Cascia in 1900. Italian Pallottine sisters came to assist the male branch of that community, and the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart developed nonparochial institutions for Italian pastoral care. Archbishop Corrigan also developed a chancery-level position to exercise some control over these many Italian ministries. Gherardo Ferrante was born in Frosinone in 1853. He received his law degree from the Roman Pontifical University and was also ordained to the priesthood. Archbishop Corrigan brought him to New York in 1891, where he became Monsignor Ferrante.²⁸² He spent the rest of his life in the New York chancery. His first title was Italian Secretary, which meant he translated writings to and from Italian for the archbishop. (Archbishop Corrigan had trained at the North American College in Rome and could read but not write Italian.) He also supervised affairs in Italian parishes and managed the temporal interests of Italian sisters.

This narrative of the Scalabrinians' problems in New York between 1893 and 1899 emphasized the impact of human nature: Father Morelli's ineffective administration, Father Bandini's restlessness, Bishop Scalabrini's willingness to overlook present difficulties to achieve future goals, and Father Zaboglio's unwillingness to do the same. Perhaps the sort of personalities Archbishop Corrigan encountered were enough to lead him to distrust the Scalabrinians as the sole providers of Italian pastoral care in the archdiocese. Reading through the letters available and juxtaposing those letters with other events in the archdiocese at the time, indicates that forces the Scalabrinians had no control over also shaped their reception in New York: the McGlynn case, the naming of an apostolic delegate for the United States, Cahenslyism, and Americanism.

²⁸⁰ Stefano Franco to Demo, Boston, August 8, 1899, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo, Father Franco Folder

²⁸¹ Gambera to Demo, Boston, July 19, 1899, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 62.

²⁸² "La Guida del Clero Italiano di New York," *Il Carroccio* II (December, 1915), 76-77.

Edward McGlynn had been an issue in New York before the Scalabrinians were formed. The American-born son of Irish parents, he had the kind of education that, given another personality, might have prepared him for a career in the Catholic hierarchy. He attended the Urban College in Rome and in his fourth year there he became prefect for the undergraduates at the new North American College; Michael Augustine Corrigan was one of his students. In 1865 Cardinal McCloskey appointed Father McGlynn pastor of Saint Stephen's on East 29th Street. Within a few years, the parish was a showplace of pastoral advocacy on behalf of the less fortunate. From there Father McGlynn entered into reform politics. He was involved in Irish Land League activities in the late 1870s. His most important confrontation with Archbishop Corrigan began when he endorsed Henry George for mayor in 1886. Besides his feeling that priests should not take leading roles in politics, the archbishop had specific objections to George's proposal for a tax on the market value of real estate (the proceedings from which George claimed would be so great as to eliminate the need for other taxes that burdened the poor; hence George's plan was often called the "single tax"). Archbishop Corrigan told Father McGlynn not to publicly support George, suspended him when he persisted, and, after consulting with the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, excommunicated him, effective July 1, 1887.²⁸³

Archbishop Corrigan first mentioned Father McGlynn to Bishop Scalabrini in 1890, when the latter was trying to get him to visit during his *ad limina* trip. The bishop sent his invitation, and the archbishop replied he was still in Rome dealing with problems caused by an unnamed rebellious priest and his suspension.²⁸⁴ In 1891, when Bishop Scalabrini repeated some kind words he heard about Archbishop Corrigan in Rome, the latter replied that generally Rome was good to him, except it was too slow to act against the rebellious priests and laity in his archdiocese.²⁸⁵

More precisely, Rome was attending to the rebellious priests and laity in New York, though not in the way Archbishop Corrigan would have wished. Pope Leo XIII asked his apostolic delegate in the United States to investigate the matter. Archbishop Satolli did so, and on December 23, 1892, restored Father McGlynn to full communion. However, he could not restore him to the active ministry, as Archbishop Corrigan declined to give him an assignment. In fact, the archbishop refused even to meet with the restored priest until December 21, 1894, when Archbishop Satolli finally prevailed upon him to appoint Father McGlynn to a parish. Even then, Archbishop Corrigan sent McGlynn to a place the priests' confreres considered undesirable, to Saint Mary's in Newburgh, upstate and out of the way.

Portions of the McGlynn affair overlapped with the sale of Most Precious Blood, and both incidents show how Archbishop Corrigan's administrative methods contrasted with Bishop Scalabrini's. Rather than enter into relationships with people and try to win them

²⁸³ Robert Emmett Curran, S.J., *Michael Augustine Corrigan and the Shaping of Conservative Catholicism in America, 1878-1902* (New York: Arno, 1978).

²⁸⁴ Corrigan to Scalabrini, Rome, June 27, 1890, Francesconi II, 240-241.

²⁸⁵ Corrigan to Scalabrini, n.p., n.d., Francesconi II, 246-247.

over, Archbishop Corrigan took unilateral action. One may argue that he had both the right and the duty; he was the archbishop and responsible for the smooth running of the archdiocese. Nevertheless, his methods came across as arbitrary, the sort of tactics used with uncooperative subordinates rather than with reasonable people of good will. Father Domenico Vicentini noticed the similar lack of consultation at Most Precious Blood. While in the midst of the bankruptcy sale, he beseeched Archbishop Corrigan: "I beg Your Excellency to let me know very clearly and frankly your wish, and I assure you that you will never find in me (and I hope also in my confreres) either a McGlynn or a Burtzell or a Father Corrigan, or others of the same grain."²⁸⁶

Archbishop Satolli, the apostolic delegate who reconciled Father McGlynn to the Catholic Church, posed a second problem. The United States had not had an apostolic delegate before. The Vatican had long wanted one, and some American presidents had no objection, but evangelical Protestants objected to diplomatic representation from Rome. By the early 1880s, the Vatican was interested in establishing some sort of regular diplomatic channels, partly to develop a system for investigating the charges of episcopal abuse of power which the American clergy regularly sent to Rome and partly as part of a larger effort to open communications with the liberal republican forms of government becoming increasingly common in the world.²⁸⁷ The Vatican tested American acceptance of its initiative by sending Archbishop Satolli as its representative to the centennial commemoration of the American hierarchy and the opening of Catholic University, both of which took place in 1889. In 1892, Pope Leo XIII sent Archbishop Satolli again, first to conduct a collection of rare Renaissance-era maps which the Vatican lent to that year's Chicago celebration of the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's voyage, and second to become the first apostolic delegate to the United States.

The American hierarchy was suspicious of the delegate. According to Bishop Scalabrini, Archbishop Satolli further upset them by reconciling Father McGlynn, thus intruding on local ordinaries' prerogatives.²⁸⁸ Historian Stephen Michael Di Giovanni added another charge: that Archbishop Satolli meddled in American pastoral care of Italian migrants, disrupting the plans of those who best knew the local situation and its requirements.²⁸⁹ The Scalabrinians had been touched by Archbishop Satolli's interference; Father Zaboglio accused Archbishop Satolli of encouraging Father Bandini to go to Arkansas.²⁹⁰ (There is no evidence the Scalabrinians knew how the Franciscans used the apostolic delegate to regain Most Precious Blood.)

The apostolic delegation touched the Scalabrinians in another way. According to Bishop Scalabrini, "some American priests consider the Saint Charles missionaries in New

²⁸⁶ Vicentini to Corrigan, New York, November 4, 1893, Francesconi II, 262-264. Richard Burtzell and John Corrigan were among Father McGlynn's closest clerical friends.

²⁸⁷ Robert J. Wister, "The First Apostolic Delegation," *U.S. Catholic Historian* XII:2 (Spring 1994), 27-45.

²⁸⁸ Scalabrini to Ledóchowski, Piacenza, March 5, 1894, *Scritti* II, 36-37.

²⁸⁹ Stephen M. Di Giovanni, "The Apostolic Delegation and Immigration, 1892-1896," *U.S. Catholic Historian* XII:2 (Spring 1994), 47-68.

²⁹⁰ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New York, September 4, 1896, Francesconi II, 223-224.

York as spies of the Holy See and as an active part of the Apostolic Delegation." The bishop got this information from a party of laity who had visited him regarding the situation at Most Precious Blood. To him, it explained much: "Hence, the reaction of the curia, which sought to take revenge against the Italian priests whom the American priests considered imposed on them."²⁹¹ Unfortunately, this seems to have been gossip that seldom found its way onto paper. Historians have found numerous examples of secular priests complaining about Italian priests, though the complaints tend to be imprecise, a denunciation of a bad priest rather than a specific accusation. Father Thomas Lynch, pastor of Transfiguration, a few blocks from Most Precious Blood, had more to say specifically about the Scalabrinians, but he never levelled a charge of espionage.

A third force external to the Scalabrinians' ministry but important to it was a trend in Catholic social and intellectual life in the 1890s. Its first manifestation was the Lucerne Memorial of 1890-1891. The document is called the Lucerne Memorial because it was drafted at a meeting in Lucerne, Switzerland, December 9-10, 1890. Those in attendance were representatives of various national Saint Raphael societies. The two most important here were Peter Paul Cahensly, the pioneer who founded the German Saint Raphael Society, and Marquis Giovanni Battista Volpe-Landi, an Italian noble layman who collaborated with Bishop Scalabrini in founding the Italian Saint Raphael Society. It was Volpe-Landi and Bishop Scalabrini who prepared the draft which became the basis for discussion at the second day of the meeting and ultimately for the memorial itself. The meeting time was devoted into turning this draft into a document making suggestions for migrant pastoral care suitable for submission to the papacy. The actual audience with Pope Leo XIII was scheduled for April 16, 1891, and both Marquis Volpe -Landi and Herr Cahensly were supposed to present the memorial. The marquis had to go home because of an illness in his family, and Cahensly presented the memorial by himself. Thus, the ideology behind the petitions became known as Cahenslyism.

The proposals outlined the Saint Raphael movement leadership's idea for pastoral care of European Catholics relocated to the United States. They called for 1) national parishes; 2) priests of the same nationality as the parishioners; 3) arrangements for national groups too small to support their own parishes; 4) parochial schools in national parishes; 5) equal status for clergy of national and territorial parishes; 6) Catholic social organizations to dispense charity, encourage sociability, and offset Protestant or secular organizations; 7) the appointment of bishops along national lines (that is, if there were many people from a certain country settled in the United States, someone of that same background ought to be elevated to the episcopacy; and 8) seminaries and Saint Raphael societies for the various nationalities.²⁹²

Pope Leo XIII refused to act on any of these suggestions. Many American bishops had already acted on some of them, erecting national parishes complete with parochial schools, priests and sisters who spoke the requisite languages, and Catholic organizations for the laity. Nevertheless, the American bishops reacted with alarm bordering on anger

²⁹¹ Scalabrini to Ledóchowski, Piacenza, February 26, 1894, Francesconi II, 274-275.

²⁹² John Tracy Ellis, *The Documents of American Catholic History* (Milwaukee: Bruce, 1956), 496-499.

to the Lucerne Memorial, particularly the call for choosing bishops along national lines. As Archbishop Corrigan explained to Bishop Scalabrini:

The question of United States immigration can only be resolved within the context of American inclination and life. One must live at least a few years in America in order to understand what might elude a traveler's superficial judgment. A nation cannot be studied in a month. The American people progress in Catholicism as they progress in freedom, but when they enter a church, they do not discard their idea of national independence. The American Episcopate must preserve religion from such a spirit of independence as might cause untold damage to it. Such a people cannot submit themselves to a foreign bishop.²⁹³

If one defines Cahenslyism as a call for greater respect for the various national identities within Catholicism, one sees the possibility for a kind a homegrown American Cahenslyism dedicated to calling for greater respect for the American Catholic identity. As the furor over Cahenslyism declined, the question of Americanism took its place. No one gave any speech or issued any document defining Americanism in the way the Lucerne Memorial defined Cahenslyism, but historians have identified elements of it in various speeches, sermons, and printed works. In Europe, rumors flew that Americans advocated greater respect for the natural virtues apart from the supernatural gifts of grace, that they valued the individual's attention to and response to the Holy Spirit above the traditional virtue of obedience to spiritual advisors, and that they wanted the world to adopt their system of separating church and state. There were, though, two differences between the respect for national customs which the Lucerne Memorial advocated and the respect for their national identity Americans called for that led Pope Leo XIII to take greater action than he had with the Lucerne petition. Cahensly's birthplace, albeit it was also the cradle of the Protestant Reformation, had a Catholic history; Leo XIII, like most people, thought of U.S. history and culture as being shaped largely by Protestants and secular humanists. Also, laity led the Saint Raphael movement. When priests, bishops and archbishops championed a distinctly American Catholicism, that called for greater papal action. Leo XIII's action took the form of papal letters, *Longinque Oceani* (January 6, 1895) and *Testem Benevolentiae* (January 22, 1899), which subordinated American manifestations of faith to the overarching unity of Roman-centered Catholicism.

Scholars generally agree Archbishop Corrigan was no Americanist. What is significant here is that his lack of support for Americanism did not put him in the camp of its seeming opposite, Cahenslyism. And he knew that Bishop Scalabrini, for all his irenic disinclination to argue, did advocate Cahensly-like pastoral work to preserve migrants' language and culture.

The situations at Saint Joachim, Most Precious Blood, and Our Lady of Pompei (and at Father Morelli's hospital and the Saint Raphael Society), the pressures on Archbishop Corrigan from the McGlynn affair and the appointment of an apostolic delegate who interfered in his archdiocese, and the basic difference between the two in matters concerning the pastoral care of migrants led to an unfortunate misunderstanding between Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop Scalabrini. The distance between them and the communications technology of their day meant that problems between the two began as

²⁹³ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, August 31, 1891, Francesconi II, 247-249.

soon as the Scalabrinian mission did. It took Bishop Scalabrini until 1889 to discover and write Archbishop Corrigan about a potential problem at Saint Joachim's: was the chancery holding onto money collected for an Italian parish prior to the Scalabrinians arrival?²⁹⁴ By then, Archbishop Corrigan had released the money.²⁹⁵

The real conflict came when Archbishop Corrigan closed Most Precious Blood out from under the Scalabrinians, Father Vicentini protested, and the archbishop reiterated that the Diocesan Council's decision stood. Bishop Scalabrini went on the offensive:

Having carefully read Father Vicentini's letters sent to you on December 27, 1893, and January 2, 1894, your wicked action and injustice are evident. A documented history of the truly disloyal ways with which this affair has been treated would undoubtedly project a sinister shadow on its authors, all the more so if this action were compared with the letters Your Excellency sent me during these past years, in which, highly praising the work of my missionaries, you stated that you would always support and protect them. And you confirmed this later verbally, knowing that I always worried about Father Morelli's risky enterprises. The latest phase of the sad drama, let me say it clearly, is more worthy of the merchants of the British Council than of the episcopal council. In fact, the closing of a church is ordered, sacred rights are violated, a promise is given to pay all debts (including those contracted by the Italians), a superior without means is induced by false promises to take upon himself a debt made for the church and, once the goal is reached, he is sent from Herod to Pilate. The former almost sneers at his request, the latter washes his hands of it! Where do we find ourselves, dear Monsignor? A Masonic lodge could not have done worse.²⁹⁶

At Most Precious Blood, Archbishop Corrigan had transferred the work of the parish from the Scalabrinians to the Franciscans without written notice and apparently without verbal communication. In the McGlynn affair, he had similarly taken action regarding his subordinates. When it came to his colleague in Piacenza, a different approach was necessary, and this time Archbishop Corrigan justified his actions:

Allow me to say, Excellency, that I never promised, to remedy everything.' How can I, for example, pledge myself to pay the debts on the church on Baxter Street which alone amounts to six hundred thousand lire?

If Your Excellency thinks that it would be better to remove the missionaries from here and send them where their financial difficulties would not be so bad, perhaps this would be the best solution. Meanwhile, I have entrusted the Church of the Most Precious Blood to other priests who know more about finances.

The difficulties of the Church of Saint Joachim are almost beyond repair. For the Home of St. Raphael, I see no other solution than to give it to some Americans to administer.

I have done for the Italians more than I have for any other group and this is the thanks I get.²⁹⁷

Bishop Scalabrini waited, and then did not approach Archbishop Corrigan directly. Rather, he told his provincial superior: "I have already told you that I regret very much to have annoyed the archbishop, for whom I have great affection and veneration. . . Tell him

²⁹⁴ Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, April 13, 1889, *Scritti* I, 242-243.

²⁹⁵ Corrigan to Scalabrini, Newburgh, May 8, 1889, Francesconi II, 237-238.

²⁹⁶ Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, February 5, 1894, Francesconi II, 254-256.

²⁹⁷ Corrigan to Scalabrini, Saint Leone, Florida, February 22, 1894, Francesconi II, 256-257.

that I take back any word that may have offended him and that it was not directed to his venerable person, but to the method by which I thought his officials were treating our cause."²⁹⁸

The quarrel in distant New York had reached Propaganda in February 1894, when Cardinal Ledóchowski asked Bishop Scalabrini if he had any objections to the Franciscans taking Most Precious Blood.²⁹⁹ The bishop did, and the cardinal began an investigation into the whole affair. In May 1894, he sent his results to the two ordinaries involved. He reprimanded Bishop Scalabrini, "I must therefore conclude that the Saint Charles missionaries cannot claim any right to the Baxter Street church that has been given to the Franciscans. To my regret I must therefore conclude that the expressions used by Your Lordship regarding the Archbishop of New York and his curia are without foundation."³⁰⁰ And he praised Archbishop Corrigan: "I cannot hide from Your Excellency my pleasure in reading the mild and benign expressions you have used for those who, perhaps due to overly lively fantasies, had not properly evaluated their own expressions."³⁰¹

Relations between the two ordinaries resumed slowly. As their missions emerged from their crises and their work became more routine, the Scalabrinians relied less on communication between Bishop Scalabrini and Archbishop Corrigan and more on relations between local superiors and lesser chancery officials. However, when Father Zaboglio was hurt in the gas explosion, Bishop Scalabrini had to write Archbishop Corrigan, and he included these lines: "Despite the passing of some small clouds on our sky, I am sure that Your Excellency's noble soul is still the same as before, just as mine is."³⁰² Archbishop Corrigan replied in a similar vein: "Your Excellency makes allusion to some small clouds which have passed over us, but believe me, I am as I was before. They did not, as far as I am concerned, obscure our sky."³⁰³

Why repeat the long story of Scalabrinian affairs in New York, even if it does have a relatively happy ending? Partly because it has been told before, from other analytical angles. Alba Zizzamia has already emphasized the growth, the "vision unfolding" that outweighed the loss of Most Precious Blood or the setbacks at Saint Joachim or Pompei. Bishop Scalabrini's vision, though, did not unfold freely into an empty plane. It took shape not just from the bishop's intentions but from the force of other personalities and of the situation in the mission field. Similarly, Stephen Michael Di Giovanni has focused on Archbishop Corrigan as the key figure in determining the structure of Italian pastoral care in his archdiocese. Like Bishop Scalabrini's vision, Archbishop Corrigan's did not unfold unhindered. Whatever his ideals in Italian pastoral care, he had to work with the situation at hand, with the Italian laity and their cultural background, with the priests

²⁹⁸ Scalabrini to Vicentini, n.p., May 4, 1894, Francesconi II, 282-283.

²⁹⁹ Ledóchowski to Scalabrini, Rome, February 23, 1894, Francesconi II, 273.

³⁰⁰ Ledóchowski to Scalabrini, Rome, May 17, 1894, Francesconi II, 280-281.

³⁰¹ Ledóchowski to Corrigan, Rome, May 17, 1894, Francesconi II, 280.

³⁰² Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, August 17, 1897, Francesconi II, 256.

³⁰³ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, October 1, 1897, Francesconi II, 257-258.

and sisters he had available, and with the economic resources he could command. He had to fit Italian pastoral care into other issues facing his archdiocese, and American Catholicism as a whole, in the 1890s.

Another reason to go through the story is that in it are several new features of the Scalabrinian mission. Bishop Scalabrini's priority was preserving the possibility for a comprehensive system of Italian pastoral care. Giving up a particular mission such as Most Precious Blood, freed him to try again at a more propitious time. The missionaries in the field though - Father Zaboglio, who stepped in to save Pompei, Father Gambera, who sent Father Demo to cover for Father Zaboglio's ill health - began to make it a priority to hold onto the missions they had. Although Bishop Scalabrini continued as superior general, and continued to take his responsibilities seriously, his missionaries were developing their ability to act not only independently but also effectively.

By the late 1890s, the Scalabrinians had grown more accustomed to their American environment. They had learned more about setting their missions on firm foundations, and they had learned to complement their founder's vision with action to maintain their missions. They had narrowed Bishop Scalabrini's vision from a broad-based migrant apostolate to an effort to preserve the Scalabrinians themselves and their parishes, but this narrow focus laid the foundations for the survival of the religious institute and its various missions.

The Scalabrinians were ready for another growth spurt in the late 1890s and early 1900s. Yet, their future was not entirely sunny, and at least some of them were beginning to prefer caution and conservation to boldly proceeding with their mission and perhaps losing it all. In 1894, a worried Father Vicentini passed along a bit of New York gossip to Bishop Scalabrini:

Yesterday one of the Pallottine Fathers, who have several homes here, told me that the Holy See has ruled that a Visitor residing in Rome will supervise them, and that, therefore, their superior general cannot dispose of the priests here and change them around without the permission of the visitor, who is a Passionist and very strict. I wouldn't want anything of the sort to happen to us some day.³⁰⁴

³⁰⁴ Vicentini to Scalabrini, New York, May 4, 1894, Francesconi II, 279.



4

Expanding Visions

The decade between 1895 and 1905 was a period of transition for the Scalabrinians and for their leader. For Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, it was a time of transition in his vision of what his institute should be. The crises of the early 1890s did not shake Bishop Scalabrini's plans. If anything, he expanded them. His vision for pastoral care became more comprehensive, as he began to promote bilingual parochial schools. He also began to think of his work with Italian migrants as a model for the pastoral care of all migrants.

For the missionaries in the field, the turn of the century was a time of transition in institutional life and in leadership. The missionaries had now put years of effort into establishing parishes. They still had to contend with perpetual shortages of clergy and money, but they could no longer follow Bishop Scalabrini's tendency to withdraw from difficulties; they had committed too much to turn back. Their years of commitment and experience became a new source of authority for them, equivalent to the authority of Bishop Scalabrini's vision. Indeed, when Bishop Scalabrini visited his U.S. missionaries in 1901, there was a confrontation between vision and experience, a confrontation made all the more poignant because it was Giacomo Gambera, who was doing so much to foster Bishop Scalabrini's vision at the Saint Raphael Society, who did so much to frustrate that vision in other areas. When Bishop Scalabrini died few years later, experience became the missionaries' only authority.

Bishop Scalabrini had been thinking of visiting his missionaries at least since 1893. Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan knew of his plans. When describing for the bishop just how bad the situation at Most Precious Blood was, he added, "Because of this I would be happy and grateful if you would pursue your forthcoming visit to the United States."³⁰⁵ Several years later, in the wake of crises at Most Precious Blood, Saint Joachim and Our Lady of Pompei, the trip was still in the planning stage. "To tell the truth," Bishop Scalabrini wrote Mieczyslaw Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski, "The missionaries who find themselves in South America satisfy me; not so those who find themselves in North America. I have, therefore, in mind to bring myself there," to investigate local conditions

³⁰⁵ Michael Augustine Corrigan to Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, New York, August 29, 1893, *The Scalabrini Fathers in North America, 1888-1895*, volume II, trans. Joseph Zappulla (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1983), 250. Hereafter, Francesconi II.

and to encourage the missionaries to better work.³⁰⁶ The next year, though, Bishop Scalabrini was still in Piacenza, still planning to come to the United States.³⁰⁷

Why delay the trip? Chapter three mentioned the American hierarchy's doubts about the arrival of the first apostolate delegate, and the rumors the Scalabrinians spied for the new delegate. Bishop Scalabrini's hesitation to visit the United States was another manifestation of the same underlying problem. The bishop knew from experience American prelates guarded their prerogatives. He declined to take a trip that could be construed as an investigation of his episcopal colleagues. It was Father Giacomo Gambera who broke the impasse. During his tenure as provincial superior he sounded out various American ordinaries as to their willingness to receive Bishop Scalabrini. In 1900 he carried a number of favorable responses with him to Italy to arrange for the bishop's forthcoming trip.³⁰⁸

Father Gambera's arrival in Europe coincided with a tragedy. On July 30, Gaetano Bresci, an Italian-born anarchist who had made a home in Paterson, New Jersey, assassinated King Umberto I. The public in Europe and America reacted with shock but not surprise. Europeans knew Italy had an active anarchist circle; an Italian anarchist had in 1894 assassinated the French prime minister.³⁰⁹ Americans had already developed the stereotype of the violent foreign-born radical. The assassination, and the stereotypes associated with it, haunted Bishop Scalabrini's American trip. When the bishop sent Father Gambera to Viscount Venosta, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to discuss the Saint Raphael Society, he apologized that the turmoil over the assassination had delayed his writing.³¹⁰ Seven months later, when he received the news of the unexpected death of a Brazilian missionary, Bishop Scalabrini fretted: "I don't know the manner of death but I believe and hope it was not by an assassin, as they say."³¹¹

Bishop Scalabrini's trip began with a short journey to Rome to confer with Pope Leo XIII and to receive his blessing. He then went to Genoa, where, on July 18, 1901, he and his body servant, Carlo Spallazi, boarded the *Liguria*, a steamship the passengers of which included Italian migrants in steerage, to whom the bishop ministered during the voyage. Fifteen days after embarkation, the ship arrived in New York Harbor. Ellis Island processed for admission only steerage passengers. Federal officials either boarded ships to clear for admission first- and second-class passengers or saw these passengers at a

³⁰⁶ Scalabrini to Miescyslaw Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski, Piacenza, December 17, 1897, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, *Scritti*, 14 vols. (Rome: Congregazione Scalabriniana, 1980) volume II, 112. Hereafter *Scritti*.

³⁰⁷ Scalabrini to Francesco Zaboglio, Piacenza, June 2, 1898, *Scritti* II, 122-123.

³⁰⁸ Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 123.

³⁰⁹ Nunzio Pernicone, untitled essay, in Rudolph J. Vecoli, ed., *Italian American Radicalism: Old World Origins and New World Developments: Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association...* 1972 (New York: American Italian Historical Association, n.d.), 1-29.

³¹⁰ Scalabrini to Visconte Venosta, n.p., August 1900, *Scritti* II, 185.

³¹¹ Scalabrini to Senator F. Lambertico, n.p., February, 1901, *Scritti* II, 193.

quarantine station. They saw Bishop Scalabrini at the quarantine center and assured themselves he was legally permitted to enter the United States.

On the morning of August 3, a harbor steamed named *George Starr* picked up Bishop Scalabrini at quarantine. Aboard ship, a small delegation tendered welcomes. The stars of the show were a little girl named Katie Repetti and a small boy identified only as Molinelli. Both youngsters addressed the bishop in English. In keeping with his conviction as to the importance of preserving the migrants' home languages, the bishop replied that while he understood English, he would use Italian, since so many people in the entourage were Italian speakers. This reply also prevented embarrassment on all sides; the reality was that while Bishop Scalabrini understood spoken English but could not speak it himself; he relied on Giacomo Gambera to translate for him while he was in the northeast, and on Francesco Beccherini to translate in the Midwest. The *George Starr* ferried the party to the pier at the foot of West 24th Street on the Hudson River side of Manhattan. There, a larger party awaited them. The local newspapers mangled their names, but it is possible to make out Gherardo Ferrante of the Archdiocese of New York's chancery, Oreste Alussi of Saint Joachim's, Francesco Beccherini of Saint Francis in Detroit, Paolo Novati of Holy Ghost in Providence, Pacifico Chenuil of Saint Anthony's in Buffalo, Bartolomeo Marenchino of Saint Michael's in New Haven, Giacomo Gambera of Sacred Heart in Boston, and Antonio Demo, Riccardo Lorenzoni and Carlo Delbecchi, then pastor and assistants at Our Lady of Pompei in New York. A number of *prominenti* were also there. This enlarged party climbed into horse-drawn carriages for a kind of procession from West 24th Street and the Hudson River diagonally across Manhattan to Saint Joachim's on Roosevelt Street, near the East River.³¹² At Saint Joachim's there were more people, and the church itself was decorated with what Bishop Scalabrini described to his secretary, Camille Mangot, as "little multicolored flags." Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan of New York called. Later that day, Bishop Scalabrini returned the call at the archbishop's home on Madison Avenue and 50th Street, a world away from the congested tenements full of the immigrant working class that surrounded Saint Joachim's. The two prelates went for a carriage drive; the newspapers mentioned a ride through Central Park but what Bishop Scalabrini remembered was the "colossal metropolis" and the superb Gothic cathedral, Saint Patrick's on Fifth Avenue between 50th and 51st streets. When they returned to this cathedral from their ride, Bishop Scalabrini celebrated vespers with Archbishop Corrigan and Bishop Charles E. McDonnell of Brooklyn, who, when he was on Archbishop Corrigan's staff had visited Piacenza in search of Italian-speaking priests for New York. Then the bishop returned to Saint Joachim's for the evening. Somehow during the day, he also found time to preside over the marriage of two *piacentini*, relocated to New York: Angelo Alpi, whose family owned an artificial-flower manufacturing concern, and Della Martinelli.

³¹² *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, August 3, 1901, and *The New York Times*, August 4, 1901, Andrew Brizzolara, "The Visit of Bishop John Baptist Scalabrini to the United States and Its Effect on the Image of Italian Immigrants as Reflected in the American Press of 1901" (M.A. Thesis, Hunter College, City University of New York, 1986) 124, 128.

Sunday was no day of rest. Even though he was still acclimating himself to the "pitiless heat" of summertime in the tenement district of Manhattan, Bishop Scalabrini celebrated mass, during which he preached, and also addressed the youngsters whom the Scalabrinian lay catechist and the sisters assembled for the children's mass. At one he dined with Archbishop Corrigan. He was back at Saint Joachim's in time for vespers.³¹³

Monday, the bishop received those Scalabrinians who had not attended his August 3 arrival, and Tuesday, with Father Gambera to translate for him, he began to meet other people, particularly the press. Andrew Brizzolara, C.S., has analyzed Bishop Scalabrini's visit as a complex media event, with the newspapers looking for an angle that would attract readers and the bishop looking for a medium to convey his message. Bishop Scalabrini handled the press well, considering "the press" was not a monolithic block but a number of different newspapers with varying perspectives, and also considering how thoroughly at odds the bishop was with most of their perspectives.

One group of newspapers was the Italian-language press. These papers followed the bishop's every move. New York's *L'Araldo Italiano* was particularly impressed by the reception tendered the bishop by the elite Catholic Club of New York at their elegant clubhouse at 120 Central Park South. The newspaper was especially impressed when the speaker who introduced the bishop touched on "the future which is in store for the sons of Columbus in the political field, their gifts of hard work, sobriety, perseverance, concern for their traditions, respect for the law and morality, all of which are characteristic of the Italian worker."³¹⁴ Covering Bishop Scalabrini gave the Italian press the opportunity to put their ethnic group in a favorable light.

The Catholic papers probably most faithfully reflected Bishop Scalabrini's interest not simply in preserving ethnic characteristics but in fostering Christian civilization by helping migrants practice their accustomed religious traditions in their accustomed languages. *The Catholic News* of New York took the bishop's visit as an opportunity to highlight the activities of one of the ethnic groups that made up Catholicism in that city. Its reporters followed Bishop Scalabrini on his visits to various Italian parishes and described those parishes and their programs. Another Catholic paper gave voice to the criticisms of more assimilation-minded American Catholics:

Bishop Scalabrini is quoted as stating that his desire is to see established here a system of parochial schools in which Italian boys and gi rls may be taught their native tongue, together with the English, [they] are now taught so well. 'It has been our experience that the immigrants who come here, especially the children, are most likely to obtain a stronger grasp of the rudiments of their religion if it be taught them in their native tongue.'

If the bishop wishes the Italian language taught the children of Italian immigrants to this country, he must provide the funds himself for that outlay, as the linguistic purpose is one which will not appeal very strongly to the resident Catholics of the United States.³¹⁵

³¹³ Scalabrini to Camille Mangot, New York, August 4, 1901, *Scritti* II, 205.

³¹⁴ *L'Araldo Italiano*, New York, October 17, 1901, Brizzolara, appendix 2.

³¹⁵ *Northwestern Chronicles*, Saint Paul, September 25-26, 1901.

The non-Catholic, non-Italian papers, the urban dailies that were the mass media of the early twentieth century, presented the bishop with a delicate situation. Some of the biggest New York City papers had developed mass markets by using conflicts such as the Spanish-American War as occasions for displaying their patriotism. On the other hand, the papers were not about to create a controversy by offending a guest who held a high position in a religious denomination to which many potential readers belonged. For his part, Bishop Scalabrini had long experience with the much more anticlerical liberal and radical journalism of Italy and knew just how to get his message across. The result was the bishop and the secular press got along well, as can be seen in an interview in *The New Haven Union*, in which a reporter paid subtle compliments to the bishop's skills as an interviewee. During a visit in that city, the bishop had spoken about the desirability of parochial schools. The reporter, upholding a common American opinion, asked what His Excellency thought of public schools, and then recorded the response: ". . . he laughed, took a pinch of snuff, and said he would not try to answer the question. 'It is a very difficult problem to solve,' he said, 'and my opinion would not matter very much.'" The reporter then let the bishop develop his own topics of conversation, and noted:

Occasionally he becomes enthusiastic, and especially was his interest manifest when he dwelt on the importance of Italians studying and remembering their native language and retaining the traditions of their country and their religion. But he was sharp enough to add: 'Of course, I believe in a thorough English education. But the Italian citizen of the United States should learn both. There is no reason why in studying the language and customs of his adopted country he should forget the land that gave him birth.'³¹⁶

Reporters followed Bishop Scalabrini around New York City throughout most of August. Wednesday, Archbishop Corrigan took the bishop to see the travelers' aid facilities established for migrants from various countries. They probably saw Leo House, the German Saint Raphael Society establishment, and Holy Rosary, the archdiocesan mission for Irish women. Father U. A. Nageleisen of the former and Father M. J. Henry of the latter then escorted the prelates to Ellis Island so Bishop Scalabrini could see the procedures for migrants traveling via steerage. That day Ellis Island officials processed 650 Italians. The Commissioner of Ellis Island treated them to lunch, after which the party boarded a small steamer for a harbor-view tour of New Jersey and New York. As Bishop Scalabrini recalled, only one incident marred the day. While inspecting Ellis Island, he noticed a group of Italians struggling to hurry from one place to another. One, burdened with heavy suitcases on each hand, moved too slowly for one of the guards, who struck the man a mighty whack across the back of his legs with a billy club. Stumbling, the man set down his suitcases, regained his balance, straightened up, turned around to face his assailant, and slugged him. Perhaps the guard realized he had been overhasty, for the confrontation ended there. Bishop Scalabrini saved it for future reference.

Thursday was August 8, the feast day of Saint Vincent the Martyr. Bishop Scalabrini blessed an altar and gave a talk to an overflow crowd at Saint Joachim's. Friday, he blessed

³¹⁶ *The New Haven Union*, September 1, 1901, Brizzolara, 134-136.

the headquarters at the hospice of the Italian Saint Raphael Society at 8-10 Charlton Street.

Saturday, after a week at Saint Joachim's, Bishop Scalabrini moved to the Scalabrini's other New York parish, Our Lady of Pompei. He spent a few days participating in everyday parish life; on August 12, he reported to his secretary that he had baptized two babies. Thursday, August 15, though, was the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, an important feast on the Catholic calendar, a holyday of obligation in the United States, and a feast day of significance in the many Italian villages of which L'Assunta was patroness. Bishop Scalabrini celebrated by visiting the Italian colony of Newark. Apparently, this was one of the bishop's early encounters with the ramifications of being Catholic in a largely non-Catholic country; he reported to his secretary that "in America one is obliged to hear mass but work is also permissible, for which reason I could not see our emigrants in church until the evening." In the early hours, Catholics slipped in and out of hurried Low Masses so as not to be late for work, and Bishop Scalabrini could not stop them and talk to them. He had better luck in the evening when he visited Holy Rosary on Sixth Street in Jersey City, for the Italians returned to church after work for more relaxed devotions. It is worth noting that on this trip, Bishop Scalabrini was the guest of Felix Morelli, whose status as a Scalabrinian at that time is not clear, but who was still in the United States and still serving Italian migrant communities.³¹⁷

After his visit to Newark, Bishop Scalabrini returned to New York and moved from Our Lady of Pompei back to Saint Joachim's for a few days. Monday, August 19, found him at Saint Joseph's Seminary in Dunwoodie, Yonkers, the Archdiocese of New York's seminary, conducting a retreat for his missionaries and for other Italian priests in the area. About 60 retreatants came, some from quite far away; it took Luigi Paroli two days and two nights to come north from New Orleans, and Pietro Lotti almost that long to come east from Kansas City. It was a good weather to make a retreat, a spiritual exercise which called for silence, reflection, and meditation. The oppressive heat continued unbroken, and the humidity swelled the seminary's wooden doors, making it difficult to close them.³¹⁸

Bishop Scalabrini's notes for that retreat survive. They indicate that, rather than focusing on the special ministry of the Scalabrinians, he focused on the more basic and general spiritual qualities all Christians and all priests needed. The Scalabrinians, though, did conduct one bit of internal business at their treat. At some point during the week, they gathered in the seminary's chapel to elect a new provincial superior. Father Gambera vehemently insisted he did not want the job anymore. Rather than appoint a provincial himself, the bishop allowed his missionaries to cast secret ballots. He thought they voted well, the majority of votes went to Paolo Novati of Holy Ghost, Providence. "Not only does he enjoy his confrere's esteem," Bishop Scalabrini remarked to his secretary, "he has his bishop's good opinion. The [unidentified] archbishop told me he was the congregation's most distinguished ornament. He is talented, knows English to perfection,

³¹⁷ Scalabrini to Mangot, New York, August 12, 1901, *Scritti* II, 212.

³¹⁸ Scalabrini to Mangot, New York, August 18, 1901, *Scritti* II, 212-213.

is prudent, and has a good heart." The next largest number of votes, four (including Father Novati's, Bishop Scalabrini speculated), went to Oreste Alussi, a tribute more to virtue and piety than to his administrative qualifications.³¹⁹

The retreat ended Saturday, August 24. Bishop Scalabrini returned to Saint Joachim's. He may have spent the next few days attending to staffing at the Saint Raphael Society and to other administrative chores. Then he began a six-week tour of Scalabrinian missions and Italian colonies. His first stop was New Haven, where he arrived Saturday, August 31, in time to celebrate Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament at Saint Michael the Archangel's. The evening arrival made it easier for his hosts to welcome him. The Italians of New Haven, done with the day's work, mustered many members of the colony for a welcoming parade featuring brass bands and groups of marchers who illuminated the way with Chinese lanterns carried high on long poles. Sunday, Bishop Scalabrini celebrated mass and administered confirmation. He would perform this sacrament many times over the next few months. Bishops are the ordinary administrators of this sacrament, so it made sense to combine the ceremony with Bishop Scalabrini's visit. Also, it enhanced the reception tendered the bishop, involving as it did numerous schoolchildren, the girls in white dresses and veils, the boys in suits, and their parents. At this time, some parishes prepared their youngsters to begin to make confessions, to receive their First Communions, and to be confirmed at the same time, which made the events even more festive. At New Haven, Bishop Scalabrini ran into another American custom. He remarked to his secretary that no Italian journalists came to see him on what would normally have been his first business day in New Haven. Monday, September 2, was Labor Day, "like our May 1."³²⁰

The bishop spent Labor Day receiving his missionaries and traveling to Hartford to meet with Bishop Michael Tierney. By Thursday he had completed his visit of Connecticut, and he took the train north to Boston. Following the pattern established in New Haven, he arrived at Back Bay Station at 7:00 p.m. and went to Sacred Heart Church in the North End for the celebration of an evening service. The late hour again facilitated an enormous welcome, this time with *Viva il Vescovo Scalabrini* in lights across the church facade.³²¹ Except for the continued ferocious heat, the visit to Boston seemed to be going well.

Friday, September 6, Bishop Scalabrini celebrated First Friday mass at Sacred Heart. Then he and Father Gambera called on Archbishop John J. Williams, with whom Francesco Zaboglio had negotiated for the opening of Sacred Heart. As Father Gambera recalled, the two had returned to Sacred Heart's rectory and were sitting down to dinner when they heard the newsboys hawking "Extras" with the details of American-born anarchist Leon Czolgosz's attempted assassination of President William McKinley. "The unexpected and mournful news terrified everyone," Father Gambera remembered, but in particular Bishop Scalabrini, still mindful of Umberto I's assassination. "Fortunately [the

³¹⁹ Scalabrini to Mangot, New York, August 25, 1901, *Scritti* II, 213-214.

³²⁰ Scalabrini to Mangot, New Haven, September 2, 1901, *Scritti* II, 220.

³²¹ *The Boston Herald*, September 6, 1901, Brizzolara, 137.

assassin] was not Italian; otherwise, Bishop Scalabrini would have suspended his visits, and would have immediately returned to Italy."³²² Instead, the bishop ordered cancellation of all festivities in his honor. "It upset the Italians a little," he told his secretary, "but it made a good impression" upon non-Italian Americans preoccupied with McKinley's injuries and grateful for this tactful sign of sympathy.³²³

September 8 should have been a great day on the North End. Not only was it Sunday, but it was also the feast of the birth of the Blessed Virgin Mary, like the Assumption an occasion for Italian displays of veneration. Out of respect for President McKinley, Bishop Scalabrini cancelled a procession of 30 North End religious organizations. During the mass, he delivered a sermon primarily on the Blessed Mother, and assured the congregation that "devotion to the Madonna according to your regional customs will be of great benefit for you." He then tied Marian devotion to contemporary events: "The profound sore on our soul caused by the horrendous assassination of our good King Umberto has not yet healed, and now the wound in our heart is sadly reopened by the assault on and the wounding of the illustrious president of this grand and hospitable republic. Full of anxiety we raise to God our prayer for the prompt cure of the distinguished patient, and from our hearts we say to Him: Lord, save the president of the republic. . . ."³²⁴

The sermon made the front page of *The Boston Globe*. The McKinley assassination continued to overshadow Bishop Scalabrini's visit, as the president clung to life and even at one point seemed likely to recover. Bishop Scalabrini maintained his schedule. Monday, September 9, he went to the Italian colony in Winthrop, Massachusetts, where he confirmed about 100 Italian youths. Tuesday, September 10, found him at Our Lady of Czestochowa in South Boston. This parish was a kind of experiment for Bishop Scalabrini. He had accepted its pastor, a Polish priest named John Chmielinski, into the Scalabrinians and granted him permission to minister to his compatriots as the Italian Scalabrinians ministered to theirs. Now he had a chance to see how the experiment was working. See, but not hear; Bishop Scalabrini understood no Polish, and had to ask Father Chmielinski to translate his remarks for him. Fortunately, the service was highly dramatic visually, with Polish children dressed as angels preceding the bishop as he walked and scattering flower petals in his path. "It was a moving ceremony," he told his secretary, "although, for me, a silent one."³²⁵ Wednesday, September 11, he was in East Boston, preaching at Saint Lazarus on Orient Heights. The news that day suggested President McKinley was out of danger, and so the bishop lifted his ban on nonliturgical public demonstrations. The Italians held a fireworks display and band concert.³²⁶

³²² Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story*, 129.

³²³ Scalabrini to Mangot, Boston, September?, 1901, *Scritti* II, 220-221.

³²⁴ "Appunti di un discorso tenuto da Mons. G. B. Scalabrini a Boston, l'8 settembre 1901, *Scritti* II, 221-222.

³²⁵ Scalabrini to Mangot, Boston, September 10, 1901, *Scritti* II, 222-223.

³²⁶ Scalabrini to Mangot, Boston, September 12, 1901, *Scritti* II, 223-224, see also, *The Pilot*, Boston, September 14, 1901.

Thursday, September 12, Bishop Scalabrini was on the railroad again, this time to upstate New York, site of the McKinley assassination. He arrived at Utica that evening. Since the Scalabrinians had as yet no parish in Utica, he stayed at Saint John's, a diocesan parish whose pastor ministered to the town's Italians. He celebrated a children's mass Friday morning, then caught the train for Syracuse. He spent Saturday, September 14, at the Scalabrinians' Saint Peter's Church there, administering confirmation and First Communion. The Italians would have welcomed him with the usual brass bands, processions, and fireworks, but President McKinley's September 11 rally proved false. The president died the day Bishop Scalabrini was in Syracuse, and the bishop restored his ban on nonliturgical public demonstrations.³²⁷

Sunday, September 15, Bishop Scalabrini returned to Utica to bless the cornerstone of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, an Italian church being built there. After the ceremony he was the guest of honor at a reception there. Perhaps he discussed bringing the Scalabrinians to that city, for a missionary arrived the next year. The next day he took the train to Buffalo, the city from which the president's funeral train had recently departed. He spent Tuesday, September 17 in that city. The Scalabrinians showed him Saint Anthony's church and school, he called on Bishop James Edward Quigley — a significant visit for the Scalabrinians' future — and he conducted vespers, at which he preached. Wednesday, September 18, required some tact. It was the day of President McKinley's burial. Bishop Scalabrini had been participating in the nation's death watch by calling for prayers and by cancelling festivities. However, he could not perform the most meaningful Catholic mourning rites and say mass for the repose of the Methodist McKinley's soul.³²⁸ Instead he passed the morning quietly on the Canadian side of Niagara Falls.

After mailing a souvenir post card from Niagara Falls to his secretary, Bishop Scalabrini began touring the American Midwest, spending a few days in each city.³²⁹ Wednesday, September 18, he took a train from Niagara Falls to Cleveland, arriving in time for lunch with Bishop Ignatius F. Horstmann. That evening he conducted vespers and preached at the Scalabrinians' Holy Rosary parish. From Saturday, September 21, to Monday, September 23, he was in Detroit. He celebrated mass at Saint Francis's, where Francesco Beccherini was pastor, lunched with the city's bishop, John Samuel Foley, and visited a local seminary. Departing Detroit Tuesday, September 24, he changed trains in Chicago; apparently that was his entire contact with the city that within a few years became a center of Scalabrinian ministry. Wednesday, September 25, he arrived in Saint Paul. The Scalabrinians had at this point no missions in Minnesota, but Bishop Scalabrini had errands in the city. Archbishop John Ireland escorted him to the archdiocesan seminary of Saint Thomas and to a seminary for Polish-American candidates for the priesthood, and the bishop delivered Latin addresses at both institutions. Archbishop Ireland also made arrangements for Bishop Scalabrini to visit President Theodore Roosevelt. The evening of Friday, September 27, the bishop boarded a train for a twenty-

³²⁷ Scalabrini to Mangot, Syracuse, September 14, 1901, *Scritti* II, 204.

³²⁸ *The Propagator*, III (September-December 1901), 25.

³²⁹ Scalabrini to Mangot, Niagara Falls, September 18, 1901, *Scritti* II, 225.

hour trip to Kansas City. Bishop Joseph Hogan of that city was elderly and ailing, so Bishop Scalabrini stayed with auxiliary bishop John Glennon. On Sunday, September 29, two marching bands representing mutual benefits societies whose membership reached several hundred Italians escorted the bishop in a carriage drawn by four white horses from Bishop Glennon's residence to Holy Rosary. He preached at a High Mass, the music for which had been specially commissioned for the occasion. Monday, September 30, he administered confirmation in a ceremony that gave him a taste of the mixture of Italian customs which his missionaries faced: "The Sicilians presented for confirmation babies [usually, youngsters who had received some catechetical training were the ones being confirmed], who cried so much I said I could not continue. However, I did continue, for three hours, but silence and order did not continue. Patience!"³³⁰

Tuesday, October 6, Bishop Scalabrini travelled east to Saint Louis, where Archbishop John Joseph Kain met him at the station and a group of Italians escorted him to their church for Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament. He spent Wednesday, October 2, through Friday, October 4, visiting different parts of the city, with an eye to the purchase of a church. With that mission accomplished, he departed for the Scalabrinians' parish of Sacred Heart, Cincinnati, on Saturday, October 5. Sunday, October 6, was another feastday associated with Marian devotion, the Feast of the Holy Rosary. Bishop Scalabrini spent it administering confirmation and First Communion, preaching on Rosary devotion at mass and blessing the new organ and a sodality banner. Monday, he visited the parochial school and then boarded the train for the Scalabrinians' parish of Saint John the Baptist in Columbus. Tuesday, October 8, he celebrated mass, preached, and boarded the train again. On Wednesday, October 9, Apostolic Delegate Sebastiano Martinelli hosted his stay in Washington, D.C.

At that time, the Scalabrinians had no mission in Washington. Bishop Scalabrini came to the capital in order to meet with President Theodore Roosevelt, which he did on Thursday, October 10. Neither immediately recorded his impressions; Roosevelt had been president only since McKinley's death on September 14, and was still organizing his administration, and Bishop Scalabrini had to hasten to another appointment in Baltimore. He did recall later that they needed no translator: he could understand President Roosevelt's English, and the president could understand the bishop's French. The president had general words of praise for the Italian migrants. Bishop Scalabrini recounted the incident between the official and the immigrant on Ellis Island in August and had called for more humane treatment. The meeting never figured in President Roosevelt's papers, but he did remember it. The president visited Ellis Island during Giacomo Gambera's tenure with the Saint Raphael Society. As part of his tour, he met with the representatives of various faiths who ministered to migrants awaiting processing. After the formal part of the meeting, the Saint Raphael Society's attorney, Eugene

³³⁰ Scalabrini to Mangot, Kansas City, October 1, 1901, *Scritti* II, 228-229; see also a typescript history of Holy Rosary parish sent courtesy of Sister Joan Markley of the Archives of the Diocese of Kansas City-Saint Joseph in 1993.

Philbins, introduced Father Gambera to the president. "To everyone's surprise, Roosevelt spoke highly of Bishop Scalabrini, and offered me his warm congratulations."³³¹

Friday, October 11, Bishop Scalabrini took the train north to Baltimore to see another American dignitary, Archbishop James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore. Columbus Day, which was not yet a widely observed holiday, he returned to New York and to Saint Joachim. Sunday, October 13, he administered confirmation to combined classes at Saint Joachim's and Our Lady of Pompei, 750 children and not one crying baby. Monday, October 14, the Italians at Saint Joachim's gave an "entertainment" in his honor, whether a dinner or one of the variety shows so popular at the time the bishop did not say. Tuesday, October 15, the elite New York Catholic Club tendered him a banquet at their Central Park South clubhouse. Bishop Scalabrini addressed them in French. He praised what he had seen in the United States and predicted an even brighter future. He pictured America as the place providentially set aside for the creation of a Christian civilization. That civilization would enjoy the unity of Catholicism but would also reflect the Church's universality. The New World would teach the old that "peoples of different origin can very well conserve their language, their proper national existence, and at the same time be politically and religiously united without barriers created by jealousy and division, and without arms to impoverish and destroy one another."³³²

Wednesday, October 16, Archbishop Corrigan escorted Bishop Scalabrini to the Catholic Protector, where Christian Brothers tended 2,700 boys. A few days followed during which the bishop had no appointments or public appearances. Saturday, October 19, he was off to Providence, the one Scalabrinian mission he had not yet seen. He stayed at Holy Ghost rectory. Sunday morning, October 20, he blessed the basement of the church, the only part as yet completed, and preached a sermon. He returned to the church on the afternoon for confirmation. He remained in Providence until Wednesday, October 23, partly in order to lunch with Bishop Harkins. On Thursday, October 24, he boarded a train for Worcester, Massachusetts, where, in company with the Boston branch of the Italian Saint Raphael society, he visited the Italian colony to see if the Scalabrinians might open a mission there (they never did). He also met Bishop Thomas Daniel Beaven of Springfield, Massachusetts, in whose diocese Worcester was located.³³³

Bishop Scalabrini then returned to Boston to launch an important project. Saturday, October 26, he administered confirmation and First Communion to the Polish children at Our Lady of Czestochowa. Sometime during his stay in Boston, Bishop Scalabrini met with his missionaries and lay prominenti. The purpose of the meeting was to announce a new element of his plan for comprehensive care of the Italian migrant. He wanted to send sisters from Piacenza to conduct a nursery and parochial school. The proposal revealed the different perspectives of the bishop and his missionaries. Father Gambera, who was pastor of Sacred Heart and who would therefore bear primary responsibility for bringing the proposal to fruition, explained as best he could what experience had taught him:

³³¹ Gambera, 142-143.

³³² *L'Araldo Italiano*, October 24, 1901, Brizzolara, 99-102.

³³³ Scalabrini to Mangot, Providence, October 23, 1901, *Scritti* II, 237-238.

And when I was asked my opinion I declared openly that the proposed schools were excellent, but were neither needed nor possible at that time, for the reasons that the sisters did not know the language, and they were not licensed, and we had efficaciously provided for religious education; that the huge expenses for the religious and for the schools would have thwarted my plans by burdening the church with new and heavy debts, with benefits that were uncertain and far-off, and therefore I suggested that the project be postponed to a better time.³³⁴

Experience had not taught everyone. Roberto Biasotti, an assistant at Sacred Heart, took to the plan enthusiastically. Others also approved the plan, "More out of respect for Bishop Scalabrini than out of conviction," Father Gambera thought. Father Gambera, though, still unconvinced, immediately offered to resign from his position as pastor. Bishop Scalabrini tried to talk him into staying. Thinking that the real problem was that Father Gambera read Father Biasotti's support for the parochial school as a bid to supplant his pastor, the bishop offered to transfer him. Father Gambera refused, fearing that such a move would only antagonize Father Biasotti. He insisted on resigning, and on November 1, Father Biasotti took his place.³³⁵ Freed from his burdens as provincial superior and pastor, Father Gambera moved to New York to devote full time to directing the Saint Raphael Society.

On Monday, October 28, Bishop Scalabrini returned to New York for the last leg of his journey. At about the same time, four Scalabrinian seminarians, Gaetano Cerruti, Stefano Duda, Andrea Garrau and Pio Parolin, arrived from Piacenza. Bishop Scalabrini had requested they be sent so that he could perform at least one ordination in the United States. Father Pio, as he was usually called, almost missed the event. The superior at the Christopher Columbus Institute, Bartolomeo Roller, had told him Italian law exempted missionary seminarians from conscription. It turned out that they were not exempt from registration, but by the time Parolin discovered that, it was too late to obtain the proper papers. He risked trying to leave Italy without them. If caught, he faced prosecution as a draft evader. Scalabrinian Pietro Maldotti, director of the Genoa branch of the Saint Raphael Society, got him safely out of Italy and federal officials who processed newcomers in New York looked at one seminarian's set of papers — which were in order — and assumed they covered the whole group. Then it turned out Parolin needed another paper, a dispensation to permit him to be ordained at the young age of 22.³³⁶

Bishop Scalabrini visited the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society Tuesday, October 29. From Wednesday, October 30, to Saturday, October 2, he led the four seminarians in a preordination retreat, and on Sunday, November 3, he ordained them at Our Lady of Pompei. The bishop also examined them so as to authorize them to hear confessions. Father Pio remembered his final words after the oral examinations: "Act as a father and not as a judge."³³⁷

³³⁴ Gambera, 131.

³³⁵ Gambera, 132.

³³⁶ Pio Parolin, "El Toso de Andrian Pedo, Pio Parolin" (undated typescript), 16-24, CMS No. 073, Box 1, Autobiography folder.

³³⁷ Parolin, 28.

Monday, November 4, was another important day for the Scalabrinians; they were celebrating the feast day of their patron, Saint Charles Borromeo. The Scalabrinians were all a bit shy about displaying their panegyric skills before Bishop Scalabrini; it was the new priest, Pio Parolin, who finally agreed to give the sermon extolling the virtues of the saint. He recalled that he began to feel a sense of failure during the homily itself. Even Bishop Scalabrini was too honest to console him, suggesting that with study and practice his technique would improve.³³⁸

The bishop had nothing scheduled for Tuesday, November 5, perhaps because it was an election day, an off-year one, but still a day on which it might be difficult to schedule meetings. Wednesday, November 6, he crossed the Brooklyn Bridge to visit Italians in that borough. Thursday, November 7, he returned to Newark for confirmations. Friday and Saturday were quiet days, perhaps because the bishop had to pack to go home. Sunday, November 10, he returned to Newark to bless the orphanage Father Morelli had organized. Monday was another quiet day. Tuesday, November 12, the bishop boarded the *Liguria* for the trip to Naples, from which he went to Rome to confer with Pope Leo XIII, then back to Piacenza. Bishop Scalabrini did visit Brazil in 1904, but he never returned to America, and he never saw his main episcopal connection, Archbishop Corrigan, again. The archbishop died May 5, 1902.

Once on the open sea, the bishop lost no time. He had been a dutiful guest in the United States. Except for the incident between the guard and the official at Ellis Island, he had either praised what he saw or kept silent. His letters to his secretary were, as Father Brizzolara pointed out, partly for public consumption, describing practically every city as "grand," every welcome from every Italian colony as "spectacular," and offering negative comments only on the extent of Protestant work among Italian Catholics. In a private letter to his new provincial superior, he got down to business. He asked Father Novati to ensure that each house practiced communal devotions, the personal pious practices he thought a necessary preparation for public liturgy. He also asked that the house superiors encourage politeness and discourage backbiting, criticism, and gossip, especially at mealtime and recreation. Bishop Scalabrini's observations can be verified by consulting some other Scalabrinian sources, particularly Giacomo Gambera's memoirs. The letter provides an insight into the kinds of problems against which individual Scalabrinians struggled, and the kinds of behavior that occasionally contributed to a crisis at one or another parish. Throughout the rest of his life, bishop continued to send letters and directives outlining the rules each missionary was to follow regarding personal devotions, and each mission was to follow regarding correct administration.³³⁹

What were the results of Bishop Scalabrini's trip? It had some administrative effects, precipitating as it did Father Gambera's resignation from his positions as provincial superior and pastor, and introducing Scalabrini and James Edward Quigley, who was an important connection to both Buffalo and Chicago. In some places, Bishop Scalabrini's

³³⁸ Parolin, 30-31.

³³⁹ Scalabrini to Paolo Novati, aboard the *Liguria*, November 1901, *Scritti* II, 240; Scalabrini to Novati, Piacenza, April 2, 1905, *Scritti* II, 373-374; *The Golden Strand* (New Haven, 1944), 41-42.

visit was the culmination of a period of parish growth, as when he blessed the church basement at Holy Ghost. In other places, such as Utica, it was a spur to Scalabrinian expansion.

The effect of Bishop Scalabrini's trip was felt most keenly in Boston. When Father Gambera refused to open a parochial school, he resigned as pastor of Sacred Heart and was replaced by Roberto Biasotti. Born March 20, 1863, in Annone Veneto in the province of Venezia and ordained September 20, 1885, Father Biasotti had spent ten years working with Italian migrants in Europe. However, his main qualification for the position at Sacred Heart was his belief the parish could afford a school that taught Italian. In May 1902, Sister Apostles of the Sacred Heart came from Italy, and opened a school at 249 Prescott Street. Apparently, this was not a regular elementary school, but one teaching catechism and Italian.³⁴⁰ The Scalabrinians' second mission in Massachusetts, Saint Lazarus in East Boston, became an official parish in 1904. Father Giovanni Battista Cuneo lived in the area and attended to the mission. Francesco Morassi came from Saint Peter's, Syracuse, to be the first resident pastor in 1908, a position he held until 1911.³⁴¹

The Scalabrinians in Providence were fanning out in all directions.³⁴² Paolo Novati was still pastor of Holy Ghost and still in ill health, but he was able to get some assistants. February 1901, saw the arrival of Antonio Bove, a secular priest from the Diocese of Tricarico, Matera, who worked as an auxiliary to the Scalabrinians, and Scalabrinian Giovanni Baffo. Father Baffo died soon after, and Scalabrinian Domenico Belliotti arrived in November 1901. Father Novati concentrated his efforts on Holy Ghost. On April 30, 1901, Bishop Matthew Harkins approved the erection of a new parish church for Holy Ghost at the corner of Atwells Avenue and Knight Street. The basement was ready in time for Bishop Scalabrini to dedicate it, but after that construction languished.

Another event that took place during Bishop Scalabrini's visit to Providence was a meeting with Bishop Harkins that resulted in transferring the migrant secular priest Giulio Triolo out of the Italian parish of Saint Ann in the North End and installing Father Bove. The move did not go smoothly. Saint Ann's at that time had no rectory; Father Triolo had rented rooms in a tenement and when Father Bove came, he made similar arrangements. When on November 30, 1901, he came to get the rectory furniture to move it to his new quarters, the women of the parish surrounded Father Triolo's tenement and refused to let the furniture be moved. When Father Belliotti arrived the next day to help

³⁴⁰ *Venticinque Anni di Missione fra gli Italiani Immigrati di Boston, Mass.* (Milan: Tipografia Santa Lega Eucaristica, 1913), 122-123.

³⁴¹ *Diamond Jubilee of St. Lazarus Church, East Boston, 1892-1967* (n.p., n.d.); W B. Finigan to Demo, Boston, August 18, 1911, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Morassi folder. Some sources list Father Morassi's tenure as starting in 1904, but that seems unlikely; he was at Saint Peter's, Syracuse, from December 1904 to November 1907. Some sources also say that Father Morassi was the first resident pastor but Father Cuneo dated his letters from Orient Heights; he may have lived in the area but not in the rectory.

³⁴² Robert J. Hayman, *Catholicism in Rhode Island, and the Diocese of Providence: 1886-1921*, 2 volumes (Providence: The Diocese of Providence, 1995), II, 179-185.

with Sunday mass, he found someone had changed the lock on the church door. Father Triolo intervened to assure a peaceful transition to Scalabrinian management.

That same year, the Scalabrinians began ministering to Italians in Thornton, a southern suburb the Italian population of which dated from the 1880s. Father Bove came to the area to organize a meeting to determine the best site for a church, an important question since the parish was planned to cover not only Thornton but the adjacent suburbs of Knights Ville and Silver Lake. The board of trustees bought a site at the corner of Clemence and Transit Streets in Thornton in November 1901. The next month Father Triolo's intervention allowed Father Bove to recover Saint Ann's rectory furniture and to take up his duties as pastor there, and Father Belliotti came to Thornton. On June 21, 1903, Bishop Harkins blessed the building in Thornton, and the parish took the name of Saint Rocco.

By 1904, Father Novati's health was such that he wanted to resign as pastor of Holy Ghost. That October, he met with Bishop Harkins regarding Holy Ghost's future, and asked that the boundaries of the three Scalabrinian parishes in Providence be redrawn. On January 15, 1905, Saint Ann's on the North End, Holy Ghost on Federal Hill, and Saint Rocco in Thornton each received responsibility for the Italians in a particular geographic area in Providence. Father Bove stayed at Saint Ann's, Father Belliotti replaced Father Novati at Holy Ghost, and Saint Rocco's waited until the Scalabrinians had a priest to send.

Similarly, the Scalabrinians in New Haven expanded to a new parish. The turnover of pastor's at the Scalabrinians' first parish, Saint Michael's continued high.³⁴³ In January 1896, Pietro Bandini's abrupt departure for Arkansas led Francesco Zaboglio to transfer himself from New Haven to New York, and Vincenzo Sciolla became pastor at Saint Michael's. Pietro Lotti succeeded Father Sciolla 21 months later, in September 1897. In 1898, yet another pastor, Luigi Lango, arranged for the purchase of a new church for the parish. The building he had in mind was at 29 Wooster Place, facing a park. The building had a peculiar, almost haunted, history. New Haven's then mayor, Chauncey Jerome, built the church in 1852 and donated it to the Congregationalists. Unable to afford its upkeep — it was a large Greek Revival building with a seating capacity of 1,000, a six-columned portico and a tall steeple — the Congregationalists sold it to the Baptists. Soon after the Baptists moved in, the building burned. They rebuilt it, and a windstorm toppled the steeple. They rebuilt the steeple even higher, and another windstorm knocked it over. The Baptists replaced the steeple a second time, but by then their congregation was moving out of the downtown area; Father Lango was able to buy their church for \$25,000. Changing hands did not change the building's luck. On January 4, 1904, a fire burned the church to the walls, demolished the steeple, dashed the four-ton bronze bell to the frozen ground and broke it in three pieces, and consumed the organ. (When the Italians rebuilt the church, they shortened the steeple, eliminated the portico, and altered the facade so the resulting structure looked more Baroque than Greek Revival, and more familiar to its new congregation.)

³⁴³ Anthony Bua, CS., "Historical Notes on Saint Michael's Parish in New Haven, Connecticut," *Ninetieth Anniversary, St. Michael's Church, New Haven* (n.p., n.d.).

At the time of the fire, Saint Michael's was in the care of its fifth pastor, Bartolomeo Marenchino, who had succeeded Father Lango in December 1900. Father Marenchino left in October 1904, and Francesco Moretti succeeded him. Father Moretti had been at Saint Michael's less than a month when he was found dead, asphyxiated, the gas for his house lights flowing but the flames extinguished.³⁴⁴ Father Oreste Alussi returned to New Haven for a second term as pastor, and remained until 1916.

When Father Marenchino left Saint Michael's he went to organize the Scalabrinians' second parish in New Haven. The parish history credited Bishop Michael Tierney of Hartford with taking the initiative. The Italian community in New Haven was not only growing in numbers, but it was also expanding geographically. In 1903, Bishop Tierney asked Father Marenchino to lay the groundwork for a second parish. Father Marenchino gathered lay leaders: Nicola Sasso, Santo Capasso, Antonio Pepe, Emiddion Balsamo, Michael Troiano, Michael Troiano II, Michael Barletta, Angelo Porto, Giovanni Colombo, Silvestro Francesconi, and Francesco D'Andrea. These laymen elected Messrs. Capasso and Porto trustees. They chose Saint Anthony of Padua as their patron: again, according to the parish history, Father Marenchino had a devotion to the saint, and Saint Michael had a statue of him hand carved by a Neapolitan artist named Nicola Avellino. They also decided upon a site for the parish church: a lot in the corner of Gold Street and Washington Avenue, which the trustees purchased April 20, 1903, for \$8,000. Bishop Tierney laid the cornerstone April 24, 1903.³⁴⁵ Construction cost \$27,000 and took ten months. On March 5, 1904, Bishop Tierney returned to dedicate the building. The only thing missing was the statue of Saint Anthony from Saint Michael's; it had been promised to the new church but had been destroyed in the January fire.³⁴⁶ Given the factions at Saint Michael and the presence of the statue, it seems likely that regional loyalty and a desire to honor a hometown patron combined with numbers, geography, and Father Marenchino's devotional life, in creating Saint Anthony's.

Like those in New England, the Scalabrinian missions in New York combined struggle and survival with occasional signs of growth. The Scalabrinians at Saint Joachim's on Roosevelt Street remained caught between poverty and local politics.³⁴⁷ Had the parish more resources it might have been able to satisfy all parish factions. As it was, groups of parishioners maneuvered for control of the few resources available. No pastor seemed able to control the situation. Giuseppe Strumia, who had been appointed during the crisis at Most Precious Blood in 1893-1894, spent 1896-1897 in Italy. Upon his return in

³⁴⁴ "Gas Kills Priest," unidentified clipping datelined November 1, CMS No. 045, Box 8, Newspaper Clippings and Tear Sheet folder. Suspicion fell on Father Moretti's assistant, who had been at Saint Michael's before Moretti arrived and had hoped to succeed Marenchino as pastor.

³⁴⁵ Bartolomeo Marenchino to Antonio Demo, New Haven, April 22, 1904, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Marenchino folder.

³⁴⁶ George G. DiCenzo, "The History of the Church of St. Anthony from 1904 to 1954," in *Fiftieth Anniversary, 1904-1954, St. Anthony's Church, New Haven* (n.p., n.d.).

³⁴⁷ Mario Francesconi, CS., *History of the Scalabrinian Congregation, volume IV, Internal History of the Congregation (1896-1919), Missions in North America (1895-1919), Missions in Brazil (1905-1919)*, trans. Martin Bortolazzo, C.S. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1893), 161-167. Hereafter, Francesconi IV.

September 1897, he was accused of having run up the parish debt, and he departed for Italy again February 4, 1898. Oreste Alussi came from Saint Michael's, New Haven, to be pastor the next month. He remained until April 1902; in May he left for Italy and upon his return he was reassigned to Saint Michael's. According to Father Francesconi, the trustees demanded, and got, Ludovico Martinelli, Father Alussi's assistant, as pastor; he served from September 1902 to June 1904. Fernando Santipolo, formerly of Kansas City served from then until 1906. Actually, Bishop Scalabrini relieved him of his duties in September 1904, and Antonio Demo, the pastor at Our Lady of Pompei in the same city (but still a long walk away) looked after affairs at Saint Joachim.³⁴⁸

In contrast, the only sign of disorder at Pompei was a sense of coolness between Father Demo and Bishop Scalabrini. It is not clear when the difficulties between the two originated. Father Demo's work as a student at the Christopher Columbus Institute had been sufficiently good that he had been appointed prefect of the younger students.³⁴⁹ Bishop Scalabrini enjoyed Father Demo's hospitality and even chose Pompei as the site for his only ordination in America. However, he was disturbed enough about some aspects of Father Demo's behavior to discuss him with others. In early 1902, Paolo Novati wrote Father Demo that "His Excellency Bishop Scalabrini, in his last letter asked me 'why Fr. Demo gives himself the right to refuse to receive my orders? . . . His reserved attitude has caused not a little wonder, or, it might be better to say, not a little scandal. . .'" Specifically, the bishop was concerned about Father Demo's involvement in disciplining a Scalabrinian at Saint Joachim's, and Father Novati was writing to ask Father Demo to forward a fuller explanation.³⁵⁰ A month later, the motherhouse superior passed along another complaint; that Father Demo was not sending money to support the Christopher Columbus Institute.³⁵¹ When Father Demo did send the money, the bishop graciously thanked him and added, "I would willingly have seen one of your letters accompany it. Why do you never write? Do you still hold a grudge because of a correction, maybe too strong, but suggested to me by my ever-unalterable affection for you and by my lively desire for your good?"³⁵² Although Father Demo did begin sending letters with his regular contributions, something was still unsatisfactory, and Bishop Scalabrini rebuked him: "If you would be more calm in speaking and in writing that will be more gainful for you and for everyone."³⁵³ It might have been a matter of personal style more than anything. Bishop Scalabrini was not the only person to call Father Demo "reserved." It was an odd

³⁴⁸ Scalabrini to Novati, Curitiba, Brazil, September 2, 1904, and to Antonio Demo, Brazil, 1904, *Scritti* II, 336, 358.

³⁴⁹ Parolin, 14.

³⁵⁰ Novati to Demo, Providence, March 4, 1901, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1902 folder.

³⁵¹ Bartolomeo Rollers to Demo, Piacenza, April 2, 1901, CMS No. 078B, Box I, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Casa Madre folder.

³⁵² Scalabrini to Demo, *Scritti* II, 268.

³⁵³ Scalabrini to Demo, Piacenza, March 1, 1904, *Scritti* II, 297.

relationship, an uncharacteristic one for Bishop Scalabrini, and worth remembering as Father Demo's role in Scalabrinian history developed.

The Scalabrinians' established missions in upstate New York underwent some changes in personnel and some growth. At Saint Anthony's in Buffalo, Antonio Gibelli left for Cleveland and Ludovico Martinelli succeeded him. In October 1901, Father Martinelli went to Cincinnati, and Bernard Casassa and Pacifico Chenuil came to Buffalo. Finding no rectory, they boarded at a hotel for five months before renting an apartment for \$18/month. They also decided that the church was in poor condition and closed it for renovations. They reopened it October 23, 1904.³⁵⁴ Saint Peter's in Syracuse had a series of pastors, some of whom were auxiliaries rather than vowed Scalabrinians: Francesco Beccherini left in 1896, to be followed by auxiliary Cajetan Orlanda (September 20, 1896—August 1, 1899), sometime Scalabrinian and sometime auxiliary Victor Sovilla (August 1899—July, 21, 1900), auxiliary Eugene Ostino (July 21, 1900—December, 1904); and Scalabrinian Francesco Morassi (December, 1904—November, 1907).³⁵⁵

The Scalabrinians opened two new missions in upstate New York in the early twentieth century. Saint Anthony's in Fredonia was an offshoot of Saint Anthony's in Buffalo. Pacifico Chenuil first travelled the 43 miles from Buffalo to Fredonia in 1902. The church cornerstone was laid September 10, 1905. The next year, the building was completed and the first resident pastor, Teofilo Glesasz, arrived.³⁵⁶

The Scalabrinians also took over the work in Utica. As local historian George J. Schiro explained, Utica had long some Italians present.³⁵⁷ In the 1880s, Italians from Basilicata, Campania, Genoa, Caserta, and Laurenzana came to build the West Shore Railroad in the Mohawk Valley. When the Diocese of Syracuse was created out of a portion of the Diocese of Albany, its first bishop, Patrick Ludden, began organizing an Italian ministry. He relied on James S. M. Lynch, a native New Yorker and pastor of Saint John's, Utica. Father Lynch worked closely with Cecilia Rapetti Keman, whose Irish married name concealed her Bolognese origins. Father Lynch also took advantage of some Italian-speaking and Italian-born priests: a Father Griffin of Oswego, a Father Doyle, O.F.M., and Father Antonio Castelli who first appeared in Utica as an assistant at Saint Agnes parish in 1887. The Italian parish, named Saint Mary of Mount Carmel (a variant of Our Lady of Mount Carmel) was incorporated July 24, 1895, with Messrs. Salvatore Pellettieri and Antonio Sisto as trustees. On August 3, 1895, the trustees bought land at the corner of Catherine and Jay Streets. Elia Pellettieri, Michael Cristalli, Donato De Vito and Francesco Cavallo formed a committee to supervise digging the basement. They halted work June 16, 1896, probably because expenses exceeded cash on hand and the lay trustees disagreed as to how to remedy the situation. In December, the representative of one side of the disagreement resigned from the board of trustees, and the rest continued with the

³⁵⁴ Francesconi IV, 173-177.

³⁵⁵ Francesconi IV, 186-189.

³⁵⁶ Francesconi IV, 185-186.

³⁵⁷ George J. Schiro, *Americans by Choice: History of the Italians in Utica* (New York: Arno Press [Italian American Experience]), 1975.

basement. In a rare example of a Scalabrinian acting as a subordinate to a secular priest, rather than taking that secular priest as an auxiliary, Giuseppe Formia arrived in Utica in 1902 as an assistant to Father Castelli. Apparently, Father Castelli himself requested a Scalabrinian assistant; he was concerned about staffing Saint Mary of Mount Carmel when he grew too old for active ministry. When Father Castelli died on October 23, 1903, Father Formia became pastor and Saint Mary's passed to Scalabrinian hands.³⁵⁸ Father Paolo Novati gave the eulogy at the funeral; Father Formia then moved into the position as pastor and Saint Mary's became a Scalabrinian parish.³⁵⁹

Across the Great Lakes from New York, the Scalabrinians had three missions in Ohio. The most stable was Sacred Heart at Cincinnati. During the first thirteen years of life, Sacred Heart had six pastors: Angelo Chiariglione (1890-1892), Pietro Lotti (1892-1897); Oreste Alussi (1897-1898); Ludovico Martinelli (1898-1899); Enrico Prezi (1899); and Vincenzo Astorri (1899-1903).³⁶⁰ During Father Astorri's tenure, Giuseppe Quadranti spent time as acting pastor. Then, in 1903, Giovanni Battista Balangero came to Sacred Heart. Father Balangero was an experienced missionary. Born in 1849 at Envie, Cuneo, he was educated at the Istituto Brignole-Sale of Genoa, which trained missionaries. Ordained in 1871, his first assignment was in distant Australia. From 1872 to 1879, he was pastor of a parish in Ravenswood in the Diocese of Brisbane. He learned English sufficiently well on this assignment that his next job was as pastor to a group of Irish living in Ceylon. In 1885 he returned to Italy with enough material for a book, *Australia e Ceylon: Studi e Ricordi di tredici anni di Missione*. He reentered the mission field in 1901 by joining the Scalabrinians. After a brief stay in Boston, he came to Cincinnati.³⁶¹ To this experience was added the luxury of being able to stay in one parish and devote himself to its development. Holy Rosary of Cleveland also enjoyed stable pastoral leadership under Antonio Gibelli. However, progress was slow. In 1901, Father Gibelli paid \$4,000 for land for a new church and a parochial school. Construction did not commence until 1905, a sign of either financial woes or disagreements. There was also some question of Father Gibelli's status within the Scalabrinian congregation. In March 1900, provincial superior Giacomo Gambera listed him as an ex-Scalabrinian, one who had finished his five-year commitment but who was still at work in the United States.³⁶²

For a time, it looked as though the Scalabrinians might expand to Columbus. Pietro Lotti preached a mission in that city in November 1895. However, a non-Scalabrinian, Alexander Castelli, arrived in the city and by 1898 had an Italian parish with a church dedicated to Saint John the Baptist. Three years later, Father Castelli was gone, and on February 9, 1901, Victor Sovilla took charge of Saint John the Baptist. Again, there seems to have been some question of Father Sovilla's status; Father Gambera listed him as an ex-

³⁵⁸ Unidentified clipping dated October 23, 1903, CMS No. 061A, Box 14, Miscellaneous Documents Church History folder.

³⁵⁹ William Pizzoglio, C.S. *Fiftieth Anniversary, Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, Utica, New York* (n.p., n.d.).

³⁶⁰ Louis Bolzan, C.S., *Memories of an Italian Parish* (n.p., n.d.), 169.

³⁶¹ Obituary circular AGS.

³⁶² Francesconi IV, 140, 133-134.

Scalabrinian still working in the United States. There also seems to have been some other problems. Parishioners complained they could understand neither Father Sovilla's Italian nor his English; perhaps he was from a different part of Italy and spoke a different dialect. Despite his problems with English, he continued to minister to English-speaking Catholics, which upset both his Italian parishioners and the pastors in the adjacent English-speaking parishes.³⁶³

South of the Ohio River, the Scalabrinians maintained two missions and added two. Their work in New Orleans had never quite reached the stage of a parish. During the early twentieth century, the only Scalabrinian in New Orleans was Luigi Paroli, who acted as a chaplain to the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart rather than as a parish. Insofar as the sisters ministered to Italian migrants, opening their chapel to them, Father Paroli also did so.³⁶⁴

Holy Rosary in Kansas City was somewhat more established than the New Orleans missions, but it lacked stable leadership. The Scalabrinians sent Francesco Beccherini there to replace Fernando Santipolo. Father Beccherini stayed only a few days, a record even for that peripatetic priest. Cesare Spigardi stayed from October 1897 to February 1900. Pietro Lotti succeeded Father Spigardi and stayed until November 30, 1902, when Carlo Delbecchi came. Father Delbecchi was the exception that proved the rule about the importance of stable leadership. He was stable enough, remaining at Holy Rosary until 1918, but his tenure was full of tensions. He had the misfortune to be pastor April 12, 1903, when the church burnt, necessitating fundraising, construction, and the rededication of the building December 20, 1903. He also got involved in various controversies. A 1906 disagreement with a Passionist priest in Kansas City reached the level of requiring the apostolic delegate's mediation. In 1909, Father Delbecchi ran into public opposition from his Sicilian parishioners.³⁶⁵

When Father Spigardi left Kansas City, he and Roberto Biasotti of Boston went to Saint Louis to preach a mission. In January 1900, Father Biasotti reported that Saint Louis's Italian colony was divided into three groups: Sicilians (with a few Neapolitans), Genoans and Lombards.³⁶⁶ After the mission, Father Biasotti returned to Boston and Father Spigardi stayed to develop parishes. He solved the problem of regional rivalry by opening three churches in three different parts of the city: Our Lady of Hope (later called Saint Charles Borromeo) at Nineteenth and Morgan Streets, for the Genoans; Our Lady, Help of Christians, at Tenth and Washington Streets, for the Sicilians; and Saint Ambrose, on Cooper and Wilson Avenues on the Hill, the most stable Italian colony, for the Lombards. It is not clear which of these Bishop Scalabrini visited when he was in the city,

³⁶³ Francesconi IV, 140, 234-236. Francesconi has Bishop Henry Moeller asking for the Scalabrinians' help in the 1890s, but the bishop of Columbus during that time was John Ambrose Watterson. Bishop Moeller's tenure was from August 28, 1900, to April 27, 1903, when he was appointed archbishop of Cincinnati.

³⁶⁴ *Venticinque Anni*, 116.

³⁶⁵ Francesconi IV, 236-238.

³⁶⁶ Roberto Biasotti to Demo, Saint Louis, January 25, 1900, CMS No. 037, Box 7, Folder 51.

but by 1902, the bishop was soliciting relics to be used at the three churches.³⁶⁷ The only problem, from a Scalabrinian point of view, was Father Spigardi's tenuous ties to the institute. In 1903, the Scalabrinians counted the Saint Louis mission as its own, but actually the parishes were soon shepherded by priests who had no connection with the Society of Saint Charles.³⁶⁸

In February 1903, Scalabrinian Riccardo Lorenzoni opened what turned out to be a dramatic ministry in Monongah, West Virginia. The drama did not lie in the size of the congregation or in the potential for growth. Monongah had only one significant employer: the Fairmont Coal Company. The company had attracted 400-450 Italians, a total of 56 families, mostly from Cosenza, Calabria. The local Polish priest spoke Italian and had time left over from the care of his tiny congregation to attend to the even smaller number of Italians. Father Lorenzoni was not sure the Scalabrinians should staff the mission at all.³⁶⁹

One Scalabrinian, though, did want to stay in Monongah. In March 1903, Giuseppe D'Andrea, then an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York, announced "at the beginning of next week I'm leaving the church at Bleecker Street. A higher law and [illegible] obliged me to this step. I have the duty to care for my health and, to tell the truth, I am tired of this life."³⁷⁰ Perhaps the presence of his brother at Monongah helped convince Father D'Andrea that this desolate hamlet would be good for his health. In May, Father Lorenzoni let Father D'Andrea's former colleagues in New York know of his safe arrival in Monongah.³⁷¹ Fathers Lorenzoni and D'Andrea settled down to work in their tiny, impecunious parish, named in honor of Our Lady of Pompei. In June 1903, Father Lorenzoni requested Father Pio Parolin come down from New York to preach and sing mass at the blessing of the church.³⁷²

In the Great Lakes region, the Scalabrinians opened two missions in Michigan. Francesco Beccherini's wanderings finally came to an end in Detroit, where he arrived from Kansas City on November 1, 1897. There he took over from Beniamino Berto the position as pastor of Saint Francis's, a parish for Detroit's Lombards and Sicilians which Father Berto had opened in 1896 at a chapel on Saint Joseph Street between Russell and Riopelle streets. On August 7, the Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Detroit laid the

³⁶⁷ Scalabrini to Andrea Cardinal Ferrari, Piacenza, November 18, 1902, *Scritti* II, 261. Cardinal Ferrari was the archbishop of Milan. The relics were to be installed in the church altars to fulfill a requirement that mass be said over saints' relics.

³⁶⁸ Gary Ross Mormino, *Immigrants on the Hill: Italian-Americans in Saint Louis, 1882-1982* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 148-171.

³⁶⁹ Riccardo Lorenzoni to Demo, Monongah, February 13, 1903, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1903 folder.

³⁷⁰ Giuseppe D'Andrea to Oreste Alussi, New York, March 19, 1903, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1903 folder.

³⁷¹ Lorenzoni to Demo, Monongah, May 14, 1903, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1903 folder.

³⁷² Lorenzoni to Antonio Demo, Monongah, June 7, 1903, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1903 folder.

cornerstone for a new church. Apostolic Delegate Sebastiano Martinelli presided over the opening of Father Beccherini's church, Saint Francis, November 20, 1898. A parochial school, staffed by the School Sisters of Notre Dame, opened on Eliot Street September 11, 1911. However, by 1901, Father Beccherini was listed as an ex-Scalabrinian working in the United States. He remained at Saint Francis until 1945, but it was not considered a Scalabrinian parish.³⁷³

Father Beccherini arranged for the Scalabrinians to come to Iron Mountain in the Diocese of Marquette. The early history of the parish is obscure. The first Italian priest to gather a congregation in this small mining town in Michigan's upper peninsula was Raphael Cavicchi; the Scalabrinians had a priest with the same name, but apparently this is a different person, as the Scalabrinians' Father Cavicchi was definitely in Boston during the time this priest first came to Iron Mountain. The Michigan Father Cavicchi began his work in 1889 with an Italian congregation meeting at the French parish of Saint Joseph's. In the spring of 1890, the congregation moved to a church dedicated to the Holy Rosary. This church burned down on All Souls' Day, 1893. Father Cavicchi assisted in rebuilding it, and then left in November 1894. Joseph G. Pinten served as pastor from December 1894 to August 1898, and Beniamino Berto from September 1898, to March 1902. (It is not clear whether Beniamino Berto of Iron Mountain and Benjamin Barto of Detroit are the same person.)

The Scalabrinian presence in Iron Mountain began when Giovanni Pietro Sinopoli Di Giunta arrived on March 28, 1902. Giovanni Pietro di Giunta Sinopoli commenced work April 1, 1902, at the old church. On June 24, he broke ground for a new one. The cornerstone was blessed July 6, and the church dedicated December 8. Giovanni Pietro di Giunta Sinopoli was the church's architect, contractor, and its interior decorator; he himself painted the murals which adorned the walls. The parishioners did the construction work and gathered the stones for the altar, which Giovanni Pietro di Giunta Sinopoli designed to include a statue of the Blessed Mother in the grotto setting of the Lourdes apparition. Parishioner Carlo Lorenzoni chiseled a sign proclaiming the building the "Chiesa Catt.ca Italiana Maria SS.ma Immacolata di Lourdes," and the parish became known as the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the title used at Lourdes. Giovanni Pietro di Giunta Sinopoli left on April 20, 1903. That same year the iron mine that gave the town its name closed. Unemployment cut through the town, as out-of-work miners ceased their business at dry goods stores, groceries, and saloons. It would be only a matter of time before local economic conditions affected the parish.³⁷⁴

The Scalabrinians' major advance came in Chicago. James Edward Quigley, first mentioned in connection with the Scalabrinians when he was a priest in the Diocese of Buffalo, served as bishop of Buffalo from February 24, 1897, to February 19, 1903, at which point he was transferred to Chicago. There he found a program of Italian pastoral care

³⁷³ Francesconi IV, 140, 242-244, and 1946 history of Saint Francis Church, photocopy courtesy of Roman P. Godzak, Archivist of the Archdiocese of Detroit.

³⁷⁴ Francesconi IV, 244-246; *Immaculate Conception Church, Iron Mountain, Michigan: A Monument to Our Past-A Beacon to Our Future: Celebrating Our Centennial Year, 1890-1990* (Galion, OH: United Church Directories, n.d.).

that included both secular priests and clergy from the Servants of Mary, or Servites. Archbishop Quigley added to the program by including the Scalabrinians.

When Archbishop Quigley first came to Chicago, the most important Italian parish was Holy Guardian Angel. This parish grew out of a congregation gathered in 1892 by Paul Ponziglione, S.J., for Italians near the Jesuits' Saint Ignatius College and the Church of the Holy Family. Tomaso Moreschini, O.S.M., opened a chapel in 1894, and the alumnae of Sacred Heart Convent on Taylor Street organized a Sunday school at the parochial school for Holy Family parish at 711 West Forquer (later Arthington) Street. Secular priest Edward M. Dunne, who had studied in Rome, became the first official pastor in 1899. During his tenure the parish erected a church on Forquer Street. Father Dunne assisted with the creation of other Italian parishes in Chicago, and with the coordination of the archdiocese's Italian ministry.

The Scalabrinians' first Chicago parish was Santa Maria Incoronata. Italians relocated from Ricigliano, Salerno, to the area around the corner of State and Taylor Streets. This group began organizing mutual benefit societies honoring the patron saints from their home hamlets. The nearest pastor was Daniel Riordan of Saint John's on 18th and Clark Streets, but he did not have the language skills to minister to his new parishioners. In 1896, a Father Orazio Mangone came to Chicago and rallied the Italians around a central patroness, Santa Maria Incoronata. He collected money for a statue, which arrived in 1897 and which was used to convince Father Riordan to hold a feast day celebration at Saint John's on September 19 of that year. The next step was to get a parish, which was done with the help of a benefactress, a Mrs. Mollie V. O'Neil Cleary, who agreed to pay the rent on a building at Twenty-First and State Streets. The statue of Santa Maria Incoronata moved to the parish church on November 26, 1899. Tragedy struck when Father Mangone died accidentally, of asphyxiation, January 18, 1903, and there was no one to replace him. The Archdiocese of Chicago tried using a non-Italian secular priest in that position, but the parishioners objected. Then Archbishop Quigley asked the Scalabrinians to take the parish. In 1904 Father Lorenzoni left Father D'Andrea in Monongah to come to Chicago. The parishioners showed their approval by meeting him at Polk Street Station with a brass band. Father Lorenzoni in turn showed his awareness of the situation by making his first public act a stop at the church to pray before the statue of Santa Maria Incoronata. He then went to work leading the parishioners in getting a new church building; the statue was transferred to the new church on Alexander Street December 8, 1904. Father Lorenzoni settled in and remained until 1919.³⁷⁵

Italians from Lucca and Pistoia, Undine and Friuli came to labor at the McCormick harvester plant. They settled on the outskirts of the city, in Melrose Park. The parishes nearest them were English-speaking (Saint Pius), German (Saint Paul) and Slovene (Saint Stephen); if they needed to use Italian for confessions, they had to cross town to the Servites' parish, Assumption. Father Dunne arranged for Italian-language services at a chapel that was part of Saint Pius parish. When he first came to Chicago, Archbishop Quigley asked a Father V. Diaferia to take charge of the nascent parish. Father Diaferia

³⁷⁵ Michael Rubino, *Ave Maria! History of the Devotion to Our Blessed Mother under the Title of Maria SS. Incoronata di Ricigliano* (Chicago: Santa Maria Incoronata, 1979), 8-13.

bought an unfinished basement from a Swedish Evangelical congregation. In October, the basement opened for Catholic worship as Saint Michael's parish church. Father Diaferia left, and Archbishop Quigley assured himself and the parishioners of a steady supply of Italian-speaking clergy by asking the Scalabrinians to take the parish. Father Modestus Gembrini came in 1904 and remained until 1908.³⁷⁶

Also in Melrose Park was a community gathered around devotion to Our Lady of Mount Carmel. Emilio de Stefano, who had come to Chicago in 1873, channeled many of his compatriots from Potenza out to the Chicago suburb of Melrose Park. The group's religious leader was his wife, Emmanuella De Stefano, who, as a token of her gratitude for her husband's recovery from a life-threatening illness, vowed to establish the observance of Our Lady of Mount Carmel's feast day in Melrose Park. In 1894, she secured a statue of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, and the first feast day took place with Servite Tomaso Moreschini saying mass. The congregation then built a small wooden chapel to house the statue and facilitate individual prayers to the Madonna. In May 1903, thinking the chapel might be a sufficient basis for further growth, Archbishop Quigley authorized a parish and assigned Antonio Petrillo to minister to it. For a time, Our Lady of Mount Carmel threatened to become like Sacred Heart in Boston: lay trustees held the deed to the church, and Archbishop Quigley wanted ownership transferred to the corporation which held archdiocesan church-property, of which he was the sole trustee. The lay trustees refused, and Mrs. De Stefano became so alarmed that she came from her new home in Chicago to claim the statue. A confrontation between Mrs. De Stefano and those who wanted to keep the statute in the church and the deed in the trustees' hands was avoided only by the intervention of a thunderstorm that scattered both sides. The trustees then decided it was better to give up the deed and keep the statue, and they regularized the status of Santa Maria Incoronata. Father Petrillo left in July 1905, and Archbishop Quigley asked the Scalabrinians to take the parish. In September, Beniamino Franch arrived. The first Sunday he was there, attendance numbered twelve people and the collection amount to seventy-five cents.³⁷⁷

In Chicago's near northwest neighborhood, an apostate priest had begun holding services at Trinity Norwegian Lutheran Church on Grand Avenue and Peoria Street. When the renegade's congregation of Sicilians, Tuscans, Piedmontese, and Venetians dwindled, Tomaso Moreschini, O.S.M., offered to start a Servite parish on the site. However, Archbishop James Edward Quigley purchased the church instead and in 1903 sent Anthony D'Ercole as pastor of Santa Maria Addolorata. Father D'Ercole turned out to be little better than the apostate Archbishop Quigley had bought out, and the archbishop asked the Scalabrinians to take the parish. Father Lorenzoni and Father Franch, then at Incoronata, took up the work there until a new priest could arrive. Father D'Ercole refused to go peacefully: "Sunday, when the church was full of people awaiting the arrival of Father Franck [sic], assistant to Father Lorenzoni, Father D'Ercole, in a major

³⁷⁶ *Golden Anniversary, Saint Michael Church, 1903-1953* (n.p., n.d.).

³⁷⁷ *Eightieth Anniversary of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Melrose Park, Illinois* (Chicago: C. D. Stampely, 1975); Rudolph J. Vecoli, "The Formation of Chicago's 'Little Italies,'" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11:2 (Spring 1983), 17.

manifestation of his base spirit and meanness, threatened the priest and, ordering the people, out, closed the doors of the church." When Giacomo Gambera finished his work at the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants and came to Addolorata, he found Father D'Ercole had taken all the movable objects with him.³⁷⁸

The last Chicago parish the Scalabrinians took in this period was Holy Guardian Angel itself. In 1905, Archbishop Quigley promoted Father Dunne to chancellor. The archbishop specifically asked Pacifico Chenuil, whom he had known at Saint Anthony, Buffalo, to take Father Dunne's place at Holy Guardian Angel.³⁷⁹ It was in Chicago that Father Chenuil began making his major contributions to Scalabrinian administration.

As always, the Scalabrinians had more calls for help than they had priests to fulfill them. In 1900, Bishop Scalabrini mentioned he had received a request for a priest for Vancouver.³⁸⁰ Although Scalabrinian rules required a community of at least two priests, Bishop Scalabrini was willing to make an exception. However, he was unable to spare even one priest, and it was the Scalabrinians, not the bishop himself, who finally extended the institute to Canada.

Bishop Scalabrini continued to experiment with developing a structure for his institute and with finding suitable personnel for each post. At the time of the bishop's death, this project was incomplete. He had developed the position of procurator and placed Father Zaboglio in it, and he had appointed Father Domenico Vicentini superior of the motherhouse. However, the real substitute for the superior general was the vicar general, and the bishop had not appointed one at the time of his death.³⁸¹

Within thirty years of their founding, then, the Scalabrinians had achieved a certain reputation, though it was not quite what they or their founder planned. Although the Scalabrinians remain unique as a community dedicated to ministering to migrants and refugees, they never had the field all to themselves; they always shared it with secular clergy and with religious from other orders. This was partly because the field of migrant pastoral care was still conceived primarily in terms of a specialized language ministry rather than a more comprehensive service. Even the Scalabrinians, who were still developing their ideas, acted as though they thought that once the migrants were addressed in their own language, they would be in conformity with other Catholics: they would support their clergy and parishes, attend mass, and receive the sacraments regularly, even use the services of parochial schools. Not until later did the Scalabrinians articulate a vision of migrants as individuals needing services beyond language. So, it should come as no surprise that American prelates did not think about the migrants as

³⁷⁸ Gambera, 147; see also *Santa Maria Addolorata Parish Fiftieth Anniversary, 1903-1935* (Chicago, 1953), and *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, New York, June 23, 1905, CMS No. 055, Box 1, Miscellaneous Documents.

³⁷⁹ Pacifico Chenuil to Demo, Buffalo, September 2, 1905, 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Chenuil folder.

³⁸⁰ Scalabrini to Ledóchowski, Piacenza, March 12, 1900, *Scritti* II, 168-169.

³⁸¹ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, February 19, 1901, and to Domenico Vicentini, Piacenza, September 30, 1903, *Scritti* II, 191, 267.

needing anything other than linguistic assistance, and that the ordinaries considered their obligation fulfilled if they took care of their migrants by assigning them secular migrant priests, secular priests within their own sees who had the necessary linguistic abilities, or members of other religious orders who spoke the requisite languages. It is also true that the Scalabrinians lacked personnel to answer every call, and that episodes of scandal or mismanagement darkened their reputation and made American prelates less likely to call on them. Therefore, while the Scalabrinians specialized in migrant care, other Catholics participated in it.

On the other hand, the Scalabrinians were exclusively identified with Italian pastoral care. Although individual Scalabrinians ministered to Poles or Lithuanians, no one sought their services for any group but Italians. In the nineteenth century, this did accord with Bishop Scalabrini's wishes; the institute was founded to care for Italian migrants, the Saint Raphael Society which the bishop and Marquis Giovanni Battista Volpe Landi founded tended Italians, and at various times the bishop entertained thoughts of providing medical care for Italians, education for Italian-American youths with vocations to the priesthood, and itinerant missionaries to preach to scattered Italian communities. Insofar as can be determined, this accorded well with the Scalabrinian priests' and brothers' sense of their mission. Father Gambera spoke for many when he said that Bishop Scalabrini's apostolate appealed to him because "it involved the preservation of the faith of our compatriots, scattered in foreign lands, mingling with people of a hundred and more different and discordant churches."³⁸² Evangelizing the natives of those foreign lands or converting those members of discordant churches were not the Scalabrinians' missions.

Bishop Scalabrini had always been able to see the Italian migration as an integral part of socioeconomic and political conditions in Italy. At the beginning of the twentieth century, he began to see the situation in Italy as an integral part of socioeconomic and political trends sweeping Europe. As his vision expanded, so did his concept of the Scalabrinians' mission. A change in pontiffs provided an opportunity for renewed efforts to expand the Scalabrinians' role. Leo XIII died July 20, 1903. He was succeeded by Pius X, who served as pope from August 9, 1903, to August 20, 1914. Historiography, and perhaps his canonization, have painted Pius as a deeply conservative person, a saint perhaps, but at the cost of condemning much of the modern world; whereas Leo XIII was remembered for *Rerum Novarum* and for working to have Catholicism recognized as a moral force which understood and could pass judgment on the effect of modern economic, political and social trends on human welfare, Pius was remembered for *Lamentabili sane exitu* and *Pascendi dominici gregis* (issued July 3 and September 8, 1907, respectively), and for condemning rather than seeking to convert the modern world. However, during Bishop Scalabrini's life, Pius had not yet acquired his historical reputation. Leo had been unable to reconcile Italian nationalism with Catholicism and thus repair a major rupture in the Christian civilization Bishop Scalabrini valued. Perhaps Pius represented another chance — a last chance, for Bishop Scalabrini was aging, too.

³⁸² Gambera, 61.

In April 1904, Francesco Zaboglio wrote a "pro-memoria," a draft of a plan for reconceptualizing Scalabrinian work. There should be an ad hoc congregation in Rome "With the particular aim of preserving the faith of the migrants of any language or nation, both in places of departure and arrival, urging, advising, guiding bishops, religious and diocesan priests and the faithful. . ."

Since the lack of workers of the Gospel with the necessary knowledge of the language, customs and the different temperaments of the various nationalities is the proximate cause of lamentable evils, the congregation in charge could, whenever needed, promote the founding of seminaries specifically for the different languages or nations, or of congregations like the one founded by Bishop Scalabrini of Piacenza for migrants of the Italian language, and interest the superiors of various religious orders and congregations in sending missionaries wherever the need be greater.³⁸³

Bishop Scalabrini may have taken Father Zaboglio's memorandum with him on his next trip. On June 13, he left Piacenza to visit the Italian migrants and the Scalabrinian missionaries in Brazil. He spent almost a month on the ocean, arriving at Rio de Janeiro July 7. Although the bishop spent some of the long ocean voyage in personal devotional exercises and in tending to migrants traveling in steerage, he had time to mull over Father Zaboglio's draft. On July 9 he reached São Paulo, where he was to stay for a while. He took some time there to draft a letter to Pope Pius X:

Why could not the Church, which through the admirable institution of Propaganda Fide spends so much money and commits so many priests for the spreading of our faith among the infidels, do something similar for the preservation of the faith among the migrants? I am speaking of the migrants of all nations and all Catholic lands. Italians, Germans, Spaniards, Portuguese, Canadians, etc. A special congregation dedicated to this task, which is the greatest problem of our century, would do honor to the Holy Apostolic See; would bring near to her, as to a loving mother, the people of the world; and would bring about an immense good. Up north, in the United States of America, millions of people are lost to Catholicism—a loss that is certainly greater than the conversions of the infidels obtained by our missions during three centuries. This loss still continues, notwithstanding all appearances to the contrary. Protestantism works here, and up there as well, in perverting the souls. Now a congregation which would contact the bishops of the dioceses where Catholic migrants come from and the dioceses they go to (and if this is not enough, even by contacting the respective governments); a congregation which would study every angle of the difficult and complex migration problem, using for this purpose the old and new scholarship, and which in the name of the Holy Father would adopt the proper remedies, such a congregation would be a blessing for the world and would suffice to render your pontificate glorious.³⁸⁴

Bishop Scalabrini finished his travels in Brazil and returned to Piacenza on December 6. On March 19, 1905, he received an answer to the proposal he had made last July, not from Pius X himself but from the pontiff's secretary of state, Raphael Cardinal Merry del Val. The cardinal wrote in a discouraging vein:

It would not be difficult, nor displeasing, to His Holiness to address the word of comfort you suggest to all migrants of every nationality. But I think that this word should be pronounced

³⁸³ Zaboglio, "Pro-Memoria," April 24, 1904, Francesconi IV, 16-19.

³⁸⁴ Scalabrini to Pius X, São Paulo, July 22, 1904, *Bishop Scalabrini's Plan for the Pastoral Care of Migrants of All Nationalities* (New York: Center for Migration Studies [CMS pastoral publications], n.d.), 7-10.

when it can be followed up without delay by an efficacious measure. It is precisely in this that we lack a clear line of conduct and a concrete program of action. A commission pro emigratis catholicis could be appointed, I agree. But then, what? It is necessary to find competent people first; then, to indicate a line of action; determine the limits of the apostolate of the commission and the means to be put at its disposal, in addition to the practical way of using them. In a word, we need a preparatory work, otherwise we shall have only words, promises, a commission, good intentions, complications with other similar societies, but nothing more.³⁸⁵

If any of this was meant as a veiled reminder of the problems the Vatican had noticed with the Scalabrinians, the bishop ignored it. He did, however, read between the lines about the lack of preparatory work, and took that as a mandate to do some of it. Six weeks later, Cardinal del Val had a "Memorial of Bishop G. B. Scalabrini on the Congregation or Commission for Catholic Migrants" on his desk. Written as it was after nearly twenty years in the migrant apostolate, it may serve as a kind of testament to all Bishop Scalabrini had learned from his study and experience, and all he had to teach others.

Bishop Scalabrini's ideas could now be presented in a more systematic fashion. The Americas had been providentially set aside. The histories of its indigenous peoples, the Protestants who settled what is now the eastern United States and the followers of Enlightenment philosophies who set up secular governments in both North and South America were all preludes. The monumental migration from Catholic Europe held the promise of creating in the Americas a truly Christian civilization that would in turn revive that of the Old World, beleaguered as it was by liberalism, radicalism, and the rise of the nation-state. The challenge now was to keep these migrants from succumbing to the dangers of the liberalism and radicalism in their new environments. The way to do that was to preserve the continuity between their faith experiences in their old homes and those in their new homes. Preserving the continuity meant more than providing clergy and sisters who spoke the proper language; otherwise, American ordinaries could send their own seminarians and sisters abroad to learn to the languages and then bring them back to work with the migrants. Conserving the migrants' faith also meant preserving homeland pious customs, and, in the case of Oriental-rite Catholics, it meant respecting traditions which were considered equally honorable to the Latin rite which prevailed in the west. In a sense, Bishop Scalabrini was saying that while the existing Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith cast the seeds of Catholicism, his congregation would transplant European shoots, and would work to bring the plants to flower in the new soil and climate.

The bishop did have some practical suggestions for spiritual gardening. The commission should first investigate the phenomenon of migration, so as to be able to determine the most effective forms of pastoral care. It should recruit and train priests from the migrants' homelands to accompany them to their new homes. In the new country, the clergy could live in the urban areas and ride circuit to scattered congregations. They should promote bilingual parochial schooling, run dispensaries, and "be the center of a variety of activities for religious, social and material assistance," thus

³⁸⁵ Raffaele Merry del Val to Scalabrini, Rome, March 19, 1905, *Bishop Scalabrini's Plan*, 11-12.

providing a total environment that sheltered the migrants against the dangers of the new land.³⁸⁶ On May 17, Bishop Scalabrini sent Cardinal Merry del Val an addendum regarding his comments about finding competent people to take up the Vatican-level migrant apostolate. He suggested the Vatican call three Scalabrinians, two from North America and one from South America to Rome. These missionaries would use "the experience they have gained and the studies they have done, as well as the knowledge of other missionaries residing in Rome" to lay the groundwork for the new congregation.³⁸⁷

Four days after sending this letter, Bishop Scalabrini was at Borghetto di San Lazzaro Alberoni to bless a cemetery. Immediately after the service, he took ill, but climbed back into his carriage for the trip back to Piacenza. On returning home, he took to his bed and summoned his physician, who prescribed surgery. The surgeon assured the bishop this was such a routine procedure that generally the assistant surgeon performed the operation, and that it was usually successful. After thirty minutes of surgery performed at his own home on Sunday, May 28, Bishop Scalabrini woke up from the chloroform claiming to feel quite well. On both Monday and Tuesday, he woke up saying the same thing, but cardiac complications developed during each day, and a physicians' attendance was necessary by each evening. The bishop realized he was losing ground each day, and on Wednesday he asked for the last sacraments. He died about 6:00 a.m. on Thursday, June 1, the Feast of the Ascension.³⁸⁸

A week later, superior of the motherhouse Domenico Vicentini wrote the pioneer of the Brazilian missions Faustino Consoni: "Let us pray to God that He may breathe a little of His Spirit on our poor congregation and give it new life." Aware that this sounded more like criticism than pious sentiments, Vicentini went on, "I am saying all this not to distract in the least from our Venerable Founder. He was a man of great heart and vast ideals. . ." Mention has already been made of these allusions to sainthood as a euphemism suggesting the "saint" was out of touch with reality. Sure enough, Father Vicentini continued: "He was too optimistic in practice." In the manner of all people who are in the position of having to discern and do what the recently deceased would have wanted, Father Vicentini then claimed that Bishop Scalabrini was becoming, if less saintly, more realistic: "One of his last recommendations, indeed his very last one, was for conducting a good thorough housecleaning."³⁸⁹

Father Vicentini's comments reflect one narrative of Scalabrinian history. According to this story, Bishop Scalabrini had a vision of a community of male religious dedicated to the comprehensive pastoral care of migrants. The missionaries, though, lost their founder's farsighted vision, and only recently have begun to recover it. Such a narrative threatens to devalue the contributions of those Scalabrinians who came between 1905 and

³⁸⁶ "Memorial of Bishop G. B. Scalabrini on the Congregation or Commission for Catholic Migrants," *Bishop Scalabrini's Plan*, 24.

³⁸⁷ "Scalabrini to Merry del Val, Piacenza, May 17, 1905, *Bishop Scalabrini's Plan*, 37-38.

³⁸⁸ Marco Caliaro and Mario Francesconi, CS., *John Baptist Scalabrini: Apostle to Emigrants*, trans. Alba I. Zizzamia (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977), 390-393.

³⁸⁹ Domenico Vicentini to Faustino Consoni, Piacenza, June 7, 1905, Francesconi IV, 31-32.

"recently." An examination of the records makes it even easier to criticize the Scalabrinians in the United States during that period. Some were indeed self-interested rather than self-sacrificing, and those with good intentions were sometimes nearsighted rather than clear-sighted. Some of them, though, were just what the situation required. The most thoughtful and dedicated among them made difficult choices from among options limited by social, economic, and ecclesiastical circumstances. Slowly, painfully, without their constant referring to what Bishop Scalabrini would have wanted and what Bishop Scalabrini would have done, they built up a body of experience that validated some elements of his vision. When modern Scalabrinians recovered that vision, they also drew on this storehouse of experience.



Bishop Giovanni Battista Scalabrini (1839-1905), who served as bishop of Piacenza from 1876 to 1905 and founding superior general of the Scalabrinians from 1887 to 1905.



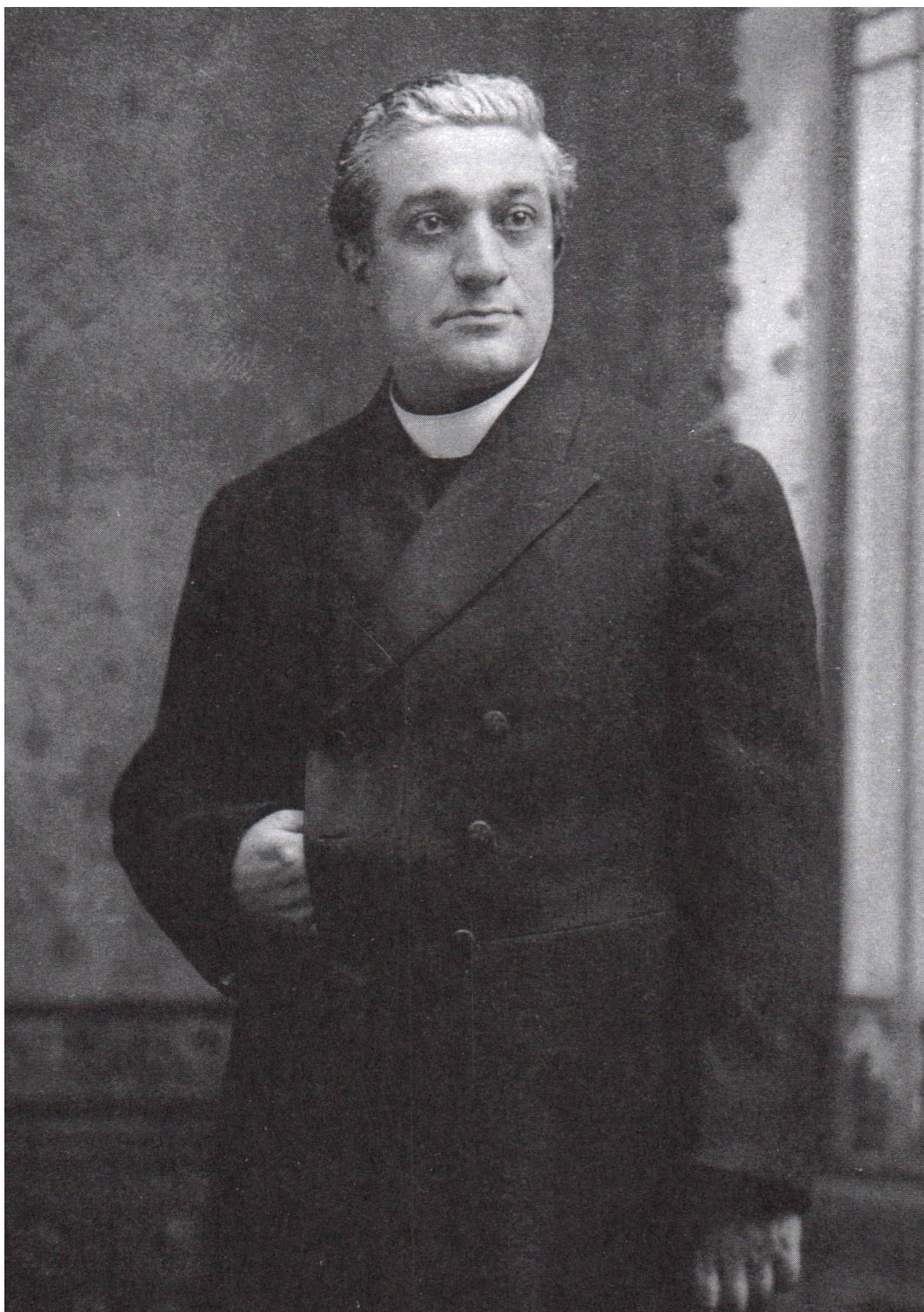
Francesco Zaboglio, Bishop Scalabrini's U.S. Representative.

Source: CMS.



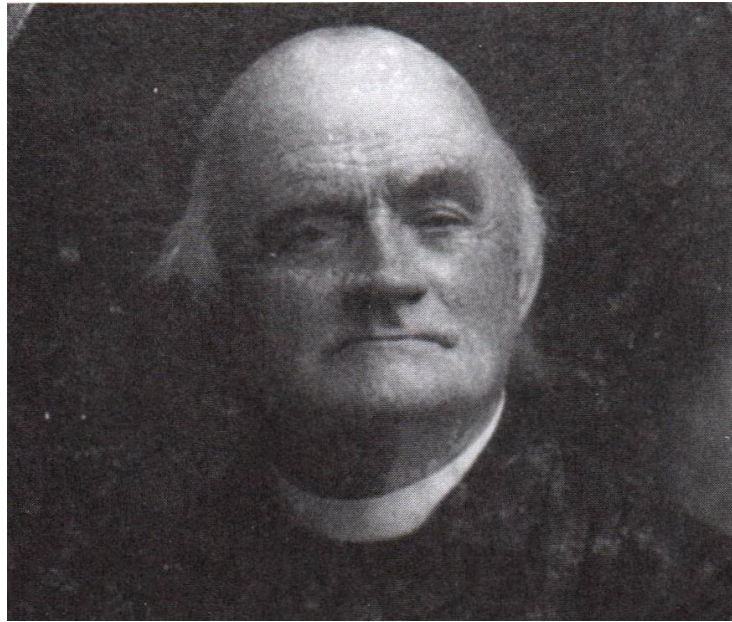
Giuseppe Martini, who came to the United States in January 1889, with the second Scalabrinian mission band. He was pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston from 1889 until 1894. He later served in Italy and Brazil.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 3.



Oreste Alussi left Piacenza with the second group of Scalabrinian missionaries on January 24, 1889. He served in various Scalabrinian parishes in New York and New England.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 3.



Angelo Chiariglione came to the United States in 1889 with an assignment for New Orleans, but his real interest lay in itinerant preaching.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 2.



Pietro Bandini, who in 1891 founded the New York Branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of the Italian Immigrants and Our Lady of Pompei in Greenwich Village.

Source: CMS.



Cover of Fr. Pietro Bandini's first report on the New York Branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of the Italian Immigrants, housed at 112 Waverly Place.

Source: CMS.



During his 1901 visit to the United States, Bishop Scalabrini stopped in Utica, New York, to bless the cornerstone of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel.

Source: CMS.



Three Scalabrinians who shaped the congregation's early missions: Giacomo Gambera (right) served in the United States from 1889 to 1934, in New Orleans, Pittsburgh, Boston, New York (where he was the second director of the New York Branch of the Saint Raphael Society) and Chicago. Paolo Novati (center) stabilized the mission in Providence, RI, and at Sacred Heart in Boston, MA. His 1913 death was a real loss. Pacifico Chenuil (left) was from 1905 to 1919 pastor of Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago; from 1906 to 1919, superior of St. John the Baptist (western) province; from 1919 to 1924, third superior general.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 2.



Pacifico Chenuil (left), Giacomo Gambera (center) and Bernardo Casassa (right). This photograph was probably taken between 1901 and 1904.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 2.



Riccardo Lorenzoni, who in 1903 founded Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah, West Virginia. In 1904, he inaugurated the Scalabrinians' work at Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 3.



Pietro Maschi, who founded Saint Tarcisius in Framingham, MA, and served as pastor from 1907 to 1948.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 3.



Bartolomeo Marenchino, who in 1904 founded Saint Anthony's in New Haven, CT, and served as pastor until 1925.

Source: CMS no, 077, Box 17, folder 3.



Nazareno Properzi, who founded Saint Anthony's in Somerville, MA in 1915, and served as pastor until his death in 1960.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 3.



Roberto Biasotti was from 1901 to 1906 pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston, but his real interest lay in preaching missions. He directed the New York Italian Apostolate, a mission band, from 1912 to 1921.

Source: *Venticinque Anni di Missione fra gli Italiani Immigranti di Boston, Mass.* (Milan: Tipografia Santa Lega Eucharistica, 1913), 123.



5

On Their Own

The first thing to do was to develop new leadership for the Scalabrinians. The Vatican appointed a new bishop of Piacenza, Giovanni Maria Pellizzari. Paolo Novati commented that Bishop Pellizzari's appointment was a "good omen for our congregation, because we have in him a grand and sincere friend," but the office of bishop of Piacenza was separate from that of superior general.³⁹⁰ Scalabrinian rules called for the vicar general to conduct an election among vowed members who were pastors of parishes and thus house superiors, but the office of vicar general was vacant at the time of Bishop Giovanni Battista Scalabrini's death. Sometime shortly after the bishop's death, the superior of the motherhouse Domenico Vicentini asked the Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith for guidance and was told to take the role of vicar general himself.³⁹¹ Accordingly, he notified the provincial superiors, and in July, North American superior Novati sent a circular asking the house superiors to cast their ballots via registered mail.³⁹² In August, Father Novati took the ballots to Piacenza to assist in opening and counting them.³⁹³ Antonio Demo announced the results to the Scalabrinians and the press in October.³⁹⁴ Faustino Consoni of Brazil received eight votes, Father Novati received eight valid and two invalid votes, but Father Vicentini received 21 votes, more than enough to elect him the Scalabrinians' second superior general.

The new superior general was a dedicated Scalabrinian. On the other hand, he was pessimistic about the institute's future. Perhaps this was because he took his previous experience with the African missions as normative, as the way missions should be run,

³⁹⁰ Paolo Novati to Antonio Demo, Piacenza, September 21, 1905, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1905 folder.

³⁹¹ Domenico Vicentini to Carissimi Confratelli Della Congregazione di S. Carlo per gli Emigranti Italiani, Piacenza, June 30, 1905, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

³⁹² Novati to Rev. e Caro Padre, New York, July 15, 1905, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

³⁹³ Beniamino Franch to Novati, Chicago, August 14, 1905, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Frank [sic] folder.

³⁹⁴ Demo to Rev. e caro Padre, New York, October 18, 1905, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1905 folder; "Il Nuovo Superiore Generale," *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, New York, October 1905, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

and by that standard the Scalabrinians were short of the mark. What Bishop Scalabrini had accepted as necessary experiments that allowed him to better chart a course for the institute Father Vicentini saw as departures from the founder's original vision. Father Vicentini interpreted Bishop Scalabrini's "original vision" very narrowly. Even changes the bishop himself had inaugurated, such as service to all migrants or perpetual vows, were suspect.

Once installed, Father Vicentini had to determine what he was superior general of. In 1905, he issued a circular urging the Scalabrinians to carry on after the founder's death.³⁹⁵ Then he departed Piacenza on a visitation of Scalabrinian houses and conducted a search of the bishop's papers. On July 6, 1906, Father Novati passed along to Father Demo his observation that "Father Vicentini has returned from his trip to the United States discouraged. He is now preparing a report, certainly unflattering, to the prefect of Propaganda that will provoke that congregation to make arrangements in our regard."³⁹⁶

Father Vicentini submitted his report that same day. It was indeed unflattering, and revelatory of the distance between Bishop Scalabrini's serene optimism that his institute would develop and Father Vicentini's fear that the Scalabrinians would never be a real religious congregation. For one thing, Vatican officials had never, so far as Father Vicentini could see, approved the bishop's plans. Father Vicentini could find no written approval of Bishop Scalabrini's shift from temporary to permanent vows, and he disregarded evidence of oral approval. Furthermore, the Scalabrinians hardly lived as a community of vowed religious. Individual Scalabrinians broke their vows of poverty. Younger Scalabrinians, who had trained at the Christopher Columbus Institute and taken permanent vows, used these facts to exempt themselves from obedience to older Scalabrinians, who were usually secular priests under temporary vows with little in the way of formation.³⁹⁷ The Vatican officials who received the report could hardly avoid the conclusion to which it pointed. They told Father Vicentini to rewrite the rules to conform to what the Vatican had approved in 1888.³⁹⁸

Father Vicentini sketched out his ideas. The key point was the vows, against which he mustered a lengthy indictment. The Scalabrinians' apostolate, in which they traveled with migrants and ministered to small colonies unable to support a community of religious, precluded vows. Individual Scalabrinians ignored vows of poverty and obedience. People Father Vicentini trusted advised against vows. Father Vicentini was convinced Bishop Scalabrini himself had not wanted the 1895 rule with the perpetual vow approved because

³⁹⁵ Vicentini, *Ai Dilettissimi Confratelli della Congregazione di S. Carlo per gli Emigrati Italiani, Lettera Circolare del P. Domenico Vicentini, Superior General della stessa Congregazione* (Piacenza: Tipografia F. Solari di Gregorio Tononi, 1905), CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

³⁹⁶ Novati to Demo, place illegible, July 6, 1900, CMS No. 78, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Novati folder.

³⁹⁷ Vicentini to Girolamo Cardinal Gotti, Piacenza, July 6, 1906, Mario Francesconi, C.S., *History of the Scalabrinian Congregation*, volume IV, *Internal History of the Congregation (1896-1919), Missions in North America (1895-1919)*, trans. Martin Bortolazzo, C.S. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1893), 39-40. Hereafter, Francesconi IV.

³⁹⁸ Gotti to Vicentini, Rome, July 19, 1906, Francesconi IV, 42.

he was unsure it would be obeyed. Different Scalabrinians had different types of vows (temporary or perpetual), causing confusion. Scalabrinian assistants under vows of poverty were unhappy because they could not see how their work benefited the congregation. Finally, more recruits might join the Scalabrinians if the vow of poverty were removed, permitting them to earn money to subsidize relatives.³⁹⁹

Replacing the vows with oaths to serve the spiritual welfare of migrants in the Americas opened the way for reforming the institute along new lines. The Scalabrinians would not even need a superior general or provincial superiors, only a rector at the motherhouse, which would train missionaries for the field. Presumably the rector could make an initial assignment, but, freed from vows of obedience, individuals dissatisfied with their assignments could arrange for transfers and pastors could seek out their own assistants. (Father Vicentini thought such a free-market system of labor might have the happy side effects of encouraging pastors to greater civility in order to attract assistants and assistants to greater diligence for fear of replacements.) Also, freed from vows of poverty individuals could save for old age or illness, thus relieving the Scalabrinians of responsibility for them. Father Vicentini did not think that fostering the individualism more typical of capitalism than of religious life would solve every problem. He still expected each priest to pledge a certain amount per annum to the motherhouse, which would use the money to train the young missionaries and attend the sick and elderly ones who lacked their own savings. He objected when Francesco Cardinal Satolli, the former U.S. apostolic delegate, now stationed at the Vatican as prefect of studies, suggested the motherhouse should prepare priests for delivery to American ordinaries, who would then be their sole superiors, thus turning Bishop Scalabrini's institute into a conduit for channeling Italian priests to the Americas.⁴⁰⁰

Father Vicentini issued the new *Regola della Congregazione dei Missionari di San Carlo per gli italiani emigranti* in 1906, with a cover letter pointing out the major changes. Oaths of perseverance replaced perpetual vows. Members no longer took vows of poverty or obedience; since priests took vows of chastity as part of their preparation for ordination, that was unaffected by the changes. No longer did priests who ended their relationship with the Scalabrinians have to return to Italy; if they could find ordinaries in the United States willing to accept them, they could be incardinated into American sees.⁴⁰¹ Commuting all Scalabrinian vows, temporary and permanent, to oaths, delayed full adoption of the rules until June 1, 1909.⁴⁰²

During a visit to the United States in the summer of 1910, Father Vicentini gave the missionaries the opportunity to make their new oaths to him. In December, 1910, he issued a list of those whose previous vows had been commuted to oaths of perseverance:

³⁹⁹ Vicentini, rough draft, Chicago, 1906, Francesconi IV.

⁴⁰⁰ Vicentini to Chenuil, Piacenza, n.d., Francesconi IV, 46-47.

⁴⁰¹ *Regola della Congregazione dei Missionari di San Carlo per gli italiani emigrati* (n.p., 1906), Francesconi IV, 44.

⁴⁰² Vicentini to Missionari Dell'Istituto Di S. Carlo per gli Italiani Emigrati, Piacenza, June 1, 1909, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1908 folder.

Salvatore Barbino, Alfred Buonaiuti, Francesco Brescianini, Vittorio Cangiano, Erminio Catelli, Pacifico Chenuil, Giovanni Costanzo, Antonio Demo, Vincenzo Jannuzzi, Bartolomeo Marenchino, Lino Merlo, Giovanni Morelli, Gaspare Moretto, Paolo Novati, Flaminio Parenti, Pio Parolin, Carlo Peddrazzani, Giuseppe Poia, Giuseppe Quadranti, Massimo Rinaldi, Corrado Stefani, Angelo Luigi Strazzoni, Arnaldo Vanoli and himself.⁴⁰³ The list may be only partial, as it omits several in the western province who spent their lives in the Scalabrinian institute, e.g., Giacomo Gambera, Beniamino Franch and Riccardo Lorenzoni. Reactions varied. At least one young Scalabrinian did not think the new ceremony replaced the old. "In January of 1906 I made my solemn promises, placing myself in the hands of the Rev. Fr. D. Vicentini, General of our Congregation of Saint Charles," Vincenzo Jannuzzi, newly assigned to the New York mission, wrote Father Demo. "Today I do not add anything to the solemnity of the promises, in conformity of our rule, which in regard to vows exactly not as much as was exacted by the old rule. I conform, however, to all that was promised at Piacenza in 1906."⁴⁰⁴ Oreste Alussi, who had been in the United States some twenty years at this point, also wrote Father Demo he could not accept the new rules but did not explain why.⁴⁰⁵

Perhaps he could see the implications for himself of the eradication of many community supports. Perhaps his experience had led him to see what Bishop Scalabrini saw, the need for an ongoing institute with a permanent commitment to the migrant apostolate. His lack of acceptance did not affect his relations with the Scalabrinians; they considered him a confrere until his death in 1928.

Eliminating vows, perpetual or temporary, in favor of oaths of perseverance precluded the Scalabrinians from consideration as a canonically erected congregation of male religious. The proper term for them was a pious society, a collective whose members sanctified themselves by cultivating personal holiness and worked to extend the Christian faith by taking an active role in ministry. Few Scalabrinians used any sort of religious initials after their names. Those that did used P.S.S.C., for Pious Society of Saint Charles.

The Scalabrinians' status in Vatican administration was even more complex than careful definitions of congregations and pious societies suggests. Bishop Scalabrini had relied on the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, the main administrative body, for guidance in establishing his institute. However, because he thought of the migrant apostolate as part of the process of bringing Christian civilization to non-Christian lands and because the United States was still considered mission territory and still administered by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the bishop also dealt with Propaganda. On August 15, 1912, Pope Pius X, following Bishop Scalabrini's 1905 suggestion, issued a *motu proprio* creating a section within the Consistorial Congregation charged with responsibility for Catholic migrants. By then, the Scalabrinians had been

⁴⁰³ Vicentini, Notificazione, Piacenza, December 22, 1910, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

⁴⁰⁴ Vincenzo Jannuzzi to Demo, New York, July 18, 1910, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Jannuzzi folder.

⁴⁰⁵ Oreste Alussi to Demo, n.p., n.d., CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Alussi folder.

defined as one of Catholicism's pious societies. Thus, insofar as their internal discipline was concerned, the Scalabrinians answered to the Sacred Congregation for Religious, and, insofar as their migrant ministry was concerned, they answered to the Consistorial Congregation.⁴⁰⁶ As it turned out the Consistorial Congregation showed more interest in the Scalabrinians than the Congregation on Religious did.

With the leadership in place and the rules on their way to Vatican approval, Father Vicentini set to work reorganizing the Scalabrinian hierarchy. In May 1906, while he was still on the fact-finding mission that led him to dispense with perpetual vows, he decided to divide the North American province into two, more manageable, units. He appointed Paolo Poggi, then pastor of Saint Joachim's in New York, as head of the eastern province, and named Father Demo and Father Marenchino consultants. This new entity supervised affairs at Scalabrinian parishes in New York, Boston, New Haven, Providence, Buffalo, Syracuse, Utica, Monongah and Bridgeport, Connecticut. Father Vicentini appointed Pacifico Chenuil superior of the western province, with Giacomo Gambera and Riccardo Lorenzoni as consultants. The western province included the city and suburbs of Chicago, Cleveland, Kansas City, Saint Louis, Cincinnati and Iron Mountain, Michigan.⁴⁰⁷ Within a year, Father Poggi had left Saint Joachim's, and the eastern province needed a new superior. Father Vicentini appointed Father Demo provincial, with Father Novati taking his place as consultant and vice-provincial.⁴⁰⁸

Thereafter, the position of provincial superior was an elected one. Each house superior was supposed to conduct a secret ballot among the house members, who voted for one provincial and two consultants. The house superiors then delivered the result to the provincial. Each superior counted the ballots and announced who had the most votes.⁴⁰⁹ That provincials supervised elections in which they themselves were running raised the possibility of fraud. Further suspicions are raised by the fact that both Father Chenuil and Father Demo continued to serve until 1919. Perhaps they just kept announcing themselves as winners? The records for the western province for that period are scanty, but evidence from the east suggests Father Demo could not give away the job. In 1911, Father Gambera returned to Chicago from a Florida vacation to find a letter from Father Demo notifying him he had been elected eastern superior.⁴¹⁰ Gambera not only refused to take the post, and he explained why in terms that were very unflattering to the constituents who had elected him. "I take the liberty to point out that the provincial superior does not have the necessary freedom or independence to exercise his office," and although the superior was supposed to enforce the rules, such enforcement was almost

⁴⁰⁶ Francesconi IV, 69.

⁴⁰⁷ Vicentini to Demo, New York, May 20, 1906, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1906 folder.

⁴⁰⁸ Vicentini to Demo, Piacenza, October 15, 1907, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1907 folder.

⁴⁰⁹ Vicentini, Notificazione, Piacenza, October 25, 1910, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

⁴¹⁰ Giacomo Gambera to Demo, Chicago, January 28, 1911, CMS No. 069, Box I, General Correspondence.

impossible in a community so deficient in fraternal affection and discipline. Father Gambera, who despite his negative opinion of his colleagues had been a Scalabrinian for 22 years at this point, wished to devote himself to his work at Santa Maria Addolorata.⁴¹¹ That was the end of that, and Father Demo continued as provincial.

The chain of command from superior general to provincial superior to house superior to individual member often broke down in the face of technology. There are occasional references to telephones in the Scalabrinian correspondence, but hardly any parish letterhead had telephone numbers, so it is not clear that every priest had access to telephone lines. Nor did it matter for inter-Scalabrinian communication, because there were few long-distance lines until after World War I, so while the priests at Saint Anthony's in New Haven could telephone those at Saint Michael's in the same city, neither could telephone the provincial superior in New York. For rapid long-distance communication even Scalabrinians in small towns had access to a telegraph, but it was not easy to use. Since using the telegraph involved giving a message to an operator for translation into Morse code, it was not a suitable system for confidential communication. Second, the sending operator who translated the message into Morse code and the receiving operator who translated the message out of Morse code had to be using the same human language; an Italian-speaking telegraph operator could wire a message to an Italian-speaking telegraph operator, but not all towns were lucky enough to have Italian-speaking telegraph operators and not all Scalabrinians were lucky enough to speak English well. Even those that spoke English had problems making telegraph operators understand their accents; Father Gambera once sent a telegram that read "I will leave tomorrow on the Dante in poor help," which puzzled his confreres until one of them guessed Father Gambera meant poor health.⁴¹²

Most often, the Scalabrinian superior general and provincial superior relied on letters. Although domestic mail traveled quickly in the early twentieth century, international mail was another matter. Francesco Beccherini was startled to read in the newspaper that Oreste Alussi had died while on vacation in Italy, and pressed Father Demo for details. The details were that Father Alussi had indeed fallen sick in Naples. A telegram alerting the Scalabrinians to the possibility of his dying went out, the Neapolitan papers turned the telegram into a fact, the Boston papers picked up the story from the Neapolitan ones and the Boston Scalabrinians held a funeral. Meanwhile, Father Alussi recovered, but the letter announcing his recuperation never caught up with the other news.⁴¹³

Sending and receiving letters was not easy. Father Demo's correspondence gives some idea of the methods employed. Either few missions had typewriters or few missionaries knew how to use them, for most Scalabrinians wrote longhand, usually in black ink with

⁴¹¹ Gambera to Reverendissimi e Carissimi confratelli, Chicago, February 22, 1911, CMS No. 069, Box 1, General Correspondence.

⁴¹² Angelo Luigi Strazzoni to Demo, Providence, August 1, 1921, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁴¹³ Demo to Francesco Beccherini, New York, July 26, 1927, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Beccherini folder.

fountain pens. About half the time they used parish letterhead; otherwise, they used whatever paper or post card came to hand. When Father Demo got a letter, he read it with a blue, crayon-like pencil in hand, underlining the parts that required answers. Upon responding to the letter, he then made a notation in the margin summarizing the answer's content. Sometimes he wrote *vedi* copybook and a date, indicating he had placed his parish stationery on a blank page in his copybook and placed a sheet of specially treated paper underneath, allowing him to make a copy of the outgoing letter, but not to file it. It was impractical to tear out the tissue-thin sheets in the copybook, and so incoming and outgoing mail had to be filed separately. In the early 1920s, Father Demo discovered carbon paper, allowing him to copy outgoing mail on a second sheet of letterhead and to keep the replies with the original inquiries.

The situation in which the missionaries found themselves also disrupted the chain of command. Italian migrants went where the work was, and as a result there were highly transient single men and family units in small clusters in otherwise isolated places such as Fredonia, New York, or Monongah, West Virginia. Such a congregation had only enough work and enough resources for one priest. Rather than live in a community with a superior to obey, the typical Scalabrinian lived alone and relied on initiative rather than obedience.

Finally, personality may have mattered. Father Vicentini lamented the lack of a spirit of obedience among the Scalabrinians. Giacomo Gambera did not focus on the lack of deference between superiors and subordinates; he castigated the lack of cooperation among equals, the bickering and gossip that indicated a lack of fraternity. The various descriptions convey the sense that the Scalabrinians were a community of individualists.

The result of this combination of factors was that while superior general Vicentini issued circulars and provincial superiors held chapter meetings, the real Scalabrinian organization was less of a chain of command. A loose group of individuals managed Scalabrinians affairs in the United States. Group membership was determined by length of experience in the missions, by talent and temperament, by fortuitous assignment in parishes that were running well enough to allow the pastor to devote time to Scalabrinian administration, or by assignment in a geographically significant place. The group had different members at different points between the 1900s and 1920s, as older Scalabrinians died or retired and as younger ones developed into leaders. It is time to meet these personalities who shaped Scalabrinian history.

Chief among these bastions of stability was Father Demo. His leadership role does not seem to have rested on charisma. Father Gambera, who thought highly enough of him to appoint him to Our Lady of Pompei in New York, remarked that he could not preach.⁴¹⁴ Father Gambera's assessment of Father Demo's preaching is corroborated elsewhere. Michael J. Lavelle, rector of Saint Patrick's Cathedral and the archbishop's liaison for many of archdiocese's ethnic Catholics, commented he had never heard Father Demo preach a sermon. If the occasion was of any significance, Father Demo turned over the preaching to an assistant or a distinguished guest, and so tactfully covered his

⁴¹⁴ Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 261.

deficiencies. As far as Monsignor Lavelle was concerned, Father Demo more than made up for his shortcomings in other ways:

The church is always crowded, as though it were attended by Irish Americans. He has a very large Sunday School, to which he gives personal attention and in which he employs Sisters and Christian Brothers. He has always seemed desirous to have a day school and to have delayed it only because he lacked sufficient means. But he has three-day nurseries, besides clubs and week-day Catechism classes.

. . . I have heard him speak to the people upon practical matters. He was clear, forcible, pleasant, and direct. . . he has apparently the high confidence of the whole body of the Italian priests. This in itself is rather a good sign. . . Personally, judging from what I have seen and heard, I wish you [Patrick J. Hayes, the archbishop of New York] had fifty like him. There would then be no longer an Italian problem.⁴¹⁵

In his early years in the mission, Father Demo forged numerous and generally professional relationships with his confreres. Some of them held him in real affection. Pio Parolin, who was unique in addressing some of his letters to "Carissimo Toni," recalled how Father Demo would give his assistants a weekday off while he himself labored at his mountain of correspondence, pushing pen across paper throughout the sweltering summer in his rectory office, which was as poorly ventilated as the tenements blocking the air and view.⁴¹⁶ The salutations on Riccardo Lorenzoni's letters to "Carissimo Boss" also indicate a relationship in which humor and warmth played their parts.⁴¹⁷

Had Father Demo had some other personality, New York still would have been a key Scalabrinian mission. As the port of entry for migrants, Scalabrinians from Italy on their way to the American mission field passed through regularly. Father Demo offered them hospitality at Pompei until they could move on to their mission.⁴¹⁸ Scalabrinians heading from the United States to Italy for business, vacation, or retirement also asked either to stay at Pompei or to have one of the priests there help find other lodging.⁴¹⁹ Scalabrinians outside New York who were expecting people — employees, such as sacristans, or relatives—asked Father Demo to meet their parties and forward them to their destinations.⁴²⁰ New York was a center for freight as well as human transport and for the importation of goods as well as people, and Father Demo did a lively business shopping for items, usually objects for furnishing churches, and shipping the purchases to the hinterlands.⁴²¹ New York was also a center of banking, and Scalabrinians in smaller towns,

⁴¹⁵ Michael J. Lavelle to Patrick Joseph Hayes, New York, November 23, 1921, AANY, microfilm roll No. 2.

⁴¹⁶ Pio Parolin, "El Toso de Andrian Pedo, Pio Parolin" (undated typescript), 44, CMS No. 073, Box 1, Autobiography folder.

⁴¹⁷ Riccardo Lorenzoni to Demo, Chicago, January 2, 1904, SJB, Box 27, Santa Maria Incoronata folder.

⁴¹⁸ Jannuzzi to Demo, Buffalo, February 7, 1906, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters, 1901-1907 folder.

⁴¹⁹ Giovanni Battista Balangero to Demo, Cincinnati, June 21, 1907, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Balangero folder.

⁴²⁰ Carlo Delbecchi to Demo, Kansas City, December 19, 1910, SJB, Box 28, folder E.

⁴²¹ Lino Merlo to Demo, Boston, June 12, 1909, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Merlo folder; Vicentini to Demo, Piacenza, August 23, 1908, CMS No. 078B, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1908 folder.

where the banks could not change dollars to lire, asked Father Demo to run banking errands for them.⁴²²

In Boston, Ludovico Toma did not have Father Demo's fortuitous assignment to a big parish or his character or his good luck in having records preserved, but by sheer longevity he played a role in anchoring the Scalabrinian ministry in Boston.

Father Toma was born March 1, 1882, in Fontana Fredda, Piacenza, to Luigi Toma and his wife, Filomena Pedrini. He joined the Scalabrinians in 1898 and was ordained in Piacenza by Bishop Pellizzari June 2, 1907. He then departed for Genoa and the United States, where he arrived June 25, 1907. After four years as assistant at Sacred Heart, he became pastor of Saint Lazarus on Orient Heights, and remained there until his death in 1961.⁴²³

Bartolomeo Marenchino had already secured the future of Saint Anthony's in New Haven, where he served from 1904 to 1925. Saint Michael's had two pastors with long tenures. Oreste Alussi was there from 1904 to 1916, when Leonardo Quaglia came. Born October 20, 1883, at Malamocco, Venezia, to Giovanni Battista Quaglia and his wife Antonietta Driglia, he joined the Scalabrinians in September 1905, and was ordained by Bishop Pellizzari May 25, 1907. He left Genoa July 4, 1907, and arrived in New York July 17. He started with Father Toma as an assistant at Sacred Heart and then served as assistant at Saint Anthony's in Buffalo (August 1908, to April 1910) and Saint Joachim's in New York (to December 1910). His first position as pastor was at Saint Bartholomew's in Providence. He then came to Saint Michael's, where he stayed from September 1916, to 1949.⁴²⁴ During his time at Saint Michael's he played an important role in Scalabrinian administration, including a stint as provincial superior.

When in 1905 Pacifico Chenuil left Saint Anthony's in Buffalo for Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago, upstate New York lost one of its steadiest Scalabrinians. His partner in Buffalo, Bernardo Casassa, wanted to be pastor, but in 1908 he left the parish to take care of his health.⁴²⁵ The priests Father Demo sent to replace him were unsatisfactory, at least to one layman who had been helping with the Sunday school for years. The layman complained that the new pastor spread rumors that Father Casassa was not really a Scalabrinian and that the assistant "is quite a sport — going around the colony with a gang of youngsters (18 to 20 yr.) — drug stores — parts his hair in the center — returns to the rectory between midnight and one o'clock in the morning."⁴²⁶ Finally, this same layman sounded the alarm that both pastor and assistant were planning to "skiddoo" with

⁴²² Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, February 20, 1918, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁴²³ Questionario Circa La Persona per Ludovico Toma, 1949, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Toma folder.

⁴²⁴ Questionario Circa La Persona per Leonardo Quaglia, 1949, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Quaglia folder.

⁴²⁵ Bernardo Casassa to Demo, Buffalo, February 9, 1908, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters 1908 folder.

⁴²⁶ Charles L. Ryan to Parolin, Buffalo, July 27, 1907, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters 1902-1907 folder, and September 24, 1908, CMS No. 049, Box 2, Letters 1908 folder.

money they had embezzled from Saint Anthony's.⁴²⁷ Fortunately, Father Casassa was enjoying a period of good health, so in late 1908 he was sent back to Buffalo and given a new assistant. Father Casassa died in May 1909 and the assistant, Angelo Luigi Strazzoni, became pastor.⁴²⁸

Father Strazzoni went on to become the anchor of the Scalabrinian missions in upstate New York. Born May 12, 1883, in Castelvetro San Giuliano, Piacenza, he joined the Scalabrinians December 29, 1901, and was ordained May 25, 1907. He left for the United States on Independence Day in 1907 and began work as an assistant at Saint Joachim's (July 18, 1907, to January 16, 1909). He moved up to acting pastor of Saint Anthony's during Father Casassa's final illness (January 17 to May 17, 1909) and then to pastor of Saint Anthony's (May 17, 1909, to April 10, 1920.) In 1919, he became superior of the Scalabrinian missions in the United States, succeeding both Father Demo and Father Chenuil. During his tenure in that position, he also served as pastor of Holy Ghost in Providence (August 8, 1901, to February 15, 1922) and as acting pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston (May 1, 1920, to 1925). On January 2, 1925, he returned to upstate New York, to Saint Peter's in Syracuse, and he spent the rest of his years in the Scalabrinian mission in that parish.⁴²⁹

In Utica, Giuseppe Formia served as pastor of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel from October 1903, until his death in 1921. During that time, he built a complete parish plant. A parochial school, staffed by the Sisters of Saint Francis of Syracuse, New York, opened on Jay Street, next to Saint Mary's, in September 1904. The sisters stayed at Saint Elizabeth Hospital, then at a rented house on Albany Street, then in the unused portion of the school. In September 1909, Father Formia rented from Mr. Joseph Tomaino a house standing adjacent to the church and turned it over to the sisters for a convent. The parish history then explained the lack of further accomplishments. "During this period of systematization Father Formia had to contend not only with financial but with moral difficulties as well. His efforts were not always appreciated; very often his actions were wrongly interpreted."⁴³⁰ Exactly what happened is unclear; certainly, Father Formia had set himself a long and arduous task in raising money to pay off the debts accumulated from constructing the church and school. Other Scalabrinians moved from a period of intense attention to parochial administration to involvement in Scalabrinian administration, but Father Formia remained absorbed by his work in Utica.

West of the Appalachians, Giovanni Battista Balangero was pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1903 to 1919. Chicago had several long-lived leaders. Pacifico Chenuil was at Holy Guardian Angel from 1905 to 1919, Giacomo Gambera was at Santa Maria

⁴²⁷ Ryan to Parolin, Buffalo, October 12, 1908, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters 1908 folder.

⁴²⁸ Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, May 14, 1909, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Casassa folder.

⁴²⁹ Biographical data from AGS, document 208, courtesy of Silvano M. Tomasi, C.S.

⁴³⁰ William Pizzoglio, *St. Mary of Mt. Carmel Church, Utica, N. Y.: Its History and Progress from the Beginning to the Present (1896-1936)* (n.p., n.d.), 17-18.

Addolorata from 1905 to 1921 and Beniamino Franch was at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Melrose Park from 1905 to 1954.

In a system that relied so heavily on a collection of personalities, personnel losses could become organizational problems. When Francesco Zaboglio was caught in the gas explosion at Our Lady of Pompei in 1897, the Scalabrinians lost their peripatetic troubleshooter. Father Zaboglio did not die, but he did not fully recover. He returned to Italy, where he continued to assist Bishop Scalabrini in various capacities. He passed away September 3, 1911.⁴³¹ The death of Paolo Novati was another such loss. Father Novati had been assigned to Holy Ghost in Providence. It gradually became apparent that he suffered from ill health, yet his commitment to the Scalabrinians was such that he did not limit himself to his parish but shouldered administrative burdens as well. When Father Gambera resigned as provincial superior in 1901, Father Novati's colleagues voted him into the position, and he continued to act in that capacity until 1906, when Father Vicentini divided the United States into two provinces, at which point Father Novati became an advisor in the eastern province. Father Vicentini transferred him from Holy Ghost to Sacred Heart in Boston, where he served from January 1, 1907, to March 27, 1908. He left for Italy in April 1908, for a rest, and returned to the mission field shortly thereafter, thinking his health was restored. It was not, and in March 1910, he returned to Italy permanently. On December 20, 1910, Father Vicentini appointed him rector of the motherhouse and vicar general of the institute. The latter position carried more responsibility than it might seem, for Father Vicentini left for six months in Brazil in January 1911, and Father Novati acted as his surrogate.⁴³² Father Novati resigned his position November 12, 1912, and even moved out of the motherhouse, so sick he required more care than he could receive in that setting.⁴³³ Surgery, instead of healing him or easing his pain, made things worse. His cousin, a physician, ruled out further treatment, and the Scalabrinians in Piacenza began a death watch.⁴³⁴ He actually lingered for three painful months, dying April 21, 1913.⁴³⁵

It was this circle of men, plus some who played roles for shorter periods of time, who labored to insure the survival of the Scalabrinian institute in North America in the first third of the twentieth century. Their work had several components. They had to identify good personnel, either evaluating the new priests sent from the Christopher Columbus Institute in Piacenza or recruiting clergy in the United States. They had to shore up

⁴³¹ Mary Elizabeth Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village: Our Lady of Pompei, 1892-1992* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992), 23.

⁴³² Vicentini, Notificazione, Piacenza, December 20, 1910, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

⁴³³ Novati to Demo, Como, November 12, 1912, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Novati folder.

⁴³⁴ Vicentini to Demo, Piacenza, January 28, 1913, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1913 folder.

⁴³⁵ Jannuzzi, death notice, May 14, 1913, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Novati folder.

precarious parishes and decide when to cut their losses and abandon a mission. They had to avoid having their occasional failures mistaken as the normative quality of their work, and they had to convince American prelates that the Scalabrinians could be entrusted with more parishes, so the institute could grow. It is time to look more closely at these particular activities.

The Scalabrinian enterprise depended on the first point, securing qualified personnel. The Scalabrinian leadership had high standards. On one occasion, Father Strazzoni wrote Father Demo asking his opinion of two candidates. Father Demo's answer was, not much. In the course of expressing his dissatisfaction, he gave some idea of what would be satisfactory:

As to the haughty and meddlesome priests which you indicated, I consider them as failures who confuse jealousy with zeal for souls. They find satisfaction in failures like themselves. They are the tares of which the Gospel speaks [see Matthew 13:24-30] and should be denounced. They talk just to hear themselves talk but lack something in the brain necessary for making the serious calculations called for when they take up the enterprise of public work.

They don't respect the poor people, they take them by the neck and strangle them and when they are successful in claiming for the sheepfold of Jesus Christ a stray, they believe to have compensated for the numerous ones lost forever by the blows of their false zeal and imprudence.⁴³⁶

The Scalabrinians, though, did not feel they could afford to be selective. At one point in 1909, Father Novati wrote Father Demo at his wit's end: one priest in the Chicago mission had fled, another was sick in the hospital and a third bedridden with rheumatism. Novati himself was going from Boston to Chicago to lend a hand but had to be back in Boston by the end of the month to greet Boston's archbishop, who was returning from Italy.⁴³⁷ Father Novati regularly wrote to Father Demo regarding the deployment of the few priests on hand; moving one could require moving practically everyone in order to cover the resulting gaps. Personnel shortages meant some Scalabrinians could not get away for business or pleasure; invited to an anniversary celebration back east, Carlo Delbecchi in Kansas City had to refuse: "Here in the west, amidst the camps of miners and Indians, we cannot find substitute priests with the same ease that you do in the New York."⁴³⁸ The situation also bred a certain lack of cooperation between the eastern and western provinces, for to send priests to one place meant to lose them in another.⁴³⁹

Few additional hands were forthcoming. In one year, the Christopher Columbus Institute sent out only one new missionary to the United States; although that lone

⁴³⁶ Demo to Strazzoni, New York, February 22, 1921, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁴³⁷ Novati to Demo, Boston, June 4, 1909, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Novati folder.

⁴³⁸ Del Becchi to Demo, Kansas City, November 23, 1917, SJB, Box 28, folder E.

⁴³⁹ Demo to Chenuil, New York, February 19, 1905, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1905 folder.

missionary, Nazareno Properzi, did very well.⁴⁴⁰ The North American Scalabrinians occasionally received inquiries about joining the institute, and a few such letters warranted a reply recommending the person contact the Christopher Columbus Institute.⁴⁴¹ Others, such as the one that read "I am tired of this life of working like a horse," or the one with the careful explanation that a peripatetic career was not evidence of having been expelled from one's previous assignment, merited filing with the notation "non rispondere."⁴⁴²

The Scalabrinians in North America did recruit auxiliaries, priests who worked in Scalabrinian parishes or under Scalabrinian direction but who had no oaths of perseverance. These people's references had to be checked, not an easy task given that some ordinaries rid themselves of troublesome clergy by writing noncommittal letters of references, and even well-meaning referees thought that silence regarding a person's disreputable past was a form of charity. One had to look for phrases indicating the referees knew more than they were letting on, such as "[He] would have absolutely nothing to do with us [that is, we do not know him], thank God."⁴⁴³

Even if an auxiliary cleared the reference check and received an assignment, it was difficult to evaluate performance. The career of Giuseppe Panesi is a case in point. Father Panesi was born in Chiavari, Liguria, in July 1871, and ordained in June 1895. Until 1910, he taught in his home diocese. He came to the United States in September 1911. From then until April 1913, he was an assistant to a Father Sansone in Newark, New Jersey, and from August 1913 to January 1917, an assistant at Saint Anthony in Revere, Massachusetts. Probably in that capacity he met Vittorio Oregon, the pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston, and formed the idea that he could do better with the Scalabrinians. Father Gregori introduced him to Father Demo, saying that while Father Panesi had a job, he hoped to better himself and wanted to see what Father Demo could do for him. Father Demo checked his references, and at least two priests accused the candidate of immorality. On the other hand, the Diocese of Syracuse had recently written Father Demo about supplying a priest for the Saint John the Baptist in Rome, New York, which had 4,000 or 5,000 Italians and an unsuitable pastor. Need won out over the references, and Father Panesi went to Rome. For the next ten years, he sent perfectly normal, newsy letters describing the problems and progress at Saint John the Baptist and acknowledging what he heard from Father Demo. His cheerful chattiness and his longevity on the job did not square with the report

⁴⁴⁰ Vicentini to Molto Rev. Padri e Carissimi Confratelli, Rome, April 15, 1914, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

⁴⁴¹ Demo to Anthony Bodnar, New York, November 19, 1915, CMS No.005, Box 5, copybook.

⁴⁴² Vincenzo Maselli to Carissimo Padre, Pittsburgh, August 22, 1906, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Maselli folder; Hippolitus Joseph Skopowski to Demo, Rochester, November 25, 1911, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Mr. Skopowski folder. A. Vincenzo Maselli served as an assistant at Saint Anthony's in Kensington in the early 1930s. It is not clear whether this is the same man or one with the same name.

⁴⁴³ Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart to Demo, Seattle, n.d., CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gradianak folder.

of a Scalabrinian stationed nearby to the effect that in one year he embezzled \$4,000 from the parish.⁴⁴⁴

The one advantage auxiliaries had was that in cases of scandal, the Scalabrinians could deny all knowledge of them. The Scalabrinians took refuge in this subterfuge several times, and sometimes it worked. In one case in 1908, a problem had reached the level of requiring intervention by the apostolic delegate, who wrote Father Demo to inquire if the person in question was a Scalabrinian. Father Demo replied blandly that he had been but had completed his five-year vows. The apostolic delegate then ruled that if the priest was not a Scalabrinian, the ordinary in whose see he lived had charge of him, and there was never a connection made between the Scalabrinians and the priest's conduct, even though the Scalabrinians occasionally listed the man's parish among their missions and the man himself corresponded with the Scalabrinians.⁴⁴⁵ Ordinaries in Boston, New York and Chicago, though, took offense that the Scalabrinians were usurping their role by inviting non-Scalabrinian clergy into their sees.⁴⁴⁶

As in Bishop Scalabrini's day, personnel shortages, and a desire to avoid having individual failures construed as typical Scalabrinian behavior complicated the discipline of errant clergy. The Scalabrinians developed several techniques to allow them to keep their missions going and keep up their good reputation while administering necessary punishments. One technique was to discredit the accusers. "That such a case gives satisfaction to a mob of least-desirable parishioners should be an injustice," Father Demo commented when asked for information in a case involving complaints against one Scalabrinian pastor.⁴⁴⁷ The many transfers within the Scalabrinian community were another method of keeping a mission in Scalabrinian hands, satisfying complaints against an individual's behavior while implying not every Scalabrinian would be so undisciplined and, when the transfer was from pastor to assistant, truly punishing the offender. Less effective were transfers which punished the guilty by sending them to more isolated missions, inadvertently giving the delinquents greater scope for their activities.

Sometimes punishment took precedence over personnel shortages, and the Scalabrinians expelled an individual. In these cases, though, they tried to avoid having the punishment raise questions about the institute as a whole by not publicizing what they were doing. In one case, they offered an offending priest free passage back to Italy, which the apostolic delegate advised him to accept.⁴⁴⁸ The priest stayed put, and the Scalabrinians did nothing further.

⁴⁴⁴ CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Panesi [sic] folder, and CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Rome folder.

⁴⁴⁵ CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Sovilla folder.

⁴⁴⁶ AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 18; Jannuzzi to John J. Dunn, New York, May 20, 1921, AANY, microfilm roll No. 2; George Cardinal Mundelein to Reverend and Dear Father, Chicago, June 14, 1938, SJB, Box 26, folder A.

⁴⁴⁷ Demo to Diomede Falconio, New York, November 26, 1906, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo - Father Delbecchi folder.

⁴⁴⁸ Falconio to Demo, Washington, DC, January 29, 1906, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo - Father Ricci folder.

Expelling a priest meant the Scalabrinians might have to write a reference letter later. Some of these references posed no ethical problems; Father Demo once explained to the apostolic delegate that a priest had been expelled for violating his vows of poverty, but the man acted from good motives; he wanted to support his parents.⁴⁴⁹ The Scalabrinians could also be forthcoming about less flattering truths; when Nazareno Properzi once explained that "From the records of this Regional Office it appears that the Rev... displayed [sic] such a quarrelsome nature that soon after he joined our Pious Society [he] left us."⁴⁵⁰ In other cases, the Scalabrinians added to the general problem of checking references by their own silence regarding a priest's past.⁴⁵¹

The missions the Scalabrinians staffed fell into four categories. The preceding section on the Scalabrinian leadership names the secure missions, whose pastors could attend to parochial affairs and still have time to devote to Scalabrinian administration. A second category consisted of precarious missions, some of which the Scalabrinian leadership managed to put on a sound basis by the 1920s and some of which remained headaches.

The most notable triumph was at Saint Joachim's. At the time of Bishop Scalabrini's death, Saint Joachim's was organized and financed along the lines Father Morelli had established, in which numerous mutual benefit societies kept the statues of their patron saints in the church and each society paid annual fees for the celebration of the patron's feast day plus stipends for masses for deceased members. Later in 1905, the Saint Rocco Society divided over continuing this agreement. Each faction of the society claimed the statue of Saint Rocco as its own, one faction wishing to remove it from Saint Joachim's and make a new agreement with another church and the other faction wishing to retain the status quo and to keep Saint Rocco at Saint Joachim's. Archdiocesan mediation failed.⁴⁵² By the time the case reached the secular court the anti-Saint Joachim faction had taken matters into their own hands. Members removed the statue from the church and stored it at a funeral parlor, much to the consternation of the parish women, who wanted the statue in church to facilitate prayer. The women and the pro-Saint Joachim faction won a victory in the court, which ordered the statue be returned to the church pending decision of the case. The women then mobbed the funeral parlor and carried the statue back amid a noisy procession.⁴⁵³

Whatever social historians or women's historians might make of this display of popular religiosity and female power, the Scalabrinians interpreted it as a sign that Saint Joachim's required a pastor other than Father Paolo Poggi. Father Poggi departed for Italy in March 1907. Finding a successor was difficult. Father Novati surveyed the available clergy and reported that no Scalabrinian would accept an assignment at Saint

⁴⁴⁹ Demo to Giovanni Bonzano, New York, July 21, 1913, CMS No. 005, Box 5, copybook.

⁴⁵⁰ Nazareno Properzi to James H. Griffith, Somerville, May 8, 1936, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi - 1936 folder.

⁴⁵¹ James J. Hartley to Demo, Columbus, February 3, 1914, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Sovilla folder.

⁴⁵² Gherardo Ferrante to Demo, New York, November 30, 1905, CMS No. 079, Box 5, folder 122.

⁴⁵³ *New York Evening Post*, July 19, 1906, CMS No. 079, Box 5, folder 124.

Joachim's.⁴⁵⁴ The leadership finally decided to test an unknown, Vincenzo Jannuzzi, who had arrived from Piacenza two years earlier.⁴⁵⁵ The gamble paid off. Father Jannuzzi stayed on the Lower East Side until 1938 and brought stability to Saint Joachim's.

Father Jannuzzi realized that unity did not mean strength for Saint Joachim's. It meant rival factions. He began exploring ways to divide the congregation, not an easy task in a neighborhood full of competing Catholic parishes. He settled upon developing a Second parish center near Saint James on Oliver Street, a traditionally Irish parish. (Its most famous parishioner was politician Alfred E. Smith.) He opened a chapel on the corner of Catherine, Cherry and Oliver Streets dedicated to Saint Rocco, the same saint whose devotees caused such trouble at Saint Joachim's. A procession of mutual benefit societies and their statues opened the new chapel in July 1908.⁴⁵⁶ As the congregation grew, it took the name of Saint Joseph.

Thereafter, Father Jannuzzi had his eye on taking over Saint James. In 1917, he heard that Saint James's veteran pastor, James Curry, had been transferred to Holy Name, leaving a vacancy at Saint James. He suggested to the archbishop that the archdiocese fill the vacancy by selling Saint Joachim's and turning Saint James over to the Italians.⁴⁵⁷ The suggestion was not taken, and Father Jannuzzi found himself writing Vincent de Paul McGean a congratulatory note on his new assignment at Saint James.⁴⁵⁸ When a new archbishop arrived in New York, Father Jannuzzi tried again, pointing out that Saint James's Irish congregation had dwindled to nothing and that, with his record of saving Saint Joachim's from debt, he was certainly worthy of a bigger parish plant.⁴⁵⁹ The archdiocese kept the status quo, and Father Jannuzzi had to find another way to develop his parish.

Sacred Heart in Boston was another precarious parish the Scalabrinians managed to shore up. The parochial school which Bishop Scalabrini had wanted and which Roberto Biasotti agreed to build turned out to be as much trouble as Father Gambera had predicted. The Sister Apostles of the Sacred Heart busied themselves with childcare, catechism, Italian lessons, plans for a hospital on Orient Heights and home economics classes for newly urbanized migrant women. However, the parish could not support their activities financially and Archbishop William Henry O'Connell forbade them to beg in his archdiocese. On December 31, 1906, Father Biasotti left the parish, forced out by financial scandal if one believes Father Gambera, on his way to new work developing Bishop

⁴⁵⁴ Novati to Demo, Boston, April 3, 1907, CMS No. 078, Box 1, Records of Father Novati folder.

⁴⁵⁵ Novati to Demo, Boston, May 6, 1907, CMS No. 078, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Jannuzzi folder.

⁴⁵⁶ *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, New York, July 26, '1908, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Fr. Beccherini folder.

⁴⁵⁷ Jannuzzi to John Cardinal Farley, New York, February 16, 1917, CMS No. 035, Box 1, General Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents-1917 folder.

⁴⁵⁸ Jannuzzi to Vincent de Paul McGean, New York, April 15, 1917, CMS No. 035, Box 2, General Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents-1917 folder.

⁴⁵⁹ Jannuzzi to Hayes, New York, March 8, 1920, AANY, microfilm roll No. 2.

Scalabrini's plan for itinerant preachers if one believes the Sacred Heart parish history. Paolo Novati succeeded him, and then came Vittorio Gregori. Born in Viustino, Piacenza, November 9, 1881, Father Gregori entered the Scalabrinians October 20, 1895, and was ordained May 28, 1904. He left Genoa aboard the Romanic August 27, 1904 and served as assistant at Pompei in New York (to November 3, 1904), Saint Michael's in New Haven (to August 12, 1905) and at Holy Ghost in Providence (to June 1907). He returned to Italy briefly to attend to family affairs following his father's death. When he resumed his mission, he was promoted to pastor of Saint Bartholomew's in Providence, Rhode Island. Father Chenuil wanted him for Chicago, but on March 28, 1908, he came to Sacred Heart, where he remained until 1919. Father Gregori was competent enough, but the real stability in Sacred Heart's personnel was Brother Vincenzo Arcelli, who had come with the second group of Scalabrinian missionaries January 24, 1889, and who, except for brief assignments in Connecticut, spent 36 years in Boston.⁴⁶⁰

Although the Scalabrinian leadership in Providence remained stable, they did not stabilize the parishes. Parish historians blamed factions whose quarrelling ended when Saint Ann's severed its Scalabrinian connection.⁴⁶¹ Local historians argued that the clergy lacked understanding of and sympathy for the Italians' plethora of patron saints, veneration of which was the community's way of protecting and preserving itself:⁴⁶² Diocesan historian Robert Hayman points out the clergy themselves could be misunderstood, under episcopal pressure as they were to bring the Italians into conformity with other Catholics in matters spiritual and temporal.⁴⁶³

It was harder to place the parishes in upstate New York on firm foundations. The fortunes of the mission at Fredonia were tied to those at Buffalo. When in 1905 Pacifico Chenuil went to Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago, Bernardo Casassa called for extra help in Buffalo so as to be able to send a missionary to Fredonia before the bishop assigned a non-Scalabrinian and the Scalabrinians lost the parish.⁴⁶⁴

Saint Peter's in Syracuse caused the Scalabrinian leadership more anxiety. The pastor there at the time of Bishop Scalabrini's death, Francesco Morassi, was overwhelmed by the situation. The previous pastor, Eugene Ostino, had left a debt of indeterminate size.⁴⁶⁵ Factions formed around Father Morassi and his assistant, Giuseppe de Nicola. Although

⁴⁶⁰ Chenuil to Demo, Chicago, November 27, 1907, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Chenuil folder; Gambera, 132; *Venticinque Anni di Missione fra gli Italiani Immigrati di Boston, Mass.* (Milan: Tipografia Santa Lega Eucaristica, 1913), 122-130, 153-162, 174-178; photocopies of Vincenzo Arcelli's biographical data from AGS courtesy of Silvano M. Tomasi, C.S.

⁴⁶¹ "Parish of the Holy Ghost" (manuscript, n.d.), CMS No. 021, Box 3, folder 2.

⁴⁶² Judith E. Smith, *Family Connections: Italian and Jewish Immigrants in Providence, Rhode Island, 1900-1940* (Albany: State University of New York [SUNY Series in American Social History], 1985), 145-152.

⁴⁶³ Robert J. Hayman, *Catholicism in Rhode Island and the Diocese of Providence: 1886-1921*, 2 vols. (Providence: The Diocese of Providence, 1995), II, 204-215.

⁴⁶⁴ Casassa to Demo, Buffalo, September 2, 1905, CMS No. 049, Box I, Letters-1902-1907 folder.

⁴⁶⁵ Francesco Morassi to Demo, n.p., October 15, 1905, CMS No. 047, Box 5, General Correspondence, 1903-1905.

Father Morassi had Bishop Patrick Ludden's support, he seemed unable to assert his authority vis-a-vis the congregation.⁴⁶⁶ Father Demo tried to solve the problem by effecting a switch. Giovanni Battista Cuneo would come from Saint Lazarus to Saint Peter's and Father Morassi would go from Saint Peter's to Saint Lazarus. Father Cuneo, though, was slow in moving to his new assignment. First, he caught the flu. Then he felt he owed his congregation at Orient Heights the opportunity for a proper farewell.⁴⁶⁷ Altogether, it was February 1908, before Father Cuneo arrived at Syracuse.⁴⁶⁸

Once at Saint Peter's, Father Cuneo settled down and the next six years were free of unusual complaints. Then, on August 15, 1914, came a letter from Father Cuneo to Father Demo asking he send a replacement to Saint Peter's by September 10.⁴⁶⁹ Father Demo chose Pio Parolin, one of the priests Bishop Scalabrini had ordained during his 1901 visit. Father Pio had spent the thirteen years since his ordination as an assistant, briefly at Saint Joachim's and then at Pompei; he had also traveled to various Scalabrinian parishes to preach missions. Surely, he was ready for the responsibilities of a pastor. Instead, Father Pio got the shock of his young life: "Arriving in Syracuse . . . I took myself to the rectory of the Church of Saint Peter, 128 North St., Syracuse, N.Y. I rang the bell and was presented to Father Giovanni Battista Cuneo, the pastor. He greeted me pleasantly and immediately said: "I am happy you have come. Here are the keys to the church and the house. And here is my Roman collar, for I am tired of being a priest."⁴⁷⁰

Father Pio was astonished. "Tired of being a priest? Was it possible, I wondered. Tired of serving God?"⁴⁷¹ The Syracuse Journal filled in the details. Father Cuneo had always had some doubts regarding Catholic teaching. They resurfaced in Boston, the birthplace of several American liberal Protestant denominations, and were nurtured by reading modernist literature. Deciding he could no longer uphold Catholic teaching, Cuneo left the priesthood. He also left Syracuse temporarily, but returned, partly to answer the wild rumors as to his "real" reason for leaving. At that point, he took rooms at the YMCA and prepared for a change of career.⁴⁷² Two years later he was an entrepreneur in New York City.⁴⁷³

⁴⁶⁶ Patrick Ludden to Demo, Syracuse, December 9, 1907, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1907 folder.

⁴⁶⁷ Giovanni Battista Cuneo to Demo, Orient Heights, December 16, 1907, and January 21, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Cuneo folder.

⁴⁶⁸ Cuneo to Demo, Syracuse, February 3, 1908, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1908 folder.

⁴⁶⁹ Cuneo to Demo, Syracuse, August 15, 1914, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Cuneo folder.

⁴⁷⁰ Parolin, 48.

⁴⁷¹ Parolin, 49.

⁴⁷² "Father Cuneo Back Minus Priestly Garb," *The Syracuse Journal*, November 21, 1914, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Cuneo folder.

⁴⁷³ Cuneo to Demo, New York, February 26, 1916, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Cuneo folder.

Cuneo's decency, Demo's swift choice of a successor and Parolin's competence prevented a public scandal or a legacy of bitter feelings. Indeed, Father Pio had more trouble with Saint Peter's former assistant, Giuseppe de Nicola, who did not question Catholic doctrine but did lend his name to rebellion against authority. Father De Nicola's supporters complained they could not understand Father Pio (he was from Venetia and they were from, apparently, Campobasso) and Father Pio did not understand their customs — he had omitted the celebration of Saint Joseph's feast day. The parishioners wanted to declare their independence from Saint Peter's and from the Diocese of Syracuse and have Father De Nicola shepherd their congregation.⁴⁷⁴

Tragedy in West Virginia made fretting about possible scandal in Syracuse seem petty. After Riccardo Lorenzoni's departure in 1904, Giuseppe D'Andrea moved from assistant to pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah. For a time, the biggest problem seemed to be Father D'Andrea's running feuds with pastors of nearby parishes. The one clear source of friction was Father D'Andrea's unreliability, especially when it came to keeping appointments to minister to the sick in area hospitals. Then, on December 6, 1907, catastrophe brought the area's ministers together.

That morning, a spark ignited the methane gas (or black damp) in the air underground at Mines No. 6 and 8 of the Fairmont Coal Company. There must have been a significant accumulation of gas: the force of the explosion shot the props to the entrance of Mine No. 6 clear across the Fork River. The mine entrances collapsed, trapping the miners inside with a fire that burned until it sucked up all the available oxygen. It being about 10:20 a.m., nearly the entire work force was on duty underground. Such timing alone guaranteed the explosion would result in "greater loss of life than any other disaster in the history of the bituminous coal mining industry in America."⁴⁷⁵ No one was sure quite how many people were in the mine: the supervisor checked in 478 miners but there were perhaps 100 other employees.⁴⁷⁶ It was known that none of them survived: everyone had been crushed by falling debris, asphyxiated, or burnt. Five carloads of coffins arrived, and a rescue crew began to dig out the bodies, until its members were overcome by the new accumulations of black damp.⁴⁷⁷ The gas fueled new fires, which had to be put out before the rescuers resumed bringing the charred corpses to the surface.⁴⁷⁸ Monongah's women gathered at the entrance to the mine, their presence necessary to identify the dead. As each body came to the surface, a widow came forward to claim it, the body was loaded on a wagon for a trip to the temporary morgue to

⁴⁷⁴ "Italians to Form New Church Here," unidentified, undated clipping, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence, 1918, folder The newspaper story attributed the problems to regional differences, explaining that the laity were from "Campobasso." Most likely, this is Campobasso, Abruzzi. Pio Parolin was from Venezia, at the opposite end of the peninsula.

⁴⁷⁵ *The New York Times*, December 7, 1907, 1:7.

⁴⁷⁶ Everett F. Briggs, *Anniversary Year, 1907-1957: Catholic Churches of Monongah, West Virginia, St. Stanislaus Church, Our Lady of Pompei Church, Monongah Disaster* (n.p. 1957), 17.

⁴⁷⁷ *The New York Times*, December 8, 1907, section II, 16:3.

⁴⁷⁸ *The New York Times*, December 9, 1907, 3:1.

be laid in a coffin, then off to the cemetery for a quick burial.⁴⁷⁹ Three days after the explosion mourners still waited at the entrance to the mine, now in a December downpour.⁴⁸⁰

Once the dead were buried, attention turned to the 250 widows and 1,000 fatherless children. The president of the coal company offered to build an orphanage to house the youngsters whose mothers needed to institutionalize them so the mothers could replace the fathers as family breadwinners.⁴⁸¹ On December 14, the various relief committees established in the wake of the calamity reorganized into the Monongah Mines Relief Committee. Father D'Andrea joined with Bishop Patrick J. Donahue of Wheeling and Father Joseph Lekston of Saint Stanislaus Church, for Polish miners. Together they made appeals to the town, the state and eventually the nation, and raised \$150,000 for distribution to the destitute families.

Father D'Andrea lost his brother Victor in the explosion. Early in 1908, his father died in Italy.⁴⁸² During 1908 and 1909, he was troubled by priests who, similar to De Nicola in Syracuse, wanted to gather a congregation that would worship according to Catholic ritual but not be subject to the local bishop.⁴⁸³ Perhaps there were also socialists and anarchists threatening his congregation; in 1913, Father D'Andrea organized a mutual benefit society to bring together the Italian miners and to provide for widows and orphans: membership rules specified one must be Catholic.⁴⁸⁴ Altogether, he struggled under a heavy load, and the method of relief he sought added to his burdens. In May 1914, Bishop Donahue notified Father D'Andrea's superiors in distant New York:

It is with deep regret I inform you that Rev. Joseph D'Andrea was this day conveyed to Cook Hospital, Fairmont, West Virginia. I have been investigating reports about the unfortunate man recently and find affairs in a terrible condition. He had been going to various hospitals off and on for the past few years. Latterly this has increased. He has never kept a home befitting a priest, and for the lack of proper food and care has tried to keep himself up with stimulants with, however, disastrous results. I accompanied him to Cook Hospital, Fairmont. The doctor told me he was on the verge of delirium tremens,' and I know with moral certainty that this is by no means the first time.⁴⁸⁵

⁴⁷⁹ *The New York Times*, December 10, 1907, 2:6.

⁴⁸⁰ *The New York Times*, December 11, 1907, 7:5.

⁴⁸¹ *The New York Times*, December 13, 1907, 18:2.

⁴⁸² Giuseppe D'Andrea to Demo, Monongah, February 24, 1908, CMS No. 048, Box I, General Correspondence-1908 folder.

⁴⁸³ "Catholic Dignitaries Appeal to Italians to Return to Their Church and Forsake Wrong," *Fairmont Times*, n.d.; Falconio to the Italians of Weaver and of Fairmont, W Va., January 12, 1909, CMS No. 048, Box 2, Newspaper Clippings folder.

⁴⁸⁴ "La Società dei Minatori sotto il Titolo di S. Antonio," *Il Pensiero*, n.p., February 21, 1914, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Forlani folder.

⁴⁸⁵ Patrick J. Donahue to Demo, Morgantown, May 14, 1914, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1914 folder.

Father Demo tried to keep Monongah a Scalabrinian mission. He assigned Luigi Forlani of Saint Lazarus to Monongah. Like Father Cuneo before him, Father Forlani dragged his heels at leaving the congenial Italian colony near the attractions of Boston for small-town life.⁴⁸⁶ Perhaps he knew something. Two years after his arrival in Monongah, he died of unsuccessfully treated appendicitis.⁴⁸⁷ Lino Merlo, who had asked to go to Monongah when it became necessary to remove Father D'Andrea, renewed his request and this time got it.⁴⁸⁸ After his first winter in Monongah, Father Merlo found it too discouraging to continue, and Father Demo sent an auxiliary, Raimondo Maggiore, to the parish.

Some of the precarious parishes became lost causes. The Scalabrinian missions at Saint Louis, Missouri, passed quietly into the hands of the local ordinaries, who staffed them with secular clergy. The mission in New Orleans ended in 1906, when Father Luigi Paroli decided to enter the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Joseph; on December 8, 1910, he professed his solemn vows at the abbey and took the religious name Theodore.⁴⁸⁹ In 1914, after the apostolic delegate asked the bishop of the Diocese of Columbus to suspend the Scalabrinian auxiliary staffing Saint John the Baptist, the bishop found a secular priest for the mission.⁴⁹⁰ The Scalabrinians held onto the Iron Mountain, Michigan, mission a bit longer. After Giovanni Pietro Sinopoli di Giunta left in March, 1903, Luigi Lango served as pastor. Officially, he was pastor at Iron Mountain from April 1903, to December 1911. Actually, in 1910, he departed for Italy, and Vittorio E. Cangiano substituted for him as pastor. From January to April of 1912, Father Cangiano served as pastor in his own right. Father Cangiano himself thought Iron Mountain was a worthwhile mission, but the Scalabrinians needed him back east. His successor, Giovanni Ferrara, was at Iron Mountain from April 1912, to December 1913. When he left, Franciscans began to care for Immaculate Conception's congregation.⁴⁹¹ In 1916, the Scalabrinians lost Bridgeport when

⁴⁸⁶ Luigi Forlani to Demo, Orient Heights, June 13, 1914, July 14, 1914, July 18, 1914, CMS No. 078, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Forlani folder.

⁴⁸⁷ "In Memoriam: Tutte le Chiese di Monongah rendono tributo alla memoria di Padre Forlani," *L'Italiano in America*, New York, October 15, 1915, CMS No. 078, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Forlani folder. There are also unidentified clippings in the folder.

⁴⁸⁸ Merlo to Antonio Demo, New Haven, June 2, 1914, October 30, 1915, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Merlo folder; October 5, 1915, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Merlo folder.

⁴⁸⁹ *Venticinque Anni di Missione fra gli Italiani Immigrati di Boston, Mass.* (Milan: Tipografia Santa Lega Eucaristica, 1913), 115-116.

⁴⁹⁰ James J. Hartley to Antonio Demo, Columbus, Ohio, February 3, 1914, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Antonio Demo-Father Sovilla folder.

⁴⁹¹ Luigi Lango to Antonio Demo, Iron Mountain, December 22, 1910, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Lango folder; Vittorio E. Cangiano to Antonio Demo, Iron Mountain, July 16, 1911, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 55; *Immaculate Conception Church, Iron Mountain, Michigan: A Monument to Our Past-A Beacon to Our Future: Celebrating Our Centennial Year, 1890-1990*. (Galion, OH: United Church Directories, n.d.).

Bishop John J. Nilan of Hartford decided to staff Holy Rosary parish with secular clergy rather than Scalabrinians.⁴⁹²

The most embarrassing loss came in Cleveland. Since Anthony Gibelli came to Holy Rosary in that city on February 18, 1894, the parish had progressed nicely. Father Gibelli supervised the construction of a rectory, completed November 6, 1896, and a new church at the corner of Mayfield and Coltman roads, work on which commenced October 2, 1905. The parish had no parochial school, but Ursuline Sisters came to teach catechism beginning in 1896. Then, in March 1907, Father Gibelli went to New York to attend the dedication of Our Lady of Pompei's new rectory. He died while on what was supposed to be a pleasant trip, the first, but not the last Scalabrinian to pass away at Pompei's rectory. It was a totally unexpected tragedy, and apparently the first thought was to secure the parish; Father Chenuil immediately assigned Modesto Gembrini to the vacancy.⁴⁹³ Father Chenuil had reckoned without Bishop Ignatius F. Horstmann of Cleveland, who telegraphed New York for details, requested Father Demo return Father Gibelli's remains to Cleveland for a proper burial, and named a diocesan priest to the parish. A canon law expert advised Bishop Horstmann it would be difficult to take a parish from a religious society, but in this case, parishioner attitude and Father Demo's tactlessness made it easier.⁴⁹⁴ The parishioners asked for Father Gibelli's remains that they might inter them near the parish where he had worked so hard; they were hurt when the body arrived packed in sawdust in a plain pine box, with no casket.⁴⁹⁵ Then Father Demo began a campaign to get either the parish in Cleveland or the bishop to pay the costs of sending Father Gibelli's remains home. The affair ended in 1908, when Bishop Horstmann died, Father Demo wrote his estate asking for satisfaction of his claims, and the bishop's attorney explained in painstaking detail that the Scalabrinians should not expect a penny from either the deceased bishop's estate or from Holy Rosary.⁴⁹⁶ For his part, Father Chenuil admitted defeat, although he did send out a circular to explain to his confreres that it was not his fault the Scalabrinians lost Holy Rosary, and the whole affair showed the importance of having clear agreements with local ordinaries.⁴⁹⁷ Holy Rosary remained in diocesan hands.

New parishes offset some losses. The highest number of new parishes formed in the period immediately after Bishop Scalabrini's death came in Providence. This growth was

⁴⁹² John J. Nilan to Demo, Hartford, July 20, 1916, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father De Toro folder.

⁴⁹³ Chenuil to Demo, Cleveland, March 15, 1907, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 63.

⁴⁹⁴ Ferrante to Ignatius F. Horstmann, New York, March 18, 1907, photocopy courtesy of the Diocese of Cleveland.

⁴⁹⁵ Horstmann to Falconio, Cleveland, March 29, 1907; photocopy courtesy of the Diocese of Cleveland.

⁴⁹⁶ Demo to the Right Reverend Vicar General of the Diocese of Cleveland, New York, June 16, 1908; B. D. Nicola to Demo, Cleveland, September 3, 1908, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gibelli folder.

⁴⁹⁷ Chenuil to Rev. e caro padre, Chicago, April 16, 1907, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 63; see also Joseph H. Lackner, S.M., "Two Italian Parishes in Cleveland," *U.S. Catholic Historian* V1:4 (Fall, 1987), 315-324.

deceptive. It had only partly to do with population increase and dispersal. Other causal forces included the same ones that rendered existing Scalabrinian parishes in Providence so precarious: continued personal and regional rivalries and personality conflict. Growth in Providence was also aided by the presence of a number of auxiliaries, who worked with the Scalabrinians and then moved on to secular parishes.

The Scalabrinians themselves added two new parishes, in the Silver Lake district of Providence and in Bristol. Former residents of Vairano Patenora, Caserta, now living in the Silver Lake district of Providence, Rhode Island, first approached Domenico Belliotti of Holy Ghost about a parish in 1902. By the year of Bishop Scalabrini's death the nascent congregation had sufficient funds to purchase a lot of intersection of Moorfield and Murray Streets and Silver Lake Avenue. Bishop Matthew Harkins blessed a church on this site September 22, 1907. The new parish's name, Saint Bartholomew, suited everyone. Saint Bartholomew was the patron of Vairano Patenora, and Bishop Scalabrini had begun his priestly career in a parish with the same name, so the Scalabrinians felt their late founder was being honored, too.⁴⁹⁸

Migrants from Manfredonia in the province of Foggia came to Bristol. They attended mass at Saint Mary's in that town. On July 16, 1899, Saint Mary's pastor, Patrick McCabe, presided over mass in honor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, their hometown patroness. Father Novati was also at the celebration. Seventeen years later, when the Italians in Bristol were about to get a church of their own, Bishop Harkins asked the Scalabrinians to supply priests. Father Giuseppe Poia became Our Lady of Mount Carmel's first pastor. He arranged for the purchase of a Seventh-Day Adventist church on High Street and opened it for Catholic worship January 7, 1917.⁴⁹⁹

In other cases, Domenico Belliotti of Holy Ghost or Antonio Bove of Saint Ann's helped gather congregations and the resulting parishes were assigned to secular priests, often one who had worked with the Scalabrinians as an auxiliary. The Italian parish in Barrington is a case in point. Roberto Biasotti preached a mission in the area in July 1908. He found a colony of migrants from Naples and Rome who worshipped either at Saint Mary's or at the French-Canadian parish of Saint Jean Baptiste, both in adjacent Warren. A mutual benefit society had a statue of Our Lady of the Assumption at Saint Jean's, but this did not seem to be enough to use as a focus for the community. Bishop Harkins asked both Father Belliotti and Father Bove to organize a parish, without results. Then Father Bove assigned his assistant, Francesco Albanese, to the job. Father Albanese did the work of leading the Italians in building a church, which was dedicated June 7, 1914. He also reaped the reward of his labors; Bishop Harkins appointed him first pastor of the new parish, which was dedicated to the Holy Angels.⁵⁰⁰

Father Bove also began to encourage migrants from Montagnana, near Padova in Veneto, now settled in Warren, to consider a parish of their own. He arranged for Italian

⁴⁹⁸ R. Stephen Almagno, GEM., "The Days of Our Years: Saint Bartholomew's Parish, Providence, Rhode Island, 1907-1969" (typescript, n.d.), CMS No. 022, Box 1.

⁴⁹⁹ Hayman, II, 191-192.

⁵⁰⁰ Hayman, II, 189-191.

services at Saint Mary's in Warren. In January 1915, he moved the nascent congregation to a warehouse of the New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad. In 1916, the congregation raised enough money to commence construction near the bridge leading into Warren and in July 1917, vicar general Peter E. Blessing dedicated the church basement. The new congregation was named Saint Alexander after the patron of Montagnana. It was classed as a mission rather than a full-fledged parish, meaning it did not have resident clergy. Non-Scalabrinians from Holy Angels staffed Saint Alexander's.⁵⁰¹

For a while Saint Bartholomew's, together with Saint Rocco's served migrants from Casacalenda, in Campobasso, Abruzzi, relocated to Manton. In 1910, Father Belliotti began to organize a separate parish for Manton. On September 1, 1912, Bishop Harkins dedicated a church for the parish. The congregation had wanted to name the parish for the hometown patroness, the *Madonna della Difesa*, but Bishop Harkins did not want a parish whose English name was Our Lady of Defense, so the parishioners compromised and named the new parish Our Lady of Grace. It was not a Scalabrinian parish but its first pastor, Nicola Armento, had worked with the Scalabrinians at Holy Ghost.⁵⁰²

Regional and personal rivalries among the laity played a lesser role in Scalabrinian expansion in the greater Boston area. New Scalabrinian parishes, in Framingham and in Somerville, came about at least partly because the Italians whom the Scalabrinians served were moving to towns around Boston, not because they had enough money to live in the suburbs but because construction companies needed workers to build the suburbs. Scalabrinian personalities may also have played their parts.

Saint Tarcisius in Framingham is a case in point. In June 1907, Pietro Maschi, a Scalabrinian stationed at Sacred Heart and visiting or helping out at Holy Ghost, asked Bishop Harkins if he could have the position as pastor of Saint Rocco in Thornton. Since the Scalabrinians controlled Father Maschi's assignments, Bishop Harkins turned him down.⁵⁰³ Then tragedy cleared the way for Father Maschi to get a parish of his own. On July 23, 1906, a building under construction at the corner of Concord and Kendall Streets collapsed. Among those who died was Father Maschi's brother Romualdo. Some parish histories place Father Maschi in Framingham that day, hurrying to the building collapse to administer the last sacraments to the dying, only to find his brother was the first victim pulled from the rubble. Other parish histories claim he came to Framingham to attend his brother's funeral, and then became acquainted with the Italian colony there and with its needs. He determined to open a parish, and even picked out a patron — Saint Tarcisius, to whom he had had a devotion since his youth. William Morrow, M.D., a leading citizen in Framingham, supported the idea, on the grounds that the Italians in the town needed a resident priest. Dr. Morrow helped Father Maschi prepare for an interview with Archbishop William Henry O'Connell, during which Father Maschi received permission to gather a congregation. The parishioners began meeting on the third floor of the Tribune Building on Irving Street on August 4, 1907. Father Maschi lived at Sacred Heart

⁵⁰¹ Hayman, II, 191.

⁵⁰² Hayman, II, 187-188.

⁵⁰³ Hayman, II, 185.

in Boston and pedaled out to Framingham on his bicycle. Land was purchased in May 1908, and the first mass at the new church said in December 1909. Father Maschi not only founded Saint Tarcisius, but he also made it a stable part of the Scalabrinian community, serving until his death on June 3, 1948.⁵⁰⁴ Like Father Formia in Utica, Father Maschi devoted himself to his parish rather than Scalabrinian administration.

In May 1915, Vittorio Gregori of Sacred Heart notified Archbishop O'Connell that there were about 3,000 Italians in Somerville, a town separated from Boston by the Charles River and Cambridge. Father Gregori had engaged space at 4 Elm Street in that city and planned to send a Scalabrinian resident at Sacred Heart to say mass and hear confession.⁵⁰⁵ He sent Nazareno Properzi. Born February 5, 1890, in Corridonia, in the Marches region, to Liberato Properzi and his wife Domenica Corona, he had been educated for the priesthood in the diocesan seminary at Piacenza. He joined the Scalabrinians July 1, 1903. He was ordained April 12, 1914 and left for New York May 15, 1914. Arriving May 29, 1914, he went to Boston, where from June 5, 1914, to June 6, 1915, he was an assistant at Sacred Heart, at which point Somerville became his responsibility. On August 1, 1915, he moved the congregation's meeting place to School Street; this location had a space for a priest to live. (Not quite so athletic as Father Maschi, Father Properzi had walked, to his outlying assignment.) Father Properzi was pastor of Saint Anthony's in Somerville until his death December 21, 1960.⁵⁰⁶ He not only kept the parish within the Scalabrinian fold but, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, he played a role in Scalabrinian administration as well.

The numerous scattered colonies of Italians in Chicago, a city occupying more land than some cities on the eastern seaboard, meant the Scalabrinian mission there continued to expand. In 1910, one of the Italians in the neighborhood of Holy Guardian Angel gave pastor Pacifico Chenuil and Archbishop James E. Quigley a tour of the neighborhood in his car, the purpose being to find a site for a new parish that would allow Holy Guardian Angel to be divided into two more manageable units. The three picked a spot on the corner of McCallister (later Lexington) Place and Lytle Street. Father Chenuil nominated his assistant, Pietro Barabino, as first pastor. Father Barabino moved into a house standing on the corner of the lot and made arrangements for the construction of a combination church and school in the adjacent yard. On April 12, 1911, he opened sacramental registers for his new parish and began performing baptisms. By 1912, he had a parochial school, staffed by the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception. In 1914, the sisters moved from a convent of the Little Sisters of the Poor on

⁵⁰⁴ Remo Rizzato, P.S.C., *Figure di Missionari Scalabriniani* (New York: D'Alatri's Press, n.d.), 113-117; *St. Tarcisius Church Dedication* (n.p., n.d.), CMS No. 042, Box 2, Publications: Church Dedication folder; Fiftieth Anniversary (1907-1957), *St. Tarcisius Church, Framingham, Massachusetts* (n.p., 1957), CMS No. 042, Box 2, Publications: Fiftieth Anniversary folder; "Fr. Maschi, helper on a bike," *The South Middlesex News*, June 1, 1975, 69H, CMS No. 042, Box 2, Newspaper clippings folder.

⁵⁰⁵ Vittorio Gregori to William Henry O'Connell, Boston, May 19, 1915, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 16.

⁵⁰⁶ Questionario Circa La Persona per Nazareno Properzi, 1949, CMS No. 078B, Box 5, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Properzi folder; *Fiftieth Anniversary, 1915-1965, Saint Anthony Church, Somerville, Massachusetts* (n.p., n.d.).

Harrison Street to a convent of their own. Father Barabino continued to work at the parish, Our Lady of Pompei, until 1918.⁵⁰⁷

The Scalabrinians could not fulfill all requests, even when they simply called for a priest to travel a bit more widely within the same area. In 1910, Father Strazzoni acceded to the local bishop's request that the Scalabrinians tend to a parish outside Buffalo. Father Strazzoni defended his actions to the provincial superior by writing, "I could not refuse him, who is so good to us." Father Demo in effect told him to find a way; the Scalabrinians could not take responsibility for any new parishes near Buffalo and Father Strazzoni should concentrate on Saint Anthony's.⁵⁰⁸ When Father Panesi moved from Revere to Rome, the Scalabrinians in Boston were asked to supply a replacement for Revere, but Vittorio Gregori replied he could not.⁵⁰⁹

The pious society as a whole took responsibility for recruiting clergy and for pressing for expansion. Scalabrinian obligation for established parishes was a different matter. Insofar as the Scalabrinians themselves were concerned, pastors shouldered the financial burdens of their own parishes. Some ordinaries tried to follow a different policy. Most notably, George Cardinal Mundelein, archbishop of Chicago from December 9, 1915, to October 2, 1939, tried to get the wealthier Scalabrinian parishes to assist the poorer ones.⁵¹⁰

The Scalabrinians as a community did bear responsibility for their institute's finances. During the years before World War I, the U.S. Scalabrinians each sent an annual contribution to the motherhouse, which used it to maintain the property, train new missionaries and pay administrative salaries and expenses. The Scalabrinians got the money for their annual contributions via the stole fees or stipends the faithful paid them for saying mass for a particular intention. Some Scalabrinians received requests for more masses than they could say (canon law allowed one per priest per weekday and two on Sundays and holydays of obligation), and so sent the intention and the stole fee to Piacenza, where someone else honored the request. The Scalabrinians operated on a "from each according to his ability" policy. The superior general never issued (or the Scalabrinians in North America never kept) a budget showing how much the motherhouse needed to survive and did not set quotas for individual priests. Father Vicentini confined himself to expressions of gratitude and encouragement to increase contributions.

A final element of institutional survival involved making sure the Scalabrinians had a mission that required the kind of service only they could provide. To that end, the Scalabrinians monitored potential rivals and positioned themselves accordingly. For example, the Opera Bonomelli, founded by Bishop Scalabrini's episcopal colleague and

⁵⁰⁷ *Our Lady of Pompei Sixty-Fifth Anniversary, 1911-1976* (n.p., n.d.); *Golden Jubilee, 1911-1961, Our Lady of Pompei Church, Chicago, Illinois* (n.p., n.d.), CMS No. 049, Box 1, Records of the Church of Our Lady of Pompei folder.

⁵⁰⁸ Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, July 25, 1910, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters, 1910, folder.

⁵⁰⁹ Gregori to Rev.mo Padre, Boston, January 8, 1918, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 17.

⁵¹⁰ George J. Casey to Beniamino Franch, Chicago, January 16, 1933, SJB, Box 26, folder A.

friend Geremia Bonomelli, devoted itself to Italian migrants in other European countries. The Scalabrinians stayed out of the European mission until 1922.⁵¹¹

It was harder to deal with the Società dei Missionari di Emigrazione di Sant'Antonio di Padova, which was founded by Monsignor Giangiacomo Coccolo in 1905. In his 1908 mission statement, Monsignor Coccolo showed his awareness of the Scalabrinians. The Sant'Antonio Society's work was twofold. It provided religious, moral and, so far as was practical, material assistance to Italian migrants in countries such as Argentina, Canada, Chile, Paraguay, and Uruguay; countries with little or no Scalabrinian presence. It also provided ship chaplains, which the Scalabrinians did not do. Although Monsignor Coccolo staked out territory steering clear of the Scalabrinians; members of the Society of Saint Charles regarded this as preparation for a frontal assault. Father Novati tried to be hopeful, and buoyed Father Demo's spirits with the quip that Monsignor Coccolo's plans for ship chaplains seemed near shipwreck.⁵¹²

Then came the invasion. First, Monsignor Coccolo negotiated with steamship lines to install chaplains on ships going to New York; the chaplains even stayed at Pompei and Saint Joachim's during their layovers.⁵¹³ Then Monsignor Coccolo opened his own port ministry in Genoa, competing with the work at the Genoa branch of the Saint Raphael Society. He also succeeded in getting the Vatican Secretary of State to order all parishes in Italy to take up an annual special collection to subsidize his ministry, something Bishop Scalabrini had repeatedly requested and been unable to obtain.⁵¹⁴ Father Vicentini, looking out for Scalabrinian interests, got the Vatican to share the annual collection's proceeds among all groups working with Italian migrants, including the Scalabrinians, and to divide the mission field so that Monsignor Coccolo stuck to ship chaplaincies and left other ministries to other organizations.⁵¹⁵

Italica Gens was another possible competitor. This organization labored under two disadvantages. First, it was founded and managed by laity, a drawback in a time and place in which lay initiative was suspect. Second, the Vatican was particularly concerned that the laity might use religion for secular purposes, as a way to attract and keep members who would then be directed toward political activities potentially embarrassing to Catholicism. These two handicaps had to be balanced against Italica Gens's fundraising ability, administrative capability, and political connections.

Father Vicentini feared the Scalabrinians would not work well with Italica Gens, since those running the philanthropy wanted more material aid to migrants than the clergy, who were already busy running churches, could provide. Besides, most Scalabrinians

⁵¹¹ Paolo Borruso, *Missioni Cattoliche ed emigrazione italiana in Europa (1922-1958)* (Rome: Istituto Storico Scalabriniano, 1994).

⁵¹² Novati to Demo, Piacenza, May 23, 1906, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Novati folder.

⁵¹³ Novati to Demo, Piacenza, June 3, 1906, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Novati folder.

⁵¹⁴ Francesconi IV, 71.

⁵¹⁵ Francesconi IV, 73.

lacked the necessary administrative experience.⁵¹⁶ Nevertheless, associating with Italica Gens provided some opportunities, and the Scalabrinians took advantage of them.

The most significant opportunity came in Canada. Pietro Pisani, who had worked with the Opera Bonomelli, went on to work with Ernesto Schiaparelli, founder of Italica Gens. He then came to Toronto, Canada, at which point he came into contact with the Scalabrinians.⁵¹⁷ Another Scalabrinian, Giovanni Bonomi, also worked with Italica Gens in Hamilton, Ontario. He in turn introduced other Scalabrinians to the bishop of Toronto and the mission in Hamilton. In 1908, first Theodore Glesasz and then Carlo Doglio came to meet the bishop. Father Doglio made an especially good impression and began spending his weekends in Hamilton; this was the behavior the clergy and laity in Buffalo saw as suspicious signs of embezzlement.⁵¹⁸ Father Bonomi did not renew his promises to the Scalabrinians, but he remained in touch with them throughout his years in Hamilton.

By the eve of World War I, the Scalabrinians had completed the transition to a new phase of institutional life. Despite Bishop Scalabrini's death, they had kept the pious society going. They had recruited some new missionaries and made personnel decisions beneficial to the institute. They had learned to cut their losses, had maintained some parishes, stabilized a few precarious ones and even opened some new ones. They were learning how to secure an ongoing mission, overcoming obstacles put in their way by ordinaries who thought of the missionaries as a temporary expedients and other immigrant-aid organizations who thought of them as competition. In short, the Scalabrinians had secured their institutional survival.

There are many strategies for institutional survival. One way was to press for continued growth. Bishop Scalabrini occasionally cut his losses at one mission in order to conserve resources for a better opportunity later. Father Zaboglio tended to fight harder to keep individual missions afloat, but both the priest and the bishop opted for expansion, calculating the missions that survived would outnumber those that did not. Bishop Scalabrini's successors opted for consolidation. The approach had a certain logic, to it. Bishop Scalabrini's death deprived the institute of its best recruiter and fundraiser. Superior General Vicentini was simply a more cautious person, unlikely to take risks. Even if the preponderance of Scalabrinians were interested primarily in themselves or their parishes, such limited vision helped the whole pious society by stabilizing and strengthening the work already begun.

The consolidation strategy, though, posed two hazards. First, the Scalabrinians sacrificed their founder's imaginative vision of comprehensive pastoral care for migrants. The North American Scalabrinians adopted the vision of their surrounding society. They stuck to their parishes, rather than experiment with various forms of care. Within those parishes they adopted the priorities of all parishes, building churches, schools, rectories and convents and then paying the debts for their construction. The one consolation was

⁵¹⁶ Francesconi IV, 81.

⁵¹⁷ Pietro Pisani to Demo, Toronto, August 30, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Pisani folder.

⁵¹⁸ Giovanni F. Bonomi to Demo, Hamilton, September 5, 1908, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 52.

that within those parishes they were building new bases for creativity and, without realizing it, they were reinventing Bishop Scalabrini's notion of comprehensive pastoral care, embracing spiritual and material needs.

Secondly, consolidation represented an all-or-nothing gamble in which the Scalabrinians themselves gave up on some opportunities on the theory that their institute would always have the mission of staffing national parishes for Italian migrants. What would happen if that one mission were to become less necessary?



6

Specialized Ministries

This is a story of loss and recovery. Bishop Scalabrini's own vision of what his institute could accomplish widened during his lifetime. Circumstances, though, reduced the bishop's opportunities to act on that vision. After his death, circumstances combined with the Scalabrinians' new leadership to channel the missionaries' energy almost exclusively into staffing Italian national parishes. Studying the ministries that Bishop Scalabrini experimented with and abandoned, or that his missionaries forsook, may help restore the fullness and richness of the founder's vision. This chapter follows the roads not taken: scholarship, advocacy, ship chaplaincy, port ministry, itinerant missions, hospitals, seminaries, the press and the pastoral care of non-Italians. It also follows the lead of scholars such as Silvano M. Tomasi, who have pointed out the need for more work on the Scalabrinians' early nonparochial institutions.⁵¹⁹

Bishop Scalabrini himself was a student of migration, though he relied primarily on published materials rather than archival or field research. His pamphlets drew on statistics and anecdotal evidence that had originally appeared in the American newspapers and then were incorporated into Italian government reports. His 1899 presentation on "The Emigration of the Italian Worker" urged others to study the causes and consequences of migration so as to better assist the migrants. The Scalabrinians, though, lacked the time, temperament, and training for such study. The closest thing to participation in scholarship came in 1924, when Christopher Perotta, O.P., a master's candidate at the Catholic University of America, requested Father Demo send "documents, references, or personal views" as part of the research for a thesis on Italian pastoral care in the United States.⁵²⁰ It seems the request went unanswered; there is nothing in the finished thesis indicating Father Demo's input.⁵²¹ Not until the 1960s, when they began opening their Centers for Migration Studies, did the Scalabrinians return to their founder's understanding that studying migrants was a service to them.

⁵¹⁹ Silvano M. Tomasi, C.S., "Scalabrini e i vescovi nordamericani" in Gianfausto Rosoli, ed., *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989), 453-467.

⁵²⁰ Christopher Perotta, O.P, to Antonio Demo, Washington, DC, November 11, 1924, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Perotta folder.

⁵²¹ Christopher Perotta, O.P, "Catholic Care of the Italian Immigrant in the United States," (M. A., the Catholic University of America, 1925).

Similarly, Bishop Scalabrini was a pioneer of the ministry of migrant advocacy. He did not confine himself to pure research, nor did he see his role as being only in the private sector, providing pastoral care and charity to assist individuals caught between laissez-faire capitalism and limited government. His *Parliamentary Bill on Italian Emigration* indicates his ability to call society's attention to the moral dimension of migration. The Scalabrinians were aware that migrants might need advocates for their cause. Father Demo once warned a correspondent, who had at one time lived in the United States and was planning to return, to get a good lawyer as "the emigration laws are rather strict and rigorous." Father Demo also joined a protest against the 1924 version of discriminatory quota laws, which acted to reduce Italian opportunities for migration.⁵²² No Scalabrinian, though, took up migrant advocacy in a systematic fashion.

When Bishop Scalabrini first thought about sending out missionaries, he was aware of the migrants' transiency and the labor-market forces that led the migrants to settle in isolated areas, and he tried to organize his missionaries' lives to reflect these realities. Although the missionaries were to live communally in houses in the large population centers, their day-to-day work involved much travelling; they were to seek out the Italian workers in scattered communities and conduct missions among them. Historian Jay Dolan referred to missions as "Catholic revivalism," and they were indeed intended to use a brief period of intensive church attendance and preaching to lead people to a renewed faith, concretized in making confession and receiving communion.⁵²³ Bishop Scalabrini's missionaries were to conduct missions to meet the needs of the far-flung faithful who lived out of reach of Catholic churches, and to interest the larger communities in starting churches.

In his original proposal for his institute, Bishop Scalabrini proposed a "mission band," or group, which would conduct missions to encourage the Italian migrants to build chapels and to support priests or, if no priest was available, to motivate the Italians to continue with devotional practices proper to the laity. Francesco Zaboglio agreed that houses from which "flying missionaries" went forth to preach were the most efficient use of personnel.⁵²⁴ Scalabrinian Graziano Battistella, the most careful student of the early missions, explained that the proposal ran up against some hard realities. Bishop Scalabrini's "missionaries had to have some independence in the apostolate from the local pastors and they had to live in fraternity." Parishes were the means of doing so, and thus

⁵²² Antonio Demo to A. Colasuomo, New York, May 7, 1925, CMS No. 037, Box 5, folder 33. Like many people, Father Demo used immigration and emigration indiscriminately; since he was referring to laws affecting individuals coming to the United States, he probably really meant immigration here. See also Arnaldo Vanoli to Demo, Buffalo, January 22, 1924, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr Antonio Demo—Father Vanoli folder.

⁵²³ Jay P. Dolan, *Catholic Revivalism: The American Experience, 1830-1900* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1978).

⁵²⁴ Mario Francesconi, C.S., *The Scalabrini Fathers in North America, 1888-1895*, volume II, trans. Joseph Zappulla (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1983), 177-182. Hereafter Francesconi II.

the Scalabrinians ended up with the parishes instead of mission centers.⁵²⁵ On the other hand, the Scalabrinians could not have parishes unless they gathered parishioners, and periodic missions were part of American parish life, so the Scalabrinians always had some involvement in conducting missions.

One Scalabrinian left an account of the type of mission preached in order to gather a congregation. Oreste Alussi was stationed in Boston in the 1890s and made periodic forays to the mill towns and quarries in the backwoods New England in search of Italians. He found about 400 in North Adams, Massachusetts. The local priest, Luigi Le Duc, apparently hoped to integrate them into his congregation. Father Alussi and Ludovico Martinelli preached an initial mission and then Father Alussi returned at Christmas and Easter for refresher missions. In between Alussi's visits, Father Le Duc heard confessions and read the Gospel in Italian. The outreach came to an end in 1894, when Father Le Duc died and his successor made other arrangements for the Italians. Outside of North Adams, Father Alussi found a community of 50 Tyrolean miners, and said mass for them under pioneer conditions: an altar which seems to have been made of a board laid across the backs of two chairs and covered with a sheet, illuminated with oil lamps. "I didn't realize I had to bring my own wine and so I used cider to offer the mass, which was celebrated to everyone's satisfaction."⁵²⁶

The colonies which Father Alussi visited were too small and too poor to expect that they might blossom into parishes. Pio Parolin, on the other hand, conducted missions that were more explicitly geared to gather or revive a congregation. In 1904, he visited Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago, whose previous pastor had left the congregation demoralized. The parishioners appreciated Father Pio's services; they even arranged for a brass band to accompany him to the train station to see him off on his return trip to New York. The next year, Giacomo Gambera arrived as Addolorata's first Scalabrinian pastor.⁵²⁷

The form of the Scalabrinians' missions at established parishes resembled that of the missions other religious orders conducted. At Saint Anthony in Buffalo in January 1910, the mission lasted two weeks. The daytime sessions were for both sexes, the evening sessions were single-sex, with the women coming the first week and the men the second. The order of attendance was not just the good manners of "ladies first." Women were more likely to attend any sort of devotional exercise, and so having the women's services the first week set a high standard for the men. Mass and meditation took place at 5:00 a.m., so devotees could go to services and still be on time for work. At 8:00 a.m. there were instructions and at 3:00 p.m. the Stations of the Cross. The evening service consisted of rosary recitation, "dialog instruction" (a kind of question-and-answer), meditation and Benediction with the Blessed Sacrament.⁵²⁸ The same program reappeared at other times

⁵²⁵ Graziano Battistella, C.S., *Itinerant Missions: Alternative Experiences in the History of the Scalabrinians in North America* (New York: Center for Migration Studies [Occasional Papers: Pastoral Series, No. 6], 1986), 4.

⁵²⁶ Oreste Alussi, "Missioni fuori Boston" (typescript, n.d.), CMS No. 078, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Alussi folder.

⁵²⁷ Pio Parolin, "El Toso de Andrian Peto, Pio Parolin" (typescript, n.d.), 43, CMS No. 073, Box 1, Autobiography folder

⁵²⁸ Note dated January 8, 1910, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Fr. Biasotti folder.

and places. In 1925 in Kansas City, Holy Rosary's mission also lasted two weeks. Mass was at 9:00 a.m. and there was no morning instruction, but there was the Stations of the Cross at 2:30 p.m. and rosary recitation, preaching and Benediction at 7:30 p.m.⁵²⁹

One variation in the Scalabrinian parish missions concerned language. Originally, all Scalabrinian missions must have been entirely in Italian. As clergy and congregation became more adept at English, the question came up as to whether to hold services in that language. On the one hand, English-language missions at the Italian parish might siphon off parishioners and donations from nearby English-language parishes. On the other hand, the best chance of keeping Italian-American youth in the Catholic fold was to provide services for them at their parishes. Exactly what happened at a particular parish depended on the local ordinary. The archbishop of Boston permitted Ludovico Toma to hold an English-language mission at Saint Lazarus but reduced the occasion's appeal by requiring Father Toma find a Scalabrinian to conduct the mission, thus sending a signal the mission was really just for the Italians on Orient Heights.⁵³⁰ Holy Rosary in Kansas City simply tacked an extra week onto its mission: two for Italians and one "for children and youth of the Holy Rosary Parish," who spoke English.⁵³¹

Besides conducting the mission itself, the mission band tried to encourage people to keep up their pious practices after the mission ended. Among the Scalabrinians, the most common means of doing so was to distribute devotional reading matter. Such books were imported through or printed in New York. Father Demo was kept busy supplying missionaries in the hinterlands with Italian-language religious reading.⁵³²

Part of the appeal of a mission was the opportunity to hear a different preacher. To that end, the Scalabrinians did not necessarily preach missions in their own parishes. They invited other religious orders to send mission bands to their parishes. If the Scalabrinian parish needed an Italian-language mission, the pastor might call in another order with many Italian members, such as the Salesians of Don Bosco.⁵³³ Scalabrinians who needed English-language preachers for increasingly bilingual congregations could call on a community such as the Jesuits.⁵³⁴ The Scalabrinians then took their turn being "something different" for Italian parishes staffed by other religious orders such as the Servites.⁵³⁵

Having Scalabrinians preach missions in Scalabrinian parishes offered one great advantage in that it allowed sometimes isolated missionaries to get together. When

⁵²⁹ Brochures for missions, CMS No. 053, Box 1, Miscellaneous Documents folder.

⁵³⁰ C. J. Sullivan to Ludovico Toma, Brighton, April 12, 1922, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 20.

⁵³¹ Brochures for missions, CMS No. 053, Box 1, Miscellaneous Documents folder.

⁵³² *E.g.*, Carlo Fani to Demo, Chicago, February 14, 1920, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr Antonio Demo-Father Fani folder.

⁵³³ Ernesto Coppo to Demo, New York, February 7, 1904, CMS No. 055, Box 1, Letters folder.

⁵³⁴ Raphael D'Alfonso to William Henry O'Connell, Boston, March 21, 1921, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 19.

⁵³⁵ Ignazio M. Patriarchi, o.S.M., to Demo, Montreal, n.d., CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of FE Antonio Demo-Father Patriarchi folder.

Francesco Beccherini called on his former colleagues to preach at Saint Francis in Detroit, it was an opportunity for the Scalabrinians to see how their former member was faring.⁵³⁶ Father Pio's description of a Chicago mission sounds like the devotional exercise was partly a Scalabrinian party, with missionaries from all over the city in attendance.⁵³⁷

There was another advantage to dispatching at least some Scalabrinians to full-time itinerant mission work. Preaching missions was one way to utilize the talents of those who lacked administrative abilities. Angelo Chiariglione seems to have been a case in point. Born in 1833 in Modena, his family was too poor to spare him for the priesthood, or even for much education. During a stint as a mason, he conceived the idea of being a missionary and applied to the Christopher Columbus Institute. In 1889, he and Giacomo Gambera went to New Orleans together. Father Chiariglione left New Orleans for Cincinnati, where he gathered the congregation that became the basis for Sacred Heart parish. Father Zaboglio was unimpressed with his performance in both those places.⁵³⁸ On the other hand, Father Chiariglione was a dedicated ambulatory missionary. He traveled on foot through Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia and then back down to Georgia and west to Alabama. His manner of death became part of Scalabrinian legend. He suffered some sort of fatal seizure while walking alone through a heavily wooded area outside of Daphne, Alabama, carrying the Blessed Sacrament to an invalid. His body was found August 13, 1908.⁵³⁹

After Bishop Scalabrini's death, the Scalabrinians curtailed the activities of individuals such as Father Chiariglione. They did, however, facilitate the career of one more notable ambulatory missionary. Roberto Biasotti has already been introduced as an experienced missionary among Italians in other European countries and as the pastor who tried to implement Bishop Scalabrini's plans for an Italian school at Sacred Heart in Boston. When in 1908 Paolo Novati replaced him at Sacred Heart, Father Biasotti turned to full-time work preaching missions. During 1908, he spent much of his time travelling and preaching missions.⁵⁴⁰ The other Scalabrinians did not think of preaching missions as full-time work—it was something individual Scalabrinians did as time and other responsibilities permitted—and there was some discussion as to how to regularize Father Biasotti's position.⁵⁴¹ Between 1912 and 1920 Father Biasotti found another institution that was better able to support his plans for full-time itinerant missions, the Archdiocese of New York. During those years he directed the Italian Apostolate, a group of clergy which

⁵³⁶ Carlo Delbecchi to Demo, Chicago, March 16, 1920, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Delbecchi folder.

⁵³⁷ Parolin to Antonio Demo, Chicago, March 24, 1908, SIB, Box 27, Santa Maria Incoronata folder.

⁵³⁸ Francesco Zaboglio to Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, New Orleans, February 12, 1892, Francesconi II, 182-183.

⁵³⁹ Remo Rizzato, PS.S.C., *Figure di Missionari Scalabriniani*, (New York: D'Alatri's Press, n.d.), 97-99.

⁵⁴⁰ Roberto Biasotti to Demo, Providence, February 29, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Biasotti folder.

⁵⁴¹ Domenico Vicentini to Demo, Piacenza, March 6, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1908 folder.

specialized in preaching missions in parishes with Italians in the congregation.⁵⁴² There was plenty of work; Father Biasotti's reports to the archbishop indicated the group was busy practically every week of the year. Nevertheless, Archbishop Patrick Joseph Hayes shut down the operation in 1921, just before he reorganized the chancery and introduced Catholic Charities.⁵⁴³ The work, though, was not fully supported within the archdiocesan bureaucracy; Vincenzo Jannuzzi charged that Gherardo Ferrante, the archdiocese's Italian secretary, forced Father Biasotti to resign.⁵⁴⁴ Thereafter, Father Biasotti drops from the records.

The other nonparochial spiritual ministry that concerned Bishop Scalabrini was ship chaplaincies. The bishop first mentioned the provision of ship chaplains to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in July 1890. At that point, the bishop thought of ship chaplaincy as a full-time ministry. Rather than have missionaries tend migrants aboard ships on which they themselves happened to be travelling (a practice Bishop Scalabrini followed during his voyages to the United States in 1901 and Brazil in 1904), an individual would be assigned to crisscross the Atlantic with the ship, ministering to migrants and to returnees. The problem was whom to assign. Bishop Scalabrini thought he had someone for the job, but the priest literally missed the boat.⁵⁴⁵ There was also a jurisdictional problem. Papal approval of the Scalabrinian institute specified that the organization was for missionaries intending to minister to Italians in the Americas, Bishop Scalabrini asked separately for specific faculties to accept missionaries to minister to Italians *on their way* to the Americas.⁵⁴⁶ The bishop received such approval from Pope Pius X.⁵⁴⁷ Then both Pius X and Bishop Scalabrini died, and the Scalabrinians never followed up on the plan.

As noted in chapter five, the lack of ship chaplains within the Scalabrinians left a gap through which competitors could enter the migrant apostolate. There were, however, instances of cooperation between the Scalabrinians and their colleagues in the specialized field of ship chaplaincies. Enrico Bianco, who may have been with Giangiacomo Coccolo's institute, was a fulltime ship chaplain with a steamship company that had a line between Italy and New York. During his New York layovers, he stayed with Father Jannuzzi at Saint Joachim's.⁵⁴⁸ In the 1960s the Scalabrinians finally entered the field of ship

⁵⁴² Mary Elizabeth Brown, *Churches, Communities, and Children: Italian Immigrants and the Archdiocese of New York, 1880-1945* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1995), 96-100.

⁵⁴³ Vincenzo Jannuzzi et al., to Patrick J. Hayes, New York, May 13, 1921, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1921 folder.

⁵⁴⁴ Jannuzzi to Hayes, New York, August 23, 1923, AANY, microfilm roll No. 3.

⁵⁴⁵ Scalabrini to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Piacenza, December 7, 1890, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, *Scritti*, 14 vols. (Rome: Congregazione Scalabriniana, 1980) volume I, 275-276. Hereafter, *Scritti*.

⁵⁴⁶ Scalabrini to Miescyław Halka Cardinal Ledóchowski, Piacenza, January 31, 1902, *Scritti* I, 253-254.

⁵⁴⁷ Scalabrini to Pius X, Rome, November 25, 1903, *Scritti* II, 270.

⁵⁴⁸ CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Bianca [sic] folder.

chaplains, as part of their reconceptualized mission to those who live transient lives, which includes sailors.⁵⁴⁹

During the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it was common to refer to the "spiritual and temporal" or "moral and material" needs of those to whom Catholicism reached out. Occasionally those two concepts could be pried apart and seen as opposites: as in the stereotypes of the financially poor but spiritually rich family or of the wealthy but morally suspect individual. Bishop Scalabrini kept the two concepts tightly joined in his understanding of a Christian civilization. A society fully imbued with Catholic teaching would logically be concerned about the needy, and missionaries should not first preach and then extend charity to the "deserving poor" who lived good Christian lives but should extend charity as concrete evidence of divine care for every individual.

The Scalabrinian mission that best exhibited this comprehensive approach to migrant pastoral care, and which was the Scalabrinians' longest-lasting nonparochial ministry, was the Saint Raphael Society.⁵⁵⁰ Chapter two has already introduced Pietro Bandini, who came to the United States in 1892 to organize the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society, who developed its chapel into the parish of Our Lady of Pompei and who at the end of his five years with the Scalabrinians headed to Arkansas to be pastor of an Italian agricultural colony at the Sunnyside plantation. It is time to fill in the details of Father Bandini's work with the Saint Raphael Society and to discuss the society's history after its founder's departure from New York.

Father Bandini had rented a house at 113 Waverly Place soon after his arrival in New York. From this house, he travelled first to Castle Garden and, after its opening, to Ellis Island. To the house Italian migrants came, to pray at the chapel or to visit Father Bandini in his office, where he was trying to run a labor bureau to offset the activities of padrone, the middlemen who found jobs and provided other services in exchange for fees or kickbacks from wages. The Archdiocese of New York financed the society's activities with a kind of "friends" program. One could be a "coadjutor" for 25 cents per annum or an active member for three dollars per annum (or one \$25 donation).⁵⁵¹

The arrangements proved insufficient. The friends program never raised enough money. Father Zaboglio, at least, did not think much of Father Bandini as a priest.⁵⁵² Father Bandini's departure for Arkansas rendered his character a moot point, but it also left a vacancy that was hard to fill. The Saint Raphael chaplain needed to be bilingual to truly aid the migrants, and few Scalabrinians at that time could speak both English and Italian.⁵⁵³

The Saint Raphael Society languished from 1896 to 1900. Reviving it was tied to the preparations for Bishop Scalabrini's U.S. trip. When in 1900 Giacomo Gambera came to

⁵⁴⁹ Alba I. Zizzamia, *A Vision Unfolding* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1989), 118-119.

⁵⁵⁰ Edward C. Stibili, "The St. Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, 1887-1923" (Ph.D., University of Notre Dame, 1977).

⁵⁵¹ Michael Augustine Corrigan to Reverend Sir, New York, July 10, 1891, Francesconi II, 245-246.

⁵⁵² Zaboglio to Scalabrini, Piacenza, October 4, 1895, Francesconi II, 208-209.

⁵⁵³ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New York, March 30, 1891, Francesconi II, 165-167.

Italy to plan for the trip, he visited the Italian foreign ministry; Italy regarded its "colonies" in other countries as the responsibility of its diplomats. Perhaps Bishop Scalabrini discussed the reorganization of the Saint Raphael Society with Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan, but, as historian Edward C. Stibili points out, the real forces shaping the reorganizing came from other sources. A law passed in Italy in 1901 permitted the Italian government to subsidize travelers' aid agencies, including the Saint Raphael Society, though the government never gave enough to free the society from financial worries. That same year, the American government passed a law forbidding foreign agents to work on Ellis Island. The result was that although the Scalabrinians could use Italian money, they needed to organize their work to make it clear they were not representatives of the Italian government.⁵⁵⁴ Father Gambera's solution was to ally the Saint Raphael Society more firmly with the Archdiocese of New York. After Archbishop Corrigan's death in 1902, Father Gambera negotiated with the new archbishop, John Murphy Farley. The new arrangement called for Father Gambera to purchase a new house for the Saint Raphael Society. He sold the one at 113 Waverly Street and bought one at 8-10 Charlton. However, neither Father Gambera nor the Scalabrinians actually owned the house. The Scalabrinians supplied a chaplain/director for the Saint Raphael Society. The house, which served as a hospice for Italian women and children in transit through New York City, was operated by the Pallottine Sisters of Charity, Italian members of which had come to New York in the early 1880s to staff a school at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in East Harlem. The property was held in the sisters' name by Gherardo Ferrante, who continued as Italian secretary into the Farley administration.

Father Gambera preserved a description of his work on Ellis Island:

The passengers in third class, and many in the other classes, are transported to Ellis Island, where they were made to pass an examination before the doctors, and then before the inspectors, who, respectively, examined their physical condition and their personal and civil status. They would ask the passengers their ages, whether they were able to work, whether they had enough money, their destination, and whether they were bound by any contracts.

After these examinations, some were permitted to enter, some were detained and some were excluded.

Those admitted did not need anything else. They would be escorted by the officers to the various departure stations. If the priest was able, he would inform the passengers about their travel and the place where they were destined to go.

So as to protect them from the hands of so many exploiters, those settling in New York City or its vicinities were turned over to the Italian Protector, a society which brought them to its offices to entrust them to dependable individuals, or it would bring them to its own Casa di Beneficenza, which would procure work for them, and provide them with room and board at a modest rate.

Those detained, always a good number of them, either because they lacked an address, or funds, or a responsible person to pick them up, or because they were under suspicion, or because they were minors or old, or a mother with family, these all were in need of special assistance. Many, because of ignorance, or mistrust, or because they had been badly advised, used to harm their

⁵⁵⁴ Edward C. Stibili, "The Italian Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants," in Gianfausto Rosoli, ed., *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989), 469-480.

own causes. They would give the authorities answers which were evasive, with no clarity or precision, and they would say, "I'm going to America," as though it were a little town nearby. "I'm going to my townsman the banker," who generally was the primary exploiter. "My husband is waiting for me at the station," and that was hundreds of thousands of miles away. Many went so far as to refuse to disclose the amount of money they carried with them, not trusting the officials, while they blindly trusted the compari, crony townsmen who almost always were the real swindlers. It was a miserable situation, shameful thing.⁵⁵⁵

Father Gambera's successor left an even fuller picture of the Saint Raphael Society's activities. In 1905, when he went to Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago, Father Gambera arranged for Gaspare Moretto to succeed him at the Saint Raphael Society. Father Moretto kept various sorts of detailed records. Every year he produced an annual report which provided two sorts of information. The largest and most engaging body of data are the anecdotes, usually accompanied by photographs, of migrants whom the Saint Raphael Society helped. The statistical tables are more revealing about what sort of work was most typical at the Saint Raphael Society and who did it. Father Moretto also saved his correspondence, which indicates he engaged in activities he omitted from the annual reports. Each piece of evidence fills in a bit of the picture of the nature of the work at the Saint Raphael Society.

The anecdotal evidence is the trickiest to use. Because it was presented in annual reports for public consumption, there is a tendency to suspect Father Moretto of emphasizing what might attract potential donors rather than what was typical of work at the Saint Raphael Society. Certainly, Father Moretto had an eye for the dramatic. The year the Titanic sank, the care of migrant survivors received extensive coverage, complete with a photograph and detailed account of one family's tragedy. Newlyweds Sebastiano del Carlo and Argene Genovesi were coming to the United States aboard the great ship. When it sank, del Carlo drowned and Genovesi was rescued. Father Moretto tapped a special fund raiser for survivors of the disaster to send Genovesi back to her parents.⁵⁵⁶ Father Moretto also grasped that people respond sympathetically to tales of lives ensnarled in red tape and rendered miserable by bumbling bureaucrats, so he included descriptions of how the Saint Raphael Society came to the rescue of people such as Gennarino Pesce, a 10-year-old stowaway who claimed he had been born in Brooklyn and had an aunt there. Pesce's parents had brought him to Italy, but he wished to live in America with his aunt. Father Moretto requested a birth certificate from vital statistics, office workers said they could not find one, and the authorities placed the boy on a ship bound for Italy. As Father Moretto told the story, the ship had just disappeared over the horizon when the birth certificate arrived; the clerks had trouble finding it because Gennarino's name had been misspelled. Father Moretto then went to work to get the boy free and legal passage back to the United States. He no sooner arrived in Italy than he

⁵⁵⁵ Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 137-138.

⁵⁵⁶ *Società San Raffaele per gl'Immigranti Italiani XXII Rapporto Annuale, 1912* (New York: Tipo-Litografia E. Rossotti, 1913), 15, CMS No. 005, Box 6, Annual Report-1913 folder.

found himself headed back to New York and to the aunt whom Father Moretto had located.⁵⁵⁷

In some of Father Moretto's anecdotes, though, the people who came to the Saint Raphael Society for help were not the victims of disasters or of bureaucrats. Some stories forced the readers to face what members of families could do to each other. Even Father Moretto so disapproved of the actions of the C. family that he left out its name. When the marriage developed problems, the husband took the couple's daughter Irma, age 5, from the family home in Genoa, Italy, to Boston, Massachusetts. The mother followed, reclaimed her daughter, went to New York, and sued for custody. While the court pondered, Irma lived at the Saint Raphael Society.⁵⁵⁸ In another case, a 40-year-old spinster from Dalmatia came through Ellis Island. Assuming such a person could find work, Father Moretto took responsibility for her and placed her as a domestic servant, several times. Each time she returned to the Saint Raphael Society; her employers judged her a good woman, but insufficiently intelligent to learn to keep house. Unable to keep her or help her earn a living, Father Moretto arranged for her to return to Dalmatia. Had she managed to arrange for her first voyage herself, or had someone else tried to escape responsibility by sending her abroad?⁵⁵⁹

Variations of some anecdotes appear often enough that they probably represent typical work at the Saint Raphael Society. Families were often temporarily separated in New York. One person was admitted to the hospital, which meant the rest of the family had to find lodging until the patient recovered. Or one person was detained on Ellis Island. Or the husband was delayed in claiming the newly arrived wife and children. In these cases, a portion of the family found refuge at the Saint Raphael Society. When a distraught mother attempted to throw her baby overboard, authorities committed her to Bellevue for observation, and the father took the five children to the Saint Raphael Society to await a diagnosis and prognosis.⁵⁶⁰ Maria D'Amore's mother and little sister boarded at the Saint Raphael Society while authorities debated whether the 10-year-old girl's trachoma could bar her from the United States. (It did not; her father swore to meet the expenses connected with the ailment.)⁵⁶¹ Giuseppa Scelpa and her three children waited at the Saint Raphael Society while Father Moretto sent telegrams and placed notices in Italian-language newspapers trying to track down the husband and father, who

⁵⁵⁷ *Società San Raffaele per gl'Immigranti Italiani XVIII Rapporto Annuale, 1° Gennaio al 31 Dicembre, 1909* (New York: Tipo-Litografia E. Rossotti, 1910), 26, CMS No. 005, Box 6, Annual Report-1909 folder.

⁵⁵⁸ *Società San Raffaele per gl'Immigranti Italiani XVIII Rapporto Annuale, 1° Gennaio al 31 Dicembre, 1909* (Tipo-Litografia E. Rossotti, 1910), 26, CMS No. 005, Box 6, Annual Report-1909, folder.

⁵⁵⁹ *Società San Raffaele per gl'Immigranti Italiani XVI Rapporto Annuale, 1° Gennaio-31 Dicembre, 1907* (n.p., n.d.), case No. 8, CMS No. 005, Box 6, Annual Report-1907 folder.

⁵⁶⁰ *Società San Raffaele per gl'Immigranti Italiani XVI Rapporto Annuale, 1° Gennaio-31 Dicembre, 1907* (n.p., n.d.), case No. 9, CMS No. 005, Box 6, Annual Report-1907 folder.

⁵⁶¹ *Società San Raffaele per gl'Immigranti Italiani XVI Rapporto Annuale, 1° Gennaio-31 Dicembre, 1907* (n.p., n.d.), case No. 11, CMS No. 005, Box 6, Annual Report-1907 folder.

had changed jobs and moved to Rutland, Vermont, between the time his family last heard from him in Italy and the time it arrived on Ellis Island.⁵⁶²

People also stopped at the Saint Raphael Society on their way back to Italy. Father Moretto annually ran at least one story like that of Rosaria Porcia, who found herself widowed in Cleveland and decided return to her friends and family, and the lower cost of living, in Italy.⁵⁶³ While this runs contrary to the American image that the Saint Raphael Society and kindred agencies helped migrants start their new lives in the United States, it fit in well with Bishop Scalabrini's vision of preserving homeland ties.

Father Moretto's private correspondence supports two observations drawn from the anecdotal evidence. First, Father Moretto spent at least some of his time on repatriation, but not just on elderly migrants returning to Italy voluntarily. He also worked with those the federal government deported for failing one of the admission criteria applied on Ellis Island, usually either the requirement that the migrant be in good enough health to work or the one stipulating the person not be likely to become a public charge. Father Moretto was in a delicate position vis-à-vis deportees. As the chaplain/director of a traveler's aid agency, one charity he extended was legal assistance to those excluded from the United States, and, as the case of Gennarino Pesce indicates, he publicized his legal work to show that the Saint Raphael Society truly helped migrants. On the other hand, the Bureau of Immigration of the United States Labor Department gave Father Moretto and his agent permission to work on Ellis Island and could revoke that permission if either flouted U.S. law. So, when the Bureau of Immigration needed assistance, Father Moretto dutifully helped track down escaped deportees.⁵⁶⁴

Second, Father Moretto worked with family problems. However, not as much of his work was with children as the story of Irma C. might suggest. Most of it was with married couples. Again, Father Moretto was in a delicate position; he was charged both to help the troubled and to uphold canon law concerning marriage. Sometimes he could do both: when a woman discovered her husband had a wife by a previous marriage living in Italy, Father Moretto could get the second marriage annulled, leaving the woman free to remarry. In other cases, his obligation to defend the marriage bond took precedence: when a couple that had been married at the Saint Raphael chapel in December applied for a dissolution of the marriage in January, Father Moretto checked and determined that the marriage had been performed validly and so no annulment was possible.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶² *Società San Raffaele per gl'Immigranti Italiani XVI Rapporto Annuale, 1° Gennaio-31 Dicembre, 1908* (n.p., n.d.), 16, CMS No. 005, Box 6, Annual Report-1908 folder.

⁵⁶³ *Società San Raffaele per gl'Immigranti Italiani XX Rapporto Annuale 1° Gennaio-31 Dicembre, 1911* (New York: Tipo-Litografia E. Rossotti, 1912), 25, CMS No. 005, Box 6, Annual Report-1911 folder.

⁵⁶⁴ Unsigned letter to Superintendent of Tuxedo Hospital, New York, July 10, 1916, CMS No. 005, Box 3, Correspondence of Father Gaspare Moretto, C.S.-folder.

⁵⁶⁵ Hugh S. Lavery to Gaspare Moretto, Glen Falls, New York, February 14, 1920, CMS No. 005, Box 3, Correspondence of Father Gaspare Moretto, C.S.-1920 folder.

The private correspondence indicates Father Moretto engaged in one activity which received little publicity. Federal authorities put the migrant receiving station on an island to deter those who charged migrants ignorant of U.S. price scales enormous amounts for railroad tickets, hacks, or temporary lodging in the city, or who offered to provide jobs for a fee, pocketed the migrants' money and disappeared. Relocation, though, gave other exploiters an advantage, and every so often scandal erupted when baggage handlers were found rifling the migrants' luggage or the cafeteria contractor charged the government for a varied and nutritious menu and then served three meals a day of cheap stewed prunes on stale toast. Father Moretto kept an eye out for such corruption. At least once he was

TABLE 6.1
TYPES OF WORK AT THE SAINT RAPHAEL SOCIETY, 1905–1915

Year	Entrusted to Friends and Relatives	Jobs Found	Letters Sent	Telegrams	Lodging (days)	Food (days)	Meals for Unemployed	Repatriated
1905	414	136	479	144	11,555	118	0	0
1906	336	122	825	123	9,174	842	0	0
1907	1,645	231	1,537	177	15,747	1,916	0	0
1908	1,443	116	1,574	174	9,893	2,306	14,160	0
1909	1,213	44	1,840	173	10,132	1,435	2,775	106
1910	552	35	156	132	5,309	997	2,225	34
1911	453	51	1,846	195	6,836	700	3,565	66
1912	759	48	1,665	191	10,271	1,114	7,565	130
1913	1,531	120	2,065	500	11,203	1,738	6,965	102
1914	1,324	63	2,413	723	10,407	1,901	9,215	102
1915	1,163	49	2,237	618	10,115	1,414	12,655	70

TABLE 6.2
**PERSONS CARED FOR BY SAINT RAPHAEL SOCIETY,
PERCENT IN VARIOUS CATEGORIES, 1905–1915**

Year	Total Persons	Family Units	Orphans		Males		Females		Adults		Children	
			N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1905	920	64	141	15.3	134	14.5	786	85.4	501	54.4	419	45.5
1906	1,599	199	131	8.1	277	17.3	1,322	82.6	855	53.4	744	46.5
1907	1,879	344	203	10.8	439	23.3	1,440	76.6	1,025	54.5	854	45.4
1908	1,559	250	142	9.5	394	25.2	1,165	74.7	1,003	64.3	566	36.3
1909	1,304	127	73	5.5	273	20.9	1,031	79.0	933	71.5	371	28.4
1910	652	25	41	6.2	112	17.1	540	82.8	522	80.0	130	19.9
1911	1,071	87	95	8.8	171	15.9	900	84.0	774	72.2	297	27.7
1912	1,406	129	119	8.4	214	15.2	1,192	84.7	851	60.5	555	39.4
1913	2,139	204	176	8.2	272	12.7	1,867	87.2	1,353	63.2	786	36.8
1914	1,891	170	155	8.1	288	15.2	1,603	84.7	1,082	57.2	809	42.7
1915	1,769	248	154	8.7	292	16.5	1,477	83.4	930	52.5	839	47.4

involved in quietly investigating the money changers to insure migrants received the market rate of dollars for lire.⁵⁶⁶

⁵⁶⁶ CMS No. 005, Box 3, Correspondence of Father Gaspare Moretto, C.S.-1912 folder has relevant papers.

Father Moretto's statistics shed further light on what sort of help he supplied. Table 6.1 shows the different tasks Father Moretto quantified for his annual reports. Some tasks Father Moretto and his agent did. They were the only Saint Raphael Society employees with passes to Ellis Island, so they picked up migrants. Since they were the bilingual employees, they were the ones who sent letters and telegrams and made arrangements for friends and relatives to meet migrants at the Saint Raphael Society hospice. They also handled the paperwork of repatriation and marriage cases. It is worth noting that legal aid that occupied some space in the anecdotal section was actually so seldom given it went uncounted in the statistical section. The column on finding jobs is deceptive. After 1908, the Saint Raphael Society did not actually find many people work; Father Moretto or his agent referred the men to another agency specializing in employment.

The statistics show that the Pallottine Sisters of Charity were as necessary to the Saint Raphael Society's success as Father Moretto or his agent. The sisters provided thousands of nights of lodging each year. Father Moretto counted the meals by days; since there were three meals a day, the sisters did even more than the statistics suggest. The sisters were not mentioned in the annual reports' texts, and they appeared in the photographs only as individual nuns posed with migrants, but they were much more a part of the Saint Raphael Society's work than the anecdotes suggest. Orphans, who supplied memorable faces and stories for the anecdotes, actually accounted for at most 15.3 percent of the house population of the Saint Raphael Society, and usually for about half that. They were the sisters' responsibility, not Father Moretto's or the agent's, and, since they were children bereft of other resources, they may have taken up a disproportionate amount of the sisters' time.

Table 6.2 reinforces the notion that helping migrants find work was a minor part of the Saint Raphael Society's mission. Not only did Father Moretto and the agent refer the unemployed to a specialized labor bureau, but male migrants, those most likely to seek work, were only a small number of those applying to the Saint Raphael Society for help. The number of adult males is impossible to recover, but one can guess it was not large, since the number of children was always larger than the total number of males, and about half those children would be males. Bishop Scalabrini had envisioned the Saint Raphael Society as helping migrants escape *padrone*. Statistics indicate it did not. Statistics cannot explain why. Did the men not really need such help? Historians such as Umberto Nelli argue the *padrone* was not so much of a problem as reformers thought.⁵⁶⁷ Or were the *padrone* too difficult a problem? What the statistics can do is indicate that the feminization of welfare was already well underway at the Saint Raphael Society.

What kind of help did the women need? They seldom received help finding jobs. The specialized office with which Father Moretto and the agent worked found jobs only for men. Neither Father Moretto's anecdotes nor his private correspondence indicate he spent much time finding work for women. The Saint Raphael Society sent the women elsewhere, but not to the labor market.

⁵⁶⁷ Humbert S. Nelli, "The Economic Activities of Italian Americans," in Winston Van Home and Thomas V. Tonnesen, eds., *Ethnicity in the Work Force* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 193-207.

The number of family units provides some clue. Glancing down the column, one can see the number of families reuniting in the United States rising and falling in response to impersonal economic forces and larger political considerations. In 1907, U.S. prosperity acted as a pull factor, drawing the largest number of migrants for any year between 1880 and 1920, Italians among them. In 1915, Italy entered World War I, which generated a push factor sending families fleeing across the ocean.

Women travelling with children could not have accounted for all the women though, because in some years the adults far outnumbered the children, suggesting that many women travelled alone. That in turn suggests that one of the Saint Raphael Society's most important services was receiving women and marrying them to their fiancés. This certainly was a service much in demand at the time. Federal authorities, fearing a white slave traffic, did not release single women to men claiming to be fiancés, but they did release such women to the Saint Raphael Society, which provided a priest for a proper marriage. Italian custom prevent single women from going far without relatives. The logistics of ocean travel afforded some protection: the voyage lasted about two weeks, and where would the woman go from the ship? However, once the ship docked, custom prevented women from living alone in unfamiliar cities for extended lengths of time. Middle-class Americans also frowned on female independence. The result was the Saint Raphael Society was full of young women, staying just long enough to solemnize their marriages.

Four forces undermined the Saint Raphael Society. When Bishop Scalabrini died in 1905, the Scalabrinians ceased supporting the ministry financially. Father Moretto's annual reports do not begin until 1907, but they always show deficits, made up by contributions and by the begging and economizing of the Pallottine Sisters. Father Gambera was especially bitter about the Scalabrinians' lack of financial support, arguing the community lost an opportunity to be of service, which in turn harmed their reputation. Scalabrinian indifference to the Saint Raphael Society also allowed Monsignor Gherardo Ferrante to secure ownership of the real estate involved for the Pallottine Sisters of Charity.⁵⁶⁸

World War I motivated the federal government to alter procedures on Ellis Island. Prior to the war, Bureau of Immigration officials stationed on Ellis Island issued passes to representatives of each traveler's aid society. In April 1917, when the United States entered the war, federal officials called in the passes.⁵⁶⁹ The officials then issues new passes to ministers who visited Ellis Island to tend the sick but changed the way in which the charitable care was handled. A committee of six replaced the many independent agencies.⁵⁷⁰ Committee members saw the migrants and referred them to various agencies

⁵⁶⁸ Gambera, 143.

⁵⁶⁹ Byron H. Uhl to the Representatives of all Missionary, Philanthropic, Immigrant Aid or Similar Organizations on Ellis Island, New York, April 12, 1917, CMS No. 005, Box 3, Correspondence of Fr. Gaspare Moretto, C.S.-1917 folder.

⁵⁷⁰ Uhl to Moretto, April 20, 1917, CMS No. 005, Box 3, Correspondence of Fr. Gaspare Moretto, C.S.-1917 folder.

as needed, and the Saint Raphael Society never again received permission to have an agent on Ellis Island.⁵⁷¹

A third force affecting the Saint Raphael Society was Father Moretto's penchant for getting into trouble. In 1917, he was caught up in a scandal in which a man had murdered a woman and then escaped to Italy — with Father Moretto's help, according to the newspapers.⁵⁷² In 1921, Father Moretto left the United States, and was reported to have embezzled.⁵⁷³ The Scalabrinians marveled at Father Moretto's death, studying it for signs of divine opinion regarding his behavior. In 1924, Father Moretto suffered some kind of stroke or seizure which deranged him. He died July 2, 1924. Pacifico Chenuil described the death to Father Demo:

I recommend to your prayers and to those of the other confreres the soul of poor Father Moretto, dead the second of this month in the lunatic asylum in Padua, as you may have already heard from others. The Lord did for him two favors: the first was he died quickly without prolonging his martyrdom or that of his disconsolate relatives. The second was he went from this world without being aware of the scandal his last illness caused. God keep him in peace!"⁵⁷⁴

When Father Moretto left New York, Father Demo appointed Riccardo Secchia to be the Saint Raphael Society's chaplain, but a fourth force came into play, the reorganization of Catholic charitable activity after World War I. Responsibility for benevolent works that were national in scope fell to the new National Catholic Welfare Conference. No longer did the archdiocese and the federal government cooperate regarding charity at Ellis Island, the new national organization took the old archdiocesan responsibilities. The Archdiocese of New York created new agencies to fill in the gaps in National Catholic Welfare Conference care. Rather than continue working with the Saint Raphael Society, the chancery cooperated with Italica Gens in opening an archdiocesan Italian Auxiliary; some of the records of the Saint Raphael Society may have gone there.⁵⁷⁵ In 1922, Archbishop Hayes told Father Demo to cease permitting marriages at the Saint Raphael Society and to perform them at Our Lady of Pompei instead.⁵⁷⁶ In 1923, the Saint Raphael Society closed its doors. Its home at 8-10 Charlton Street was later razed to widen and extend Sixth Avenue.

The North American Scalabrinians did not consider providing dockside migrant care again until 1934, and even then, they did not resume it. In the late 1960s, when the Scalabrinians searched for ways to redefine their mission in the light of new realities in

⁵⁷¹ Uhl to Moretto, New York, March 25, 1920, CMS No. 005, Box 3, Correspondence of Fr. Gaspare Moretto, C.S.-1920 folder.

⁵⁷² *New York Times*, June 26, 1917, 1:1; June 27, 1917, 4:4.

⁵⁷³ Stibili, "The St. Raphael Society," 302-303.

⁵⁷⁴ Pacifico Chenuil to Demo, Rome, July 21, 1924, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1924 folder.

⁵⁷⁵ Sister M. Colomba to Signor Leonardo, New York, May 22, 1925, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1925 folder.

⁵⁷⁶ Hayes to Demo, New York, April 6, 1922, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1922 folder.

migration and in the spirit of Vatican II, one consulting firm suggested "a reception station for immigrants arriving in the big city" as though it were a new idea.⁵⁷⁷

The spiritual and temporal, which united so well at the Saint Raphael Society, also came together at the sickbed. In his first pamphlet, Bishop Scalabrini called for aid to migrants "in case of disasters or of sickness."⁵⁷⁸ Migrants themselves also applied some pressure for providing medical care, which would both help the sick and boost the colonial economy by providing work for Italian physicians and pharmacists. Bishop Scalabrini sympathized with one group that wrote him from New York City: "Your desire to see the erection of a hospital for the Italians could not be more legitimate, more holy, or more opportune, and I cannot but bless it."⁵⁷⁹

Felice Morelli purchased the real estate and Bishop Scalabrini provided the labor. When Father Bandini sailed into New York harbor to organize the Saint Raphael Society, he was escorting a band of Sisters of Saint Anne, members of a community of female religious with which Bishop Scalabrini worked in Piacenza.⁵⁸⁰ On April 3, Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan reported to the bishop that the party had arrived and the priest and sisters were at their respective ministries.⁵⁸¹

Almost immediately things began to go wrong. There was some division among the hospital supporters; Bishop Scalabrini remarked to Archbishop Corrigan, "I see that this enterprise is being hindered, and that means that God wants it." The hindrances were anticlerical. It was to maintain unity among the various backers that Father Moretto and Bishop Scalabrini called the project Christopher Columbus Hospital.⁵⁸²

Then the sisters had to go home. Columbus Hospital was in such severe financial straits that Father Morelli expected the sisters to help not only with patient care but also with fundraising, by their begging from charitable donors. The sisters' constitutions prohibited begging. So back to Italy the sisters went. Bishop Scalabrini then spoke to Mother Cabrini about using the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart for hospital work: "I have realized she is a very virtuous and generous woman."⁵⁸³ Mother Cabrini agreed to take the hospital but after sizing up the situation she offered to take the entire project, even the debts, in order to be independent. Thus, hospital ministry became an integral part of the Missionaries' ministry, but not the Scalabrinians'.⁵⁸⁴ Bishop Scalabrini sighed

⁵⁷⁷ "Evaluation and Recommendations for the Pious Society of St. Charles" (Chicago: Public Communications, Inc., n.d.), 45, CMS No. 074, Box 13, Publications: Evaluations and Recommendations folder.

⁵⁷⁸ Scalabrini, *L'Emigrazione Italiana in America* (Piacenza: Tipografia dell' Amico del Popolo, 1887), 42 *Scritti* I, 58.

⁵⁷⁹ Scalabrini to alcuni italiani della colonia di New York, Piacenza, December 10, 1890, *Scritti* I, 282-283.

⁵⁸⁰ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, March 13, 1891, *Scritti* I, 313-314.

⁵⁸¹ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, April 3, 1891, Francesconi II, 244-245.

⁵⁸² Scalabrini to Corrigan, Piacenza, March 18, 1891, *Scritti* I, 316.

⁵⁸³ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, May 18, 1891, *Scritti* I, 321-323.

⁵⁸⁴ Mary Louise Sullivan, M.S.C., *Mother Cabrini: "Italian Immigrant of the Century"* (Center for Migration Studies, 1992), 92-94.

to Father Zaboglio, "Regarding the hospital, the nuns and the schools, I can say only that we have tried to do some good and we may have failed."⁵⁸⁵ Thereafter, the Scalabrinians involved themselves in hospital ministry only as chaplains.

Bishop Scalabrini's reference to schools in the aforementioned quotation may have been due to the fact the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart had taught catechism in Scalabrinian parishes, or they may have been an allusion to yet another ministry, that of fostering vocations. Every order must foster vocations or die out, but for Bishop Scalabrini recruiting youths to the brotherhood and priesthood was an element in his program for comprehensive pastoral care, that is, for having Italian Catholics tended by clergy drawn from among themselves and thus familiar with the language and customs.

Again, the bishop relied on Father Morelli to provide real estate, and this time the priest produced a piece of property on Staten Island. The bishop hoped to open a college that would teach the students Italian, Latin and philosophy, thus preparing them to go to Piacenza and study theology.⁵⁸⁶

Like the hospital, the seminary was in trouble from the beginning. Not all the Scalabrinian leadership supported it. Father Zaboglio thought the college should be in Italy. There it could depend directly on the superior general rather than on a provincial superior. It would be less expensive and easier to find qualified faculty in Italy, as well as cheaper to maintain the students. Of the clergy Father Zaboglio met in the United States he preferred those trained in Europe to those trained in America.⁵⁸⁷ Bishop Scalabrini, on the other hand, feared that introducing junior students at the Christopher Columbus Institute would undermine the upper-level training offered there; he also argued that Pope Leo XIII wanted to open a college in the United States.⁵⁸⁸

Two other problems were, as always, shortages of money and personnel. For this ministry, there was also a severe shortage of Italians willing to be served, that is, youths with vocations to the priesthood or brotherhood who also wanted to be Scalabrinians. Not until their fiftieth anniversary did the Scalabrinians open a North American seminary.⁵⁸⁹ Until this, the American Scalabrinians made do with auxiliaries and relied on the motherhouse to send vocations just as the motherhouse relied on the American Scalabrinians to send money.

Similarly, Bishop Scalabrini early recognized the dual role of the press in serving the Scalabrinians and in serving the migrants. Through publications and public relations, the Scalabrinians could present themselves, recruit vocations and solicit donations, all of which were necessary to the continuation of their ministry. They could also use the press to serve the migrants directly, keeping them in touch with homeland conditions, informing them on American issues, building a sense of Italian-American community and presenting news of interest to a Christian civilization. Chapter four discussed how Bishop

⁵⁸⁵ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, August 5, 1892, *Scritti* I, 402-403.

⁵⁸⁶ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, January 20, 1891, *Scritti* I, 286-288.

⁵⁸⁷ Zaboglio to Scalabrini, New Orleans, December 21, 1891, *Francesconi* II, 177-182.

⁵⁸⁸ Scalabrini to Zaboglio, Piacenza, March 4, 1892, *Scritti* I, 380-381.

⁵⁸⁹ Zizzamia, 96-97.

Scalabrini used press coverage of his 1901 U.S. pastoral visit. Bishop Scalabrini was also hoping the Scalabrinians could support a press of their own. As early as 1903, he suggested publishing a bulletin describing Scalabrinian activities.⁵⁹⁰ Some Scalabrinians utilized the free publicity provided by news-hungry local papers. Anthony Bove, for example, sometimes reported the happenings in the Italian colony for Providence's English-language Catholic paper.⁵⁹¹ Vittorio Oregoni entered the market for devotional reading with little books of prayer and meditation such as *Ave Maria*, a project which had been started by another Scalabrinian, Giuseppe Molinari, *Fiori sparsi di un gran vescovo*, one of the first books intended to keep alive Bishop Scalabrini's thought among his missionaries and to introduce the late bishop to new audiences, and *Omnia lingua confiteatur!*, biographical vignettes designed for brief daily devotional reading. Father Oregoni was probably the hand behind *Venticinque Anni di Missioni fra gli Italiani Immigrati di Boston, Mass.*, which was published for the silver anniversary of Sacred Heart in Boston but which contains much valuable information about the early Scalabrinian mission as a whole: all of his books received notice there.

The Scalabrinians' most extensive involvement with the press was through their work with *L'Italiano in America*, a New York-based Italian Catholic weekly published between 1894 and 1920.⁵⁹² The newspaper was the brainchild of Archbishop Corrigan's Diocesan Council for Italian Affairs, which originally appointed a committee of clergy involved in Italian pastoral care to manage the project; they in turn struck a deal with L'Unione Italo-Americana Publishing Company, which furnished editorial, production and marketing services.⁵⁹³ Under Archbishop Corrigan's successor, John M. Farley, the Diocesan Council evolved into the Italian Council of New York. During that same time, indebtedness led the publisher to reorganize and to sell the paper to its editor, Joseph Isola. The Scalabrinians became more involved in the project through Father Demo, who in 1915 served a term as president of the Italian Council. He arranged for the council to buy *L'Italiano in America* from Mr. Isola and then put Mr. Isola in the payroll as editor.⁵⁹⁴ In 1916, Father Demo became the newspaper's treasurer, which meant he kept the books, sold subscriptions, and solicited advertisements.⁵⁹⁵

The clergy did what they could to support the paper. The Archdiocese of Boston sent letters to the Scalabrinians within the archdiocese, heralding *L'Italiano in America* as a

⁵⁹⁰ Scalabrini to Carissimo Padre, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Alussi folder. Someone has added New Haven, Connecticut, February 9, 1903, to the top of the letter.

⁵⁹¹ CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 53.

⁵⁹² CMS No. 20 contains the paper's extant financial records. The paper is listed in Pietro Russo, *Catalogo Collettivo della Stampa Periodica Italo Americana (1836-1980) (Edizione provvisoria)* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1983), No. 1210.

⁵⁹³ A. Caccia to Excellency, New York, February 19, 190?, AANY microfilm roll No. 1.

⁵⁹⁴ Copy of contract between Mr. Joseph Isola and the Italian Council of New York, n.d., CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1915 folder.

⁵⁹⁵ Michael J. Lavelle, letter of introduction, New York, February 10, 1916, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, CS.-folder.

counterweight to "protestant [sic], anarchistic, and socialistic propaganda, which is daily increasing in larger proportions and creating, as a consequence, wider indifference and aversion to the Catholic Church and its Priesthood."⁵⁹⁶ The Scalabrinians contributed numerous news stories to the paper. They were unsigned, but Father Demo may have written some.⁵⁹⁷ He certainly read the paper thoroughly and clipped from it frequently.

He could not, however, keep the paper financially afloat for long. Editorial problems led to frequent changes in editors, from Joseph Isola to Mr. Mario De Biasi to Father Giuseppe Grivetti to Father Eduardo Marcuzzi.⁵⁹⁸ The editors could not reduce expenses; they complained about the high cost of paper while the printer referred to the extra labor costs incurred by last-minute editorial changes.⁵⁹⁹ Finally, in May of 1920, Father Demo closed the books, asking the Diocesan Council which had appointed him treasurer to pay the remaining debts.⁶⁰⁰

Thereafter, the Scalabrinians confined their press activities to publishing parish bulletins. Such bulletins began appearing in widely scattered Scalabrinian parishes in the early 1920s. Except that they were all monthly publications, they varied greatly in format, content, and funding. Holy Rosary of Winnipeg used one 8½x11" piece of newspaper-like paper, folded over to form four pages. All except for one column were in Italian. The news was divided between the spiritual and the financial: an article regarding the monthly collection occupied most of page 1, the results of the parish bazaar were tabulated on page two, page three listed mass intentions, feast days, baptisms and marriages for November and December, and page four was divided between sodality announcements, an English-language column repeating the most important Italian announcements and a list of who gave how much in the November collections.⁶⁰¹

Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago was slightly more elaborate. It also consisted of 8½x11" sheets folded over to make pages, but there were twelve pages of glossy, magazine-quality paper, plus a cover in a different paper stock, all stapled together. The bulletin was thoroughly bilingual, with Italian and English copy appearing side by side. Besides the announcements concerning times for parochial events, Catholic feast days and the parish's financial health, the bulletin's size also permitted more general news stories. The bulletin was supported by advertisements for local banks, restaurants, printing firms,

⁵⁹⁶ R. J. Haberin to Nazareno Properzi, Brighton, June 5, 1916, AAB, R.G., 5.3, Box 70, folder 14.

⁵⁹⁷ Coppo to Demo, New York, July 25, 1904, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 57.

⁵⁹⁸ Lavelle to Demo, New York, November 10, 1916, CMS No. 005, Box 4, correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1916 folder.

⁵⁹⁹ M. A. Reynaud to Demo, New York, February 6 and February 10, 1917, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1917 folder, and Roberto Biasotti and Demo to Michael J. Lavelle, New York, February 25, 1918, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1918 folder.

⁶⁰⁰ Demo to J. F. Mooney, New York, May 26, 1920, CMS, No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1920 folder.

⁶⁰¹ *Bollettino Mensile della Parrocchia del SSmo. Rosario*, Dicembre 1931, CMS No. 053, Box 1, Church Bulletins.

variety stores, clothiers, photographers, theatres, undertakers, business services and physicians.⁶⁰²

La Campana di Silver Lake was the most elaborate. Published by Saint Bartholomew's in Providence, it was similar in size and construction to Addolorata's bulletin, but twenty pages long. This provided room to list the current clergy, former pastors, trustees, day nursery directress, organizations, the entire choir by vocal range, the sacristan, ushers, acolytes, Sunday School teachers and sodality officers. And this was just the parochial organizations. The bulletin included a list of every Italian-American organization in the Silver Lake area of Providence. The bulletin also listed by name all those who had been baptized, married, or buried. The only item that lacked the usual degree of detail was the collection tally, which did not report the size of individuals' donations. Pastor Pietro Gorret published the bulletin without advertising, charging twenty cents a copy and two dollars per annum for subscriptions.⁶⁰³

Individual Scalabrinians experimented with other communication technologies. In 1907, Cesare Spigardi attracted Saint Louis Italians to Sunday mass by placing a giant phonograph in the church vestibule, "which by means of pieces of sacred music played on the machine call passersby to the entrance."⁶⁰⁴ In 1936, Louis Donanzan began broadcasting an Italian Catholic radio program in Chicago.⁶⁰⁵

Given contemporary Scalabrinian interest in migrants *qua* migrants, without regard to national origins, it is interesting to see how far back in Scalabrinian history this tradition stretched. Bishop Scalabrini originally conceived of the migrant apostolate in an Italian setting and his conviction that the best migrant pastoral care conserved the migrants' language and traditions precluded his assigning Italian Scalabrinians to non-Italian migrants. Nevertheless, the bishop was willing to experiment with migrant clergy from other nations serving their compatriots, and an opportunity to test this idea came in 1901 in the person of John Chmielinski.⁶⁰⁶ Born in Masiak, Przasnysz, in Russian Poland, on November 13, 1868, Chmielinski entered the seminary at Plotz in September of 1887. In 1889 he transferred to a school in Genoa, where he heard of Bishop Scalabrini's work and contacted him. On April 24, 1892, he was ordained and made his five-year vows. On May 28, 1893, Father Chmielinski arrived at Sacred Heart in Boston. On October 2, Archbishop Williams assigned him to minister to the Polish Catholics in the archdiocese and on November 29 he arranged for the purchase of a tract between Dorchester Avenue and Boston Street in South Boston on which to build a church for a Polish parish. While the building was under construction he gathered a congregation to worship at the German

⁶⁰² *Calendario Mensile, Parrocchia Italiana di Santa Maria Addolorata, Grand Ave. and Peoria St.* (Chicago: Malato Printing Co., 1922), CMS No. 055, Box 1, Miscellaneous Documents folder.

⁶⁰³ *La Campana di Silver Lake: Bollettino Mensile della Parrocchia di S. Bartolomeo, Providence, R.I.* (n.p., n.d.), CMS No. 022, Box 1, no folder.

⁶⁰⁴ *Clipping from Bollettino della Sera*, June 2, 1907, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 81.

⁶⁰⁵ *Holy Rosary Parish Golden Jubilee* (Kansas City, Missouri: 1942).

⁶⁰⁶ Silvano M. Tomasi, CS., *A Scalabrinian Mission among Polish Immigrants in Boston: 1893-1909* (New York: Center for Migration Studies [CMS Occasional Paper: Pastoral Series No. 5], November 1986).

parish of Saint Margaret, and chose a patroness for the new parish, the Blessed Mother under her title of Our Lady of Czestochowa. The congregation met in its own church for the first time on November 18, 1894.

Father Chmielewski's career followed a pattern established by Italian Scalabrinians. Having created a base for local ministry, he reached out to his compatriots in adjacent areas. He had a hand in founding at least five Polish parishes in Massachusetts: Saint John the Baptist on Herbert Street in Salem (church dedicated July 5, 1903); Holy Trinity in Lowell (church dedicated September 18, 1904); Holy Trinity in Lawrence (church dedicated February 5, 1905); Saint Stanislaus in Chelsea (parish authorized June 27, 1907); and Saint Michael's in Lynn (church dedicated April 22, 1906). The Archdiocese of Boston asked him to investigate other possibilities for Polish parishes.⁶⁰⁷ Father Chmielinski also had a hand in supplying the parishes with clergy. His assistant at Our Lady of Czestochowa, Joseph Czabek, became first pastor of Saint John the Baptist in Salem. His Scalabrinian confrere, Stephen Duda, another Pole, was first pastor of Holy Trinity in Lowell and of Saint Michael's in Lynn. The archdiocese also asked him to secure Polish clergy for other parishes.⁶⁰⁸

Like some other Scalabrinians, Father Chmielinski did not stay in the community. He renewed his vows at Bishop Scalabrini's hands on September 10, 1901, during the bishop's U.S. visit. On July 12, 1909, he was incardinated into the Archdiocese of Boston, and he spent the rest of his life there, dying in 1937. Father Duda also left the Scalabrinians, entering in 1908 what is now the Diocese of Passaic.⁶⁰⁹ Both Polish priests departed the community in the wake of the 1908 reorganization and introduction of perpetual vows, though the connection between the two events is unclear. Father Duda disappeared from the Scalabrinian record, but Father Chmielinski, like other Scalabrinian alumni, stayed in touch. He spent one day of his silver anniversary year at Sacred Heart in Boston, receiving the congratulations of Scalabrinian colleagues.

Occasionally, an Italian Scalabrinian ministered to non-Italian migrants. At Saint Tarcisius in Framingham, Pietro Maschi had as an assistant a non-Scalabrinian graduate of the Franco-American College of the Assumption in Worcester. When a French-speaking layman asked if the priest could read the Gospel in French at public services, Cardinal O'Connell declined to answer or to issue the parish instructions.⁶¹⁰

Beniamino Franch at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Melrose Park had a more extensive ministry among migrants from Lithuania. Father Franch organized sodalities for Lithuanians, Saint John the Baptist for men and Saint Ann for women, and learned the language sufficiently to hear confessions.⁶¹¹ The Lithuanians appreciated his services.

⁶⁰⁷ John Chmielinski to O'Connell, Boston, February 21, 1908, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 22, folder 6.

⁶⁰⁸ C. J. Sullivan to Chmielinski, Brighton, December 3, 1915, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 22, folder 6.

⁶⁰⁹ Stephen Duda to Demo, Passaic, November 26, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Duda folder.

⁶¹⁰ Antoine Gosselin to O'Connell, Framingham, September 12, 1920, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 41, folder 1.

⁶¹¹ *Golden Jubilee and Fiftieth Anniversary in Honor of Very Reverend Benjamin Franch, P.S.S. C., and Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Parish* (n.p., n.d.).

When George Cardinal Mundelein planned to transfer responsibility for them from Our Lady of Mount Carmel to another (non-Lithuanian) parish, the Lithuanians petitioned to be allowed to remain where they were until they could get a Lithuanian parish with a Lithuanian priest.⁶¹²

Basically, though, the Scalabrinians considered themselves as serving Italian migrants and generally so did the ordinaries of American sees in which they worked. When a non-Italian inquired about joining the Scalabrinians, Father Demo informed one candidate that "our congregation was founded for Italian emigrants and has not taken into consideration the education of students of other languages;" even the vocational literature was all in Italian.⁶¹³ Domenico Vicentini explained that:

Our Institute was founded by the late Bishop Scalabrini, and each of its members is devoted by a special oath almost exclusively to the religious and moral assistance of Italian emigrants in America. I said almost exclusively, because due to circumstances and certain needs, it extends to other nationalities and languages.... In general, our missionaries have charge of national parishes, that is, formed only of Italians. Jurisdiction over other nationalities is not even granted our missionaries in the United States.

Father Vicentini then went on to mention a trend that increasingly posed a challenge for Scalabrinians: "Preaching and catechism are conducted in Italian. In some places, however, in Brazil especially, catechism is taught in the local language to the natives and frequently to the children in the United States; as a consequence, children of Italians do not know the language of their parents."⁶¹⁴

Another contemporary Scalabrinian ministry is the care of the elderly. Originally, the elderly made up by a small proportion of Italian migrants; most migrants were of working age. The Scalabrinians first became aware of the needs of the elderly as a distinct group when they realized they had to care for elderly clergy. In 1933, Roman officials suggested opening at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol, Rhode Island, a rest home for ill or aged priests.⁶¹⁵

A distinction has already been made between Bishop Scalabrini's vision and the U.S. Scalabrinians' experience. The chief characteristics of that experience were a lack of acceptance for Italian priests and laity and continued financial uncertainty. Such experiences led the Scalabrinian to establish certain priorities. They secured independence of action and some relief from others' anti-Italianism by retreating to Italian national parishes. They took a conservative financial approach, jettisoning labor-intensive and unremunerative nonparochial work in favor of the most traditional

⁶¹² Beniamino Franch to C. Evans, Mundelein, Illinois, n.d., SIB, Box 29A.

⁶¹³ Demo to B. A. Pakizer, New York, July 16, 1923, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Mr. Pakizer folder.

⁶¹⁴ Vicentini to Gaetano Cardinal De Lai, Rome, January 18, 1913; Mario Francesconi, CS., *History of the Scalabrinian Congregation, volume IV, Internal History of the Congregation (1896-1919), Missions in North America (1895-1919), Missions in Brazil (1905-1919)*, trans. Martin Bortolazzo, C.S. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1893), 60.

⁶¹⁵ Raffaele Carlo Cardinal Rossi to John Marchegiani, Rome, August 10, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Father Giovanni Marchegiani.

ministries of American Catholicism: gathering congregations, building plants, developing a body of frequent donors.

Ironically the priests whom Bishop Scalabrini hoped would preserve Italian culture and pioneer new forms of ministry to migrants were assimilating to the American Catholicism around them, in ways that will be explored in chapters eight and twelve. Just as ironically, they were laying the groundwork for another pathway toward the bishop's vision of comprehensive migrant pastoral care. They may have forgotten or neglected the bishop's vision, as critics charged, but circumstances would in time lead them back to it.



7

Immigrant Priests and Brothers

The Scalabrinians who came to North America to minister to Italian migrants were themselves migrants, and it is the purpose of this chapter to analyze them as such. The same sorts of questions that scholars consider when they look at any migrant group can be put to these Italian-born priests and brothers. Why leave home? Why come to this particular new home? How did they travel? What sort of work did they do? What was their family and community life like? How did they fare in the long run?

Most of the Scalabrinians who migrated to North America before 1935 have died, so one cannot ask them these questions directly. One has to go to the documents. Even these are incomplete. The Scalabrinian leadership saved few records on those who left the institute or who were auxiliaries rather than members. Assistants and brothers rarely appeared in parish histories or correspondence. Because there are so few records for individual Scalabrinians, this chapter casts the net widely and considers as a Scalabrinian almost every priest and brother who appeared in accessible parish records. While this may count auxiliaries, it leaves uncounted those priests and brothers whose names did not appear in published sources (anniversary histories or newspaper stories) or unpublished correspondence. The data itself breaks down into three types. The Scalabrinians are fortunate to have memoirs from some of its clergy: a brief description of work as an itinerant missionary in the 1890s by Oreste Alussi, a longer autobiography by Pio Parolin, covering events from his birth in 1879 to his retirement in 1953, and a long memoir by Giacomo Gambera, covering events from his birth in 1856 almost to the time of his death in 1934. Then there are numerous letters between individual Scalabrinians and their provincial superiors and friends that allow for comparison between the autobiographers' memories and the everyday events of the time. Finally, the Scalabrinian leadership kept biographical data regarding the congregation's members. Altogether, while it is impossible to write biographies of individual Scalabrinians, it is possible to get a general picture of the Scalabrinians' experience as immigrant priests and brothers.

The Scalabrinians were a small group of migrants, though they were larger than Table 7.1 shows. The table counts only how many new Scalabrinians with known birthplaces appeared in the North American records for each year for the years between 1887 and 1938, the institute's first 50 years in the United States. The count leaves out the Scalabrinians who remained in Italy or who worked in other countries. The last line shows the total for each five-year period, and it is worth making some points about its

TABLE 7.1
SCALABRINIAN PRIESTS AND BROTHERS, REGULAR MEMBERS AND AUXILIARIES, BY REGION OF ORIGIN IN KINGDOM OF ITALY, 1887-1938

	1887- 1889	1890- 1894	1895- 1899	1900- 1904	1905- 1909	1910- 1914	1915- 1919	1920- 1924	1925- 1929	1930- 1934	1935- 1938	N	%
Abruzzi e Molise	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Apulia	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8
Calabria	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	1.7
Campania	0	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	4.4
Emilia-Romagna	10	2	2	4	2	1	0	1	0	1	0	23	20.3
Lazio	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0.8
Liguria	0	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	3	2.6
Lombardy	3	1	1	2	2	1	0	2	0	0	0	12	10.6
Lucania	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8
Marches	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	3	0	0	0	5	4.4
Piedmont	0	3	3	6	3	1	0	6	2	0	0	24	21.2
Sardinia	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.8
Sicily	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	4	3.5
Tuscany	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Umbria	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	1.7
Venetia	1	2	2	2	3	2	0	6	2	4	1	25	22.1
Venetia Giulia e Zara	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0.0
Venetia Tridentina	0	0	1	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	4	3.5
N	14	8	9	24	16	9	1	20	5	5	2	113	
%	12.3	7.0	7.9	21.2	14.1	7.9	0.8	17.6	4.4	4.4	1.7		

ups and downs. Usually, there is a growth spurt with each new superior general. Bishop Scalabrini, the first superior general, recruited seventeen members for North America in his first three years (fourteen of whom have recorded birthplaces), but did not match that figure in the next five years or the five after that. Domenico Vicentini became superior general in 1905. In the five years after his election 29 new Scalabrinians left for the United States, but Father Vicentini never had another such harvest. Similarly, Pacifico Chenuil became superior general in 1919. Between 1920 and 1924 he sent 37 people to the United States. The exception to this rule comes in 1925, when Vatican officials took over the Scalabrinians' direct management and the number of people sent to the United States plummeted, an ominous statistic which is discussed in more detail in chapter eleven.

Table 7.1 also shows the Scalabrinians' origins within Italy. Like all Italian migrants, the Scalabrinians did not come from just "Italy," but from particular places within the country. In the early years, a majority came from Emilia, the region in which Bishop Scalabrini's Diocese of Piacenza is located. Of the Scalabrinians who were not recruited from Bishop Scalabrini's own diocese and its environs, half came from just three regions: Lombardy, Veneto, and the Piedmont.⁶¹⁶ Within those regions certain provinces predominate: most of the Venetians came from Vicenza. Within those smaller areas, certain towns predominate: most of the Vicentians came from Casoni di Mussolente. Like other migrants, the Scalabrinians practiced a kind of chain migration, but it differed from that of other Italian migrants in two ways. First, it involved compatriots but not relatives. Families were indeed involved in Scalabrinian migration but not until the 1930s were there examples of blood brothers or cousins entering the institute. Second, Lombardy, Veneto and the Piedmont did not figure prominently in general Italian-American migration. About four-fifths of all migrants from Italy to the United States came from the regions south of Rome or from Sicily. As chapter two noted, northern Italian concepts of southern Italians hampered Scalabrinian ministry.

Like most male migrants, the type of work the Scalabrinians did was a factor in their migration history. Unfortunately, information is lacking on how individual Scalabrinians thought about their vocations to the priesthood and to the mission field. Obituaries and biographies used stock phrases for describing these decisions: individuals felt called to the priesthood, or, once priests, wanted larger fields for their ministry and so became missionaries. The autobiographical evidence is not much more help. Giacomo Gambera had always wanted to be either a soldier or a priest. His grandfather led him to pray for guidance, with the result that he announced he wanted to attend the local seminary.⁶¹⁷

⁶¹⁶ Peter R. D'Agostino, "Missionaries in Babylon: The Adaptation of Italian Priests to Chicago's Church, 1870-1940" (Ph.D., The University of Chicago Divinity School, 199), 215, found that of 36 western-province Scalabrinians in the United States before 1940, nine were from Venetia, seven from Lombardy, five each from Trentino and the Piedmont, three each from Sicily and Umbria, and one each from Apulia, Liguria, Tuscany, and the United States.

⁶¹⁷ Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 49-50.

Similarly Pio Parolin grew up with the notion of becoming a priest.⁶¹⁸ Some Scalabrinians nurtured the hope of become priests for long times. Beniamino Franch is a case in point. Born September 28, 1871, in Cloz, Trent, he received his elementary education and at 12 went to work. Until 21 he labored in railroad construction in Switzerland, Germany and Austria. Then he was a stonemason for a company drilling railroad tunnels in the Alps, the Carpathian Mountains and Vienna. When he reached 26, he decided he had fulfilled any obligation he had to support his parents and now he was going to do what he had wanted to do, be a priest. The first order to which he applied thought him too old to begin training, and suggested he be a religious brother instead. Franch kept trying until he found an order which agreed to accept him as a candidate for the priesthood, the Scalabrinians. Bishop Scalabrini ordained him December 19, 1903, when he was 32 years old. Father Franch migrated to the United States in 1904. He spent a month at Sacred Heart, Boston, nine months at Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, Utica, and nine months more at Santa Maria Incoronata, Chicago, before receiving his appointment to Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Melrose Park, where he made up for the lost time in his youth by living to a ripe old age.

Father Franch's story illustrates how historical circumstances shaped a specifically Scalabrinian vocation. The Scalabrinians accepted him when others did not. Father Parolin's autobiography gives another examples of how social forces shaped the expression of a vocation. Father Pio's family was so poor that the little boy was often hungry. They could not pay for priestly education for their son. The Scalabrinians agreed to take him without charge, so he took the opportunity to fulfill his vocation. He came to Piacenza, where he got a bed to himself for the first time.⁶¹⁹

Father Gambera gave a more vocationally-oriented explanation for choosing to enter the Scalabrinians. He heard Bishop Scalabrinian speak; he was interested in the missions in the seminary and this seemed an opportunity to pursue that interest; and he wanted to help his needy compatriots abroad. However, other bits of information from Father Gambera's autobiography suggest some other forces helped that vocation along. Historian Donna Gabaccia had noted the correlation between migration and a recent death in the family, and Father Gambera had suffered at least three such deaths in the two years before he joined the Scalabrinians: his sister Teresina died of typhus, the grandfather who guided him to the priesthood died of old age and his sister Angela died in childbirth.⁶²⁰ Perhaps with his family ties loosened, Father Gambera felt freer to pursue his earlier interest. The correlation is even more striking in the case of Francesco Cristoforo Moretti. His father died when the boy was 14 and his mother seems to have wanted to keep him near. He became a secular priest in 1889 and a few years later tried to enter a religious order, but his mother dissuaded him. She died in 1900 and in 1903, "when his family and

⁶¹⁸ Pio Parolin, "El Toso de Andrian Pedro, Pio Parolin" (undated typescript), 1-4, CMS No. 073, Box 1, Autobiography folder.

⁶¹⁹ Parolin, 6.

⁶²⁰ Donna Gabaccia, *Militants and Migrants: Rural Sicilians Become American Workers* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988), 80; Gambera, 57.

friends least expected it," Father Moretti announced he was joining the Scalabrinians. Father Moretti headed for the mission field and for tragedy; he was asphyxiated at Saint Michael the Archangel.⁶²¹

The brothers' vocations to religious life and missionary work went almost unrecorded. Brothers differed from priests not only in that they were not ordained but also in their degree of education. Some, like Vincenzo Arcelli, had at one time wanted to be priests; Brother Vincenzo explained his poor vision limited his ability to study. Others, such as Francis Roti, became religious brothers as a kind of second career. Born in Simbario, Catanzaro, June 12, 1882, Roti migrated to the United States as a young man, married, fathered six children, and made a comfortable living. His wife died December 2, 1919, and he continued with the work of raising his family. When the youngest son turned 21, in 1938, he considered these responsibilities fulfilled and entered the Scalabrinians for a second career of humble work and prayer.⁶²²

Once individuals joined the Scalabrinians, the decision about what country they migrated to was left to superiors. Some early decisions seemed almost casual. Father Gambera was destined for Brazil until Archbishop Francis Janssens of New Orleans came to see Bishop Scalabrini in person regarding the archdiocese's need for priests for its Italian population, at which point Father Gambera was reassigned to New Orleans.⁶²³ Father Gambera's story provides a clue regarding early Scalabrinian training. Presumably, the Scalabrinians had not spent that much time teaching Father Gambera Portuguese, if they were so willing to change his destination to a country where it was not spoken. Many other Scalabrinians went out similarly underprepared for their destinations.

Before leaving Italy, the Scalabrinians, like other male migrants, had to complete their paperwork, the most important being their military paperwork. Prior to 1901, most Italian men had to perform military service; Antonio Demo carefully preserved the diploma-sized certificate which indicated he had been honorably discharged and could thus migrate without hindrance. In 1901, partly because of Bishop Scalabrini's urging, the Italian parliament included in a new comprehensive emigration law a clause exempting seminarians preparing for the missions from automatic military service but still required them to register for possible conscription later; Nazareno Properzi, for example, was required to inform the Italian government whenever he changed addresses in the United States.⁶²⁴ Chapter four describes the problems Father Pio had when he tried to leave the country without going through the proper procedures.

⁶²¹ *Venticinque Anni di Missione fra gli Italiani Immigrati di Boston, Mass.* (Milan: Tipografia Santa Lega Eucaristica, 1913), 140-141. Deaths in the family do not explain every Scalabrinian's decision. Antonio Demo left two living parents behind when he sailed for Boston in 1897. His mother lived until 1919 and his father until 1933.

⁶²² For Arcelli, clipping from *The Italian News*, Boston, April 2, 1921, CMS No. 078, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Brother Arcelli folder. For Roti, see documents in SIB, Box 20, Ron, Br. Frances, folder.

⁶²³ Gambera, 67.

⁶²⁴ CMS No. 078A, Box 4, Records of Fr. Luigi Riello—Father Properzi folder.

Many impoverished migrants travelled in steerage, but the Scalabrinians were more fortunate. Bishop Scalabrini negotiated second-class tickets for them. They did not follow any one route. They went to various port cities, such as Genoa, Naples, or Cherbourg, and then across the Atlantic. Some Scalabrinians had previous experience abroad — Domenico Vicentini had been in the African missions and Giovanni Battista Balangero had been in Australia and Ceylon — but for others the trip to Piacenza was their first journey away from home and the voyage to the missions was their first on open water. Paolo Novati got nauseous as soon as he was in the Tyrrhenian Sea, the part of the Mediterranean adjacent to the Italy's western shore.⁶²⁵ Father Gambera was miserably seasick during his first trip and considered it a kind of justice when the ship on which he sailed later sank.⁶²⁶ Migrant Scalabrinians were also more fortunate than most migrants in that they did not go through Ellis Island. When ships docked in New York Harbor, Bureau of Immigration officials boarded them to question the first- and second-class passengers, while steerage passengers took a barge to Ellis Island. The Scalabrinians went through the same procedures that most migrants did, but under more pleasant conditions and more successfully; there is no record of any Scalabrinian being refused admission to the United States.

Most Scalabrinians arrived in New York Harbor. The Scalabrinians in New York thus had extra duties. Priests in the interior alerted Father Demo to the imminent arrival of new Scalabrinians.⁶²⁷ If the new arrivals' first assignments were not in New York, Father Demo offered them hospitality at Our Lady of Pompei until they could make connections to their destinations.⁶²⁸ When they went to their new homes, Father Demo forwarded them their luggage.⁶²⁹

Soon after new priests arrived, the superiors of the provinces to which they were assigned presented them to the ordinaries of the sees in which the newcomers would be exercising their ministry in order to have the necessary faculties granted. If the superior lived in the same city this might mean a visit to the chancery; if not, the superior provided the newcomer with a letter of introduction to present at the chancery, where officials would then issue the necessary written permission. Once granted faculties, newcomers could say mass, hear confessions, and perform other sacraments proper to priests. Faculties were generally issued for the duration of a priest's stay at a particular assignment. Provincial superiors who knew the assignment was temporary (a priest filling in for someone in the hospital or on vacation), informed the chancery, which then

⁶²⁵ Paolo Novati to Antonio Demo, aboard the *Liguria*, August 29, 1902, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Novati folder.

⁶²⁶ Gambera, 67-68.

⁶²⁷ Angelo Luigi Strazzoni to Demo, Providence, November 27, 1921, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Strazzoni folder.

⁶²⁸ Gherardo Ferrante to Demo, New York, October 19, 1912, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Gambrini folder.

⁶²⁹ Giuseppe Quadranti to Demo, Chicago, December 10, 1913, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo—Father Quadranti folder.

granted faculties for a definite period of time. The chancery also granted faculties for limited periods of time when it suspected priests might pose problems and wanted to check references before granting faculties on an open-ended basis.

Chapter six pointed out that Bishop Scalabrini envisioned an institute whose members were involved in various nonparochial ministries, but in reality Scalabrinians spent their working lives as assistants and pastors. Table 7.2 gives a general picture of the number of assignments Scalabrinians in the five-year cohorts between 1887 and 1938 might have. Currently, the Scalabrinians have a policy of making three-year assignments and discouraging more than three consecutive three-year assignments in the same position. In the time period under review here, there were no institutional constraints. Half of the Scalabrinians had three or fewer assignments during the duration of their commitments to the institute. The reasons vary. Prior to World War I the number of missions was a factor; there were only so many places to put missionaries and it was possible for a priest to quickly find a place and then stay there; within two years of his arrival Father Franch had arrived at his permanent home in Melrose Park. Some brothers, especially those who proved difficult, were transferred frequently, but brothers who performed satisfactorily stayed in place for many years: Vincenzo Arcelli stayed at Sacred Heart in Boston for 36 years, longer than any pastor or assistant during his time.⁶³⁰ The main reason for the small number of assignments, though, was that in the early years most people did not stay in the institute very long. Table 7.2 indicates that as the longer the Scalabrinian institute lasted, the more likely it was that individuals would stay in the community long enough to have more assignments. The exception to this trend came in the five-year period between 1920 and 1924, which was also a period when the Scalabrinians suddenly accepted many new members, some of whom were unprepared for long-term membership.

TABLE 7.2
SCALABRINIAN PRIESTS AND BROTHERS, REGULAR MEMBERS AND AUXILIARIES,
BY NUMBER OF ASSIGNMENTS, 1887-1934

Years in Scalabrinians	1	2	3	4	5	>5	N	%
<3	32	3	0	0	0	0	35	23.1
1-5	3	3	1	0	0	0	7	4.6
6-10	9	6	5	0	1	0	21	13.9
11-15	4	4	6	1	0	0	15	9.9
16-20	4	1	2	1	1	0	9	5.9
21-25	1	4	2	1	0	1	9	5.9
26-30	0	2	5	1	1	0	9	5.9
31-35	1	2	2	1	0	2	8	5.2
36-40	0	1	1	3	2	1	8	5.2
41-45	0	1	2	2	2	2	9	5.9
46-50	0	2	0	0	0	2	4	2.6
51-55	0	1	0	0	4	3	8	5.2
56-60	0	0	3	0	0	2	5	3.3
61-65	0	1	0	0	0	1	2	1.3
>65	0	0	0	1	0	1	2	1.3
N	54	31	29	11	11	15	151	
%	35.7	20.5	19.2	7.2	7.2	9.9		

⁶³⁰ Beniamino Franch to Francesco Tirondola, Chicago, April 21, 1947, and Giacomo Danesi to Re.vo Padre, Rome, March 7, 1968, SJB, Box 20, Larcher, Bro. John, folder; CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Leonardo Quaglia, Brother Pugnetti folder; and CMS No. 062, Box 2, Miscellaneous Documents, Prayer Cards, Play Bills, Photos folder.

Before the adoption of the three-year assignment and the rules about the number of consecutive assignments, getting a post as an assistant or pastor was a matter of negotiation between the Scalabrinian leadership and the missionaries. Although the Scalabrinian superior generals preached obedience in their circular letters, in reality, missionaries kept trying to influence decisions. Missionaries sent their provincial superiors letters explaining in some detail their suitability for open positions.⁶³¹ Other Scalabrinians did not stop at trying to persuade their superiors to do what they personally wanted; they moved about freely. After seventeen years at Holy Rosary in Kansas City and three at Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago, Father Delbecchi was transferred to Saint Anthony's in Buffalo to be an assistant to Angelo Luigi Strazzoni. Father Delbecchi did not like his new situation and after sending provincial superior Demo daily letters calling for a transfer he simply departed for Detroit and then to Rome.⁶³²

Priests who got assignments they liked worked toward the opposite end and refused to be moved. Bartolomeo Marenchino, the founding pastor of Saint Anthony's in New Haven, was a master at this. He came to Saint Anthony's in 1904 and thereafter the Scalabrinians could not budge him. In 1907, when he was desperate for someone to take Saint Joachim's, which was in bad financial shape, Father Novati approached Father Marenchino and was turned down.⁶³³ Father Marenchino also turned down what other Scalabrinians considered a great opportunity, a position in Boston.⁶³⁴ Even when Father Novati thought he had persuaded him to move, Father Marenchino stayed in Saint Anthony's.⁶³⁵ He remained there for twenty contented years.

Scalabrinians who were obedient to their superiors faced the consequences. In 1914, the sudden outbreak of World War I stranded several Scalabrinians in Europe, including Ludovico Toma. Provincial superior Demo sent Father Pio Parolin to cover Saint Lazarus until the pastor returned. Father Pio left his regular assignment at Our Lady of Pompei in New York so quickly he took neither books nor clothes. When the war continued to delay Father Toma's return, Father Pio grew increasingly frantic about being stuck in Orient Heights and sent daily letters back to New York inquiring if Father Demo had any news that would allow him to go back to New York and replenish his wardrobe.⁶³⁶

What did the Scalabrinians do on their jobs? The most basic work of any member of any religious institute or any priest is the soul's own salvation. For priests and for many

⁶³¹ Lino Merlo to Demo, New Haven, November 30, 1917, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Merlo folder.

⁶³² Carlo Delbecchi to Demo, Buffalo, September 18, 19, 20, 27 and 29, 1922, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Del Becchi folder.

⁶³³ Novati to Demo, Boston, February 6, 1907, CMS No. 078, Box 1, Records of Fr. Paolo Novati folder.

⁶³⁴ Novati to Demo, Boston, October 14, 1907, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Marenchino folder.

⁶³⁵ Novati to Demo, New Haven, March 11, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Marenchino folder.

⁶³⁶ Parolin to Demo, East Boston, September 18, 1914, CMS No. 043, Box 2, General Correspondence. 22 Gambera, 253. 23 Parolin, 84-85. 24 Gambera, 253. 25 Gambera, 67.

religious orders, this means a daily round of prayer, called the office or liturgical hours. Bishop Scalabrini wanted his priests not only to pray the required office but to engage in various paraliturgical devotions, such as the rosary or visits to the Blessed Sacrament, as well. Judging from the number of reminders sent out over the years, the Scalabrinian leadership in Italy feared the requirements were being honored in the breach. There are very few references to communal prayers or private pious practices in Scalabrinian correspondence, which could mean either that few Scalabrinians followed the requirements or that they all followed the rules so routinely that they did not feel the need to comment on them. The two autobiographical accounts of prayer life are both from men whose age may have affected their ability to worship in common. Father Gambera excused himself from communal prayer on account of his age.⁶³⁷ Father Pio maintained a daily round of required prayers and devotions but did so as an individual rather than praying with the community.⁶³⁸ The prayer requirement meant that conscientious Scalabrinians' working days were organized a little differently than other people's. They got up earlier and they took breaks from their other work throughout the day in order to pray, meditate or make a visit to the Blessed Sacrament.

The prayers required of any priest or any member of a religious community complemented pastoral care. Priests administered the sacraments for the faithful and led lay devotions held in church. Scalabrinians took these responsibilities seriously throughout their lives. Even in old age Father Gambera climbed tenement stairs to visit the sick, said daily mass and heard confessions, tallying up the penitents with a pocket-size counting device.⁶³⁹ Like private or communal prayer, public worship affected the way the Scalabrinians' work was organized. Public worship lengthened the workday; since people had to fast from the midnight of the day, they wished to receive Communion, masses were early in the morning. (Our Lady of Pompei in New York had one at 5:30 a.m. in the early days). Devotions, on the other hand, took place in the early evening, about 7:00 or 7:30 p.m., and lasted about a half-hour. Leading public worship made the Scalabrinians' work week different from that of other workers. Their busiest days were Saturdays, the usual day for weddings and confessions, and Sundays, the day for masses; prior to the 1960s there were no Saturday vigils for Sunday. The days Scalabrinian missionaries took off were likely to be in the middle of the week. The Scalabrinians who worked on Ellis Island with the Saint Raphael Society might not get a day off at all.

During the laity's work week, the priests did a variety of things. The pastor coordinated this work and did most of it; in a small mission with only one priest, the pastor did all of it. Father Demo left the most complete records of a pastor's activities, but even he did not leave anything that suggests how much time he spent on particular tasks. What one can say is some tasks had to be performed at least weekly. The collection had to be counted every Monday, a fresh sermon prepared before next Sunday and at least one day a week the pastor had to be in the office for people who wished to have private

⁶³⁷ Gambera, 253.

⁶³⁸ Parolin, 84-85.

⁶³⁹ Gambera, 253.

conversations. Other tasks, such as paying bills or leading First Friday devotions, had to be performed monthly. There were seasonal chores, getting the snow shoveled in winter and the grass cut in summer, and changing the vestments for the different liturgical seasons. A few chores, such as filing reports or setting up the repository for Holy Thursday or organizing the parish fair, were annual ones. Putting together a combination of daily, monthly, seasonal, and annual jobs meant pastors probably put in full days of work throughout the week, in addition to their weekend work. Conscientious pastors, those with large congregations, and those engaged in construction, could be quite busy.

In larger parishes pastors delegated some chores to assistants. Assistants, like all priests, performed private devotions and participated in the institute's communal prayers. They took their turns with masses, confessions, and devotions. Pastors assigned assistants more regular tasks, such as training acolytes or moderating monthly parish sodality meetings. Pastors also gave assistants some of the work for special occasions; if a parish was celebrating an anniversary an assistant might write the parish history for the commemorative journal. Another way pastors delegated work was to divide up the time spent in the rectory waiting for parishioners to drop by. Each assistant took a turn being "on call," which meant staying at home and answering the doorbell, or, if the housekeeper answered it, being available to visitors who wanted to see a priest. While on call a priest might hear confessions, run out for emergency baptisms or anointings, set dates and collect stipends from those who came by to ask that mass be said for some intention, do the preliminary paperwork for weddings, and make funeral arrangements.

Scalabrinian brothers had different workdays. Bishop Scalabrini intended the brothers be catechists, and the early literature refers to them as such.⁶⁴⁰ As the Scalabrinians reoriented their mission from catechesis in Italian to American-style parochial schools staffed by sisters, the brothers' work changed and they labored mainly as sacristans or domestic servants.⁶⁴¹ Brother Vincenzo Arcelli of Boston supervised the parish Sunday school, visited families in their homes and said the rosary with them, and sang during special liturgies. Interestingly, given the degree of responsibility involved and the problems female organists presented, no religious brothers took responsibility for parish music programs.

The Scalabrinians carried out their daily, weekly, seasonal, and annual tasks under economic constraints. In letters, Scalabrinians referred to *la mia povera missione*, partly to make it clear to their colleagues how difficult their jobs were and how little money they could forward to the motherhouse, and mostly because it was true. The Scalabrinians lived in the midst of the struggling communities they served, and their churches and rectories reflected the conditions around them: the poor construction of homes in mining towns and the congestion, lack of sunlight and fresh air and haphazard quality of city services in urban areas. Peter D'Agostino has noted the number of Scalabrinians who asphyxiated in the western province and the number of churches that caught fire and

⁶⁴⁰ Gambera, 67.

⁶⁴¹ *The Congregation of the Missionaries of Saint Charles (Scalabrinians): A CARA Study* (Washington, DC: Center for Applied Research in the Apostolate, 1976), 44.

wondered if substandard building conditions were not at least partly responsible. Eastern province parishes had similar woes. It must have been discouraging for Nazareno Properzi of Saint Anthony's in Somerville when, on opening day, a rainstorm filled his new church basement with water.⁶⁴² No one complained about not getting enough to eat, but there was precious little for extras. Father Pio recalled:

It was not uncommon during that time [1904-1914] for us two or three priests to want a glass of cold beer to restore us during those summer days. But we could not raise among ourselves the sum of ten cents. With ten cents, indeed, it was possible to acquire an entire pint of beer, which would be enough for ten or twelve glasses. [Either the glasses were small or the "pint" was really a "bucket" of beer.] But we lacked the ten cents and I remember that one time we went on a begging tour, to the sacristan Antonio Garatti, to the housekeeper, poor Maddalena, and to another priest and finally we collected the grand sum of ten cents with which we could procure a pint of beer.⁶⁴³

For others, it was not the pleasures of the moment but the uncertainties of future illness or old age that made them feel the pinch of poverty.

The Scalabrinians also performed their work under what might be considered stressful psychological circumstances. They did share in their parishioners' joys. They baptized babies, blessed marriages, handed out parochial-school diplomas, enjoyed parish fundraisers and celebrated the holidays. However, the presence of a priest was even more important when parishioners faced difficulties, and immigrant families with precarious finances faced plenty of these.

Two clergy left two different sorts of records as to what the work of tending to parishioners with problems might entail. Judging from Father Demo's 33 years of mail, he spent many days handling personal problems ranging from the irritating to the tragic. Perhaps once or twice a week he sat down to a stack of letters, some typed, most handwritten, some in Italian, some in English (more of the latter as the years wore on), some written by a person with some education and other which had to be deciphered rather than read. In response, he penned many letters of his own: enclosing cash, forwarding baptismal and marriage certificates, writing letters of recommendation for jobs and reference letters for people who had to report to welfare offices, explaining to city officials and private philanthropy agents what his parishioners wanted and explaining to the parishioners themselves what they had to do to get out of their difficulties. He became so knowledgeable regarding services available for the poor that people who were not parishioners wrote for help and other priests turned to him for advice, both of which added to the correspondence he had to answer.

Father A. Boutlon of Fairmont, West Virginia, left a shorter, sharper record of priestly work. The Italians in Fairmont were more homogeneous than those in Father Demo's parish: they were almost all coal miners. The services they requested of their clergy were less varied than those Father Demo's parishioners required of him. Care of the sick predominated; Fairmont kept three hospitals full of the victims of mining accidents and

⁶⁴² D'Agostino, 294; *Fiftieth Anniversary, 1915-1965, Saint Anthony Church, Somerville, Massachusetts* (n.p., n.d. [1965]).

⁶⁴³ Parolin, 40.

poverty. Father Boutlon's letter was written to complain that Giuseppe D'Andrea, the Scalabrinian at Our Lady of Pompei in nearby Monongah, was not doing his fair share of visiting the sick. The letter gives a vivid description of what ministering to the sick was like. The quote begins at a point in the letter when the Father Boutlon was citing a journal he kept.

Sunday, May 22/04. At Cook's Hosp. I go to attend an Italian to be operated for appendicitis. After attending him I visit the wards, see another young Italian very low with consumption. I speak to him and promise to send for Fr. D'A[ndrea] whom he wishes to see. The poor fellow has been brought here from Monongah where he has been sick for some time past. He has heard of Fr. D'A. but has never seen him. Same Sunday I write to Fr. D'A. about it and I go to P. o. to mail my letter so as to make a sure thing of it.

Monday, May 23/04. At 1 PM. Fr. D'Andrea stops at my house on his way to Littleton. He has received my letter of yesterday but has not gone to the Hospital. I promise him to keep an eye on his patient till he returns. Fr. D'A. promises to be back to-morrow morning and will go straightaway to the Hospital. Same evening, I go myself to Hosp.; I anoint an Italian who had undergone an operation, I speak to the young consumptive^{1,1} who is in pretty good condition [,] and assure him his own priest would come to see him to-morrow morning.

Tuesday, May 24/04. At 2 PM. Fr. D'A. returns from Littleton, very tired he says. He will go to the Hospital next morning for sure 'first thing' he says. I promise to go in the meanwhile and see the patient. That same evening, I visit him for the 3d time; he is doing fairly well. The morning of the same day I have gone across the River to baptize a dying italian [sic] infant (no perquisite [that is, the parents offered no stole fee]). I have also called on City and Miner's Hospitals; many patients in each but none dangerously [sic] so far.

Wednesday May 25/04. I am very busy all day engineering paving around new church. I do not see Fr. D'A. but I feel confident he has kept his word. Perhaps he came to hunt me up and did not find me around the church.

Thursday May 26/04. At noon FE D'A. calls on me on his return from Hospital, he says. He had found the young consumptive dead .. . [ellipsis in original] dead without the Sacraments. 'When has he died,' I ask. 'Oh! some days ago,' he guessed, 'he is not there anymore.' No,' said I, 'he was doing well Tuesday night; why did you not come on Wednesday morning as you assured me?' I did not feel very well.' Then you should have sent me word.' I go to Cook's Hosp. myself and find out that the poor young fellow had died this same morning May 26. DE Cook knew I had been around him and did not think necessary to send me more....

Saturday, May 28/04. I bury an Italian brought from Gypsy; he had died with typhoid fever; no priest had attended him.

Thursday, June 2/04. I go to Cook's Hosp. under pelting rain to find out about an Italian whose back was broken in the mines. The surgeons had him on the operating table. DE Cook tells me there was no danger for the present; next morning I would be in plenty of time; if any danger arose, he would himself come after me. I visit the wards and see many other sick Italians. I will come to-morrow to attend them but will not send word any more to Monongah.

Friday, June 3/04. I was leaving the Church with the B[lesse]d Sacrament when Fr. D'A. comes to see me. I tell him where I am going. He says he will accompany me. Then I make him hear confessions and give H[oly] Viat[cum] to Italian with broken back, hear the confession of another who had to undergo amputation of leg, also that of an Italian woman sick with fever. Then I take him to the bedside of an Italian boy sick also with fever; the boy, 20 yrs [.] old, has never made his first communion although he has been a few months only from Chieti (Italy). I advise FE D'A. to come and instruct him. Lastly^{1,1} I tell him to hear the man operated for appendicitis; I had already heard his confession on May 23d but I could not give him Communion on account of the

condition of his stomach. Dr. Cook has told me he could not get well, his whole system being tuberculous. All the above work I would have done by myself had not Fr. D'A. happened to come to Fairmont just as I was leaving the church. FE D'A. promises to come next morning to bring communion to Ajello, the man operated for appendicitis. On same morning I had promised to come myself to bring H. Viat. to Mrs. Metzger in same Hosp. but Fr. D'A. insisted upon coming himself to attend Ajello[,] he would be there sure at 7 A.M.

Saturday June 4/04. I go to Cook's Hosp. and give H. Viat. to Mrs. Metzger, it is after 10 A.M. I call on Ajello at nearly 11 A.M., he is still fasting, waiting for Fr. D'A. who has failed to come. The poor fellow was fretting and crying about it, the nurse told me he refused to take any medicine or nourishment. I tried to satisfy him and made him take his medicine and milk. Unfortunately, I had not preserved any consecrated Host. Same day I go to both City and Miners' Hosp. In the former I find two Italians very sick with tuberculosis and four with fever. I hear their confession, also that of an Italian woman very sick after miscarriage. In the Miners' Hosp. I find. that Fr. D'A. has not been there for weeks, although I had requested him to go and see an Italian amputated of arm and leg and so despondent that he had attempted suicide. Same evening, I return to Cook's to see an Italian with gangrenous leg. I attend to him because he is to be operated next morning. Father D'A. was in town this afternoon but has not visited Hospital. . . &c . . . [ellipsis in original]

Since that date 14 Italians (adults) have died in Fairmont and vicinity and have been buried here. To 8 of them only I have succeeded to give at least some of the last Sacraments (Di Lulli, Merico, Ajello, Bernardo, Matano, Menardo, Nunzio, Pennera), 3 were killed outright; the other 3 have died without the priest and Fr. D'A. knew that at least two of them were sick.⁶⁴⁴

Material from other parishes indicates that while not everyone had relentless hospital rounds to make, most had some tragedy. Quite a few parishes lost a church to fire. Sometimes, there was one horrific event: Father Demo lost at least eighteen parishioners in the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire, Giuseppe D'Andrea lost most of his parish men in the 1907 Monongah mine explosion, and Robert Biasotti of Sacred Heart in Boston lost seven parishioners in a tenement fire that police thought was the work of an arsonist. Other parishes suffered the slow martyrdom of the poor. The monthly bulletins of Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago indicate that Giacomo Gambera and his successors regularly buried children under five years old.⁶⁴⁵

Priests thought of their work as spiritually necessary, but it filled numerous gaps in secular life as well. The rectory and church routine was not so predictable as it might sound; a priest had to be on call because no one knew exactly what callers might want. Nor did these white-collar professionals work only with their minds and pens; a contributing factor in Father Demo's death was that he was helping to move a piano and dropped it on his foot. In a sense, clergy were like emergency-room personnel. Their job was to be available. Most of the time nothing unusual happened, but when it did, it called on everything individuals had in the way of knowledge, skill, and emotional maturity.

Scalabrinian work life, then, was varied and could be stressful. Did their personal lives support their professional lives? Those who left the most extensive memoirs, Father Gambera and Father Pio, started, and stopped their discussion of personal life with the

⁶⁴⁴ A. Boutlon to Father Lekston, Fairmont, West Virginia, November 29, 1905, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1905 folder.

⁶⁴⁵ *The New York Times*, April 27, 1911; clipping from *The Boston Herald*, n.d., CMS No. 062, Box 1, Newspaper clippings.

priesthood. They took seriously the Catholic doctrine that ordination imparted a special character to the priest. Father Gambera was so overwhelmed by his new status it was a week before he recovered sufficiently to sing mass. Father Pio had no such trouble, but he, too, was impressed with the fact that regardless of his personal qualifications or worthiness, he had been ordained a priest *forever*.⁶⁴⁶ Contemporaries might wonder if Father Gambera's and Father Pio's sense of the priesthood did not undercut personal support. The Scalabrinians did not live with their families in the United States. Their high regard for the priesthood relegated the laity to subordinate status and left the priests isolated on their pedestals. These questions would have been foreign to the early twentieth-century Scalabrinians. Their assumptions about the priesthood functioned to provide them with some support in their sometimes-difficult work.

First, they had faith in their image. Believing they were special people; they found the inner resources to act out that image and to carry out their work.

Second, the hierarchy of clergy and laity bound the two together in ways that could be mutually beneficial. The historian Eugene Genovese has explained how slaveowners and slaves in the American south used expectations about each other's class roles to shape their society. Father Demo's correspondence illustrates a similar situation in the case of priests and parishioners. In their correspondence, at least, Father Demo and his parishioners acted out a ritual they all understood. The parishioners began their letters with variations on the phrase, "I am sorry to bother you about this," but went ahead and bothered him, explaining their problems and sometimes even outlining desired solutions. Father Demo responded by sending letters to third parties, to potential employers, dispensers of public welfare and private charity and bureaucrats whose mistakes required correction. These letters contained the stock phrases of a patron interceding for a client. Since the letters went to third parties there were few occasions for Father Demo to demonstrate much affection for his parishioners, but he certainly demonstrated knowledge of and concern for them befitting his role as their patron and pastor. Occasionally, the mask slipped. When a young woman parishioner was arrested on the suspicion that she was an accessory to a crime a friend's husband committed, what would have been a paternalistic letter of recommendation to the court became a frantic plea for "a very good, pious, honest, innocent, religious, and exemplar [y] member of this parish since her early age: therefore, I recommend her very strongly, hoping to see her out of any trouble."⁶⁴⁷

Third, Scalabrinians did not voluntarily isolate themselves from human support. Contrary to the image of missionaries forsaking home and family to evangelize unknown people and places, these missionaries kept close ties with home, and among themselves they formed a community which, if not quite the communion of saints, functioned to sustain them. Individual Scalabrinians showed a healthy ability to take care of themselves, including claiming attention when they felt they needed it.

⁶⁴⁶ Gambera; 51; Parolin, 27.

⁶⁴⁷ Demo to whom it may be concern, New York, December 19, 1932, CMS No. 37, Box 6, folder 42.

Migration historians know most migrants left home to better their own or their families' economic status. In theory, the Scalabrinians did not do that. Actually, at least a few Scalabrinians felt familial obligations and asked that the institute subsidize their families. Bishop Scalabrini disliked the practice but in order to obtain qualified personnel he acquiesced, and subsequent superior generals built on his precedent. A few Scalabrinians received assistance for their elderly parents or unmarried sisters until the 1930s.⁶⁴⁸

Clergy who did not need money still needed time to attend to family affairs. Most often a father's death meant a son had to go home to take care of family matters.⁶⁴⁹ Scalabrinians abroad also tended to family matters through prayer. When Vincenzo Jannuzzi's brother Giuseppe died at the family home in Zungoli, Avellino, Father Jannuzzi invited his confreres to attend mass held at Saint Joachim's in New York.⁶⁵⁰

Other Scalabrinians had their relatives with them. In Vittorio Cangiano's case this was to be expected. The entire family had migrated from Calitri when Vittorio was a youth. He grew up in Boston, came to Piacenza for priestly training and then returned to the United States as his mission field. He was able to attend sick family members and to join family gatherings.⁶⁵¹ Others had their siblings join them in the United States. Pio Parolin's memoir gives the impression he had no family in the United States, but his correspondence indicates otherwise. In 1912 Father Pio visited his family at Casoni di Mussolente and brought his sister Caterina back with him when he returned to the United States. In 1915, when he was at Saint Peter's in Syracuse, he let go his sacristan and hired his brother Luigi as a successor.⁶⁵² Caterina Parolin apparently settled in Syracuse, too, for that was where Father Pio, serving as the head of the family, invited guests to her 1918 wedding.⁶⁵³

The Scalabrinians' primary source of companionship was supposed to be each other. No one gave their colleagues such credit. Father Gambera complained that everyone else complained too much. Even Father Pio, who praised individual Scalabrinians, made vague mention of insensitive treatment from his colleagues and superiors. To a certain extent the historical record supports the two priests' reminiscences. Many intra-Scalabrinian

⁶⁴⁸ Luigi Paroli to Eccellenza Reverendissima, Amatissimo Padre, Providence, September 3, 1889, CMS No. 021, Box 3, unlabeled folder; Raffaele Carlo Cardinal Rossi to Giovanni Marchegiani, Rome, November 23, 1934, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

⁶⁴⁹ Nazareno Properzi to William Henry O'Connell, Somerville, July 30, 1921, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 70, folder 15.

⁶⁵⁰ Vincenzo Jannuzzi, death announcement, New York, February 20, 1911, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Jannuzzi folder.

⁶⁵¹ Vittorio Cangiano to Demo, Boston, October 28, 1922, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Cangiano folder; Michele Cangiano to Parolin, Nantasket, 1904, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Cangiano folder.

⁶⁵² Parolin to Demo, Casoni di Mussolente, July 19, 1912, CMS No. 078A, Box 5, Records of Fr. Giuseppe Spigolon-Father Parolin folder; Luigi Parolin to Demo, Syracuse, June 1, 1915, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1915 folder.

⁶⁵³ Pio Parolin to Demo, Syracuse, October 5, 1918, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1918. The wedding invitation is in CMS No. 078A, Box 5, Records of Fr. Giuseppe Spigolon-Father Parolin folder.

quarrels came to Father Demo's attention either in his official capacity as provincial superior or his unofficial capacity as friend to one of the aggrieved parties. The majority of these controversies involved relations between superiors and subordinates, with pastors complaining about assistants' behavior and assistants sending in tales of ill treatment by pastors.⁶⁵⁴ To a lesser degree, pastors reported on fights between assistants and assistants squealed on their pastors' exploitation of third parties.⁶⁵⁵ Individuals writing in to tell their side of the story swelled the correspondence.⁶⁵⁶ Some priests gave up and moved out of their rectories to put some distance between themselves and their colleagues.⁶⁵⁷

The written record also indicates that at least a few Scalabrinians made an effort at fraternal support. They did not live in the world of masculine camaraderie that biographer Marvin O'Connell describes as surrounding John Ireland when he was a young priest and military chaplain. They usually treated each other with greater deference; their correspondence, obituaries and newspaper accounts of each other's doings were full of stock Italian phrases of esteem. On the other hand, the fact that they did take the time and trouble to write or to plan anniversary surprises indicates that at some level they knew they should be supporting each other. In some cases, their personal connections lasted for decades, and even outlasted a commitment to the Scalabrinians; Francesco Beccherini, for example, continued to write to various members of the institute after he finished his five-year vows, and even vacationed with Father Gambera. When a paralytic stroke felled Pietro Bandini in Arkansas, his uncle contacted Our Lady of Pompei in New York, partly to request a copy of the directions for the Pompei novena and partly to let Father Bandini's former confreres prepare for his death. (Pietro Bandini passed away soon thereafter, in January of 1917.) Even though Felix Morelli finished his five-year vows under something of a cloud, Father Demo tried to raise a purse to assist him in his old age.⁶⁵⁸

The Scalabrinians expected to be kept in touch with each other. In the absence of a newsletter or the capacity for long-distance telephone calls they expected mail, and they commented on the slackers who failed to keep others posted on their activities.⁶⁵⁹ They did not send each other many greeting cards, though such things existed at the turn of

⁶⁵⁴ Riccardo Lorenzoni to Demo, Chicago, September 2, 1905, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Franch folder; Attilio Bocache to Demo, Utica, September 29, 1915, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Bocache folder.

⁶⁵⁵ Bartolomeo Marenchino to Demo, New Haven, July 15, 1911, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Ferraro folder; Merlo to Demo, Buffalo, June 30, 1911, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Merlo folder.

⁶⁵⁶ Arnaldo Vanoli to Demo, Fredonia, January 5, 1918, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Antonio Demo-Father Vanoli folder.

⁶⁵⁷ Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, May 3, 1922, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁶⁵⁸ Gambera, 175-176; T. Bandini to Demo, Orchard Lake, Michigan, December 29, 1916, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Bandini folder.

⁶⁵⁹ Giovanni Battista Balangero to Demo, Cincinnati, July 25, 1905, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Quadranti folder.

the century, either because of the expense or because they were not used to the idea, but they routinely sent each other short letters simply to convey Christmas or Easter greetings. On the other hand, they were all fond of postcards: the kind with the stamp and address on one side and room for a message on the other, pictures of the towns in which they worked or custom-made cards with personal photographs. They noted one another's birthdays, but the most important personal annual holidays were not birthdays or anniversaries of ordination but name days, the feast days of the patron saints whose names they bore. Father Demo, whose birthday was April 23, received more mail on June 13, the feast of Saint Anthony of Padua, and he returned the courtesy to others throughout the year.

The Scalabrinians also sent each other things. Sometimes these were gifts, in which case they usually had a practical use; vestments, for example, not only made nice presents but were necessary for church services.⁶⁶⁰ More commonly, a Scalabrinian stationed in a big city took the time and trouble to shop for a colleague in a small town. Although Bernard Casazza and Pacifico Chenuil intended to pay Father Demo for finding, purchasing and shipping to Syracuse 200 glass votive candle holders and bobèches, they still wrote a flowery letter of unbounded gratitude for his efforts of their behalf.⁶⁶¹ At least one Scalabrinian sent gifts of food, but unsuccessfully. "Today is come that cheese which he had sent me, which is in an overripe condition. Tell Fr. Jannuzzi not to send cheese, because its good conservation depends on the place where it's kept."⁶⁶²

The Scalabrinians seldom sent each other gifts of money, but the provincial superiors, at least, had the power to make pastors' lives easier depending on how thoughtfully they handled provincial finances. For example, early in 1915, Father Gambera sent Father Demo two checks totaling \$300. Having heard that Gambera had recently returned from a trip to Italy to find the substitute at his parish had absconded with everything, Father Demo let him know he was holding the checks. A relieved Father Gambera immediately paid his coal bill.⁶⁶³

Institute rules directed the Scalabrinians to pray for deceased confreres; it also cheered the living to know their colleagues remembered them in prayer. Antonio Demo and Stefano Franco became friends when they began their missionary careers at Sacred Heart in Boston together. After only two years, Father Franco took ill and had to return to Italy. There, when he realized how sick he was, his thoughts turned to Father Demo: "Dear Don Antonio, if the Lord gives me the grace to be able to say masses, I will say them all for your intention. Have charity toward a poor brother, pray always for me.

⁶⁶⁰ Stefano Franco to Demo, December 29, 1899, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Franco folder.

⁶⁶¹ Bernard Casazza and Pacifico Chenuil to Demo, Buffalo, March 11, 1902, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters-1902-1907, folder.

⁶⁶² Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, January 21, 1918, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁶⁶³ Gambera to Demo, Chicago, January 13, 1915, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gambera folder.

Respond to my letters sometime."⁶⁶⁴ There was no time; Father Franco died five days after writing the letter.

Special occasions led to special displays of affection, so much so that as his own silver anniversary approached Father Gambera asked Father Demo if he could please just spend it quietly.⁶⁶⁵ Normally, the better known a person was within the institute, the more elaborate the event. In 1905, when Oreste Alussi celebrated his silver anniversary he was not the most obviously successful missionary the Scalabrinians had: his name is never associated with founding a parish or with significant construction. But he was important to his colleagues, and the fact that he was the senior member of the institute in the United States at the time (not in chronological age but in terms of how long he had been under vows) meant that in honoring him they were reinforcing their own commitments to the missions, so they went ahead with the anniversary celebration and the presentation of a souvenir book.⁶⁶⁶ As the Scalabrinians became well-known Italian community leaders, their anniversaries became occasions for general rejoicing; the silver anniversary of Father Giovanni Peona, the pastor of Saint Anthony in Everett, Massachusetts, had to be held at the local stadium to accommodate the crowd.⁶⁶⁷ The Scalabrinians marked sorrowful milestones, too. At the time of his father's death in 1915, Roberto Biasotti was peripheral to the institute, engaged in work with the Italian Apostolate of the Archdiocese of New York. Nevertheless, Father Demo celebrated a memorial mass and the New York Scalabrinians all attended.⁶⁶⁸

Many intra-Scalabrinian interactions never got into the records. Probably some were actions of pettiness and insensitivity. There is reason to suspect at least some were of kindness and cordiality. One bizarre event at Our Lady of Pompei in New York throws light on what must have been an ordinary experience. The incident took place in July of 1933 at the priests' midday meal, when Pietro Dotto, age 75, suffered a fatal heart attack or stroke and passed away right at the table. His last words, his obituary reported, "were full of jesting and fraternal charity toward Fr. Antonio Demo, his friend of many years and companion in ordination."⁶⁶⁹ One can imagine the scene, the priests standing behind their chairs for prayers, then sitting down and passing the serving plates, the grumbling about the summer weather and the news in the papers giving way to anecdotes, reminiscences, and banter. Normally, they might have left the table refreshed for the afternoon's work.

⁶⁶⁴ Franco to Demo, Aisone, Cuneo, July 16, 1901, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Franco folder.

⁶⁶⁵ Gambera to Demo, New York, May 21, 1904, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gambera folder.

⁶⁶⁶ Marenchino to M. Rev. Padre, New Haven, April 13, 1905, CMS No. 078, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Alussi folder.

⁶⁶⁷ Natale Oddendino to Francis Phelan, Everett, May 22, 1935, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 40, folder 2.

⁶⁶⁸ Clipping from *L'Italiano in America*, New York, February 14, 1915, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Biasotti folder.

⁶⁶⁹ Clipping from *La fiamma*, São Paulo, July 20, 1933, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Dotto folder.

Families and friends, then, supplied some support for missionaries, either out of affection or out of a sense of obligation. The Scalabrinians could also draw on their inner resources. The way they did this that has left the most records is through their handling of health problems. The Scalabrinians' written records regarding health are not much help in understanding their actual physical health; their lists of symptoms are incomplete and it is not clear to what extent the state of medical knowledge or poverty affected their physical well-being. What is clear is that health performed a function for the early Scalabrinians, and how they used their own health shows them at their most manipulative and their most creative.

Giuseppe Poia provided a wonderful example of a number of issues under discussion here when he wrote Father Demo:

The doctor says that I am tired and have need of a little bit of rest from my occupation. I am certain that Fr. Demo will smile malignantly and ironically at this outburst, because he, veteran worker in the missions, is still fresh, vigorous, and strong; he could not believe it is possible that one who is young and has worked much less should feel tired. But, dear Father Demo should reflect that we don't all have the same physical constitution, the same strength, the same temperament. [Or the same good luck; nine months earlier, Father Poia had been thrown from a moving streetcar into Chicago traffic and had suffered lacerations that required medical treatment.]⁶⁷⁰

The first issue the passage takes up is notions of health. The early Scalabrinians thought of the mission fields as a place of hard physical labor. Father Poia certainly did, and he praised Father Demo's ability to shoulder the burden while making it clear that in his own case there was a real sacrifice of health involved. The second issue is that of using discussions of health to obtain support. It is interesting that this letter should have gone to Father Demo. Father Poia was stationed in Chicago, if he were merely requesting a medical leave he would have written to his own provincial superior, Pacifico Chenuil. The letter may have gone to Father Demo more for psychological than for procedural reasons. In this letter, two people's psychological worlds meshed nicely. Father Poia reinforced both his sense of himself as making health-threatening sacrifices and Father Demo's sense of himself as a priest able to make sacrifices and bear burdens. Father Poia had chosen the one Scalabrinian unlikely to turn on him and send a letter detailing his own health problems.

The idea that discussions of health allowed Scalabrinians to describe their sacrifices is reinforced when one looks at their notions of the etiology of disease. One would think they never heard of the germ theory. Scalabrinians did not catch diseases; they worked too hard and suffered for it.⁶⁷¹ They were in the mission fields in sooty, smoky cities such as Chicago or Cleveland.⁶⁷² And they ate American food.

⁶⁷⁰ Giuseppe Poia to Demo, Chicago, May 7, 1912, and February 25, 1913, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Poia folder.

⁶⁷¹ Giovanni Battista Scalabrini to Demo, Piacenza, November 14, 1903, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, *Scritti*, 14 vols. (Rome: Congregazione Scalabriniana, 1980) volume I, 269. Hereafter, *Scritti*.

⁶⁷² Merlo to Demo, Chicago, April 8, 1910, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Merlo folder; Balangero to Demo, Cincinnati, September 23, 1907, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Balangero folder.

Cures also were more than cures. They were opportunities for Scalabrinians to claim attention from others and to justify attending to themselves. When Father Zaboglio and a companion travelled to Pittsburgh, the companion had a headache and upset stomach. Father Zaboglio pulled out a bottle of cognac from his luggage, which took care of his friend for the rest of the trip.⁶⁷³ Father Poia tried to evade a transfer to New York by pointing out that in that city "I could not take my daily walk, of which, for my health's sake, I have real and serious need," and he continued to stroll through downtown Chicago in midwestern winters.⁶⁷⁴

More strictly medical cures, such as hospitalization and surgery, were not always welcomed for their curative powers. It was not when they faced illness alone but when they faced medical treatment that Scalabrinians asked each other for prayers.⁶⁷⁵ Such medical care was not just a personal issue, it could be a community crisis. Lengthy hospital stays were expensive and required that substitutes be sent to cover parish duties.⁶⁷⁶

Discussion of health performed another function in Scalabrinian life in that it became a reason to request a transfer or a discharge. The Scalabrinian superiors knew such requests on grounds of health could be efforts to manipulate the system and they looked with suspicion on them. In 1908 the superior general questioned whether Paolo Novati was truly sick or simply wanted to escape the annoyances of Boston; Father Novati was the one who died after a long and painful battle with stomach cancer.⁶⁷⁷

Finally, discussions of health reassured at least some Scalabrinians that perhaps their sacrifices were not so difficult compared to those of others. In 1924, the superior general notified the United States Scalabrinians that a ten-year veteran of the Brazilian missions was being transferred to North America because he could no longer ride horseback, a necessity in Brazil.⁶⁷⁸ At least the United States was not that much of a mission field.

The Scalabrinians did not have to use health as a subterfuge to assure themselves of enough rest and recreation. Since everyone agreed that missionary work was difficult physical labor, no one ever criticized, at least not in writing, a confrere's decision to take a day off or a vacation. Father Pio recalled what he and the other assistants did on days off in New York City at the turn of the century:

⁶⁷³ Vincenzo Jannuzzi to Pietro Bandini, Pittsburgh, October 28, 1891, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Fr. Jannuzzi folder. Someone has penciled in Jannuzzi's name on the letter.

⁶⁷⁴ Poia to Demo, Providence, December 11, 1916, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Papers of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Poia folder.

⁶⁷⁵ Gambera to Demo, Chicago, December 18, 1914, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gambera folder.

⁶⁷⁶ Novati to Demo, Providence, September 12, 1902, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Boffo folder.

⁶⁷⁷ Vicentini to Demo, Piacenza, 1908, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Father Antonio Demo-1908 folder.

⁶⁷⁸ Chenuil to Demo, Rome, February 24, 1924, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

The good Father Demo many times said to us assistants: "Tomorrow, if you want, you can go on an outing. I will stay home and take care of the parish."

So, we two assistants agreed that we wanted to go to the easiest place to get to, South Beach on Staten Island. Money, we had none of, so we requested from the pastor a dollar, only a dollar, which was sufficient to procure necessities for a whole day.

We went first to Saint George, where we rented a bicycle, which cost fifty cents, and we both mounted it and went to South Beach, where we spent the entire day. Certainly, eating posed a small problem, a question made pitifully difficult by the fact we had only fifty cents left, the remains of the dollar obtained from dear Father Demo. We could buy a sandwich, a hot-dog, each, and that would have to sustain us for the whole day unless some good person did not unexpectedly come to our aid.

Gradually Father Pio and his colleagues made the acquaintance of Italian restaurateurs in the area and received free plates of spaghetti.⁶⁷⁹

Scalabrinians could also take longer vacations. Flaminio Parenti, who was at that time with Father Demo and Father Pio in New York described a 1914 stay at the De Coma Farm in Pike County, Pennsylvania. It took four hours to get to the farm, but it was worth it. The farm was actually a kind of rooming house where Father Parenti and his companion, another Scalabrinian, took their meals and slept; they spent their days hiking in the mountains, boating on the lake, fishing, and taking photographs of themselves having a good time.⁶⁸⁰

There were a few Scalabrinians who did not seem to have the necessary inner resources and who could not attract or benefit from their families' love or from the rituals of support in the Scalabrinian community. Instead, they became destructive. They disrupted communal life and threatened the Scalabrinians' reputation. The Scalabrinians had some experience with and ability to handle certain types of personal destructiveness. Before other types they were helpless.

Excessive drinking was a common way of attempting to handle personal problems that really only created bigger problems. Italians have a reputation for low rates of alcoholism and compared to, for example, breaking the vow of poverty, habitual immoderate drinking was uncommon. The Scalabrinians knew, though, that it could be a problem. They watched for it and warned each other when someone in the institute appeared to be drinking too much.⁶⁸¹ Giuseppe D'Andrea was probably their most pressing case in the early twentieth century. Father D'Andrea served a stint as an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York with no recorded problems, then he moved to the struggling mining hamlet of Monongah, witnessed the fatal mine explosion and lost his brother in the disaster. Shortly after that his drinking became a local scandal, and Father Demo transferred him to a new position as assistant to Angelo Luigi Strazzoni at Saint

⁶⁷⁹ Parolin, 44-45.

⁶⁸⁰ Flaminio Parenti to Demo, De Coma Farm, Bohemia, July 7, 1914, CMS No. 078A, Box 5, Records of Father Giuseppe Spigolon-Father Parenti folder. Father Parenti's vacation photographs are in CMS No. 021.

⁶⁸¹ Marchegiani to Properzi, New York, September 28, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

Anthony's in Buffalo.⁶⁸² When he first came to Buffalo he was sufficiently self-controlled to enjoy community respect, and the newspapers ran features on the silver anniversary of his ordination.⁶⁸³ Within three years of his arrival he was drinking so heavily the parishioners could spot it from their pews when he was on the altar — and this was in the days when the celebrant faced the altar rather than the congregation.⁶⁸⁴ It was possible at that time to send errant clergy to special institutions or to monasteries, but either the Scalabrinians did not know where to send Father D'Andrea, or they could not afford to send him (or to replace him in Buffalo), or they did not want to. Father Demo took him back to New York City, where there were more Scalabrinians to watch over him and less chance of his becoming notorious. He died at Saint Joachim's April 23, 1926.⁶⁸⁵

Davide Angeli exemplified a case which neither training nor experience prepared the Scalabrinians to handle. When in 1912 he arrived at his first missionary assignment at Sacred Heart in Boston he seemed normal enough. By the spring of 1913 he was behaving erratically, upsetting some Scalabrinians and causing others to think he might suffer from "hereditary insanity."⁶⁸⁶ In December of 1913, uncertain as to what was going on, provincial superior Demo sent Gaspare Moretto to Boston to escort Father Angeli to New York for observation. The two arrived the night of December 17. As Father Demo later described the scene, he showed Father Angeli to his room and then returned to the main floor of the rectory. Then:

At eleven he put himself to crying that they wanted to kill him, they wanted to asphyxiate him, and he tried to throw himself from the window. I went up to quiet him and assure him no one was holding him, and to [suggest that he] go to sleep. Good, he said, gave me a kiss and took me suddenly by the neck with a squeeze so strong that I was unable to move the neck for three days. At last he fell exhausted. Finally, he thought to go to bed but after a while he resumed crying, calling out, and sounding the electric bells [to summon domestic servants] without interruption. Toward 2 a.m. he quieted himself and we tried going to bed but at 3 the same story, etc. Facing the danger to his life and our responsibility, we called the doctor with the intention of [illegible, but apparently the doctor found things worse than what had been described to him over the telephone.] He [the doctor] said he [Angeli] was crazy and dangerous and ordered the calling of an ambulance from Bellevue Hospital, which I could not do without first advising the police.⁶⁸⁷

It took four police officers, the physician, and all of Our Lady of Pompei's clergy to get Father Angeli into the ambulance and on the way. The call to the police station had alerted reporters, so, about four in the morning, nursing his sore neck, Father Demo held a press conference on his rectory front steps, hoping to exercise some damage control. He

⁶⁸² Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, November 20, 1915, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1915 folder.

⁶⁸³ Clipping from *Il Corriere Italiano*, Buffalo, July 12, 1917, CMS No. 045, Box 8, Newspaper Clippings and Tear Sheets.

⁶⁸⁴ L. M. E. Van Zandt to Demo, Buffalo, August 7 and 11, 1918, CMS No. 048, Box 1, General Correspondence-1918 folder.

⁶⁸⁵ Gaetano Cardinal De Lai to Carlo Fani, Rome, April 23, 1926, SJB, Box 21, Padre Morti folder.

⁶⁸⁶ Vittorio Gregori to Demo, Boston, December 18, 1913, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Angelo folder.

⁶⁸⁷ Demo to Strazzoni, New York, January 14, 1914, CMS No. 005, Box 5, copybook.

disliked the resulting stories, but it was hardly unflattering coverage; the newspapers all reported Father Angeli's condition as resulting from overwork.⁶⁸⁸ Father Demo himself thought Father Angeli drank. Bellevue's physicians thought the alcohol was an effort at self-medication; they diagnosed the patient as a manic-depressive.⁶⁸⁹ Father Angeli went on to a long and useful career in the western province and in Brazil; he died December 18, 1945.

Some weighty judgments have already been made against community life in the early Scalabrinian institute. American ordinaries did not accept the Scalabrinians as a lasting solution to the issue of Italian migrant pastoral care, and the historical evidence is that the Scalabrinians were only a bit better than a system of unregulated voluntary clerical migration in ensuring only good clergy entered the mission field. The Vatican found Scalabrinian community life so irregular it took over direct management of the institute in 1924, and, again, the historical evidence is that the Scalabrinians were still having trouble weeding out unqualified personnel. Even Scalabrinians who took the time and trouble to write memoirs, such as Father Gambera, criticized the institute. It might be time to marshal some evidence for the opposite view. The parish plants still exist to show that the Scalabrinian institute did assign competent people to places where they left legacies that have been useful for the communities they served: Beniamino Franch in Melrose Park, Ludovico Toma in Orient Heights, Nazareno Properzi in Somerville, Pietro Maschi in Framingham, Antonio Demo and Vincenzo Jannuzzi in New York, and Flaminio Parenti in Rhode Island. Even Cesare Spigardi of Saint Louis and Francesco Beccherini of Detroit, although not remaining in the institute, remained credits to it. The correspondence exists to indicate that while the Scalabrinians did not spend much time reflecting on the meaning of their roles as priests, pastors, or members of the institute, they did have a practical day-in, day-out commitment to these roles, what *2 Timothy 4* refers to as staying with the task whether convenient or inconvenient. There were circumstances that should affect some of the judgments against them; even Father Gambera thought that the lack of support the institute provided for the sick and aged led many Scalabrinians to break their vows of poverty and provide nest eggs for emergencies, and perhaps there were similar explanations for the lack of a spirit of obedience, especially when superiors seemed to be taking the institute in a different direction than it had traditionally gone. Later chapters will show that the renewal of community spirit in the 1930s came at a heavy price — the price being some of the best Scalabrinians in the community of the 1900s, 1910s and 1920s.

How did the Scalabrinians fare in the long run? Table 7.3 gives some definition of the "long run." Table 7.3 indicates how long Scalabrinians remained in the institute for the five-year cohorts admitted between 1887 and 1938. The reasons for the high turnover changed over the years. In the 1887-1889 cohort, the number of those dying soon after entering the institute about equaled the number who completed their five-year

⁶⁸⁸ CMS No. 078, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Angeli folder; has clippings.

⁶⁸⁹ George O'Hanlon, M.D., to Demo, New York, January 17, 1914, 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Angeli folder.

commitment and never renewed it. Of those that died, some had entered the Scalabrinians in their later years, and thus did not have the opportunity to live out a lifetime in the institute. Others suffered accidents or illness that led to early deaths. On the other hand, among the cohort that joined the institute in between 1920 and 1924, most left the institute rather than dying soon after entering it, for reasons to be discussed in chapter eleven. It should be pointed out that not all those that spent many years in the institute died within it. The same forces that led the Scalabrinians to accept a number of short-lived recruits in the early 1920s also led older Scalabrinians to reassess their commitments to the institute, and sometimes to drop them.

TABLE 7.3
SCALABRINIAN PRIESTS AND BROTHERS, REGULAR MEMBERS AND AUXILIARIES,
BY LENGTH OF ASSOCIATION WITH THE INSTITUTE, 1887–1938

Years	1887– 1889	1890– 1894	1895– 1899	1900– 1904	1905– 1909	1910– 1914	1915– 1919	1920– 1924	1925– 1929	1930– 1934	1935– 1938	N	%
<5	1	0	0	1	5	3	3	5	1	0	0	19	10.7
6–10	5	6	6	9	10	5	2	3	1	0	0	47	26.5
11–15	0	0	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	0	1	13	7.3
16–20	6	2	1	1	1	1	2	5	1	0	1	21	11.8
21–25	2	1	2	4	1	0	0	6	0	0	0	16	9.0
26–30	3	0	2	4	3	1	0	5	2	5	0	25	14.1
31–35	1	1	1	3	2	2	0	4	0	5	0	19	10.7
36–40	1	1	0	2	2	1	0	4	0	1	0	12	6.7
41–45	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	4	2.2
>46	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0.5
N	19	11	15	28	26	14	8	37	6	11	2	177	
%	10.7	6.2	8.4	15.8	14.6	7.9	4.5	20.9	3.3	6.2	1.1		

Between 1887 and 1935, Scalabrinian work, and individual Scalabrinians' lives, changed slowly and imperceptibly. They became aware of many elements of American culture, rejected some outright and assimilated to others. The evolution was not immediately apparent. The Scalabrinians had not, after all, come to assimilate. They had come to help migrants preserve their old culture, and the reason they wanted to preserve the old culture was that they suspected the new one.

Father Gambera developed the theoretical opposition to assimilation at some length. The United States, he explained in his memoirs, was not really a Christian civilization. It was founded not on Catholic Christianity, but on Enlightenment secularism and Protestant heresy. The results were that its social institutions were perverted. It banned alcohol while permitting birth control and divorce, and it showed its hostility to immigrant Catholics by acquiescing in Ku Klux Klan activities and by not voting for Catholics running for public office.⁶⁹⁰ Peter D'Agostino found similar arguments in the correspondence of the Scalabrinians in the western province, so much so that he titled his

⁶⁹⁰ Gambera, 199–222.

study of them "Missionaries in Babylon," to convey how the Scalabrinians felt about the society in which they lived and worked.

Also, the Scalabrinians took the trouble to write down their complaints about America just the way they took the trouble to write down their complaints about community life. The result was a picture of them as sacrificing every home comfort to go to a strange culture. From Carlo Delbecchi's correspondence, one might think they were starving to death. Father Delbecchi was assigned to Holy Rosary in Kansas City in 1901. For the first few years he had an American woman cook for him, but by 1905 he was "tired of eating fried meat and potatoes," and he asked Father Demo to find a childless northern Italian woman in New York who was willing to take a job as housekeeper to a priest in Kansas City. Father Demo did so not once, but several times.

The woman sent in 1905 moved on to something else within two years, so Father Delbecchi again asked Father Demo to find an Italian woman who, unlike an American woman, would use the leftovers rather than throwing them out, buying new food and running up the grocery bill. The housekeeper Father Demo sent fell ill and returned to Italy, prompting Father Delbecchi to call for more protection from "American servants who ruin one's stomach with their cooking." Father Delbecchi sent at least three more such requests before he left Kansas City in 1918.⁶⁹¹

Complaining aside, the correspondence indicates the American Scalabrinians were adopting at least some elements of U.S. culture. The most ironic is the relative rapidity with which they learned English. Bishop Scalabrini wanted his missionaries to preserve the Italian language and to transmit it to migrants' children born abroad. His missionaries no sooner arrived, however, than they realized that in order to truly serve the migrants they had to speak English. Parishioners and migrants stuck on Ellis Island sometimes asked them to translate. Chancery officials did not always speak Italian, nor did American-born or -raised Italian children. Father Balangero probably learned English while he served the Irish in Australia and Ceylon. The rest had to learn on the job. Their private correspondence indicates some of them took every opportunity to work at it. Eugenio Ostino avoided reading Italian-language papers in order to practice reading English, which left him in the ironic position of being unaware of activities in the Italian community. When Ludovico Toma preached in English, he not only wrote out the sermon beforehand, but he also provided himself with pronunciation guides for unfamiliar words, as in this sermon when he invited Jesus to "become our spiritual (fud) food." The Scalabrinians practiced their English by writing to each other. When Father Demo departed Sacred Heart in Boston for Our Lady of Pompei in New York, his friend Father Franco wrote a farewell letter with "Goodbye — take care of yourself" scrawled across the page. When Father Demo returned from a visit to Italy, Bartolomeo Marenchino practiced a standard English greeting: "Well come home." Vincenzo Sciolla was more ambitious. In the following letter, the italics indicate the parts that he wrote in a kind of Italian English; the rest is translated from Italian: ". . . how is Pio, Michele, Giuseppe Quadranti and Maddalena, Luigino and Angeli Toscani? *Io am very well e hope*

⁶⁹¹ Delbecchi to Demo, Kansas City, January 27, 1905, April 16 and 25, 1907, 1912 (no month or day), November 21, 1917, and August 6 (no year), SJB Box 28, folder E.

ardentemente di vederli tutti. If Lent doesn't keep me, I would like to make an escape and come *ad enjoyare la loro compagnia*. Could you not make *un trippo a Plainfield, il park del New Jersey?*"⁶⁹²

Despite Bishop Scalabrini's plans for bilingual parochial schools, only Sacred Heart in Boston experimented with them. As their parishioners increased their use of English, so did the Scalabrinians. Newcomers who arrived after World War I could not hope to work extensively with newly arrived migrants like themselves. The Scalabrinians were doing more and more work among second-generation Italian Americans and needed priests who arrived speaking English. As Father Demo explained to the leadership back in Italy in 1924: "Now the old immigration is closed and in a few years our language will be an historical memory and nothing more." The Italian leadership either was not listening or could not do anything; Father Franch, the superior of the western province, made the same request about fifteen years later. Father Gambera, though, had already summed up the way the American Scalabrinians' *de facto* policy: "The perfect knowledge of the English language means the preservation and the security of the missions for the Scalabrinians, which founded them. This is the fundamental need and duty."⁶⁹³ If the Scalabrinians were going to hold on to the parishes they had created, they would have to do so in English.

The Scalabrinians assimilated to American styles of clerical dress rather easily. In Italy, priests wore soutanes in church and in town. In the United States, priests wore black suits with black shirts, and white bands rather than regular collars. This seemed strange at first; Father Gambera referred to this outfit as his "American clothes." The Scalabrinians got so used to them, however, that they had to be reminded to change back when they returned to Italy. "Father Parolin can come to Italy according to his desires," superior general Vicentini notified provincial superior Demo when Father Pio had been in the United States eleven years. "I say frankly however that it would be my desire that while he is in Italy he dresses in a long cassock. In this country much criticism is made, above all of the clergy in bourgeois dress, and bourgeois dress with those short little jackets — they certainly don't speak well of them."⁶⁹⁴

It was in the United States that many Scalabrinians had their first exposure to everyday life in a religiously diverse country. As chapter five described, Giovanni Battista

⁶⁹² Eugenio Ostino to Demo, Syracuse, October 24, 1903, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1903-1905, folder; CMS No. 043, Box 1, Sermons folder; 5" x 7" English language sermon titled "First Communion," Franco to Demo, Boston, CMS No. 078, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Franco folder; Marenchino to Demo, New Haven, October 4, 1909, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Marenchino folder; Vincenzo Sciolla to Demo, Plainfield, New Jersey, March 4, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Sciolla folder. For background on how immigrant correspondence testifies to growing competence in English, see Walter D. Kamphoefner, Wolfgang Helbrich and Ulrike Sommer, ed., *News from The Land of Freedom: German Immigrants Write Home* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1991), trans. Susan Carter Vogel.

⁶⁹³ Demo to Chenuil, New York, July 4, 1924, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 58; Franch to Caro Padre, Melrose Park, June 30, 1939, SJB, Box 26, folder A; Gambera, 200.

⁶⁹⁴ Gambera, 64; Vicentini to Demo, Rome, March 10, 1912, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1912 folder.

Cuneo found the new ideas so appealing he converted. Joseph Zachello, a Scalabrinian who came to the American mission field in 1939 also became famous in evangelical circles as "the Priest Who Found Christ."⁶⁹⁵ Few Scalabrinians wrote much about American Protestants; their work and social lives placed Italian Catholicism at the center and other American Catholics around the edges, with non-Catholics being far from everyday interests. The Scalabrinians who remained in Catholicism but wrote about Protestantism fell into two camps. One was exemplified by priests such as Antonio Bove of Providence and Giacomo Gambera. Father Bove wrote pamphlets indicting Providence Episcopalian proselytism among Italian Catholics. Father Gambera described the American system of separation of church and state as both immoral and hypocritical. They were immoral because the search for tolerance ousted religion from public discourse entirely: families tolerated divorce, politicians tolerated corruption and the press tolerated scandal and sensationalism. They were hypocritical because despite their much-vaunted tolerance, they did not elect Catholics to high office; at the time Father Gambera was writing newspapers and magazines were raising the question of whether voters should elect Catholic Al Smith to the presidency.⁶⁹⁶ Other Scalabrinians assimilated to religious tolerance without assimilating to other religions and could even interpret American ways to their superiors. Roman authorities supervising American Scalabrinian affairs noticed that Napoleone Missena, an assistant at Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, seemed too friendly with the Protestant clergy there, perhaps a prelude to apostasy. The eastern regional superior explained the situation: American clergy of various denominations working in the same town often knew each other and even formed professional organizations. Father Missena was part of such an organization and so highly esteemed that when he left the area the association took note of it and wished him well. But Father Missena was in no danger of becoming a Protestant.⁶⁹⁷

Did assimilation, partial though it was, lead to a change of citizenship? The Scalabrinians had no policy regarding their members' citizenship, leaving individual Scalabrinians free to make their choices. Few explained how they arrived at their decisions. For Father Pio, who came to the United States to be ordained and whose brother and sister followed him in migration, the United States was a second home. Father Pio did not apply for United States citizenship immediately, perhaps because of the possibility of complications stemming from his draft status, but in due time he received a placemat-sized certificate of American citizenship. Pietro Dotto retained his Italian citizenship during his years in the Brazilian mission field, but soon after retiring to the United States he made his declaration of intention; although he lived another thirteen years perhaps, he already thought of the United States as his final home.

Father Gambera took the opposite view:

⁶⁹⁵ CMS No. 049, Box 1, Miscellaneous Documents.

⁶⁹⁶ Antonio Bove, *Controversia circa il Proselitismo fra i Cattolici Italiani di Providence, R. I.* (Rome: Tip. del "Roma e Provincia," 1911), copy in CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 53; Gambera, 201-209, 213-218.

⁶⁹⁷ Marchegiani to Rossi, Boston, March 4, 1932, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1932 folder.

The land where I was born, grew up, educated and consecrated, where school and tradition, sun and air, have put together and formed my body, my mind, my spirit, and my character, where my siblings and my parents have been laid to rest — it is not enough for me to remember it with gratitude and with love, but I feel it is my duty, if there were the need to protect it and defend it, and therefore the oath to another flag signifies a national betrayal for me. [Gambera was 72 at the time, an unlikely candidate for active duty.]

With the gratitude of a grateful guest, I respect, venerate, and honor the Star-Spangled Banner under which I have received kind and generous hospitality, but I cannot — and no one should expect me to — swear a false oath opposed to my national flag, which cannot help but shine more brightly and dearly in my memory and in my heart.⁶⁹⁸

Father Demo also retained his Italian citizenship, although the reasons why do not survive. He did not always celebrate American patriotic holidays: "Today, the anniversary day of the famous independence of the United States I gather myself in the silence of my room dreaming thoughts of Italy. . . ."⁶⁹⁹ He took interest in (and pride in) Mussolini. On the other hand, when it was convenient for him to turn a visit to Italy into a permanent retirement, he did what his superiors wished he would not do and returned not only to the United States but to the Greenwich Village he knew so well.

In keeping with his focus on Italy, Bishop Scalabrini thought his missionaries would return there after their terms of service. At first, when individuals made five-year commitments, they could leave the institute, return to their hometowns, and pick up their lives where they had left them off. When the Scalabrinians shifted to perpetual vows, the institute needed to consider the care of the ill and aged members. The earliest of these retired to the motherhouse in Piacenza. When the Scalabrinians built a Casa Generale in Rome, they could accommodate some retirees and invalids there, but the house was really designed as a residence for administrators rather than for full community life. The Scalabrinians also maintained a senior citizens' home at Crespano, Treviso, Veneto, but that did not appeal to everyone. Father Gambera agreed the landscape was beautiful, "But it is in a lonely place, away from every convenient connection and without comforts, especially in the wintertime, and it is almost always left in the greatest squalor. No elderly missionary can appreciate living there."⁷⁰⁰

Some missionaries did retire to Italy, sometimes asking for dispensations from their oaths of perseverance to live again with their families or in their hometowns. Those Scalabrinians who remained in the United States underwent career reversals. From the peaks of responsibility as pastors they assumed less and less work. They moved from pastors to chaplains, in which case they retained the status of working independently without the burden of administrative duties. When the chaplaincies grew burdensome, they became residents in parishes, being excused from the more laborious chores but still available to celebrate the sacraments. The first pastor to work out such an arrangement and leave a record of it was Vittorio Oregon, who accepted the elderly and infirm Oreste Alussi as an assistant in 1916.

⁶⁹⁸ Gambera, 211.

⁶⁹⁹ "Demo to Chenuil, New York, July 4, 1924, CMS No. 037, Box 1, folder 58.

⁷⁰⁰ Gambera, 229.

The Scalabrinian constitution provided that whenever a member died the rest of the community said at least two masses for the repose of the deceased. Deceased Scalabrinians' remains were buried in Scalabrinian-owned plots or in local cemeteries: Chicago Scalabrinians, for example, went to Queen of Heaven cemetery. Disposing of deceased members' possessions was more problematic. Usually, institutes whose members take vows of poverty have those members write out wills leaving everything to their institutes. The Scalabrinians do not seem to have always done this. The institute claimed money and similar property. More personal possessions went to the departed Scalabrinians' families. In the early years, when many Scalabrinians had short stays with the institute, the Scalabrinian leadership did not always have family names and addresses available. When Francesco Morassi died unexpectedly while on what was supposed to be a short stay in Italy, the Scalabrinians sent his personal effects to the Neapolitan consulate in Washington, hoping they would know how to get in touch with Morassi's relatives.⁷⁰¹

In order to determine how Scalabrinians fared in the United States, one has to use different standards than those usually applied to lay migrants. Most lay migrants came to the United States to better their economic condition. The Scalabrinians did not officially come for this reason, though some of them, such as Father Pio, moved from a hungry childhood to old age in a nursing home with every modern convenience. The Scalabrinians came in response to a divine call and divine judgment mattered more than personal opinion. Fortunately, not all of them could quite abandon their personal preferences. Unfortunately, their writings point to no consensus.

Father Gambera, for example, was clearly unhappy. His sacrifices had not been rewarded. The institute failed to provide sufficiently for his illness and old age and even forced him out of Italy and back to the mission field. That mission field had not necessarily benefited from his ministrations: the American-born and raised Italians seemed more attracted by American sin than by Italian Christian civilization.

Arnaldo Vanoli, did not leave an extended memoir. However, some sense of how he evaluated his life and mission can be had from this request:

I am old, tired, and no longer suitable for the office and responsibility of pastor. I want to work and will be able to work to the end, but in second place, as an assistant . . . All my time is past. The real emigrants, for whom I cared, no longer exist. The new generation is American and calls for assistance and activities which my old self cannot physically provide. Let a young leader take this responsibility. A changing of the guard will not do harm and at the same time is necessary. . . I ask only one favor: do not send me to Italy, but let me die in this land and in the field in which I have worked and sacrificed the major part of the years of my life as priest and as missionary.⁷⁰²

While not all Scalabrinians felt as Father Vanoli did, they were all touched by the same forces. In different ways and to different degrees, without realizing it, they had changed. Bishop Scalabrini had envisioned missionaries who brought the homeland to the migrants. Instead, the Scalabrinians truly cast their lot with those they served and

⁷⁰¹ Vicentini to Demo, Rome, January 8, 1912, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1912.

⁷⁰² Vanoli to Father Superior, Boston, October 9, 1948, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vanoli folder.

became migrants themselves, becoming leaders in the Little Italies of the U.S. Northeast and Midwest. The next chapter takes up the process of forming these distinctive Italian-American communities, and the priests' role within them.



8

The Network of Community Life

Historians have developed two major, and contradictory, images of Italian-American Catholicism as it was practiced in national parishes in the United States before 1935. One is the image of the parish as center of the community, protector against anti-Italian and anti-Catholic currents in the larger society and defender of family, ethnic and religious values. The second is the image of Italians as apathetic and indifferent toward official Catholicism. Sometimes both images even appear together. Giacomo Gambera, trying to describe the many Little Italies in which he had served as pastor, noted both that "The most sacred institution, the most revered monument for our emigrants abroad, is the Church" and that certain people paid no attention to it.⁷⁰³

How to reconcile these two images? One way is to further complicate the issue and introduce another image, that of a network of community institutions, of which the Italian parish was one element. Considering the parish as part of a network introduces the idea of historical change over time: the parish had to become an element in the network by asserting itself as an important part of community life. This chapter develops this image of the parish as an element in a network, with particular attention to the priests' role in maintaining the parish position, viewing the pastor as an ethnic leader akin to those whom Victor Greene has studied.⁷⁰⁴ In the Scalabrinians' case, the priests ensured the survival of the institute's mission and their own parishes by accomplishing three tasks. They negotiated with other community institutions: families, mutual benefit societies, local businesses, and lay leaders. They developed popular support for the parish. They represented Italian Catholicism within the neighborhoods and sees in which the parishes were located.

The Scalabrinians were newcomers in U.S. Little Italies. New York City had an Italian community since the 1850s; the Scalabrinians arrived in the city in 1887.⁷⁰⁵ Similarly,

⁷⁰³ Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 89.

⁷⁰⁴ Victor R. Greene, *American Immigrant Leaders, 1800-1910: Marginality and Identity* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987); Mark K. Bauman and Arnold Shankman, "The Rabbi as Ethnic Broker: The Case of David Marx," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 11:2 (Spring 1983), 51-68; Jonathan D. Sarna, "The Spectrum of Jewish Leadership in Ante-Bellum America," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 1:2 (Spring 1982), 59-67.

⁷⁰⁵ Howard R. Marraro, "New York in the Eighteen-Fifties," *New York History* XXX (1949), 181-203, 26-303.

Boston had an Italian community prior to Scalabrinian arrival. When the Scalabrinians came to their mission field, they found other community institutions already established. Their first step in making the parish a part of the system was to negotiate a role for it among existing institutions. The Scalabrinians began by forging links between the parish and the family. Every time the priests identified a new family need and provided a new family service, they made the parish more important in family, and community, life.

The family's first need was for prayer. Many things could happen over which the family had no control but which threatened it: unemployment, illness, death, a war that stranded relatives in Italy and sent sons into military service, an earthquake in Messina, a economic depression in the United States. Problems with no earthly remedy sent Italian families—usually Italian mothers—to church to do what they could: light candles, say the rosary, make a novena, or petition the Madonna or a patron saint for help. Italian parishes had saints' statues and they sponsored sodalities, whose members could add their prayers to those of the troubled family. This sort of parish support for family life is largely lost from the documentary records, but Antonio Demo did save letters indicating it was an important service to his parishioners at Our Lady of Pompei in New York City.⁷⁰⁶

Parishes provided settings for solemnizing rites of passage and celebrating family life. Catholicism had its seven sacraments — baptism, absolution, the eucharist, confirmation, ordination, marriage, and the anointing of the sick — and families built on these. Not all sacraments were suitable for family rituals. Absolution was an intensely private affair in which penitents confessed their sins behind closed doors to priests concealed behind screens. Few families had the occasion to celebrate an ordination, and even families that did have someone enter the priesthood could not really celebrate ordination as a family event. Usually, Holy Orders was conferred near where the priest received training, and the big family event was the new priest's first mass. Scalabrinian records indicate that for those ordained in Piacenza, the first mass often took place at the hometown. Neither was the anointing of the sick a family occasion. Giacomo Gambera thought the Italians actually tried to avoid the sacrament: "Many hold the superstition that the presence of the priest, and the administration of the sacraments, hastens the death."⁷⁰⁷ As Father Boutlon's letters, quoted in the previous chapter, demonstrates, some Italians died in hospitals rather than at home with families.

The other sacraments filled both Catholic and family needs, though not necessarily to everyone's liking. Baptism, for example, required godparents. Parents wanted to choose special friends but pastors wanted to be sure the friends were practicing Catholics; Vincenzo Jannuzzi at Saint Joachim's tried to require that every godparent and confirmation sponsor go to confession and receive communion before the child's

⁷⁰⁶ Mary Elizabeth Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village: Our Lady of Pompei, 1892-1992* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992), 35-36.

⁷⁰⁷ In 1949, the Scalabrinians in both U.S. provinces filled out surveys requesting basic biographical information including the places where they celebrated their first masses. These surveys are scattered throughout personnel folders in CMS No. 078, 078A and 078B and at SIB. For extreme unction, see, Gambera, 116.

reception of the sacraments. Children receiving first communion traditionally wore special clothes: new suits for boys and white dresses with veils for girls; parents sometimes complained they were too poor to afford such clothing. Marriages were the best examples of the possibility for conflict between the celebration of a Catholic sacrament and the celebration of a family event. Every so often, social workers ran across people who contracted common-law or civil marriages because they were ineligible for marriage in the Catholic Church, usually because they had a living spouse. Now and again a distraught spouse would come to the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants with the discovery that their marriage partner had another spouse back in Italy. In these cases, the second marriage could be annulled, and the priests helped with the paperwork.⁷⁰⁸

Funerals represent another example of the difference between celebrating a sacrament and marking a family event. Father Gambera complained that some of his parishioners at Sacred Heart in Boston pushed Catholicism to a marginal role at the deathbed: "They do not recite prayers, but they break out in clamorous exclamations, acting hysterically, especially the women. At the funeral, they call for musical bands, flowers, a simple blessing, to the cemetery within 24 hours, and may he rest in peace." Father Gambera much preferred his Genoan parishioners, of whom he wrote: "They request and they want the most diligent attention paid to their sick through the comfort of religious rites. They keep their deceased in the house three to six days, with the family gathering every evening to recite the entire rosary. . . . For the funeral they avoid vain outward appearances, but they want the religious ceremonies to be solemn and devout. They don't ever forget the anniversary." They, in other words, performed family rituals in ways that also benefited their parishes. It may be that this more devout behavior was more common than Father Gambera indicated. Proper burial of the dead was sufficiently important that at least two Scalabrinian pastors, Pietro Maschi at Saint Tarcisius in Framingham, and Pio Parolin when he was at Saint Anthony's in Fredonia, got involved in providing Italian Catholic cemeteries.⁷⁰⁹

Parents used parishes to reinforce their own childrearing efforts. Several factors made childrearing more difficult in the United States than it had been in Italy. Poverty meant the parents spent their efforts raising money rather than raising children. Cultural differences between Italian-born parents and American-raised offspring turned the generation gap into a chasm. The parents needed an institution that reinforced their cultural values and they needed ways to pool their resources to provide what no one

⁷⁰⁸ Vincenzo Jannuzzi to John Murphy Farley, New York, June 21, 1916, AANY, Saint Joachim folder; Rose Riccio to Antonio Demo, New York, May 23, 1923, CMS No. 37, Box 5, folder 37; Muriel Hudnut to Demo, July 7, 1925, CMS No. 073, Box 5, folder 34. CMS No. 005 contains correspondence in which Italian priests in the United States try to obtain annulments for individuals who have discovered their spouses have other spouses back in Italy.

⁷⁰⁹ Gambera, 116; Pietro Maschi to William Henry O'Connell, Framingham, May 8, 1916, AAB, R.G., 5.3, Box 41, folder 1; Pio Parolin, "El Toso de Andrian Pedo, Pio Parolin" (undated typescript), 69-73, CMS No. 073, Box I. Autobiography folder.

family could afford alone. So, the Scalabrinians, aided by communities of sisters, offered services from the cradle to adolescence.

The first social service in many Scalabrinian parishes began with day nurseries, for several reasons. Poor families took their offspring out of school as soon as state law allowed, reducing the pool of youngsters available for parochial school. Day nurseries cost less to start than did parochial schools. The sisters caring for the youngsters did not have to speak English.⁷¹⁰

Parents also provided spiritual, social, and recreational activities for adolescents. Adolescents were viewed as what modern social workers might call an at-risk group. Immigration turned the generation gap into a chasm, making it difficult for Italian-born parents to discipline their Americanizing offspring. From a pastoral point of view, there was some concern that youths who rejected their parents' culture might reject their parents' faith. Also, the parish had need of young laborers. Parishes traditionally used young boys as acolytes and both sexes as choristers (despite a 1906 papal *motu proprio* calling for male choirs). In the United States, parishes could also use athletic teams or theatre clubs to put on events and plays to raise funds for the parish. Thus, the Scalabrinians, who had come to help the Italians preserve their culture, began to bend, and the immigrants found the introduction of American youth services more useful to family life than the preservation of a completely Italian culture.⁷¹¹

The most expensive and complex social service parishes could provide families was a parochial school. There was some episcopal pressure to open parochial schools as well, not only from Bishop Scalabrini, who wanted to make bilingual schooling available to the Italians, but also from local ordinaries obliged to follow the directives of the 1884 Third Plenary Council and interested in protecting Catholic youth from proselytization and secularization. The result was that there was not always a correlation between parochial financial status and the building of a parish school. Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago started with a combination church-school, opening the church in 1911 and the school in 1912.⁷¹² Other parishes waited until the prosperous 1920s. Still others waited for the depressed interest rates, wages, and construction costs of the 1930s.

Parents, particularly mothers, also used their parishes as starting points in the search for social services. Father Demo preserved correspondence indicating the variety of needs poor families had. Those who had just arrived in the United States could not send illegitimately pregnant daughters to visit relatives until the crisis had passed; the young women went to the infant asylum, and their newborns stayed there. Orphanages tended not just children who lost both parents but children whose parents could not keep them at home. Delinquents, invalids, the handicapped, the elderly—all could be referred to special-care institutions if the Italian immigrants could just find out where those institutions were. Father Demo familiarized himself with such institutions and acted as a

⁷¹⁰ Brown, *From Italian Villages*, 47-49; Gambera, 151-153.

⁷¹¹ Caroline Ware, *Greenwich Village, 1920-1930: A Comment on American Civilization in the Post-War Years* (New York: Houghton-Mifflin, 1935; reprint, New York: Harper, 1965), 316.

⁷¹² *Our Lady of Pompei Sixth-Fifth Anniversary, 1911-1976* (n.p., n.d.).

kind of intake social workers, referring parishioners to appropriate sources of help.⁷¹³ By providing opportunities to pray, to celebrate family events, to meet childcare needs, and to discover other sources of support, parishes established a relationship with families, a first step in building support for the parish itself.

The priests' work occasionally brought them into contact with what contemporary social workers might call dysfunctional or abusive families. The Scalabrinians had no concept of dysfunction and did not recognize patterns of abuse. There is some evidence that some of them knew there were tensions within families and that they tried to address them. Father Demo preserved one intriguing example in a carbon copy of a letter he sent to a young woman who had run away from home to join the theater. Although he assured her that her family missed her he also added a line that indicated she had faced some problems somewhere: "If you have any difficult[ies] they can be removed easily, for you may also count upon me for help."⁷¹⁴ The imagination easily conjures up the most common scenario: a growing girl whose parents reacted to her interest in the theater with alarm, which only reinforced her efforts to pursue it.

In one case, the lack of knowledge concerning how troubled families operate placed someone's life in danger. The situation began when an adolescent, Antonio Rodriguez, took to attending mass and even volunteered to teach Sunday school. At some point, he confided to the priests that he feared his father. For his part, his father criticized Antonio for wasting him time on religious activities rather than putting in more hours at work and bringing home more money for the family. He blamed the Scalabrinians for leading his son astray. On December 28, 1914, he came looking for them, armed with the sharp knife of his cobbler's trade. He approached the rectory just as assistant Flaminio Parenti was climbing up the steps after saying mass. Mr. Rodriguez came up behind the priest, demanding to know where his son was. Father Parenti turned and started to make a pacifying gesture, which soon turned into a protective one; Mr. Rodriguez slashed him across the face with his leather-cutting knife. Father Parenti staggered back and Rodriguez tried to escape but ran into a police officer instead.⁷¹⁵ Father Parenti did recover and went on to a long and useful career. It is not known what happened to the family.

The Scalabrinians forged connections between their parishioners and a second set of community institutions, mutual benefit societies. There were three forms of linkage between these two institutions. In the earliest form, the mutual benefit society was established in a particular community prior to the parish and remained independent of it. Chapter five recounted how Felice Morelli developed mutually beneficial relations with mutual benefit societies: Saint Joachim's housed statues of patron saints, hosted the annual feast day mass and said mass for deceased members, and societies contributed to parish support. Other parishes had similar arrangements: in 1919 Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago listed 29 societies celebrating annual feast days at the parish.⁷¹⁶

⁷¹³ Brown, *From Italian Villages*, 64-66.

⁷¹⁴ Demo to Providenza, New York, circa January 14, 1919, CMS No. 37, Box 3, folder 23.

⁷¹⁵ CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Parents folder has clippings.

⁷¹⁶ SJB, Box 30, folder Aa.

However, such arrangements could become contentious, as they did at Saint Joachim's, in which case the parish suffered a loss in income and in its role as a community institutions. Most pastors tried to subordinate mutual benefit societies to the parish. This could be done through a second form of parish-society relationships, in which the two became one. Societies formed to honor Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Melrose Park or Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago predated those parishes, but Beniamino Franch at Mount Carmel and a number of Scalabrinians at Santa Maria Incoronata worked to identify the devotion with the parish. Both parishes set up shrines for statues within the church, served as terminal points for processions and hosted feast day masses. Incoronata was also the site for an elaborate ceremony placing crowns on the heads of the statues of the Madonna and Infant Jesus. The parish setting and Scalabrinian personnel became so essential to the devotion that they, rather than the mutual benefit society, became identified as preservers of Italian tradition.⁷¹⁷

A third technique was to try to eliminate mutual benefit societies altogether and replace them with sodalities. Father Gambera favored this approach. He complained that societies at Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago pocketed the money made during processions: "They offered nothing to the parish, but only the usual offerings for the mass and sermon. It was a speculative administration of a committee which neither the society nor the pastor could control." His successor as pastor of Addolorata, Domenico Canestrini, recognized only those societies he could control and warned his parishioners against other societies not really affiliated with the parish.⁷¹⁸

Some priests tried to forbid mutual benefit activities that challenged the parish's preeminence in community religious life, but such prohibitions ran the risk of provoking confrontations. Sicilians in Buffalo in 1911 rose up against the Scalabrinians of Saint Anthony of Padua when they would not let them celebrate their saints' days in the traditional manner. Some priests ran this risk and by consistent policy and sheer force of will succeeded. Father Demo did not permit southern Italian feast day celebrations at Our Lady of Pompei; parishioners who were interested in such devotions found them in other New York City parishes.⁷¹⁹

The larger American society reinforced the connection between mutual benefit societies and parishes. In the eyes of municipal officials, feast day processions were parades requiring permits. Regulations varied by state and city. In New York City, any organization could apply for a permit, but it must have added weight when the pastor wrote on behalf of parishioners. In Rhode Island, too, anyone could apply for a permit, and in Bristol the Our lady of Mount Carmel Society secured one for its annual celebration. But when the pastor of the parish with the same name announced that the society was not connected with the parish and The Providence Journal publicized the

⁷¹⁷ *Eightieth Anniversary of Our Lady of Mount Carmel Church, Melrose Park, Illinois* (Chicago: C.D. Stampley, 1975); Michael Rubino, *Ave Maria! History of the Devotion to Our Blessed Mother under the Title of Maria SS. Incoronata di Ricigliano* (Chicago: Santa Maria Incoronata, 1979), 8-13.

⁷¹⁸ *Santa Maria Addolorata Parish Fiftieth Anniversary, 1903-1953* (Chicago, 1953).

⁷¹⁹ Lino Merlo to Demo, Buffalo, August 2, 1911, CMS No. 37, Box 7, folder 69; Ware, 313. Demo is identified in Ware as the Italian priest who had been in the Village the longest.

announcement, three toughs from the mutual benefit society came to the Journal office in Bristol and roughed up the manager, angry at the publicity about the lack of parish support.⁷²⁰

Another category of community institutions with which parishes interacted were local businesses. The personal connections were between the pastors and the business owners, who were usually men. Much has been made of male Italian migrant apathy or hostility to Catholicism; however, a small but significant group of men found identification with the Church useful. The Italian term for such men is *prominenti*, literally "prominent ones", a word which in the United States sometimes carries an element of sarcasm, as if one were saying "big shot." Perhaps the sarcasm existed because the men's power though limited, was real enough. The *prominenti* were the entrepreneurs in positions to do things for other people, as Victor Greene has documented in the case of Luigi Fugazy, a Greenwich Village entrepreneur who also took a leadership role in forming community institutions, including signing the incorporation papers for Our Lady of Pompei.⁷²¹

Far from being aloof or hostile, *prominenti* took visible roles in their parishes. Some were ushers. In the archdioceses of Boston and New York, and probably in other places, ushers stood at the doors to collect seat money. Ushers everywhere took up collections during mass. In an era when it was common for sodalities to sit together at least for monthly communion, ushers actually did usher people to appropriate pews. In parishes which had special children's sermons, ushers shepherded the youngsters to and from the room for that sermon. Pastors cultivated usher morale and contributed to the men's status as community leaders. Father Demo issued ushers special badges, pins in the shape of Celtic crosses with the Italian for their work, *collettore* in the center. The men in turn protected their positions as visible contributors to their communities. When one usher was reassigned after fourteen years of tending Our lady of Pompei's 9:30 a.m. children's mass, he wrote Father Demo to explain that he thought the head usher was overstepping his prerogatives in doing so, especially given that it was the cleat he felt, that the ushers at 9:30 maintained better order under more difficult conditions than the ushers at other masses.⁷²²

Trustees were less visible and their influence varied by state. In Rhode Island, New York and some other states, the law required that a parish board of trustees, including two laymen, transact legal business. This made the position of trustee sufficiently desirable that at Saint Bartholomew in Silver Lake the pastor received death threats when he refused to fire the trustees and replaced them with more acceptable ones. Where state law required trustees, pastors accorded them public recognition, most commonly by

⁷²⁰ Acting Pastor [Pasquale Mastropietro?] to Police Headquarter, New York, June 24, 1919, CMS No. 35, Box 1, General Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents-1919 folder; clippings from The Providence Journal, July 19, 20, 21, 1948, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Sorzana folder.

⁷²¹ Greene, 126-128.

⁷²² J. A. Ginocchi to Demo, New York, April 9, 1921, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Ginocchi folder.

mentioning their names in parish annual reports and histories. When trustee Luigi Ruffo of Saint Anthony of Padua in Buffalo died in a trolley accident while on his way to work, pastor Angelo Luigi Strazzoni announced his death not only in the parish but among his colleagues and arranged for a public funeral so parishioners could honor their leader.⁷²³

Local entrepreneurs forged less official ties to the local parish. In some ways, the parish was a small business itself. It bought goods and services, it sold advertising in its bulletins and fundraising programs, and it provided ways for businesses to present themselves as good neighbors by contributing to the parish. Practically any parish history with sponsored pages or advertising will suggest the connection.⁷²⁴ Private correspondence suggests still more ties. In Everett, Massachusetts, one undertaker complained to William Cardinal O'Connell that Saint Anthony's assistant favored the town's other undertaker and steered all the business that way.⁷²⁵ When Nazareno Properzi was trying to build a church basement at Saint Anthony's in Somerville, Massachusetts, he reported to the chancery that he had got a bid from a Signor Locatelli.⁷²⁶ The chancery thought the bid was rather low, and Father Properzi provided an additional explanation: Signor Locatelli was a parishioner and was donating part of the cost of construction to the parish.⁷²⁷ Delighted chancery officials wrote back that "His Eminence says he hopes that you will find more men like Signor Locatelli."⁷²⁸ One can imagine that if the chancery heard from another parish needing a contractor, it might remember the entrepreneur in Somerville. (Or perhaps not. In the first rainstorm, Saint Anthony's basement leaked like a sieve.)

There was one other neighborhood institution which bears mention. Connections between Catholicism and organized crime have been the subject of fictional treatment, as in the Godfather movies, so it might be worthwhile to see what the written records reveal. Early twentieth-century Scalabrinians used the word mafia when they wrote to each other about crime in their parishes. Father Gambera, who knew the New Orleans situation, described mafiosi as people who came to the United States to get rich by using age-old tactics of extorting others, and then competed with each other, violently, for control of the extortion racket of a certain city.⁷²⁹ Although Scalabrinians linked mafia activities back to Italy, they did not link activities in different U.S. cities; for them, the mafia described the criminal element of a particular place. Criminal organizations were not so

⁷²³ "Minacce Contro un Parroco Italiano," n.p., July 15, 1919, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Demo-Father Cangiano folder; untitled clipping from *L'Italiano in America*, New York, July 27, 1919, CMS No. 022, Box 1, Documentation-1909-1925 folder; Angelo Luigi Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, January 22, 1913, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters-1913-1914 folder.

⁷²⁴ Brown, *From Italian Villages*, 48, 86.

⁷²⁵ Fred Cafaso to O'Connell, Everett, October 24, 1932, AAB, R.G., 5.3, Box 40, folder 1.

⁷²⁶ Nazareno Properzi to O'Connell, Somerville, October 17, 1916, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 70, folder 14.

⁷²⁷ R. J. Haberlin to Properzi, Boston, October 8, 1916, and Properzi to Haberlin, Somerville, October 19, 1916, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 70, folder 14.

⁷²⁸ Haberlin to Properzi, Boston, October 20, 1916, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 70, folder 14.

⁷²⁹ Gambera, 83.

secretive that the priests could not evaluate them and determine how seriously to take them. Some priests took them very seriously; one left his assignment "extremely prostrated by nerves and a little affected with fear of persecution, he's afraid he's displeased the mafia with his preaching."⁷³⁰ In other places, criminals seemed less organized and threatening. Giuseppe Formia of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica even described his relations thus: "I believe that all my trouble from the Black Hand from here is a little priestly work; here there is much misery."⁷³¹ "A little priestly work" was an Italian colloquialism for charity; the implication was it was almost an act of charity to give to extortion rackets because their members were so poor. Criminal organizations operating out of Italian neighborhoods would become a greater problem during Prohibition in the 1920s.

The pastor's task was to make parishes not just adjuncts to families, mutual benefit societies and entrepreneurs, but institutions of importance in their own right. Catholic teaching held that Catholics ought to take interest in their parishes, which, through Scripture and the sacraments, provided their most direct contact with Jesus Christ. In the Catholic laity's experience, though, there was a plethora of private devotions, and Italians were accused of having more than their share. The second step in making the parish a permanent part of the network of community life was to foster loyalty to it for its own sake, rather than for what it could do for another institution. The two methods priests used were preaching and fundraising.

Few early Scalabrinian sermons survive. The largest and most varied collection is that of Ludovico Toma. His collection is haphazard; there are panegyrics preached between 1908 and 1911, undated sermons, and short messages delivered from the pulpit during World War II and the 1950s. There is no way of knowing how typical Father Toma was, though there are some sermons from other preachers that permit comparisons on specific issues.

In order to understand the sermons, one has to understand how Scalabrinians viewed their congregations. Scalabrinian missionaries who described their parishioners tended to stress two concepts. First, their parishioners had some natural goodness, and the word natural is important here; they were nice people, moral people who worked hard and were faithful and fruitful in their marriages, but those were virtues preached by natural law and supposedly available to all, not just those touched by Christianity. When it came to Christianity, the Scalabrinians' parishioners were simple at best and ignorant at worst, enthusiastic about patronal feast days, negligent of what the priests considered more important practices, and ignorant of Catholic teaching.⁷³²

Priests who thought their parishioners deficient might take every opportunity to impart orthodox Catholic teaching, and there is some evidence for that. When the

⁷³⁰ Domenico Vicentini to Demo, Piacenza, May 31, 1912, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1912 folder.

⁷³¹ Giuseppe Formia to Demo, Utica, July 20, 1905 [could be 1908], CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Formia folder. Lydio F. Tomasi provided the translation.

⁷³² Peter R. D'Agostino, "Missionaries in Babylon: the Adaptation of Italian Priests to Chicago's Church, 1870-1940" (Ph.D., The University of Chicago Divinity School, 1993), 300-301.

parishioners at Sacred Heart in Boston gathered to mourn seven of their number burnt to death in their tenement home by an arsonist, newspapers described the pastor's effort to make the tragedy an object lesson for catechesis:

They had no opportunity, he said, to have themselves prepared by a priest of their church to meet their Maker, but he had no doubt that in the few moments they had before death came, they lifted their eyes to heaven and prayed for forgiveness for all their earthly follies and then he warned his hearers to be warned by the fate of the nine people [including two non-parishioners] who died in the fire, and to be always ready to go before their Creator.⁷³³

Father Toma's sermons indicate he took another approach. In a sense, Father Toma negotiated with his hearers. Through choice of topic and through the use of various public-speaking devices he met popular expectations and conveyed his understanding of Catholicism as well.

Father Toma's topics represented one example of meeting priests' and people's expectations. The people liked panegyrics; in fact, mutual benefit societies paid priests to preach them on patronal feast days. Father Toma met the local demand, and among his papers are sermons on Saint Rocco, Saint Paolino di Nola, Saint Eduardo, Saint Anthony of Padua (in Italian and English), Saint Stephen, Our Lady of Good Counsel and "Maria SS. della Sacra Lettera di Messina." (There is also a panegyric for Saint Charles Borromeo, which was probably for a Scalabrinian celebration rather than for a lay congregation.) The panegyrics are mostly biographies of the saints in question, making special mention of any miracles associated with them.⁷³⁴ Another priest's sermons show how preachers could use panegyrics to preach on subjects closer to their own interests. Father Gambera preserved a series of sermons on Saint Joseph, probably delivered during a novena leading to the saint's feast day. He did try to entertain his congregation with descriptions of exciting scenes from Saint Joseph's life (the visit from the angel announcing Mary's pregnancy and Jesus's name, the flight to Egypt), but he also used the saint as a model for his hearers to follow, with sermons on Saint Joseph as the ideal of the faithful soul, Saint Joseph as the exemplary head of a Christian family, Saint Joseph as the model worker, and Saint Joseph as the prototype for how to prepare for a happy death.⁷³⁵

Father Toma had another category of sermons on feast days and devotions common to Catholics of various ethnic groups. Throughout the calendar year he preached on the Epiphany, Palm Sunday, the Assumption, All Souls' Day, the Immaculate Conception, and Christmas. On the first Friday of each month, he preached on the Sacred Heart, and every May he preached on Marian devotions. Sermons on feast days and at paraliturgical devotions met several needs. They addressed popular interest in the special events of Catholicism. They honored pious practices and, indirectly, the laity who maintained them. They pulled Italians toward the mainstream of American Catholicism: devotion to the Sacred Heart was more widespread in the United States than devotion to Saint Rocco. They drew the laity closer to official Catholic teaching: the Blessed Mother was a popular

⁷³³ Clipping from *The Boston Herald*, n.d., CMS No. 062, Box 1, Newspaper Clippings folder.

⁷³⁴ CMS No. 043, Box 1, Sermons. Each sermon has its own folder but all folders are labelled "Sermon."

⁷³⁵ CMS No. 069, Box 1, book titled, "Che cosa è la Chiesa?"

topic for devotion, and teaching about her immaculate conception a part of official doctrine.

A third category of sermons expounded on Scriptural themes. Father Toma saved three of these, on Matthew 18:6 (*Whoever causes one of these little ones who believe in me to sin, it would be better for him to have a great millstone hung around his neck and to be drowned in the depths of the sea*) 2 Corinthians 6:2 (*Behold, now is a very acceptable time; behold, now is the day of salvation*) and Matthew 20:1-16 (the parable of the laborers who each received the same amount of pay regardless of the number of hours worked). These were probably Sunday sermons; in keeping with the style of the time Father Toma began by giving the verse on which he wished to preach in Italian, his congregation having just heard the verse as part of a longer Latin reading. The one on Matthew 20:1-16 is a particularly good example of preaching designed to place parish and priest ahead of home shrines and saints' statues. In Father Toma's analogy, the vineyard in the parable becomes the Catholic Church. The workers were the laity, who obeyed the laws given them by the clergy, in order that they all might receive the reward of eternal life.

A final category consisted of doctrinal sermons. Father Toma's collection has sermons on "the religion of Christ is the religion of love," universal judgement, spiritual exercises, the importance of eternal salvation, obligations of the living to the dead, God's mercy toward sinners, and lust. Some of these may have been part of a series preached at a mission and since fallen out of order; Father Gambera preserved intact his series of mission sermons, some of which have the same titles. Others may have been for feast days; the obligations of the living toward the dead is appropriate for All Souls' Day. Some, though, were probably for Sunday sermons but not on specific Gospel verses. When preaching sermons on such abstract topics, Father Toma had to make special efforts to reformulate the abstract ideas for a congregation used to specifics: devotional rituals, bible events, the biographies of the saints. His sermon on temptation is a good example of how he did this.

Father Toma started with a statement suitable for a catechism: "Temptation is not of itself an evil, but a fruitful occasion of merit, inasmuch as it purifies the soul by sufferings and gives it the opportunity to manifest its love." He then launched into biblical support, which, if the people did not read for themselves, they might have heard in a Sunday sermon or on Ash Wednesday. Jesus, he reminded his audience, was tempted in the desert, but did not sin. On the other hand, Adam and Eve were tempted in the Garden of Eden, and they did sin. Having demonstrated the difference of the effects of temptation on the God-Man Jesus and the merely human Adam and Eve, Father Toma moved on to practical advice for his human listeners. Rather than suggest a powerful patron saint to protect them from temptation, he advocated humility and prayer to God. He did bring in a saint at the end. In case anyone had not understood the advice, he presented the example of Saint Anthony (not of Padua), whom Satan tempted for 35 years but who resisted because, even though he did not know it, Jesus saw him from heaven and strengthened him. Throughout the homily, Father Toma cast his net wider and wider, first reaching those who were well educated in official Church teaching and then reiterating his point through an example from the lives of the saints that even the least educated would have heard.

Father Toma varied his technique to suit his audience, as his first communion sermon shows. This was a short sermon, only four pages handwritten on 5"x8 1/2" sheets of paper. The message was extremely simple: God has forgiven the youngsters' sins and is about to give them graces and blessings through the eucharist. To make sure the children understood this, he had them say the words themselves, reciting a pledge: "Oh Lord, we promise thee that we shall ever by thy loving children[.] No more sins...."

Through such catechesis preachers augmented existing Catholic pious practices with those centered on the parish church. Week by week, feast day by feast day, special occasion by special occasion, the priests presented themselves as replacements for the wisdom conveyed through lay devotions, and Scripture and the sacraments as preferable to lay practices.

Pastors also heeded the scriptural advice in Matthew 6:31, "for wherever your treasure is, there your heart will be too." Through fundraisers they attracted treasure and through construction they displayed it, so that over time the parish church replaced the homeland as the sacred place. As with the sermons, few complete sets of financial reports survive. Two are presented in Table 8.1 to facilitate discussion. They were chosen because they happened to be from the same year, thus controlling one variable. As it turns out, they are from two parishes with roughly the same size budgets, although in two different places: Saint Anthony of Padua in the medium-sized city of Buffalo and Holy Guardian Angel in the metropolis of Chicago.

The income each parish listed may be divided into three types: collections for the parish, devotional, and social activities and sales, and collections for nonparochial causes. (In both parishes, investment income was so small as to be negligible.) Collections for nonparochial causes were collections parishes took up for charities outside the parish. Guardian Angel provides the most complete list of the two. Some are Catholic organizations: Propaganda, the annual collection for maintenance of sacred places in the Holy Land, the yearly Peter's pence for the support of the Holy Father and Catholic Associated Charities, the Archdiocese of Chicago's umbrella fundraising organization. Others reflected the needs of the world in 1920, two years after World War I ended: Italian war orphans and the suffering children of Europe are mentioned.

The nonparochial charities collections also indicates something about the parishioners' giving habits. Charity began, and also nearly ended, at home. The Italians were a little more interested in ethnic charities, giving \$93 to the victims of an earthquake in Emilia. They did not support other Chicago charities, as their total for Holy Rosary shows. Similarly, Saint Anthony gave \$200 to Father Giovanni Semeia's orphanage, a variation of Guardian Angel's Italian war orphans collection, but only \$50 for the diocesan collection. Other evidence reinforces the notion that the Italians were most generous with ethnic charities, especially where earthquakes were concerned. In 1908, an earthquake nearly leveled Calabria and Messina; the Chicago Scalabrinian almost immediately raised 7,278 lire through special collections, door-to-door subscription campaigns, and entertainments. Riccardo Lorenzoni of Santa Maria Incoronata had a funeral mass for the earthquake victims at which he took up a collection and raised \$50. So many people tried to attend the memorial at Saint Anthony's in Buffalo that Angelo

TABLE 8.1
INCOME AT SAINT ANTHONY OF PADUA, BUFFALO, AND HOLY GUARDIAN, CHICAGO,
BY SOURCE, DOLLARS AND SELECTED PERCENTAGE, 1920

Item	Saint Anthony of Padua		Holy Guardian Angel	
	\$	%	\$	%
Collections for Nonparochial Causes				
Italian War Orphans ¹	200.00		257.00	
Diocesan Collections ²	50.00		272.25	
Propaganda			9,325.00	
Holy Land			6.05	
Peter's Pence			103.74	
Earthquake			93.00	
Suffering Children of Central Europe			35.00	
Holy Rosary College			25.00	
Collections for the Parish				
Pew Rent ³	1,445.05	9.19	2,220.03	13.27
Collection Plate	4,522.48	28.02	3,806.55	22.76
Easter	301.65	1.86	609.01	3.64
Christmas			737.36	4.40
Monthly	761.45	4.71		
Coal	656.37	4.06		
Total	7,687.00	47.84	7,372.95	44.07
Devotional and Social Activities and Sales				
Candles	4,869.53	30.17	5,658.11	33.83
Electric Light	529.50	3.28	1,525.30	9.12
Church Raffle	211.00	1.30	155.15	0.92
Sale of Religious Objects	710.85	4.40	561.25	3.35
Contributions through Sodalities	922.18	5.71	72.00	0.43
Hall Rent			60.00	0.35
Organ Recital			460.00	2.75
Banquet			200.00	1.19
School Raffle			320.00	1.91
Tuition			337.81	2.02
Mission	469.59	2.90		
Votive Offering for Church and School	585.61	3.62		
Confirmation Collection	154.80	0.95		
Total	8,453.06	52.33	9,349.62	55.87
Grand Total	16,140.06		16,722.57	

¹Saint Anthony took up its collection for Padre Semeria, who ran an Italian war orphans' home; Holy Guardian Angel took up a collection for Italian war orphans generally.

²Saint Anthony titled its collection the diocesan collection; Holy Guardian specifically listed the Archdiocese of Chicago's Catholic Charities fund.

³Saint Anthony's pew rent actually included rental of other parish facilities.

Luigi Strazzoni called the police to maintain order. Between the funeral collection and other events, Father Strazzoni counted \$325 raised for the earthquake victims.⁷³⁶

Collections for the parish were those that stayed at the parish. Pew rentals are included in this figure for Guardian Angel because pew rent brought the lessee only a seat at Sunday mass; it was not quite the same as something payees would have purchased elsewhere or under other circumstances if they could not get it at their parish church. Other evidence suggests income from pew rental was particularly disappointing. Italians disliked paying it; Italy had nothing like it and the migrants complained about having to purchase a seat in church as though for a theater. They also showed their disapproval through their small payments. Guardian Angel received only 9.92 percent of its income from pew rents. In 1935 pew rents and the sale of religious objects accounted for \$7.95, or .12 percent, of the \$6,477.50 income at Holy Rosary in Kansas City.⁷³⁷

In neither parish did contributions cover expenses. Guardian Angel's parish collections accounted for 44.07 percent of the parish total for the year. Similarly, Saint Anthony's collections, Christmas and Easter collections, monthly collections, the collection to pay the church debt, the collection taken up at confirmation and the votive offerings for church and school totaled 47.84 percent of the parish income. The Italians at Guardian Angel and Saint Anthony had developed commitments to their parishes insufficient to cover those parishes' needs. For the rest, the priests had to earn income by directing the money parishioners spent on personal devotion and entertainment to parish benefit.

Candles were the best example of earned income. Had not the opportunity to light votive candles and pray for a personal intention been available at their own parishes, the Italians would have made other arrangements, for the lighting of candles had great significance for them. By making candles available, Italian parishes assured themselves of some income. It cost Guardian Angel \$1,919.50 to buy candles to keep on stands before saints' statues, available to light. From this expenditure, the parish netted \$3,738.61, more than any other single source except collections. Saint Anthony spent \$1,851.66 on candles, netting, \$3,017.87, again, the second-largest source of income after weekly collections.

Some priests were well aware of how important candles were to their income and tried to protect their market. One laywoman wrote to provincial superior Demo incensed at a priest who had mounted the pulpit to make insinuating remarks about devotees who brought in their own candles to place before the saints' statues, thus depriving the parish of income. Some priests managed to resist the temptation of easy cash. Caroline E Ware, a scholar who knew him, commented that Father Demo seldom urged his people to light candles. The young Italian Americans at Pompei regarded candles as an Old-World custom. They avoided it, and he was afraid they might avoid churches where it was

⁷³⁶ "Collette per le vittime del Terremoto," CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1908 folder; Riccardo Lorenzoni to Antonio Demo, Chicago, January 12, 1909, SJB, Box 27, Santa Maria Incoronata folder; Strazzoni to Antonio Demo, Buffalo, January 19, 1909, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters, 1909, folder.

⁷³⁷ Louis Giambastiani, "In the Melting Pot-The Italians," Extension VII (1912), 9-10, 20-1; *Parrocchia Cattolica del SS. Rosario . . . Resoconto Finanziario per l'Anno 1935* (n.p., n.d.), SJB, Box 27, folder E.

practiced. Father Demo sacrificed some income from this personal devotion in order to gain future parish contributions.⁷³⁸

Fees on items other than pew rent also brought high profits. Saint Anthony charged a fee for electricity used during feast day celebrations, funerals and marriages. The gross amount was not high, but the profit margin may have been as high as the one for candles. In 1920, the parish made \$159.15 more by charging electric fees than it spent on gas and electricity combined. Guardian Angel did even better, netting \$1,244.86.

The idea behind a fundraising event was to provide parishioners a good time in exchange for their money, which then went to the parish rather than some other, less worthy, place of amusement. Fundraisers may have actually done more to foster loyalty to the parish and thus insure future contributions than they did to raise money for present needs. Overall, they were not as profitable as candles or electricity fees. It cost Guardian Angel \$260 to put on its concert at Kimball Hall, thus reducing the net from that event to \$200. Saint Anthony's entertainments cost not money but time: parishioners from the Italian Men's Sodality, the Children of Mary, the Saint Agnes Sodality, and the Saint Anthony Club put on shows for other parishioners to attend. Sometimes it was the pastor who put in the sweat equity. In 1914, Father Pio organized a picnic for the parishioners at Saint Lazarus, where he was substituting while Father Toma was in Europe. He spent hot July days going door to door to the merchants of East Boston soliciting raffle prizes. Fortunately, his work more than paid off; he reported making \$550 at the picnic.⁷³⁹

Pastors who succeeded in using the sacraments, preaching, social affairs and financial commitments to foster loyalty to the parish then found themselves trying to wrest control from parishioners. The conduct of women is especially interesting. When male parishioners tried to exert some influence on parish life, the written record contains their names and some idea of how they went about making their voice heard, whether it was through trustee Paul Russo of New Haven asking that a particular pastor stay in the parish or through the thugs that visited The Providence Journal office to convey their displeasure at a news story.⁷⁴⁰ Interestingly, twentieth-century Italian Catholic immigrant women behaved in a manner historian Laurel Thatcher Ulrich has found in descriptions of seventeenth-century Puritan New England women: they acted as angry, anonymous and inchoate mobs.⁷⁴¹ Chapter five told the story of how the women at Saint Joachim's expressed their opinion as to the dispute between the pastor and the Saint Rocco Society by carrying the statue back to the church in a spontaneous procession. Other pastors found themselves facing other kinds of female crowd action. Although parishioners of

⁷³⁸ Mary Bemello to Demo, Syracuse, February 1, 1922, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Papers of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Rossi folder; Ware, 313.

⁷³⁹ Parolin to Demo, East Boston, July 29 and August [?] 14, 1914, CMS No. 043, Box 2, General Correspondence folder.

⁷⁴⁰ Paul Russo to Antonio Demo, New Haven, August 16, 1916, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Barbato folder.

⁷⁴¹ Laurel Thatcher Ulrich, *Good Wives: Image and Reality in the Lives of Women in Northern New England, 1650-1750* (New York: Vintage, 1982), 193-195.

both sexes were displeased with pastor Domenico Belliotti at Holy Ghost in Providence, it was the women who refused to hold their annual feast day celebrations in the church, chased him from the rectory, and sat in the building themselves to prevent his return. (The police eventually ousted them.)⁷⁴²

One has to be careful with the written records in which laity write to episcopal or Scalabrinian superiors to try to have them get the priests to do things that pleased the laity. Both ordinaries and superiors often suspected that priests might have orchestrated the seemingly spontaneous outpourings of lay correspondence for their own ends. This resulted in them ignoring some real problems, but it also alerts historians to the fact that the evidence here may not be *prima facie*. In some cases, there is additional information that allows one to determine that the cases were genuinely lay-led efforts to influence parish activities. For example, Salvatore Barbato himself left correspondence, none of which indicates he had a personal interest in staying at the parishes to which he was assigned. Nevertheless, at least two parishes wanted to keep him. When he was transferred out of Saint Michael's in New Haven in 1916, a flurry of letters protested the move. When he was transferred out of Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago two years later, the parishioners there also objected.⁷⁴³ Another couple of transfer cases involved Pio Parolin, who played a different role in each transfer. He was transferred out of Saint Peter's in Syracuse in 1923, and shortly thereafter the laity complained that the new pastor slandered parish girls, slapped parochial schoolchildren, and generally undid all Father Pio's successful work. In 1932, Father Pio was transferred into Sacred Heart, Boston. Parishioners there, while holding nothing against Father Pio, still hoped authorities would see fit to reassign his predecessor, Carlo Celotto, to the parish.⁷⁴⁴ In none of these cases did authorities make any concession to the laity. Other cases show the circumstances under which the laity might be heeded: when the charges were serious, specific, and backed by additional, preferably clerical evidence, and when it was clear to authorities that they might look like incompetents or worse if they did not listen to the laity. Yet another transfer sheds light on the mafia question. In 1932, provincial superior Beniamino Franch transferred Carlo Fani from Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago and blamed parishioners' petitions to get him back on a campaign orchestrated by the parish organist, who had been carrying on an affair with the pastor. Perhaps she was also behind the "West Side 42" who sent English-language threats to Father Franch: "We understand that you are responsible for the departure of Rev. Father Fani from Our Lady of Pompei

⁷⁴² Clipping titled "Perdurano e si accentuano i disordini nella parrocchia dello Spirito Santo," from *La Notizia*, n.p., 1920, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 19.

⁷⁴³ Rocco Sardi to Demo, New Haven, August 18, 1916, Mary S. Popolizio to Demo, New Haven, August 21, 1916, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Barbato folder; clipping from *Bollettino della Sera*, Chicago, June 1918, SIB, Box 30, folder Ba.

⁷⁴⁴ La Colonia di Syracuse to Rev. Padre, Syracuse, n.d. [1923?], CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence, 1923 folder; Domenico Pettinella et al. to William Henry Cardinal O'Connell, Boston, July 19, 1932, AAB, R.G., 5.3, Box 6, folder 24.

Church. See that he returns again as a pastor within a month's time, otherwise you better pack up and leave the United States if you expect to live any longer."⁷⁴⁵

Competition for control over the parish between pastor and laity was a private affair. In public, the priests took the third step of making the parish an integral part of community by using it to represent the Italian Catholic element among the non-Italian and non-Catholic groups in the neighborhood. Priests led their parishioners in taking different stances toward different neighborhood groups. They ignored some, cooperated with others, and demonstrated their loyalty to Catholicism by their opposition to a third set.

Two neighborhood organizations provoked outright opposition. One was Protestantism. No Scalabrinian ever commented on the different traditions within Protestantism or even explained what made Protestantism so bad. This was probably because they seldom encountered Protestantism at the level of theology or philosophy. They encountered it when Protestant clergy or lay volunteers became active in the Italian community, either distributing charity or opening houses of worship. These activities the Scalabrinians regarded as soul-stealing. The situation was apparently most contentious in Providence, Rhode Island; Antonio Bove, who was pastor of Saint Ann's there, published a 33-page pamphlet indicting the Protestant denominations for proselytizing Italians.⁷⁴⁶

The other objectionable local institution was usually summed up in the word socialism. Radicalism was of more recent origins than Protestantism. It was prevalent in Italy, and there were radical groups in U.S. Little Italies as well. Therefore, it required more comment. Saint Michael's in Chicago has left the most complete description of one parish's confrontation with radicalism:

About 1906, a group of misguided immigrants came into the area. These men, unfortunately, were imbued with the erroneous principles of a doctrine and party then causing much disturbance in Italy.... These misled propagators of the Socialist ideals were going to free men from the slavery of religion and lead them into the promised land of liberty, wealth, comfort and ease. Many of the residents, alas [,] not too well instructed and thus not fully realizing the errors of Socialistic ways, heeded these pseudo-prophets of the new era, and lent a willing ear to their persuasive orations replete with seemingly prosperous promises. This resulted in the organization and opening of a Socialistic Club, which began to hold its meetings regularly. Since the parish was still comparatively new, there was a lack of good, well-knit parish organizations and this [,] coupled with the still rather meager financial income, created an almost insurmountable difficulty for the Reverend Pastor to effectively counteract the apparently successful efforts of erring men [sic]. Always aggressive, active, and alert, the Socialists succeeded in drawing many from the church, and in absorbing a goodly number of the newcomers as soon as these set foot in the vicinity. Those who still tried to go to church were subjected to strong ridicule and uncomplimentary remarks. Thus, in order to avoid these derisive inferences, many men who were not attracted by the waving and fluttering of the Red Flag, yet began to neglect their religious duties, they became victims of "Rispetto Umano"; others who had, sad to say, embraced the new ideals of Godless materialism and of man-made happiness forbade their families any participation in religious

⁷⁴⁵ Beniamino Franch to Paolo Marelli, Melrose Park, February 16, 1932, SJB, Box 30, folder Ba; SJB, Box 20, Fr. B. Franch folder; SJB, Box 29, folder A.

⁷⁴⁶ Antonio Bove, *Controversia circa il Proselitismo fra i Cattolici Italiani di Providence, R. I.* (Rome: Tip. del "Roma e Provincia," 1911).

functions and services of any kind [sic]. Amongst those lured away were a few of the jubilant and enthusiastic men who had taken a part in the happy event of the blessing of the Parish Church only a few years before. This series of unfortunate happenings resulted in a sad and lamentable decline in the religious life of the parish: the number of baptisms decreased, a smaller number went to the Sacraments, and the financial condition became more precarious. The pastors [,] who succeeded one another very quickly [,] could not raise enough money for their own support, and had to seek assistance elsewhere. This they continued to do down to almost recent years.⁷⁴⁷

In sociological terms, Protestant congregations and radical parties were negative sources of identification, examples of unacceptable social behavior. People shunned them the way Puritans in Massachusetts Bay shunned witchcraft, and, in a public display of acceptable social behavior, supported the national parish.⁷⁴⁸ However, there were other organizations that were neither Protestant, radical, nor Catholic. Every Little Italy had neighborhood charities such as settlement houses, local branches of citywide charities, and government agencies such as public schools. What about those? Our Lady of Pompei in New York has the most complete record. Father Demo worked with numerous Greenwich Village social services: public schools, public libraries, the local Children's Aid Society, the local Charity Organization Society office and Greenwich House settlement. He sought their aid on behalf of his parishioners. The other priests at Pompei also worked to make the parish a kind of co-worker in the neighborhood. An example of their work comes from an undated handbill from the Hudson Park Social Centre. The Social Centre sponsored what it called "neighborhood talks" every Tuesday from 8:00 to 10:00 p.m. Each Tuesday different neighborhood figures discussed topics of general interest, and there was entertainment. On Tuesday, February 3, Flaminio Parenti, the victim of the slashing attack described above, appeared with a local lawyer to discuss "The advantages of the Italians becoming Americanized."⁷⁴⁹

Cooperation between Italian parishes and others was particularly evident on Columbus Day. Bishop Scalabrini considered Christopher Columbus as a model for his missionaries and his training institute for his missionaries a "living" monument to him, "which will continue, so to speak, the work of religion and civilization which he initiated."⁷⁵⁰ In 1892, four years after the Scalabrinians began work in the United States, the country celebrated the four-hundredth anniversary of Columbus's voyage with year-long and nationwide hoopla. The Scalabrinians were a part of it: Amos Vincent Astorri was on a committee to erect a statue of Columbus in New Haven.⁷⁵¹ Columbus Day

⁷⁴⁷ *Golden Anniversary, Saint Michael Church, 1903-1953* (n.p., n.d.) CMS No. 059, Box 1, Records of the Church of Saint Michael, Golden Anniversary folder.

⁷⁴⁸ Kai Ericson, *Wayward Puritans: A Study in the Sociology of Deviance* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1966).

⁷⁴⁹ Brown, *From Italian Villages*, 64-67; handbill beginning "Hudson Park Social Centre," CMS No. 078A, Box 5, Records of Fr. Giuseppe Spigolon-Father Parenti folder.

⁷⁵⁰ Giovanni Battista Scalabrini to Alfonso Villeneuve, Piacenza, April 1, 1891, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, *Scritti*, 14 vols. (Rome: Congregazione Scalabriniana, 1980) volume I, 318-319. Hereafter *Scritti*.

⁷⁵¹ Alberto Cupelli, *The Italians of Old New Haven (1847-1900)* (Branford, Connecticut: Branford Printing Company, n.d. [1972?]).

became a way to highlight the Italian Catholic portion of the community by having an Italian priest deliver a blessing on a public occasion. New Haven kept up its tradition of Italian involvement in Columbus Day by having Oreste Alussi speak, along with the mayor, the local Congressional representative, and several lawyers, in 1915.⁷⁵² Father Toma preserved among his sermons a blessing for a Columbus Day banquet or picnic. In some places the Italians had a bigger hand in planning the event; Arnaldo Vanoli once wrote Father Demo to see if the latter could secure Fiorello La Guardia to speak at Buffalo's Columbus Day event.⁷⁵³

There were probably some neighborhood institutions with which the Scalabrinians had no relations at all; they neither condemned them nor cooperated with them. Since ignoring an institution does not produce many documents, it is difficult to gather evidence for this. On the other hand, one can look at evidence from outside Scalabrinian parishes, or from the same parish in a later period, and develop some hypotheses. For example, practically any history of Greenwich Village describes the bohemian artists that worked there, not a group Pompei noticed much. One can read material from Santa Maria Incoronata from as late as 1979 and not realize there were Chinese in the area; only by looking at the archdiocesan reference book of parish histories does one see that Incoronata merged with Santa Lucia in 1963, leaving its original building to become the Saint Therese Chinese Mission.⁷⁵⁴

Their national parishes were important for connecting Italian Catholics to the larger community of American Catholicism; indeed, most American Catholics did not consider the Italians to be practicing Catholics until they got parishes and priests. The national parishes were also important in that they helped to situate the Scalabrinian institute within American Catholicism. Both for the sake of their parishes and for the sake of their institute, Scalabrinians made it their business to figure out how to get along with other American Catholics at various levels of the hierarchy.

Relations at the parish level fell into three categories. There were a few Scalabrinians who worked with non-Scalabrinian clergy in their area. Ernesto Coppo is an example. Father Coppo was born in Rosignano Monferrato, Alessandria in Piedmont on February 6, 1870. He joined the Salesians at Ivrea on October 4, 1894, was ordained at San Salvatore Alessandria in the Piedmont August 7, 1898. He arrived in New York in November of 1898 as part of the Salesians' mission to the Italians in the city. In 1902, the archdiocese transferred Transfiguration from secular clergy to the Salesians, and Father Coppo became the first Salesian pastor there. Scalabrinians recommended parishioners seeking

⁷⁵² Advertisement for Annual Columbus Day Commemoration, October 12, 1915, CMS No. 045, Box 8, Newspaper Clippings and Tear Sheets folder.

⁷⁵³ Arnaldo Vanoli to Demo, Buffalo, September 3, 1924, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1924 folder Father Demo, who knew La Guardia only slightly (he had tended La Guardia's first wife on her deathbed, but La Guardia himself was not Catholic) passed the message to a friend in the Sons of Italy, whom he thought better positioned to make the request. Apparently, they were unable to get La Guardia to Buffalo.

⁷⁵⁴ M. Rubino; Harry C. Koenig, ed. *A History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 2 vols., (Chicago: The Archdiocese of Chicago, 1980), 567-570.

help in the city call on Father Coppo the same way they might call on Father Demo for assistance in finding a job or place to live. Father Coppo was on good terms with the Scalabrinians and invited them to social affairs such as a dinner in honor of the Salesians' patron saint, Francis de Sales. Father Demo gave Father Coppo the sad honor of preaching at the memorial mass for the victims of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire in 1911. The Salesians transferred Father Coppo to other assignments and in 1922 the Vatican promoted him to titular Bishop of Paleopolis and Vicar Apostolic of Kimberly, Australia. According to the newspapers, it was Bishop Coppo who gave Father Demo's body its final blessing.⁷⁵⁵

There are more letters and documents indicating unpleasant relations with the parishes and priests in the immediate area. Sometimes ethnic prejudices interfered with fraternal charity, in which case the Scalabrinians turned to their own confreres to let off steam. Ludovico Toma praised the parishioners at Saint Lazarus as just about perfect, "very good and generous," but complained bitterly about the "basket of Irish cobras" in the nearest secular parish rectory. In other cases, Scalabrinians competed with other Italians and other religious communities to gather scarce neighborhood resources and protect their parishes financially. Raffaele D'Alfonso at Sacred Heart had complained that the Italian Franciscans at Saint Leonard of Port Maurice in Boston's North End undercut Sacred Heart's fee schedule for marriages.⁷⁵⁶

The vast majority of letters were much more diplomatic, neither nasty nor especially warm. Also, most of the letters are not about neighboring priests or parishes but concern the local ordinary and chancery. They shed an interesting light on some of the difficulties of preserving the Scalabrinian institute and continuing the mission.

One difficulty was that so much depended on the local ordinary. Chicago was an example of that. Chapter four describes how the James E. Quigley got to know the Scalabrinians when he was in the Diocese of Buffalo and how he introduced them to the Archdiocese of Chicago when he became archbishop there, even though there was already an institute, the Servites, with Italian-speaking priests in the city. When Archbishop Quigley died and the Vatican named a successor, George Mundelein, the Scalabrinians feared their fortunes might change. "I don't know much about him," Giuseppe Poia wrote Father Demo, "But I believe that some Italian priests, rightly or wrongly, sooner or later, will feel the loss of Monsignor Quigley." Archbishop Mundelein (Cardinal Mundelein after 1924) introduced policies new to the Scalabrinians of Chicago. He took a greater hand in managing parish affairs. He issued directives designed to bring the parishes to a single standard, such as the 1937 circular letter saying that Sunday masses ought last no

⁷⁵⁵ Vanoli to Ottimo Signore, Buffalo, July 10, 1912, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters-1913-1914; Ernesto Coppo to Demo, New York, January 25, 1914, CMS No. 037, Box 7, Folder 57; *The New York Times*, April 27, 1911; Coppo to "Rev. Dear Father" Turin, December 8, 1922, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 56; *The New York Times*, January 4, 1936. For biographical material on Coppo, see Pietro Ambrosio, ed., *Dizionario Bio-Bibliografico delle Missioni Salesiane* (Rome: Centro Studi di Sonia delle Missioni Salesiane, 1977), and Eugenio Valentini et al., eds., *Dizionario Biografico dei Salesiani* (Turin: A cura dell' Ufficio Stampa Salesiano, n.d.).

⁷⁵⁶ Ludovico Toma to Demo, East Boston, January 2, 1915, General Correspondence; Raphael D'Alfonso to O'Connell, Boston, March 7, 1921, AAB, R.G., 5.3, Box 6, folder 19.

longer than 50 minutes. He backed up his directives by checking to see if pastors were actually doing what he thought they should and demanding explanations and issuing corrections when he found what he considered errors. He insisted that institutes entrusted with several parishes treat those parishes as a unit, shifting funds from wealthier parishes to the poorer ones rather than let the poor parishes struggle along or apply to the archdiocese for assistance; if an institute wanted to give up a poor parish, Mundelein threatened to take the wealthier parishes as well. Finally, Mundelein discouraged ethnic particularity and encouraged the use of English — in other words, just as the Scalabrinians were channeling people's loyalties from their mutual benefit societies to their parishes, Cardinal Mundelein tried to channel those loyalties even further from Italian community life.⁷⁵⁷

Boston has the most complete records on relations between the Scalabrinians and their ordinary, partly because William Henry O'Connell (Cardinal O'Connell as of 1911), like Cardinal Mundelein, aspired to greater centralization of archdiocesan affairs and partly because the records have been so well-preserved. Correspondence between the Boston chancery and the various Scalabrinian parishes within the archdiocese indicates how both looked out for their own interest.

The correspondence on finances is interesting because one might expect archbishop and pastor to agree on the importance of parochial financial health. The Boston chancery, though, did not think parishes would be healthy unless the chancery supervised them carefully; they would spend foolishly, run up debts, and compromise the archdiocese's entire financial standing. The result was any parish expenditure over about a hundred dollars included the extra step of requesting chancery permission in writing. The chancery also checked books and sent out letters chastising pastors for making errors and explaining proper procedures; in one case, the chancery decided a written explanation would not do and called in one Scalabrinian pastor for a meeting to teach him how to keep accounts.⁷⁵⁸ One exchange is intriguing. The chancery once reminded Father Toma that the Constitution of the Diocese, page 64, Number 182, stated that rectory utility bills were priests' personal expenses and must be paid for out of the priests' salaries, whereas Father Toma had paid them out of parish funds.⁷⁵⁹ Father Toma had been submitting reports for 28 years at this point. Did he get careless, or did he react to extensive control by trying to see if the chancery accountants would notice the misapplied funds?

Cardinal O'Connell's staff also hoped to protect the archdiocese from unworthy priests, although they were not as good at this as they were at protecting parishes from being charged for priests' personal expenses. This particular story is also a good example of what was necessary for lay input to be given serious consideration. In 1922, the Scalabrinians wanted to replace the pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston. Angelo Luigi

⁷⁵⁷ Giuseppe Poia to Demo, Chicago, May 13, 1916, SJB, Box 27, folder 1c; Beniamino Franch to Reverendi Padri, Melrose Park, April 6, 1937, SJB, Box 26, folder B; D'Agostino, 147, 152, 260. For more on Mundelein's management style, see Edward R. Kantowicz, "Cardinal Mundelein of Chicago and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century American Catholicism," *Journal of American History* LXVIII:1 (June 1981), 52-68.

⁷⁵⁸ Unsigned letter to Giovanni Peona, Brighton, November 30, 1935, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 40, folder 2.

⁷⁵⁹ Unsigned letter to Toma, Boston, November 20, 1939, AAB, R.G. 5.3., Box 15, folder 11.

Strazzoni, the provincial superior then, sent the chancery a routine letter introducing the new pastor. While Father Strazzoni wrote nothing about the new person, chancery officials could have aroused their own suspicions easily enough. A check of the Catholic directory would have revealed the priest was being transferred from the Scalabrinians' western province, and the Scalabrinians' historical record of using long-distance transfers to handle difficulty clergy could have alerted the chancery to trouble ahead. No one checked the directory or made the inference. Instead, the chancery asked that Father Toma bring the new priest to the chancery for the reception of faculties. Before Father Toma's appointment took place the chancery received an unsolicited letter from a layman giving all the details from the new pastor's last assignment: drunkenness, the hiring of prostitutes, the siring of "offsprings", neglect of the parish and Sunday school, and a kind of racket whereby the priest acted as a court interpreter and interpreted only what would get his client out of trouble. The writer listed a number of people who could verify the charges, including the bishop of the priest's last diocese, who had expelled him. It was on receipt of this letter that the chancery took alarm and warned the Scalabrinians that if they tried to replace the pastor at Sacred Heart, they would have to leave the parish. Father Strazzoni and Father Toma put on the best face possible; they denied knowing anything about the charges against the priest and suggested they were created by a previous pastor of Sacred Heart determined to get his parish back, but they agreed to cancel the assignment.⁷⁶⁰

The Boston chancery integrated at least one Scalabrinian into the annual round of archdiocesan honor and chores. Cardinal O'Connell appointed Father Toma to deliver the prayers at the annual Independence Day celebration at Old South Meeting House and to the Committee on Inspection of Prisons for its semiannual visit to Deer Island.⁷⁶¹ In general, though, the chancery operated on a policy that, followed to its logical conclusion, would have led to the extinction of the Scalabrinian mission in Boston.

The chancery discouraged ethnic particularity. Chancery officials did realize that a heavy-handed approach might spark opposition that could get into the newspapers or otherwise damage its position, so it contented itself with requiring pastors to request chancery permission for every procession, thus insuring it knew about them, and then approving every request. Astute Scalabrinians knew the chancery's opinion, though, and reflected it in their writing, as did Raffaele D'Alfonso when he requested permission to hold a procession in 1920: "Really I am against it, but I wish to avoid trouble." The one exception was Christmas midnight mass. When Pietro Maschi requested permission to hold one in 1919 the chancery turned him down: "it has not been the custom to grant permission for Christmas Midnight Mass in any of the Parishes in the Archdiocese." The Scalabrinians bided their time and the next year were careful to let the cardinal know that

⁷⁶⁰ Strazzoni to O'Connell, Buffalo, July 13, 1922; Haberlin to Strazzoni, July 17, 1922, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 21; Charles Battaglia Tayler to O'Connell, Cambridge, July 14, 1922; unsigned note dated July 28, 1922; unsigned note dated July 31, 1922, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 20. For more on O'Connell's management style, see James M. O'Toole, "The Role of Bishops in American Catholic History: Myth and Reality in the Case of William O'Connell," *Catholic Historical Review* LXXVII:4 (October 1991), 595-615.

⁷⁶¹ Haberlin to Toma, Brighton, May 21 and October 24, 1924, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 21.

he had done something that redounded to his credit: "The announcement that Your Excellency benignly permits the celebration of the Sacred Mass at midnight on the most holy Christmas feast made this congregation [Sacred Heart] explode into an ovation of gratitude."⁷⁶²

The most threatening part of the policy, from the Scalabrinians' point of view, was the limits on their use of English. The Scalabrinians repeatedly pointed out that Italian children spoke English and so it behooved the priests to speak it, too. Chancery officials directed the Scalabrinians to stick to Italian.⁷⁶³ The pleas to use English sound ironic given that the Scalabrinians' official mission was to the Italian migrants and given that the Scalabrinians themselves constantly commented that few new missionaries spoke English. It points, though, to two issues which became increasingly important in the 1920s and 1930s. As Italian migration declined, the Scalabrinians might find themselves without a mission, which did not bode well for the continuation of the institute. Second, even if Italian migration did continue, to be truly of service to the migrants the Scalabrinians had to go beyond preserving the migrants' ethnic traditions and had to help succeeding generations of migrant families.

The Archdiocese of New York organized affairs differently. Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan had maintained an Italian Secretary, Gherardo Ferrante, partly to translate letters to and from Italian and Vatican officials and partly to help with the Italian clergy, religious and laity in New York. Monsignor Ferrante died in 1921, about three years after Patrick Hayes had become archbishop, in the midst of a reorganization of the archdiocesan structure. By the time he became a cardinal in 1924, Hayes had determined on a *modus vivendi* with the Italian national parishes in the archdiocese. As his predecessors depended on Monsignor Ferrante, he depended on Michael Joseph Lavelle, rector of Saint Patrick's Cathedral, to act as Italian liaison. This did not work quite so well as the previous system, because Father Ferrante was fully bilingual while Monsignor Lavelle was not. In 1921, when Monsignor Lavelle called in Scalabrinian Carlo Rossini to chastise him for a newspaper article he had written critical of the quality of liturgical music in New York, he had to rail in Father Demo as well to translate the rebuke.⁷⁶⁴

Kansas City had only one Scalabrinian parish within its boundaries, Holy Rosary. The correspondence there reinforces the point already made about the potential for using the Scalabrinians' traditional ministry to limit their activity. As Holy Rosary's pastor, Luigi Franchinotti, aged, the subject of a younger assistant came up. The bishop disapproved since the assistant would be an Italian Scalabrinian and all the children at Holy Rosary

⁷⁶² D'Alfonso to Right Reverend Monsignor Boston, May 24, 1920, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 18; unsigned letter to Maschi, Brighton, December 19, 1919, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 41, folder 1; Domenico Dellarole to O'Connell, Boston, 1920, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 17.

⁷⁶³ Parolin to Demo, East Boston, September 7, 1914, CMS No. 043, Box 2, General Correspondence. Haberlin to Maschi, Brighton, September 17, 1918, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 41, folder 1.

⁷⁶⁴ Michael Joseph Lavelle to Patrick Joseph Hayes, New York, November 25, 1921, AANY, microfilm roll No. 2.

spoke English. It would be better if a secular priest from Saint Patrick's parish helped out at Holy Rosary as needed.⁷⁶⁵

The process of making their parishes important parts of community life is itself important for Scalabrinian history, for two reasons. First, it reinforces the thesis that the Scalabrinian mission changed once the Scalabrinians got out in the field. The Scalabrinians were supposed to be helping the migrants preserve their own customs, and they did provide an institution that helped to do that. But even in establishing a parish, the priests were taking a hand in the Italians' assimilation. They were again casting their lot with the migrants and building a new home in a new place.

Second, Scalabrinian work in establishing stable parishes for Italian migrants was problematic, both to the Scalabrinian leadership and to those whose predecessors had invited the Scalabrinians into their sees. Insofar as the American ordinaries were concerned, the Scalabrinians, by helping the migrants adjust to the United States, were bringing themselves ever closer to the day when they might not be needed. And, insofar as the Scalabrinian leadership was concerned, were these pastors who devoted lifetimes to one parish really building up the whole institute, or just power centers for themselves?

⁷⁶⁵ Thomas F. Lillis to Luigi Franchinotti, Kansas City, May 18, 1937, SJB, Box 19, Assegnazioni e trasferimenti di padri folder.

MODELLO 3,
N. 90, Regolamento per le licenze
(Allegato 2 al Regolam. di discipl.)

N. 96 del Catal.
(R. 1891).

BIGLIETTO DI LICENZA

(1) *2^a Regg^{te} Granatieri*

È concessa al (2) *Caporale di Contabilità Demo Antonio*
 nella (3) *1^a Compagnia* del suddetto corpo al N. *5214* di matricola, figlio
 di *Pietro* e di *Marta Maria*
 una licenza (4) *ordinaria in attesa del congedo illimitato (bis. all. 121 del 14. 11. 1892)*
 di giorni (5) _____, con decorrenza dal giorno di domani, per recarsi a *Bassano*
 mandamento di *Bassano* Distretto militare di *Venezia*

Il predetto militare parte soddisfatto d'indennità di trasferta in lire *4.10* ed è provvisto dello
 assegno per il trasporto personale in posti di 3^a classe:

per ferrovia } da *Trichiana* a *Venezia* in L. *9.50*
 } da _____ a _____
 per mare da _____ a _____

A *Terzola* addì *17* *Ottobre* 1892

FIRMA DEL TITOLARE *Demo Antonio*

Il Comandante *del 1^o Regg^{te} Granatieri*

Il latore del presente deve rientrare al corpo la sera del _____

VISTO PER L'ARRIVO AL LUOGO DI LICENZA

A *Terzola* addì *3* *Novembre* 1892

IL COMANDANTE *del 1^o Regg^{te} Granatieri*

DICHIARAZIONE DELL'ARRIVO AL CORPO

Si dichiara che il latore del presente biglietto di licenza ha fatto ritorno al corpo il dì _____
 del mese di _____ 189__

A _____ addì _____ 189__

Il Comandante della compagnia

(1) Corpo o distaccamento. — (2) Grado, cognome e nome del titolare. — (3) Compagnia, squadrone o batteria. — (4) Specie della licenza, in grossi caratteri. Quando si tratta di licenza di convalida in seguito a rassegna di rimando, si citerà altresì la disposizione superiore che ne autorizzò la concessione. — (5) In tutte lettere. — (6) Corpo o distaccamento che rilascia il biglietto di licenza. — (7) Del Distretto o dei Carabinieri reali.

Like other immigrants, Scalabrinians had to have their paperwork in order.
 This is Antonio Demo's proof he had completed his military obligations in Italy in 1892.

Source: CMS Collection No. 037



The Scalabrinians worked among the poor and shared the hazards of their lives, including antiquated or shoddy construction. This is a photograph of a devastating fire at Saint Michael's, New Haven, in January 1914.

Source: CMS.



Gaspare Moretto (center), third director of the New York Branch of the Saint Raphael Society from 1901 to 1923, behind a camera that might be the one he used to photograph clients at the Saint Raphael Society hospice. Also pictured: Vittorio Cangiano (far left), Antonio Michieli (left center), Giuseppe D'Andrea (at right center), Antonio Demo (far right).

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 2.



Francesco Beccherini (left), L. Raschiotti (on ladder), Giacomo Gambera (center) and a layman identified as "agent." This photograph illustrates the types of connections early Scalabrinians formed. The photograph was taken during an undated vacation in Florida. Father Beccherini had been out of the Scalabrinians for some time, but Father Gambera, life-long Scalabrinian, continued to vacation with him.

Source: CMS No. 077, Box 17, folder 2.



Flaminio Parenti poses on a haystack at De Coma Farm, Pike County, PA in July of 1914.

Source: CMS No. 021, Box 1, photograph album.



A First Communion Day at saint Anthony's in Buffalo in the 1910s. Father Angelo Luigi Strazzoni is in the front. By celebrating such family occasions, Scalabrinians made their parishes important in community life. Source:

Scalabrinian General Archives.



Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini (1860-1917), foundress of the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart. She began working with the Scalabrinians and went on to develop her own institutions for education, health care, and child protection.

Source: CMS.



The Pallottine Sisters of Charity did much work at the Saint Raphael Society's Charlton Street hospice. Here, an unidentified sister poses with several of the resident children. The girl beside her is Irma C., whose story is told in chapter six.

Source: *Società San Raffaele per gl' Immigranti Italiani XVIII Rapporto Annuale, 1° Gennaio al 31 Dicembre, 1909* (New York: Tipo-Litografica E. Rossoni, 1910), 26.



Flaminio Parenti takes Saint Bartholomew's choir on an outing near Silver Lake, Providence, RI, July 10, 1921. Automobiles were one of the new consumer items of the 1920s that most worried Scalabrinian superiors.

Source: CMS No. 021, Box 1, photograph album.



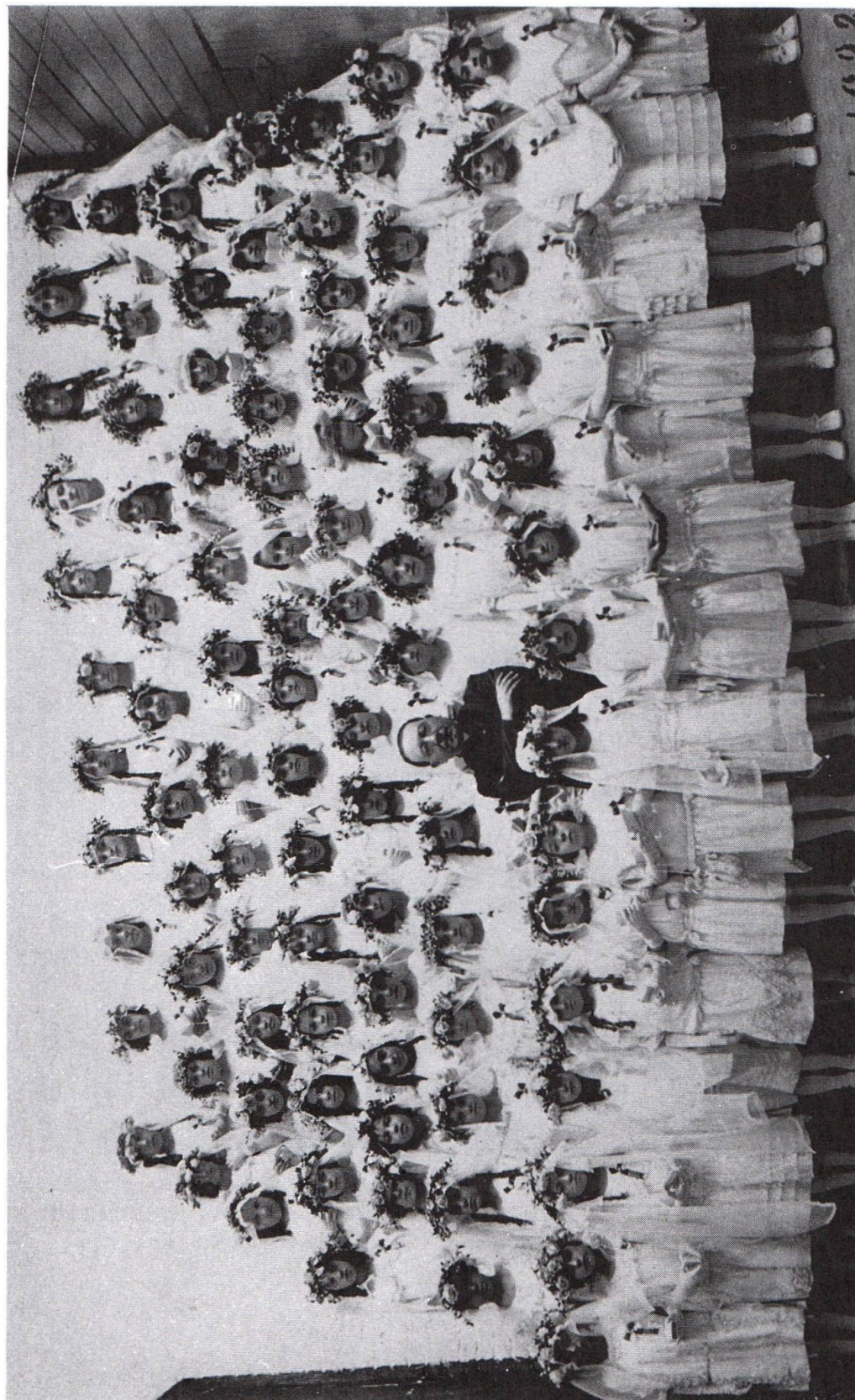
Giovanni Marchegiani and the boys' basketball team of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, Utica, NY, in 1931-1932. Father Marchegiani played a major role in the changes that took place in the eastern province in the 1930s.

Source: CMS No. 061A.



Pio Parolin, in the 1950s, blessing a couple on the anniversary of their wedding at Our Lady of Pompei, New York. As missionaries aged, they moved from the responsibilities of a pastor to the less demanding work of a senior citizen in residence in a parish.

Source: CMS



Vincenzo Jannuzzi poses with Saint Joachim's First Communion class, May 27, 1923.

Source: CMS



9

Women

The word which best describes Scalabrinian relations with women is "conventional." The first generation of Scalabrinians were already priests when they joined the institute and had already been living under vows of celibacy for many years, so when Giovanni Battista Scalabrini drew up the rules for his missionaries he went into some detail regarding poverty and obedience but little regarding chastity. When it came to training seminarians, the bishop followed a the-less-said-the-better approach, so there are no especially lurid descriptions of women as occasions of sin in Scalabrinian literature.⁷⁶⁶ On the other hand, neither Bishop Scalabrini nor his missionaries were especially sensitive toward women. Their conventional mindset could lead to neglecting women's interests or exploiting women's labor. It could lead the Scalabrinians into temptation. It could also lend a touch of compassion to relations between priests who saw themselves as strong protectors of the people entrusted to their care, including the women. This chapter explores these varied relationships.

Women involved themselves in every phase of creating and maintaining parish life. Chapter three described how Annie Leary intervened to establish Our Lady of Pompei in Greenwich Village on firm financial footing. Francesco Zaboglio, who met Annie Leary in Pompei's rectory when he came home dejected about the possibility of losing the mission, was especially fortunate in securing patronesses. He found two for Sacred Heart in Boston, Mrs. Nathan Matthews and a Mrs. Dean.⁷⁶⁷

Only one woman has surfaced as a trustee of a Scalabrinian parish: Mrs. Anne De Marzi was a member of the board of trustees of Saint John the Baptist of Rome, New York, at the time that it submitted its 1925 annual report.⁷⁶⁸ The pastor of Saint John the Baptist was Giuseppe Panesi, who affiliated with the Scalabrinians in 1917. Society afforded women few opportunities to gain the financial experience that pastors looked for in

⁷⁶⁶ Mario Francesconi, C.S., *John Baptist Scalabrini: An Insight into his Spirituality*, trans. J. Cinquino and Vincent Monaco, C.S. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1973), 70.

⁷⁶⁷ Francesco Zaboglio to Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, Boston, May 27, 1890, Mario Francesconi, C.S., *The Scalabrini Fathers in North America, 1888-1895*, volume II, trans. Joseph Zappulla (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1983), 158-159. Hereafter, Francesconi II.

⁷⁶⁸ "Financial Report of Saint John the Baptist Church, River Street, Rome, N.Y., January 1, 1925, to January 1, 1926," CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Panesi folder.

trustees, men did not think of women as trustees, and there might have been requirements in law that trustees be male.

Most of the benefactresses who gave large sums to Italian Catholic parishes were themselves non-Italians. Italian parish women did not usually have the money for big donations. They did, though, raise money collectively, through their sodalities. When the Italian women of Boston's North End wanted to celebrate the feast of Our Lady of Miracles in September of 1921, they raised \$1,000 to cover the costs of the feast (an 8:00 a.m. mass so members could fast from midnight and receive communion, a 10:00 a.m. solemn sung mass, and an evening vespers) and another \$200 as an honorarium for the guest preacher. The "girls" who helped Nazareno Properzi organize Saint Anthony's in Somerville made and sold, 300 ten-cent aprons to raise money for the construction of that church.⁷⁶⁹ Female parishioners also gave their labor to their local parish. Besides fundraising, the type of work most frequently mentioned in the written records is teaching Sunday School. In the 1910s, Our Lady of Pompei in Greenwich Village had a corps of young parish women who taught under the guidance of Brother Eliphus Victor I and other Christian Brothers.⁷⁷⁰ Rose Casassa, a parishioner at Sacred Heart in Boston, took a leading role in the choir, in the Sunday school and in women's events. The women of Saint Anthony's in Somerville did everything: clean the storefront that served as the first parish church, scrub the benches, and set up the first chapel.⁷⁷¹

Few women could take highly visible roles in the liturgy. They could not be priests or acolytes, there were no lay lectors or cantors, and no one thought of using them as ushers except at feast days when the congregation consisted of women.⁷⁷² In 1904, Pope Pius X issued a *motu proprio* intended to restore traditional methods of liturgical music, and those traditions excluded women. The directives seem to have been honored mostly in the breach. Rose Casassa sang lead soprano in Sacred Heart's choir, which implies there were other sopranos as well.⁷⁷³ Our Lady of Pompei in New York also had a woman who took a leading role in singing at important liturgies, Anna Carbone La Padula.⁷⁷⁴ Like male parishioners, women could join sodalities and through those organizations take a visible role in liturgies. The Christian Mothers Society of Saint Tarcisius in Framingham was probably typical. Its members received communion as a body at 8:00 a.m. mass on

⁷⁶⁹ Rose Casassa, notes on a flyer for La Madonna dei Miracoli, September 6, 1921, CMS No. 062, Box 2, Miscellaneous Documents, Prayer Cards, Play Bills, Photos folder; Fiftieth Anniversary, 1915-1965, Saint Anthony Church, Somerville, Massachusetts (n.p., n.d. 11965)).

⁷⁷⁰ Mary Elizabeth Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village: Our Lady of Pompei, 1892-1992* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992), 53.

⁷⁷¹ Clipping from the *Boston Post*, June 20, 1915, CMS No. 062, Box 1, Newspaper Clippings folder.

⁷⁷² Sunday announcement for August 26, 1900, CMS No. 37, Box 28, folder 309.

⁷⁷³ *Boston Post*, June 20, 1915.

⁷⁷⁴ Anna Carbone. La Padula's papers are at CMS No. 039.

the first Sunday of the month. For that mass they entered the church as group, walking in procession behind their banner, with each member wearing her medal.⁷⁷⁵

Despite women's contributions of liturgical participation, good works, and funds, the Scalabrinians who wrote about working with women did not necessarily appreciate the experience. They followed a pattern historian Elizabeth Ann Milliken noticed in the Diocese of Rochester, where seminary textbooks discussed women as temptations and, more importantly here, as a waste of time, and advised seminarians that they should devote themselves to cultivating their male parishioners.⁷⁷⁶ The priests at Santa Maria Addolorata were particularly vocal. Giacomo Gambera recalled that the first Sunday he said mass there his congregation consisted of "two old men and ten or 12 little old ladies."⁷⁷⁷ Lino Merlo placed the number at "*only three or four little old ladies.*"⁷⁷⁸

There were other Scalabrinians whose actions and writings indicate, albeit indirectly, a more complex view. Most of Antonio Demo's correspondence regarding pastoral care was with women. Parish women (and non-parishioners) wrote him regarding family problems, and he in turn wrote to the appropriate person who could solve them. Since he seldom wrote to the parishioners, there are only a few scraps as to how he felt about spending much of his time on women and their troubles. The largest single piece of evidence has already been mentioned, the letter to persuade a young woman who had run off to join the theater to come home:

My dear Providenza I mean to speak to you without reserve. The stage life is not for you or girls like you.

You thought that a stage career would bring you plenty of money to live much more comfortably than you could at home, because you have seen stage girls were dressed and bejeweled living in fancy houses. Now it seems to me, that you understand very well that the stage money is not enough for the support of those expensive girls, and that such girls have other sources of income which you would surely never accept.⁷⁷⁹

It is a conventional understanding, conveyed in a conventional way. On the one hand, it was a hierarchical, paternalistic relationship. On the other hand, it permitted a degree of closeness and concern.

About half of the individuals with whom Father Demo corresponded on behalf of his parishioners were also women: sisters who staffed Catholic institutions, social workers — he even heard from the staff of the local branch of New York Public Library regarding

⁷⁷⁵ *Chiesa di San Tarcisio, Framingham, Massachusetts, Società Madri Christiane* (n.p., n.d. [1939?]), CMS No. 042, Box 2, Miscellaneous Documents.

⁷⁷⁶ Elizabeth Ann Milliken, "Beyond the Immigrant Church: The Catholic Sub-Culture and the Parishes of Rochester, New York, 1870-1920" (Ph.D., Cornell University, 1994), 108-111.

⁷⁷⁷ Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 148.

⁷⁷⁸ Lino Merlo to Antonio Demo, Buffalo, May 10, 1910, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Merlo folder.

⁷⁷⁹ Demo to Providenza, New York, January 14, 1919, CMS No. 037, Box 3, folder 23.

Italian-language books for his parishioners.⁷⁸⁰ Most of this correspondence is routine and impersonal in nature, but it does indicate an attitude, a set of relationships. Father Demo remained the patron; he was writing to these people only because other people asked him to. He did, though, write as though he expected his correspondent to take an interest in his parishioners and do something to help them, and in that sense, the women in the helping professions were brought into relationship with him as people whom he respected for what they could do.

In addition to their female parishioners, Scalabrinians worked with women who performed paid labor for the parish or rectory. The most common category of workers was housekeepers. It is not clear if any of the Scalabrinians knew much about cooking and cleaning, but it is clear that few did, and all regarded housekeepers as necessities. In 1912, when a Scalabrinian pastor ran off with the housekeeper, the young and shaken assistant Giuseppe Poia notified Father Demo that the parish needed some more priests, and a new housekeeper.⁷⁸¹

Not just any woman would do. Chapter seven recounted how Carlo Delbecchi rejected the American women of Kansas City and asked for an Italian housekeeper for Holy Rosary. Not just any Italian would do, either. Bartolomeo Marenchino specifically asked for a northern Italian.⁷⁸² Angelo Luigi Strazzoni remarked that Sicilian women seldom went into domestic service, but there may have been other factors at work.⁷⁸³ Scalabrinians had a well-documented prejudice against southerners, and there were pronounced regional variations in Italian cuisine.

Angelo Luigi Strazzoni's experience with housekeepers is a good example of the complexities of the relationship. Pastor and housekeeper assumed roles in which they cared for each other according to the conventions appropriate to their respective genders. For example, when Father Strazzoni was pastor of Saint Anthony in Buffalo, he had as his housekeeper a married woman, Anna Maria Politano. She cooked and cleaned for him and he did her banking for her, setting aside at her request part of her monthly salary either for her family in Italy or for her eventual retirement back there. In 1919, when Father Demo was heading back to Italy to visit his own family, Father Strazzoni entrusted him with \$800, "fruit of sixteen years of labor in America" for the 48-year-old Mrs. Politano, to deposit in the Bank of Rome.⁷⁸⁴ In 1924, Father Strazzoni arrived at a new assignment at Saint Peter's in Syracuse. Here he hired an American housekeeper, a married woman named Lula Bajus. She remained with him for the next 25 years. By the time Father Strazzoni got an assistant, he and Mrs. Bajus formed a community for their

⁷⁸⁰ Anna B[illegible] to Demo, New York, October 25, 1910, CMS No. 037, Box 1, folder 11.

⁷⁸¹ Giuseppe Poia to Demo, Chicago, May 28, 1912, SJB Box 27, folder C.

⁷⁸² Bartolomeo Marenchino to Demo, New Haven, November 24, 1922, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Marenchino folder.

⁷⁸³ Angelo Luigi Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, April 8, 1910, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters-1910 folder.

⁷⁸⁴ Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, May 14, 1919, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

own that put his Scalabrinian confrere on the periphery, tiptoeing about the house to avoid antagonizing the housekeeper.⁷⁸⁵

The best-known, and best-documented, Scalabrinian housekeeper was Maddalena Canali. The documentation does not extend to her birthdate, but she was born in Bardi in Piacenza. Her godmother, Maria Mantegari, was in turn related to the pastor of the local parish, who held the title of arciprete, the equivalent of an American monsignor.⁷⁸⁶ Perhaps it was this background that led Maddalena Canali to become a housekeeper for priests, and to her connection with the Scalabrinian missionaries. She was at Our Lady of Pompei by October of 1900, and quickly became well-known to the entire Scalabrinian community. Many a Scalabrinian writing to Father Demo asked that the pastor convey greetings to Maddalena, whom they all called by her Christian name.⁷⁸⁷ The one other personal glimpse of her indicates she did not confine herself to the kitchen and laundry room, but took a more active role in looking after the young Scalabrinians and their reputations; a young woman trying to carry out a tryst with a Pompei assistant complained that "I cannot come to see you anymore because you always fight with Maddalena and then she will not let me come up in your room."⁷⁸⁸ It is not clear how much Maddalena made; the only financial records left indicate Father Demo paid medical bills for her in 1914, 1916, and 1928. Some bills were for a shoulder problem that could have been work-related; the others were clearly for non-work-related ailments. As a young woman, Maddalena had sent home remittances, which Monsignor Mantegari invested for her. When her brother Paolo died in 1925, she seems to have lost her last close relative in Italy. Maddalena herself died December 27, 1934. She named Father Demo the executor of her estate, all of which she left to Pompei: \$1,000 toward a new altar, a total of \$2,000 for masses for the repose of her soul, and \$500 for masses for Paolo.⁷⁸⁹

Another common parish employee was the organist. Not all organists were female; Our Lady of Pompei, for example, employed a man named Giovanni Battista Fontana, who had been recruited from Cremona.⁷⁹⁰ As maestro Fontana's story indicates, organists were scarce enough that they had to be recruited. From the mining town of Iron Mountain, Michigan, Luigi Lango wrote Father Demo to say there were no organists

⁷⁸⁵ Anthony Felicicchia to Remigio Pigato, Syracuse, n.d. [mid-June, 1950], CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁷⁸⁶ A. Mantegari to Maddalena Canali, Bardi, October 26, 1900; Maria Mantegari to Canali, Bardi, May 4, 1903, both CMS No. 037, Box 1, folder 3.

⁷⁸⁷ Bernard Casassa and Teofilo Glesaz to Antonio Demo, Buffalo, December 26, 1905, CMS No. 049, Box 1, Letters-1902-1907, folder.

⁷⁸⁸ Santa Bergonzi[?] to Pietro Barabino, New York, April 29, 1909, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Barabino folder.

⁷⁸⁹ The medical bills are clipped together in Columbus Hospital to Demo, New York, January 9, 1917, CMS No. 17, Box 3, folder 19. Correspondence regarding Maddalena's legacy is in Raffaele Carlo Cardinal Rossi to Giovanni Marchegiani, Rome, May 3, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

⁷⁹⁰ Giovanni Battista Fontana's papers are at CMS No. 040.

locally, so could Demo send him *una organista*? (He presumed the person would be female.) Father Lango outlined the job requirements; the ideal candidate should know how to play the organ in church, be able to teach the children's choir, be Catholic and virtuous, come with good references, and speak English.⁷⁹¹ Female organists were common enough that the Scalabrinian leadership issued rules to preserve appearances; organists should come to the church or office, not to the rectory, to plan religious functions.⁷⁹² Some organists fit in without trouble. Rose Casassa was used to parish life; her father having been one of the leaders who founded Sacred heart in Boston. She had been involved in that parish in her youth, and she made a smooth transition to a career as organist at Saint Anthony's in Somerville. One Scalabrinian, though, managed to break all Scalabrinian vows with the parish organist, carrying on an affair with her and purchasing property jointly with her.⁷⁹³

One job which women did not usually fill was parish secretary. Parishes had no clerical help as the phrase is commonly construed; Father Demo wrote out his massive correspondence in his own hand, and his confreres did the same. Pastors and assistants took turns being on call to answer the telephone or door. Carlo Ronci and Manlio Ciufoletti saw a secretary for the first time when Giovanni Marchegiani brought the one he had at Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica to his new assignment at Our Lady of Pompei in New York. They eyed her with suspicion:

... in the office there is another woman of 19 or 20 years. The secretary Fr. Marchegiani had also at Utica, but to introduce her here he had to use a certain tactic: first he called her more and more and then, after breaking the ice, he employed her permanently. Of her services there isn't enough need, they [secretaries] could well replace the assistant priests; but the pastor has already readily offered justification for her: 'I can't trust in the assistants and am constrained to this step and this expense.' The secretary has a table in the parish office where she receives masses, ceremonies, appointments, offerings, make out certificates, and calls the priests to service only for confessions or other acts of ministry.⁷⁹⁴

Scalabrinians also worked with women who, like themselves, belonged to religious institutes. One non-Scalabrinian praised the work the sisters did among Italian migrants:

Were it not for the innate preexcellence of the sacerdotal ministry, we could say that the Sisters have far surpassed priests in their care of the souls of Italian immigrants. Considering merely material work done, they are far in the lead. In many cases, their work has been more vital. Often where a priest failed, the nun succeeded. Many Italians, as we have seen, are somewhat prejudiced against the priests, but very few indeed entertain such feelings for the Sisters.⁷⁹⁵

⁷⁹¹ Luigi Lango to Demo, Iron Mountain, February 3, 1909, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 67.

⁷⁹² Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, June 24, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

⁷⁹³ Beniamino Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, n.d., SJB, Box 30, folder Ba.

⁷⁹⁴ Carlo Ronci and Manlio Ciufoletti to Nazareno Properzi, New York, January 25, 1937, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi.

⁷⁹⁵ Christopher Perotta, O.P., "Catholic Care of the Italian Immigrant in the United States" (M.A., the Catholic University of America, 1925), 79.

Few Scalabrinians gave the sisters with whom they worked even so backhanded a compliment.

Bishop Scalabrini worked with communities of sisters as bishop of Piacenza. The most important group here is the Sisters of Saint Anne. In 1879, Bishop Scalabrini invited the community to take charge of an institution he had founded for the care and education of female deaf-mutes. He was impressed with what he called the Saint Anne Sisters' "open and modern" spirit. Like him, they viewed pastoral care comprehensively, seeing charity as an integral part of Christian civilization, flowing from, and drawing people to, faith. By 1888, he had mentioned to Michael Augustine Corrigan of New York the possibility of inviting the sisters into the mission field.⁷⁹⁶

The institution of women religious most fully identified with Bishop Scalabrini and his apostolate is the Missionary Sisters of Saint Charles — Scalabrinians. The institute developed out of a sequence of events that began in 1892 when Bishop Scalabrini accepted into his institute a young priest named Giuseppe Marchetti.

Born October 3, 1869, to Angelo Marchetti and his wife, Carolina Ghilarducci, in Camaione, Lucca, Tuscany, he was educated in the diocesan seminary and ordained as a secular priest in April of 1892. That same month he heard Bishop Scalabrini speak and determined to join the migrant apostolate. At that point Bishop Scalabrini was exploring ways to serve the migrants via shipboard chaplains, and in October and November of 1894 Father Marchetti made his first round-trip voyage to Brazil. In December he started his second and completed only the first half of the journey. While on the way to Brazil, one of the migrants families in his care suffered a tragedy: a new mother died, leaving a suckling baby. The husband and father was so upset at losing his wife and the prospect of losing his son that he threatened suicide. Father Marchetti talked him out of it by promising to find a place for the boy. Once the ship docked in Rio de Janeiro, Father Marchetti debarked, baby in arms, in search of an orphanage. He finally did find a religious house for a child, but realized the need for an Italian orphanage, and instead of resuming his work as ship chaplain he began to work on this new ministry. The effort took him to São Paulo, where he found land. At this point, he returned to Italy for a staff for the orphans. His sister, Assunta Marchetti, who had been born August 15, 1871 (hence the name), their mother Carolina, and several other young women organized themselves into an institution of women religious. Father Marchetti escorted them to Piacenza, where, on October 23, 1895, Bishop Scalabrini received their vows and bestowed their missionary crosses. On October 27, Father Marchetti and the women embarked on the *Fortunata Raggio* and on November 20 they arrived at Santos, Brazil, where they disembarked to continue their journey to São Paulo. On December 8 they formally opened the Christopher Columbus Orphanage. The Sisters of Saint Charles did not extend their work to the United States until a mission band arrived in Chicago in the 1930s.⁷⁹⁷

⁷⁹⁶ Michael Augustine Corrigan to Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, New York, November 9, 1988, Francesconi II, 235.

⁷⁹⁷ Lice Maria Signor, *John Baptist Scalabrini: A Socio-Pastoral Project*, trans. Margaret Kocher, O.P. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 103-201.

The North American Scalabrinians' most famous collaboration was with Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini. According to her biographer, Mary Louise Sullivan, Bishop Scalabrini probably met Mother Cabrini in Rome in the third week of November of 1887. Bishop Scalabrini was about to accept the vows of his first missionaries. Mother Cabrini had also just organized her community, the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, and was in Rome seeking papal permission to enter the mission field. At that point, Mother Cabrini thought of being a missionary in the traditional sense of the word; she wanted to go to China and spread the Gospel to those who had not yet heard it. Bishop Scalabrini first suggested the possibility of an American mission, and Pope Leo XIII put it in the context of a long-range plan for developing the sisters' mission. "Not to the East, but to the West," the Holy Father told Mother Cabrini, "the institute is still young. It needs resources. Go to the United States. There you will find the means which will enable you to undertake a great field for work." Accordingly, Mother Cabrini agreed to start her mission in New York City. She arrived in New York aboard the S. S. Bourgoigne on March 31, 1889.⁷⁹⁸

There were difficulties between the Scalabrinians and the Missionaries from the beginning. Both began with different ideas of what the Missionaries ought to be doing. Bishop Scalabrini thought "we needed sisters like those scattered throughout the dioceses of France, who adjust to living in a couple of rooms, and with no pretensions set up the first schools, teach the catechism, and where possible help the sick with all the precautions that prudence and experience suggest."⁷⁹⁹ Small communities of sisters would have no independent sense of mission. They would extend the priests' work where possible but would have no plans or "pretensions" for missions of their own devising, and they would not drain resources but would "adjust to living in a couple of rooms." Mother Cabrini had her own mission in mind: to recruit other women with vocations to religious life and to service, especially, in the early years, service as educators of young children (Mother Cabrini herself was a professional elementary-school teacher) and as caretakers of girls and female adolescents. Such a mission required more than a couple of rooms and it required the sisters do work independent of parish ministry. Sooner or later the two founders, Bishop Scalabrini and Mother Cabrini, would have to let each institute develop its own community life and its own apostolate.

Bishop Scalabrini and Mother Cabrini also differed in their politics. Bishop Scalabrini was interested in a Christian civilization and encouraged his priests to foster the Italian language and customs among the migrants. Mother Cabrini thought this approach conceded too much to those who championed Italian nationalism. She was in the United

⁷⁹⁸ Mary Louise Sullivan, M.S.C., *Mother Cabrini: "Italian Immigrant of the Century"* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992), 40, 45, 64. For a shorter article which touches more directly on this subject, see Mary Louise Sullivan M.S.C., "Scalabrini and Mother Cabrini," in Gianfausto Rosoli, ed., *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989), 371-388.

⁷⁹⁹ Scalabrini, "Relazione dell' Opera dei Missionari di S. Carlo per gli emigrati italiani," August 10, 1900, Giovanni Battista Scalabrini, *Scritti*, 14 vols. (Rome: Congregazione Scalabriniana, 1980) volume II, 173-183. Hereafter *Scritti*.

States about five months when she wrote home that the Scalabrinians in New York seemed more attached to the tricolor (Italian) flag than to the papal gold and white.⁸⁰⁰

Then there were difficulties in New York. The Missionaries began with two tasks in New York. They were to teach at Saint Joachim's and they were to staff an orphanage for Italian girls funded by the Countess Mary Reid di Cesnola, the American-born wife of the Piedmont-born Luigi Palma di Cesnola, director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art. Mary Louise Sullivan and Stephen Michael Di Giovanni have described the problems Mother Cabrini faced regarding the orphanage. Archbishop Corrigan fretted that "Signora di Cesnola is full of confidence, but she is not a Bishop and does not know the heavy responsibility of this work," meaning the difficulties of maintaining cash flow.⁸⁰¹

Bishop Scalabrini took an interest in the orphanage part of the Missionaries' work. When he wrote about them to others, he described them as running an orphanage in New York, and he lobbied for subsidies for them.⁸⁰² The New York Scalabrinians never mentioned the orphanage. Their interest centered around projects which Felice Morelli, superior of the Scalabrinians' New York mission, hoped the Missionaries would staff.

It was Father Morelli who came to the pier when the S. S. Bourgoigne docked on the afternoon of March 31. He came aboard to act as the Missionaries' interpreter. Since they travelled second-class the U.S. immigration officials cleared them for landing aboard ship rather than at the immigration reception station, then still at Castle Garden. According to a Scalabrinian anecdote, the inspector, who happened to be an Irish Catholic, cleared the Missionaries for debarkation and let them go with a final request: "Pray for me, Sister." Father Morelli bent down, whispered a translation in Mother Cabrini's ear, and she said si, si and smiled and nodded as though she understood perfectly.⁸⁰³

Some accounts then have Father Morelli taking the Missionaries to Saint Joachim's for prayers and to the rectory for dinner before giving them some disquieting news. The Scalabrinians' account indicates the sisters received the news under even less comfortable circumstances. Once Father Morelli got them down the gangplank, Mother Cabrini said to him, "I am certain you will not be displeased if we don't stay much longer. The sisters are very tired. Would you have the goodness to accompany us to our convent?" At which point Father Morelli began making gestures of embarrassment and protesting, "It's not our fault, Mother Cabrini, it's not our fault. .. ." Mother Cabrini was able to conceal her sudden concern. "What is it that is not your fault?" "Well, Mother, I am sorry to tell you that the convent doesn't exist." The Scalabrinian account then has Father Morelli showing Mother Cabrini Saint Joachim's, which at that time consisted of two rented rooms, with the comment, "Even for Jesus it was not possible to find a home."⁸⁰⁴

⁸⁰⁰ Sullivan, 95.

⁸⁰¹ Corrigan to Scalabrini, New York, February 5, 1889, Francesconi II, 236.

⁸⁰² Scalabrini to Giovanni Cardinal Simeoni, Piacenza, April 28, 1889, and January 7, 1891, to Domenico Jacobini, Piacenza, January 1891, Scritti I, 243-244, 258, 285-286.

⁸⁰³ Remo Rizzato, *Figure di Missionari Scalabriniani* (New York: D'Alatri's Press, n.d.), 26.

⁸⁰⁴ Rizzato, 27.

Father Morelli had gathered students and provided a space for a school. Father Michael J. Considine, the superior of schools for the archdiocese, described the results. The Scalabrinians were financing Saint Joachim's by renting out the best part of its building, a large and commodious basement, as a "junkshop," or area where ragpickers sorted their gatherings for sale. While not immoral, Father Considine thought it not the best thing for the neighborhood. The sisters taught in another part of the building, which Father Considine thought was too small. He also noted the doors opened inward, a violation of the fire code. The one small bathroom that served both boys and girls could be smelled from a distance; it was a danger to health and morals. None of the three classrooms were large enough or well-ventilated. The middle one, ironically, was the best in terms of light and air, at least when it was not raining. When it did rain, the roof leaked so badly the room could not be used. Father Considine was not sure what kind of education the children were getting even when they were not distracted by drafts and raindrops, because only one Missionary spoke English. When the day was over, the Missionaries went to their convent in a common flat, which was in as poor condition as their school.

Father Considine also noted a certain economic exploitation of the Missionaries. The Scalabrinians' budget allocated the Missionaries \$10 per month for living expenses. The Missionaries were supposed to raise this themselves by charging the children in the parochial school 50 cents per month. The Scalabrinians were supposed to make up the difference, but they did not; at the time of Father Considine's inspection they owed the Missionaries \$500.⁸⁰⁵

Two months after the Missionaries arrived Father Morelli still had no convent for them. Archbishop Corrigan protested to Bishop Scalabrini.⁸⁰⁶ Father Morelli began showing the Missionaries around, but every piece of real estate was either unsuitably cramped and ill-ventilated or so well-kept that the Missionaries suspected it was usually used as a house of ill-repute. In June of 1889 the Missionaries got a place, but it required them to take four half-hour walks each day: to Saint Joachim's in the morning, to the convent for lunch, to Saint Joachim's for the afternoon classes, and home for the evening.⁸⁰⁷ Father Morelli still had not begun to pay the Missionaries regularly. And the next year, he began a new project which threatened to exploit the Missionaries' labor even more.

On December 3, 1890, Father Morelli received permission to open a hospital, which he named for Christopher Columbus. This was to be staffed by the Sisters of Saint Anne, who were already involved in health care to some degree with their home for deaf-mute girls. A community of Saint Anne sisters came to New York in March of 1891. The Saint Anne sisters, though, did not last long, for Father Morelli had no plans to pay them, either, and their constitution did not permit them to go begging. It was at this point that Father Morelli and Bishop Scalabrini thought of the Missionaries, who had no experience

⁸⁰⁵ Michael J. Considine to Corrigan, New York, June 6, 1892, AANY microfilm roll No. 14.

⁸⁰⁶ Corrigan to Scalabrini, Newburgh, New York, May 8, 1889, Francesconi II, 237-238.

⁸⁰⁷ Sullivan, 81-82.

with health care (indeed, Mother Cabrini was uncomfortable with the idea) but who were already in the United States and whose rules did permit begging. For her part, Mother Cabrini saw her chance and took it. She agreed to help Father Morelli, but not by staffing the hospital for him. She wanted to buy it. It would stretch the Missionaries' available resources, but then it would be their mission, independent of the Scalabrinians. Unable to pay the debts they had incurred or to hire the labor that would bring in revenue to the hospital that could be used to pay the debts, the Scalabrinians relinquished the hospital in August of 1892, and the Missionaries acquired a new mission field.⁸⁰⁸

The Missionaries went on to become a well-established and successful institute. Father Morelli refrained from taking too much credit, declaring, "God alone helped Mother Cabrini . . . she had to begin with nothing. . . ."⁸⁰⁹ Bishop Scalabrini evaluated his role thus: "I opened for them the doors to America, where they do much good, but it is not the good I planned for our congregation."⁸¹⁰ Meanwhile, he cultivated other institutes of women religious in the hopes that he could develop a community more amenable to working under Scalabrinian guidance.

Clelia Merloni was born to Joachim Merloni and his wife Theresa Brandinelli on March 1, 1861, in Forlì, Romagna. She had an early sense of vocation, but not to any of the established institutes of women religious. In 1894 she founded a new institute, the Apostles of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, in Viareggio, Tuscany. Besides practicing devotion to the Sacred Heart and encouraging it in others, the women in the institute carried out various works of charity. In 1899, the nascent institute lost its endowment. The sisters formed teams of two to go out begging. One team called on Bishop Scalabrini in February, and the bishop saw in them the potential for another institute to aid the Scalabrinians. On June 10, 1900, he established the remnant of the Apostles as a diocesan institute and on June 11 Clelia Merloni and the remaining members of the institute pronounced vows before him.⁸¹¹

As with Mother Cabrini, differences between Bishop Scalabrini and Mother Merloni surfaced quickly. Bishop Scalabrini wanted to change the institute's name to reflect his hopes the sisters would be missionaries. Mother Merloni did not want to change the name; it seemed a first step in changing the institute's purpose.⁸¹² The problem was complicated by Vatican opinion that the word "apostle" properly described a group of men, not women. The institute coined a new word, and, for a time, went by the name Missionary Zelatrices of the Sacred Heart. (It resumed its original name in 1967.)

The bishop and mother superior also differed as to how to proceed. Bishop Scalabrini wanted to merge the Apostles with two other nascent institutes to form one community

⁸⁰⁸ Sullivan, 93.

⁸⁰⁹ Rizzato, 28.

⁸¹⁰ Scalabrini, "Relazione dell' Opera dei Missionari di S. Carlo per gli emigrati italiani," *Scritti* I, 182.

⁸¹¹ *History of the Congregation of the Apostles of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (1861-1961)*, trans. Antonine Signorelli, A.S.C.J. (n.p., 1971).

⁸¹² Signor, 221.

of women religious who would then enter the mission field.⁸¹³ On the other hand, he criticized Mother Merloni for creating such a large community so fast.⁸¹⁴

The Apostles began their U.S. mission in 1902. On May 16, Bishop Scalabrini gave missionary crosses to six sisters who were sailing to the United States to open the Italian parochial school at Sacred Heart in Boston that the bishop had asked for during his 1901 pastoral visit. Roberto Biasotti, Sacred Heart's pastor, was only a little more prepared to receive the Apostles than Father Morelli had been to receive the Missionaries, and soon ran out of funds to support their work.⁸¹⁵ Fortunately, a second chance arose in New Haven. Salvatore Barbato, an assistant at Saint Michael's was organizing a Società di Carità to provide under Catholic auspices the services available at Protestant or secular philanthropies. The Apostles arrived in New Haven on July 6, 1906. The next day, they began begging for funds with which to open a nursery for the children of Italian Catholic working families. For the first two months the Apostles stayed at the Saint Joseph Guest House, run by the Daughters of the Holy Ghost, then they opened their convent and a nursery at 81 Olive Street. By 1923 they had a row of houses at 121-125 Greene Street, from which they ran an orphanage, their provincial house, and their novitiate. They also staffed a nursery at facilities at Saint Michael's.⁸¹⁶ From there, the Apostles spread to other kinds of missions at other Scalabrinian parishes in New York and New England.

The Scalabrinians in Milwaukee built on the work of one band of sisters and worked with a second institute. On October 21, 1912, Archbishop Sebastian Messmer of Milwaukee authorized the Carmelite Sisters of the Divine Heart of Jesus to enter the archdiocese. On December 6, 1918, he authorized their purchase of a house at 681 Cass Street (later renumbered 1329 North Cass Street.) The Carmelites purchased the property December 18, 1918, and on July 19, 1919, they transferred ownership to the Archdiocese of Milwaukee; they may have never actually lived in the building. Apparently, the Carmelites had been interested in the Italian apostolate, and on August 11, 1919, Archbishop Messmer signed an agreement whereby he would use for Italian Catholics the property transferred to him.⁸¹⁷

Twelve Sisters of Charity of Saint Joan Antida Tournet came to the city in 1932 to work among Italian migrants. At that point, the Scalabrinians had one parish, Our Lady of Pompei. Another mission, Saint Rita, which had gathered at the Carmelites' house on Cass Street, was developing into a second parish; in fact, the Scalabrinians had moved out of Our Lady of Pompei, where they had 350 families to tend, and lived at Saint Rita's, where they had 706 families. The Sisters of Charity established themselves in both places. Five Sisters of Charity moved into the former rectory at Our Lady of Pompei, where they taught Italian, ran an after-school program (either catechesis or daycare for the children of families both of whose parents worked) and a nursery. Another seven Sisters of Charity

⁸¹³ Signor, 220.

⁸¹⁴ Scalabrini to Clelia Merloni, n.p., 1899, Scritti IV, 255.

⁸¹⁵ Giacomo Gambera, 132.

⁸¹⁶ Anthony Bua, C.S., "Historical Notes on Saint Michael's Parish in New Haven, Connecticut," *Ninetieth Anniversary of St. Michael's Church, New Haven, Conn.* (n.p., n.d. [1979]).

⁸¹⁷ "History of Saint Rita's Church," photocopy courtesy of Rose Mastrogiovanni.

lived in the rectory at Saint Rita's, doing sacristan work in the chapel and conducting youth ministries. (The Scalabrinians had moved to an adjacent house.) By 1936, the Scalabrinians and Sisters of Charity were competing to further the aims of their own institutes. The Scalabrinians wanted two complete parishes, in which Scalabrinians would be pastors and Sisters of Charity would teach parochial school. The Sisters of Charity, whose mission so far had extended more to social service and noneducational parish ministry than to elementary-school teaching, wanted to build a convent and novitiate within Saint Rita's territory but independent of the parish.⁸¹⁸

Milwaukee's Scalabrinian pastor, Ugo Cavicchi, thought the solution was simple. The Archdiocese of Milwaukee should give permission for a parochial school at Saint Rita's. He explained to Archbishop Samuel Stritch that "As soon as Your Excellency will make the decision and the Sisters will be properly notified, every other problem will be reduced to the usual routine work of any parish." The Sisters of Charity did not see it that way, and, in May of 1936, provincial superior Beniamino Franch wrote to Apostolic Delegate Amleto Cicognani requesting him to meet with Ugo Cavicchi and hear how the Scalabrinians' plans were being blocked by the sisters' hostile attitudes. Archbishop Cicognani replied that in his position he could not support one side against the other but would have to investigate both.⁸¹⁹

The difference of opinion between the Scalabrinians and the Sisters of Charity regarding the sisters' mission dragged on through 1937 before producing a winner. The archbishop, Cicognani ruled, was the proper person to invite institutes of women religious into the archdiocese and to ensure that the sisters' work and community life accorded with their institutes' constitutions. Confirming the archbishop's authority strengthened the Sisters of Charity's position, because their constitution, which he was bound to uphold, deemphasized parochial-school teaching. In September of 1937 Archbishop Stritch sent Father Cavicchi an outline of the Sisters of Charity's work at Our Lady of Pompei and Saint Rita's. The one concession to the Scalabrinians' desire for a parochial school was that the Sisters of Charity were to open a first-grade class at Saint Rita's. Otherwise, Archbishop Stritch supported the Sisters of Charity's mission to assist in general parish life. The Sisters of Charity supplied an organist, maintained the sacristy, catechized parish youth, supervised the young women's sodality and ran nurseries and after-school programs.

As with the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart, part of the disagreement between the Scalabrinians and Sisters of Charity had concerned the material support the Sisters of Charity received. Archbishop Stritch was careful to spell out the compensation due to the Sisters of Charity for their labors. The organist at Our Lady of Pompei should get a salary and both the Pompei and Saint Rita organists should get a dollar from each stipend tendered for sung masses. The nursery and first-grade Sisters of Charity were to get

⁸¹⁸ "Pro-Memoria for a Solution to the difficulty existing between the Pious Society and the Sisters of Charity (foundation of St. Joan Antida Tournet) regarding the development of the Italian parish of Milwaukee" (typescript, 1936), SJB, Box 281, folder D.

⁸¹⁹ Ugo Cavicchi to Samuel Stritch, Milwaukee, March 2, 1936; Franch to Amleto Cicognani, Melrose Park, May 6, 1936, SIB, Box 28, Folder D; Cicognani to Franch, Washington, May 9, 1936, SJB, Box 28, folder D.

salaries of \$30 per month. The Scalabrinians were to meet the Sisters of Charity's living expenses at their convent.⁸²⁰

Giacomo Gambera left a shorter record of his experiences introducing Italian institutes of women religious into various places. In his case, the record was mixed, with pleasant experiences balancing contentiousness. When Father Gambera arrived in New York December 8, 1889, he met Mother Cabrini, who had already been in the United States nine months. Although they spent only eight days occasionally running into each other while she and the Missionaries tried to work with Father Morelli and Father Gambera made connections to travel to his assignment in New Orleans, they made some impression on each other. When Father Gambera found himself trying to revive community morale in the aftermath of the 1891 New Orleans lynching, he thought of Mother Cabrini. He was one of the few Scalabrinians with some grasp of Mother Cabrini's priorities, and in his request for services in New Orleans he pointed out that by helping him she could establish her institute in the Gulf of Mexico and therefore open a way for future expansion across the Caribbean. Mother Cabrini did come to New Orleans and outlasted the Scalabrinians there. When Father Gambera arrived in Chicago to find his predecessor had left Santa Maria Addolorata heavily in debt and dispirited, he again contacted Mother Cabrini, who came to his assistance briefly and then went on to organize a hospital for Chicago's Italians.⁸²¹

When Father Gambera worked with the Daughters of Saint Mary of Providence, though, he had more difficulties. The Daughters had begun in 1872 as a band of women working among the poor. In 1881, Luigi Guanella took this community in hand and worked to form it into a canonical institute of female religious who specialized in working with the handicapped. He also worked to extend the Daughters' mission. Father Guanella had known Bishop Scalabrini during their schooldays, so when he came to the United States to seek work for the Daughters of Providence, he contacted the Scalabrinians at Sacred Heart in Boston. Father Vittorio Gregori accompanied Father Guanella around the United States and served as an interpreter. Among the stops the two made was one in Chicago. Apparently, they took Father Gambera with them for their meeting with Archbishop George Mundelein. Archbishop Mundelein told Father Guanella he thought he had enough institutions for the handicapped, but he did want the Daughters to open a home for insane Catholic religious, to avoid the expense, inconvenience and occasional scandal that accompanied committing such people to public lunatic asylums. Father Guanella agreed, and asked Father Gambera if he would find some sort of employment and housing for the first band of Daughters until they learned English and got settled in Chicago. Father Gambera did so. When the Daughters arrived in 1913, Father Gambera used them to open nurseries at Santa Maria Addolorata and later at Santa Maria Incoronata.

⁸²⁰ Cavicchi to Stritch, Milwaukee, March 2, 1936, SJB, Box 28, folder D, Stritch to Cavicchi, n.p., September 7, 1937, SJB, Box 28, folder D.

⁸²¹ Gambera, 85, 147-148.

Accounts of the Daughters' arrival varied. Sister Rose Bertolini wrote the members of the congregation in Italy that when the Daughters came to Chicago, they found "only the walls and nothing more, not a chair, not beds, neither kitchen nor means to eat." However, charitable Chicagoans soon supplied them with everything they needed. Father Gambera's account, written down years later in his admittedly disillusioned old age, differed. He was disappointed with the Daughters' mother superior; he thought her conduct was not up to the dignity of her position, and he charged that she furnished her convent with beds, linens, utensils and furniture appropriated from Santa Maria Addolorata.

Interestingly, there is a letter by Father Gambera written at the time the Daughters first came to Chicago, which shows him in a less disappointed mood. Father Gambera thought the Addolorata nursery beneficial not because there were none in the neighborhood but because there were two: one at the public school and one at the Chicago Commons settlement. His nursery, though, sheltered the preschoolers from the influences at those two institutions and imparted a solid Italian Catholic education. While using the stock phrases about the Daughters' good spirits and hard work, he also provided some detail that lets the modern reader know more about what that "hard work" entailed. The Daughters had a large place for their nursery: "a large room for physical exercises, another furnished with a variety of playthings, another room for dining, a bath, a kitchen and a beautiful courtyard for agreeable diversions." They needed all this room: they took care of 300 children, aged three to six, from 7:00 a.m. to 8:00 p.m. This was not their only work. "They attend the nursery, teach Sunday school, do the general cleaning and with one kitchen prepare the meals for the babies and for the Reverend Fathers."⁸²²

Usually, the North American Scalabrinians worked with communities that were already established in the United States. The Scalabrinians at the Saint Raphael Society and at Our Lady of Pompei in New York worked with the Pallottine Sisters of Charity, the female branch of the Pious Society of Missions. The first Pallottine sisters came to New York to work with the Pallottine priests at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in East Harlem. When in 1901 Father Gambera expanded the Saint Raphael work to include a hospice providing food and lodging, the Pallottines established a community at the Saint Raphael house in 8-10 Charlton Street. Chapter six described how the Pallottines' contribution had to be teased out of the statistics the Scalabrinian fathers provided. More direct confirmation of the Pallottines' contribution came in 1921, when Saint Raphael's regular chaplain, Gaspare Moretto, departed suddenly for Italy and Father Demo took charge during his absence. Perhaps Father Demo took this occasion to meet a diocesan requirement he knew Father Moretto had neglected, or perhaps he suspected Father Moretto's embezzlement of funds might become public knowledge and wanted to be ready. Whatever the reason, he scheduled a visitation from archdiocesan officials. Gaetano Arcese, an archdiocesan priest and pastor of Holy Rosary in East Harlem, made the visitation and filed a report considerably at variance with those of the Saint Raphael

⁸²² Gambera, 150-153; Alejandro Dieguez to Lydio F. Tomasi, Rome, May 5, 1995.

Society, in which all activity centered on the chaplain, the agent and their work on Ellis Island.

There were eight Pallottines at Charlton Street. Mother M. Virginia was the superior; she had been a Pallottine for nineteen years and at Saint Raphael for ten years. The other seven sisters were Theresa, Elvira, Gabriella, Nazarena, Ernestina, Gertrude and Domenica. Their ages are unknown, but Sister Theresa was the newest member of the institute, having joined in about 1916, and Sister Domenica was the eldest, having joined in about 1891. Sister Gertrude had been at Saint Raphael the longest, since about 1907 (also her length of time as a Pallottine), and Sister Elvira was the newcomer, having been there since 1919. (Father Moretto had been there longer than any of the Pallottines.) Their religious names concealed their ethnicity, but Sister Domenica's parents lived in Italy, Sister Gertrude's parents lived in Ireland and the others all had parents and relatives in the United States. Two, Sister Ernestina and Sister Domenica, staffed a nursery at nearby Our Lady of Pompei. Sister Gertrude was a housekeeper and sacristan to Father Moretto, whose apartment was in the Charlton Street complex. Sister Gabriella and Sister Nazarena did the housework, preparing meals and keeping things neat for the migrant boarders and lodgers. Sister Elvira tended the children living at the home, of which there were nine at the time of Father Arcese's visitation. Sister Theresa "takes care of the immigrants" in some unspecified manner. In addition, Sister Theresa, Sister Elvira, Sister Gabriella, Sister Nazarena and Sister Gertrude went begging thrice weekly. Through such begging, plus the \$25 per month that Our Lady of Pompei paid for the two sisters who worked at the nursery, the Pallottines paid all Saint Raphael's expenses. Once they met ongoing expenses, the Pallottines applied any extra money to their debt of \$4,000. Actually, the Pallottines gave the money to Father Moretto, who kept the books without consulting them. "It appears to me," Father Arcese concluded, "that the Saint Raphael's Society is really in the hands of the Scalabrinian Fathers and they are receiving all the benefits from houses at Charlton Street, without incurring any inconvenience, for the Sisters are doing all the work and the financial returns are accruing to the Scalabrini Fathers." The Pallottines did get some financial security in the end. When the Archdiocese of New York shut down the Saint Raphael Society, Gherardo Ferrante, who handled the Pallottines' financial affairs, secured the real estate for them.⁸²³

Some Scalabrinian parishes had institutes of women religious who conducted ministries in parishes but independent of them. The records of relations between priests and sisters in these cases varied, perhaps reflecting the circumstances and personalities involved and perhaps reflecting the type of record preserved. In private letters, Vincenzo Jannuzzi indicated he was keeping a careful eye on the Sisters of Christian Doctrine. Marion Gurney, the institute's foundress, had become interested in the Italian apostolate, and in 1900 she organized the Saint Rose Settlement in what was then an immigrant neighborhood on East 71st Street. By 1915 she had dedicated herself to the religious life as well as to parish ministry, and she and the Sisters of Christian Doctrine had opened a settlement, Madonna House, on Cherry Street, in the neighborhood of Saint Joachim's.

⁸²³ Gaetano Arcese to Patrick J. Hayes, New York, September 10, 1921, AANY Microfilm roll No. 21; Gambera, 141.

Like a parish, Madonna House organized sodalities for Catholic women, which bothered Father Jannuzzi because the monthly dues collected at such sodalities benefited the settlement and not the parish.⁸²⁴ For a while, Father Jannuzzi hoped he and the Sisters of Christian Doctrine could work together, which meant he wanted the sisters to staff a nursery school for Saint Joachim's. When the Sisters of Christian Doctrine said, "they would take care of themselves," instead of affiliating with Saint Joachim, Father Jannuzzi vented his irritation in a letter to the archbishop. The Sisters of Christian Doctrine, he charged,

should have been the ones to cooperate with me in this great work. Although this is not the time to speak, I wish to inform Your Grace that these sisters (if you so wish to call them) are doing all in their power get the young people of the parish who come in contact with them to frequent other churches than mine. This they have time for instead of watching the little children who are out being taken every day by the Protestants.⁸²⁵

The Scalabrinians in Sacred Heart in Cincinnati worked with the woman who, after Mother Cabrini, was probably the second best-known Italian-American sister in the United States, Sister Blandina Segale of the Sisters of Charity. Born Rosa Maria Segale near the city of Genoa in about 1850, she and her family came to the United States in 1854. They became owners of a series of small businesses in Cincinnati. In 1866, at age, 16, their daughter joined the Sisters of Charity. That same year, the Sisters of Charity sent her to the Far West. She spent 27 years there. Her adventures were recounted in her book, *At the End of the Santa Fe Trail*. In 1893 she took a new assignment back in Cincinnati, working with Italian migrants at the Santa Maria Institute. Her co-worker in this enterprise was her blood sister and Sister of Charity Justina Segale. The Santa Maria Institute met a variety of migrant needs. At different times, Sister Blandina and Sister Justina oversaw a nursery and kindergarten; recreational groups; classes in citizenship, English, home economics and Italian; a Sunday school; an employment bureau; and a program to serve juvenile delinquents. While the Sisters of Charity were not directly connected with the Scalabrinians, the Santa Maria Institute did parish work such as prepare youngsters for first communion and confirmation. Sister Justina worked among the Italians of Cincinnati for 36 years, until her death, which took place on August 12, 1929. Sister Blandina died February 21, 1941, after almost 48 years with the Italians of Cincinnati.⁸²⁶

⁸²⁴ Vincenzo Jannuzzi to Marion Gurney, New York, June 18, 1915, CMS No. 035, Box 1, General Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents-1915 folder.

⁸²⁵ Jannuzzi to Hayes, New York, March 8, 1920, AANY microfilm roll No. 2. For more on Madonna House, see Margaret M. McGuinness, "Body and Soul: Immigration and Catholic Social Settlements," *U.S. Catholic Historian* XIII:3 (Summer 1995), 63-75.

⁸²⁶ Louis Bolzan, CS., *Memories of an Italian Parish* (n.p., n.d. [1974], 5, 64, 82. See also Diane Raptosh, "Italian/American Women on the Frontier: Sister Blandina Segale on the Santa Fe Trail," in Dominic Candeloro et al., *Italian Ethnics: Their Languages, Literature and Lives: Proceedings of the Twentieth Annual Conference of the American Italian Historical Association*. . . 1987 (New York: American Italian Historical Association, 1990), 91-107, and McGuinness, "Body and Soul."

Overall, relations between Scalabrinians and various institutes of women religious indicated that most Scalabrinians were so firmly committed to furthering their own religious institute by strengthening their position as priests for Italian parishes that they did not consider the women's viewpoint. They saw the sisters as extensions of themselves, additional laborers to do the work in the sacristy and classroom. They did not see the sisters as members of separate institutes, equally committed to those institutes' development. This dismal conclusion is also a familiar one. Mary J. Oates is only one example of those who have found that once clergy and laity outside the cloister developed the image of "the good sisters," they gave little thought to understanding the missions of various institutes of women religion, let alone providing material support.⁸²⁷

Ignoring women, though, was not the kind of wrongdoing that concerned the Scalabrinian leadership. While they did not often preach to the missionaries about the temptations of women (and they never mentioned homosexuality), the leadership did worry about too great a familiarity with women and the possibility for sexual scandal. Unfortunately, their anxieties about scandal put them in the position of concentrating on appearances rather than realities. When someone did violate a vow of chastity, the leadership's concern for appearances limited their options for punishing and rehabilitating the offender.

Appearances at the most highly visible Scalabrinian house were pretty suspicious. The Scalabrinians had rules regarding cloister, and discouraged laity, even males, from sharing meals at rectory tables. Father Demo honored them in the breach, as this female friend knew. "It is with pleasure that I accept your courteous invitation, which you gave me for next Wednesday; it is always my heart's desire to find myself among friends and companions of good fortune." However, she continued in a light tone, "the work of charity isn't finished: besides feeding the hungry one also lodges the pilgrims. Therefore, abusing your hospitality, I ask lodging for the evening, and thank you in advance." The writer was Antoinette Scagni, a member of the parish drama group.⁸²⁸

Appearances can also be deceiving. Later reformers criticized the pioneering Scalabrinians for their scandalous lives. Actually, a core of veteran missionaries formed a kind of morals squad, monitoring the behavior of the less committed. Father Demo once confiscated one assistant's outgoing mail, which consisted of a stack of post cards addressed to parish girls, each one with a flattering paragraph or a little verse — a sort of mass mailing of mash notes. Angelo Luigi Strazzoni reported that one of the other Scalabrinians in upstate New York had been caught in a corner of the rectory parlor, "in sweet colloquy with a beautiful girl. . . ." While most of the letter was in Italian, Father Strazzoni wrote out in his best English that the offender was a "bad priest." Ludovico

⁸²⁷ Mary J. Oates, "The Good Sisters': The Work and Position of Catholic Churchwomen in Boston, 1870-1940," in Robert E. Sullivan and James M. O'Toole, eds., *Catholic Boston: Studies in Religion and Community, 1870-1970* (Boston: The Archdiocese of Boston, 1985), 171-200. See also Carol K. Coburn and Marth Smith, C.S.J., "Creating Community and Identity: Exploring Religious and Gender Ideology in the Lives of American Women Religious, 1836-1920," *U.S. Catholic Historian* XIV: I (Winter 1996), 91-108.

⁸²⁸ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, June 24, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder; Antoinette Scagni to Demo, New York, May 20, 1925, CMS No. 037, Box 5, folder 33.

Toma of Saint Lazarus reported that a visiting Scalabrinian disrupted Sunday high mass. Father Toma had intoned *ite missa est* and he and the congregation waited for the organ to provide a starting note for the response. The note never came; instead, there was a discordant crescendo from the balcony. Upon investigation, Father Toma found out his visitor had climbed to the organ loft and was trying to kiss the organist. She was trying to evade him and not only missed her cue but also leaned back against the keyboard, thus sounding the dissonant notes. Francesco Berti and Tarcisio Prevedello of Holy Ghost reported on a colleague who approached a woman descending the church steps after mass. They were too far away to discern what he said or did but they could tell she was offended; she slapped his face. She also told her husband, who showed up at the rectory that afternoon threatening to punch the offender.⁸²⁹

As Father Strazzoni sighed, "the least imprudence is enough to create a scandal."⁸³⁰ That was the problem: how to punish and rehabilitate the guilty without conveying the impression that such people represented the entire Scalabrinian institute? The Scalabrinians' favorite method for disciplining those who broke vows of chastity was to transfer them. This ended contact between the tempted and temptation, it punished the offender with close supervision at a new and sometimes less desirable post far from at least one close friend, and it reduced the risks to the institute's reputation. Such transfers worked best with repentant sinners. During the time when the Scalabrinians were under direct Vatican supervision, officials had offenders make retreats in the United States or come to Rome for rehabilitation and then reassigned them to a new mission field within the United States.⁸³¹

Transfers did not always work: Scalabrinians who broke vows of chastity also broke vows of obedience and declined to be transferred. The Scalabrinians had such a case in 1910. Cesare Spigardi of Saint Louis warned Father Demo of impending disaster. The priest in question "for one year, about, behaved himself like a true priest, zealous, prompt, indefatigable, obedient in everything. Two months ago, he lost his head. He is in love with a Tuscan nurse." Four days later, Father Demo had got the culprit to Boston but could get him no further. Vittorio Oregon of Sacred Heart reported he "absolutely refused to go to Italy, much less to South America," and the nurse had followed him from Saint Louis.⁸³²

⁸²⁹ CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Ginocchio folder; Strazzoni to Demo, August 28, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Doglio folder; Marchegiani to Rossi, Utica, October 31, 1932, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1932 folder.

⁸³⁰ Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, September 3, 1914, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Ginocchio folder.

⁸³¹ Gaetano Cardinal De Lai to Leonardo Quaglia, Rome, December 11, 1924, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1924 folder; Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, December 13, 1932, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1932 folder.

⁸³² Cesare Spigardi to Demo, Saint Louis, August 8, 1910, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Buoniuti folder; Vittorio Oregon to Demo, Boston, August 12, 1910, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Buoniuti folder.

Episcopal authorities knew that transfers could cover many sins, and tended to be suspicious of them, as western regional superior Beniamino Franch found out. Father Franch wrote what he hoped looked like a routine letter to the archbishop of Cincinnati, announcing that for "poor health and personal reasons" he had to make a transfer in the Scalabrinian parish there. The chancellor called his bluff, saying he had already received complaints about the priest in question. Now that the priest was not returning to Cincinnati, the chancery would not launch an investigation, but it would like to know where to send the evidence collected so far. Father Franch asked the evidence to be forwarded to him, hoping to discover if the archbishop knew what he knew: the transferee was in good health and the "personal reasons" for the transfer were that the priest had been carrying on an affair with a married woman whose husband discovered the relationship.⁸³³

Transfers were not always appropriate. They worked best if they were to remedy a fairly narrow definition of the breach of the vow of chastity, a case of an illicit but consensual relationship when, despite the rules distancing men and women, a temptress appeared and the priest, despite knowing better, succumbed. The Scalabrinians occasionally dealt with nonconsensual breaches of the vow of chastity. The best-documented case involves the niece of Luigi Franchinotti, pastor of Holy Rosary in Kansas City.

A Scalabrinian priest in another city needed a housekeeper, and Father Franchinotti nominated his niece to the position. Soon thereafter, the woman telegraphed her uncle to come to her. When he got there, she told him the assistant at the parish had assaulted her. She had escaped from the rectory and so far, had told no one, not even the pastor, who also happened to be, unfortunately for her, the regional superior. Father Franchinotti had no such inhibitions and consulted as many Scalabrinians as he could. They shared his outrage. One of them even suggested that since attempted rape was a crime, they should notify the police or at least the ordinary.

However, they could do nothing without breaking their own vows of obedience; the thing to do was to go to the regional superior with their story and ask for action. When they approached the regional superior, he refused to do anything at all. The Scalabrinians were shorthanded, so a transfer was out of the question. Besides, the victim had not come to him and she had no evidence. Although he was the only one giving the assistant the benefit of the doubt, he was also the only one with the power to discipline him — perhaps. When Father Franchinotti got back to Kansas City, he drafted a letter to the superior general in Rome.⁸³⁴ The accused was transferred to the watchful eye of Father Demo in New York.

The incident shows the Scalabrinians' strengths and weaknesses. They were not so thoroughly indoctrinated with the notion of woman as temptress that they could not

⁸³³ Franch to John McNicholas, O.P., Melrose Park, December 8, 1927; Marcellus Wagner to Franch, Cincinnati, December 15, 1927; Leonardo Quaglia to Franch, New Haven, December 6, 1927, SJB, Box 20, P. Stefanetti folder.

⁸³⁴ Luigi Franchinotti to De Lai, Kansas City, May 25, 1926, SJB, Box 28, folder E; Pacifico Chenuil to Demo, June 6, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder; Gambera, 265.

conceive of one of their confreres forcing his attentions on someone who was unwilling to accept them. In fact, their self-image as priests and protectors of those in their care even led them to question whether they ought not expose their confrere's crimes. On the other hand, individual Scalabrinians could not act themselves. And overall, they shared the common concern for reputation that led them to find ways to keep their problems hidden rather than to solve them.

There were times, though, when the proper personalities held the proper positions, when the situation was one the Scalabrinians had the knowledge and ability to handle, and when their stereotypes of proper gender behavior functioned to help someone. Such a case happened in 1913. Domenico Ricci, who had been a Scalabrinian but was now serving as a secular priest in Meriden, Connecticut, had a parishioner with a problem that the priest could not solve. Remembering his Scalabrinian associates, he wrote to Father Demo about it. His letter, originally in Italian, conveyed the sense of shock he felt that someone would take advantage of the vulnerable:

Will you let me know if in New York one can find maternity homes, houses which accommodate unfortunate young ladies on the way to having a family. Because a youth has to come to me here in Meriden who has need of that refuge.

If you well tell me how these things go and tell me what to say to this youth.

She told me that in September of last year a certain J. B. of Meriden, a married man, the wife of whom lives in Italy, he told her in the factory, where they work together, to come to his house to write for him an important letter in Italian, and that for that he would offer her a dollar.

The girl refused the first time, making the observation to B. that the letter could be written by a [that is, B's] daughter[,] who lived alone with her father for a few years and who knew Italian.

Replied B. that his little daughter did not know much Italian. The girl then, educated by sisters in Italy, ignorant of the diabolical malice of certain men and trusting in the company of the daughter of B., consented to go. Then went in the house of B. and his daughter.

She began to write the letter and addressed the letter to me, of which she said, Father, you know the content.

And she got to the end of writing, this girl told me, and B. said to his daughter[,] who always stayed in the house [,] to go out for some errand.

The young writer would have opposed this and left to go, so as not to be alone with him, but B. said she would soon return, so then she did not resist.

The unfortunate girl remained and B., finishing the letter in furious haste, assaulted the girl, who in the struggle following, made a strong try at defending herself from his violating her. And now she has been violated. I omit other things that she told, me, this F because silence is better.

And now she came to me to pray me to take care of her crying, because she needs refuge in such a house as I proposed.⁸³⁵

The point here is the effect on the recipient. It was just the sort of letter to send Father Demo; it flattered his position as provider for the needy. He answered the letter as soon as he got it. He wrote reassuringly that not only did New York have maternity

⁸³⁵ Domenico Ricci to Demo, Meriden, January 21, 1913, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Ricci folder.

hospitals but he also explained, with a touch of big-city sophistication, that "here they are the refuge also for the most respectable mothers, who prefer to give birth in this place, especially if their homes lack accommodations." He gave the address of New York Foundling Hospital, but added gallantly, "when the girl comes here, I will take her there myself."⁸³⁶

Perhaps he even offered her some hospitality at the rectory.

⁸³⁶ Demo to Ricci, New York, January 22, 1912, CMS No. 005, Box 5, copybook.



10

A New World Order

When did the early Scalabrinians' world change forever? There are a number of important dates. The work of Scalabrinian missionaries in North America increased in 1914, when World War I cut off communication with Italy, increased again in 1915, when Italy entered the war, increased again in 1917, when the United States entered the war, and reached a peak in 1918, when their parishioners began to catch the Spanish flu. The institute's relationship with the Vatican, which had already suffered from the deaths of those who presided over the Scalabrinians' foundation, was also threatened in 1914, when new leadership in the Vatican began to lay plans for Italian migrant pastoral care. The American Scalabrinians' relationship to their leadership in Rome began to change in 1919, when the institute elected a third superior general, who then embarked on a controversial program to improve recruitment. Scalabrinian history treats the events of 1919-1924 as part of a drama of fall and redemption: the new program signaled how far the institute had fallen from its founder's vision and caused a painful but ultimately beneficial intervention from the highest levels of the Vatican. This chapter adds some complexity to that redemptive drama. Vatican efforts to improve migrant pastoral care put the Scalabrinians in the position of choosing between two of their founder's plans. The new superior general was not representative of all Scalabrinians; in fact, at least some American Scalabrinians criticized his policies regarding the institute's mission. This chapter will cover events of 1914 to the eve of 1924, with particular emphasis on the different viewpoints of the Vatican leadership, the Scalabrinians' leadership and the Scalabrinian missionaries in the field.

Like others, the Scalabrinians were not expecting World War I. As the summer of 1914 approached, those that could afford it were thinking of vacations. At some point, Pio Parolin came to Orient Heights to substitute for Ludovico Toma while the latter went to Italy. Shortly before June 28, 1914, the day that Gavrilo Princip assassinated Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie, Giacomo Gambera departed for Italy. Father Gambera had undergone an operation for gallstones in Chicago in December of 1913 and still felt sickly. He had not been back to Italy since 1900, when he helped plan Bishop Scalabrini's 1901 pastoral visit to the United States. Accordingly, he decided to vacation there in 1914. He spent nearly three weeks at the health resort of Montecatini, and then went on to another health resort at Viareggio. Others lacked the money or time for vacations. Father Demo stayed in New York, dealing with local crises such as Giovanni

Battista Cuneo's decision to leave the Catholic Church, and also his post at Saint Peter's in Syracuse.

Father Gambera had been at Viareggio less than a week when, on July 28, the Austro-Hungarian empire declared war on Serbia. Over the next week, the Great Powers of Europe chose sides: German and Austria-Hungary, later aided by the Ottoman Empire and Bulgaria, composed the Central Powers. Russia, France, and England were the largest nations among the Allies. Italy announced its neutrality, but Father Gambera, who knew the Minister of Foreign Affairs, asked him which way Italy was leaning. Prince San Giuliano replied that the public was very anti-Austrian because Austria owned land which contained Italian-speaking people and therefore rightly belonged to the Kingdom of Italy. However, Prince San Giuliano himself thought France was a greater threat.⁸³⁷

In August, another event detained the vacationing Scalabrinians in Italy. Pope Pius X died on August 20. Father Gambera had met the Holy Father in 1889, when Gambera was helping Bishop Scalabrini with his first national catechetical congress and Pius was still Giuseppe Sarto, Bishop of Mantua. Father Gambera went to Rome and joined in the funeral rites. Catholics around the world mourned the pope's death and began to pray for guidance for the College of Cardinals that would elect the new pontiff. In East Boston, Pio Parolin organized a memorial mass at Saint Lazarus for Pius and preached the sermon.⁸³⁸

"The conclave will not have difficulty," superior general Domenico Vicentini wrote Antonio Demo in New York. Perhaps this was an allusion to what happened at Pius X's election in 1903. At that conclave, Pope Leo XIII's Secretary of State, Raphael Cardinal Merry dal Val had support, but Austria-Hungary exercised its age-old right of veto and the cardinals chose someone else. This time, the war gave the conclave a mandate for electing a pope with diplomatic experience. They elected Giacomo Della Chiesa, a long-time member of the Vatican service who was at that time Archbishop of Bologna. Della Chiesa took the name Benedict XV. Father Gambera described him as a "small, thin, scrawny, and vivacious man, as cheerful as though he had been pope for several years."⁸³⁹ Father Vicentini was less cheerful. The war was already affecting Italy. "The new pope will find himself in the middle of a frightful situation, pestilence, hunger, and the question of whether Italy will remain neutral. Already everything is displaced by the war. Churches, etc., are destined to be turned into hospitals, even a good part of our Institute is so destined."⁸⁴⁰

Father Gambera witnessed the bestowal of the triple tiara on Benedict XV. Thereafter, he turned his attention to getting out of Europe. He booked passage on the first ship he

⁸³⁷ Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 183.

⁸³⁸ Pio Parolin to Antonio Demo, East Boston, September 1914, CMS No. 043, Box 2, General Correspondence folder.

⁸³⁹ Gambera, 181.

⁸⁴⁰ Domenico Vicentini to Demo, n.p., August 26, 1914, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1914 folder.

could, paid a flying visit to his relatives in Brescia, and then boarded ship.⁸⁴¹ Much to Father Parolin's relief, Father Toma also got back to Saint Lazarus.⁸⁴² Other clergy were going back to Italy. The start of the war prompted some clergy to return to Italy in anticipation that the country might join the conflict and require their services. Luigi Franchinotti was not yet a Scalabrinian, but he was in the United States, at Saint Lucy's in Buffalo. He returned to Italy in 1914.⁸⁴³ Francesco Beccherini in Detroit lost an assistant, a Father Dipollini, to the "war zone" in September.⁸⁴⁴

The start of the war and the death of Pius X had slowed but not stopped the Vatican bureaucracy. During 1914, the Vatican made some decisions that in turn affected the Scalabrinians. Chapter four described how in 1905 Giovanni Battista Scalabrini had suggested the Vatican involve itself more directly in the migrant apostolate and offered to send some experienced missionaries to Rome to work out practical plans. Almost ten years after Bishop Scalabrini's death, the Vatican began acting on his suggestion. On March 19, 1914, Pius X created a Pontifical College for Italian Emigrants, which was intended to provide a steady supply of well-trained Italian clergy to Italian colonies abroad. Plans for the College for Italian Emigrants continued after Pius's death, and, late in 1914, Father Gambera received an appointment as rector of the new college.

Father Gambera's appointment generated some discussion within the Scalabrinian institute. Father Gambera did not want to be rector any more than he had wanted to be elected provincial superior in 1910. He wrote Gaetano Cardinal De Lai, Secretary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, to explain that he was getting too old for such delicate and complex work.⁸⁴⁵ The same day he wrote the cardinal, Father Gambera also wrote Father Vicentini that some Scalabrinian ought to step forward. The Scalabrinians themselves, he explained, had trouble recruiting enough vocations to fill all the requests for them. The institute suffered from individual lack of discipline and community-wide lack of fraternal charity. Now the Vatican had this new institution to provide Italian clergy, and the pope was supporting it rather than the Scalabrinians. Hence, a Scalabrinian should take charge of the new organization, to prevent the two institutes from becoming rivals.⁸⁴⁶

Apparently, Father Gambera also sent his letter to Father Vicentini as a circular to his confreres. Father Vicentini then sent out a circular of his own, answering Father

⁸⁴¹ Gambera, 185-187.

⁸⁴² Lodovico Toma to Demo, East Boston, November 12, 1914, CMS No. 043, Box 2, General Correspondence folder.

⁸⁴³ Martin M. Bortolazzo, C.S., to Rev.mo Padre, Rome, February 21, 1981, AGS DE. 22/02, P. Franchinotti, Luigi, folder.

⁸⁴⁴ Francesco Beccherini to Demo, Detroit, September 15, 1914, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Detroit folder.

⁸⁴⁵ Gambera to Gaetano Cardinal De Lai, Chicago, December 15, 1924, CMS No. 069, Box 1, General Correspondence folder.

⁸⁴⁶ Gambera to Vicentini, Chicago, December 15, 1914, CMS No. 069, Box I, General Correspondence folder; Gambera, 171-172.

Gambera's position. He denied that the College for Italian Emigrants would grow into a competitor, although he did not explain why he thought so. He spent more time on Father Gambera's charge that the Scalabrinians could not attract new members because the institute was so defective as to repel vocations. He pointed out that many institutes had difficulty attracting recruits, so there could not be anything special about the Scalabrinians. He also argued that whatever defects Father Gambera saw in his confreres did not stem from defective training, but from the situation in the mission field, and here he inserted a complaint of his own. Diocesan priests had to spend years as assistants waiting for positions to open at the level of pastor, but some Scalabrinians schemed their way to quick appointments as pastors. Once there, they exploited their assistants and used their positions to amass personal wealth.⁸⁴⁷

Riccardo Lorenzoni at Santa Maria Incoronata offered a more positive reason for opposing Father Gambera's position. As he explained to Father Demo, "Our institution, however miserable we are, has begun well, we have many churches and almost a hundred priests, among other things. As soon as the other institution opens, we will be made a secular institute. Then they will want to destroy our work and our sacrifices to give them to the hands of another." Bishop Scalabrini had hoped that the Catholic Church would have a community of religious who made the migrants their particular apostolate. He had also hoped it would have a Vatican-level office charged specifically with the migrant mission. By the time the second wish happened, the first had reached fruition. It seemed to the Scalabrinians that to erect a Vatican office with the same mission would be to surrender their special identity. The Scalabrinians chose retaining their identity over collaborating with the Vatican institution. At this point, their choice caused little controversy. The Vatican soon ceased working on the Pontifical College for Italian Emigrants in order to concentrate on World War I. The American Scalabrinians had numerous local problems to keep them absorbed.

Italy entered World War I May 23, 1915, as an Ally. Italy's formal declaration of war forced immediate changes in the way the Scalabrinian leadership communicated with the missionaries in the field. Father Vicentini wrote Father Demo that now that Italy was at war, the government might censor the mail and thus he would not be able to write as freely as before.⁸⁴⁸ In 1916, Father Vicentini's term as superior general supposedly came to an end. However, the Sacred Consistorial Congregation asked that no changes be made during the war and Father Vicentini complied.⁸⁴⁹

No U.S. Scalabrinian left any record of questioning Italy's war effort. Instead, they found various ways to support it. Sometimes they could show their approval and support by sponsoring a share of the military pageantry. Italy's declaration of war meant that men, subject to conscription were supposed to return to Italy for military service. Sacred Heart

⁸⁴⁷ Vicentini to Molto Rev. Padre, Rome, January 12, 1915, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vicentini folder.

⁸⁴⁸ Vicentini to Demo, Rome, May 8, 1915, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1915 folder.

⁸⁴⁹ Vicentini to Molto Reverendi padri ai Confratelli Sacerdoti all'Istituto dei Missionari di S. Carlo per gli emigrati italiani," Piacenza, June 10, 1916, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1916 folder.

in Cincinnati encouraged the men in their duty. Assistant Giambattista Chiotti organized "an impressive departure ceremony" for the first draftees. On July 8, 1915, he offered mass, "gave an inspiring talk" and presented each draftee with a crucifix to wear during military service.⁸⁵⁰

The 1901 Italian emigration law deferred military service for seminarians preparing for the missions but did not exempt such men from service altogether. In the fall of 1915, the Italian government issued a dispensation from service for missionaries abroad. Even then, some Scalabrinians felt a sense of obligation and at least one, Claudio Morelli of the eastern province, returned to Italy for military duty.⁸⁵¹

Most of the Scalabrinians' war work was performed among Italian civilians in the United States. Their service fell into two categories. First, Italian-American families were disrupted by the war. When men left to perform military duty, families lost their most effective breadwinners, for adult males earned more than women or children, sometimes more than women and children combined. New York's Italian clergy undertook a citywide effort to aid these families, and the Scalabrinians collaborated with secular priests and with priests from other institutes to raise and distribute funds.⁸⁵² Scalabrinians also helped with fundraising for wartime charities. Father Demo heard from the Italian Red Cross and from various agencies concerned with widows, orphans and wounded veterans. These fundraising efforts were organized on a nationwide rather than a citywide basis. Rather than work with other priests, Scalabrinians in various places worked with their own confreres to pool their donations.⁸⁵³

The United States entered World War I on April 12, 1917, as an associate of the Allied Powers. As with the Italian declaration of war, the Scalabrinians supported the American war effort. What they understood about that effort is difficult to discern. The longest surviving statement on the war is by Pietro Maschi of Saint Tarcisius in Framingham. On June 3, 1917, Father Maschi delivered an English-language address to a group of men. They might have been Italian-American youths from his parish who had volunteered for the war; they were probably not draftees, as the first draft lottery did not take place until July 20. Father Maschi's version of the origins of the war describes a giant conspiracy theory whereby the German government actively disseminated socialist theories in order to lull the rest of the world into a false dream of evenly distributed wealth. Meanwhile, the German government was actually arming itself for a massive attack on the innocent, among whom Father Maschi included Italy:

Brothers and Gentlemen:

During the last three years, more than ever before, has every good heart aspired for a universal peace; but the more this aspiration increases, the more this terrible war becomes furious.

⁸⁵⁰ Louis Bolzan, C.S., *Memories of an Italian Parish* (n.p., n.d. [1974]), 22.

⁸⁵¹ Demo to Giuseppe Martini, New York, October 13, 1915, CMS No. 005, copybook.

⁸⁵² Mary Elizabeth Brown, *Churches, Communities, and Children: Italian Immigrants in the Archdiocese of New York, 1880-1945* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1995), 143-145.

⁸⁵³ Angelo Luigi Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, September 29, 1917, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

Mars has unchained his winds and there is no climate which has not felt their destructiveness. Far from the course of the tempest we feel the evil effects of the torrents of lead, iron and fire[,] which destroy nations, provinces, cities, churches, monuments, men, women and children. The cry of innocent Abel — Belgium, France, Italy — demanding vindication from Cain the proud, who vesting himself as a Ceasar, wishes by violence and power and by treason to appropriate free nations.

For half a century this Ceasar has deceived the world by means of a new gospel — socialism — and while he wishes to teach mankind how to live socially all united, free, equal and rich, he was arming himself with a labor that was incredible and in a manner that was unsuspected and in the day of great social brotherhood — at the dawn of the coming sun — he banished from the earth the dove of peace.

Hordes of armed men menace your property, your homes, your mothers, your wives, your sisters, and your children. I know that if these armed hordes were on Nabscot Mountain [near Framingham] you would offer them a wall made of your bodies, and I know that you would accept death rather than infamy. You will fight in defense of your rights even without wishing war.

It is true that it is not on Nabscot Mt. that you will have to face the enemy but four thousand miles away: but it is surely a question of months when we shall remain free citizens of this noble republic or become slaves of Kaiserism. Young Men; be Romans[,] not Germans[,] and bear in mind that the soldier who dies for his country is a stone in the foundation of the monument of peace.

The Chief of this hospitable nation calls us together and Religion commands us to obey.

What a glory it would be for me to end my days by giving drop by drop the blood that circulates through my body. I would gladly give the whole of my blood could it be used as the ink to write the treaty of Universal Peace. *Avanti Savoia[!]* *Viva il Presidente!* *Viva il Re!* [Onward, House of Savoy! Long live the President! Long live the King!]⁸⁵⁴

Father Maschi's conspiracy theory is worth a comment because it might help explain later Scalabrinian reaction to Mussolini. For Italy, other countries, such as Austro-Hungary or France, were enemies but they were all the same: they were all nation-states. Radical politics was the real enemy, because it denied the importance of nation-states and placed a priority on class conflict and on the struggle for wealth. The Scalabrinians had absorbed Catholic teaching regarding political radicalism: criticism of its materialistic philosophical underpinnings, condemnation of its propensity of violence and denunciation of its denial of individual human rights, especially the right to property.

To return to the discussion of American reasons for entering World War I, the American political system was not always easy for the Scalabrinians to understand. They grasped that it was not socialism, but it did prize the "democracy" which was also touted by the political radicals whom Catholicism condemned. This might explain a consistent misunderstanding of President Woodrow Wilson's call to make the world safe for democracy. Asked to put this into their own English phrasing, Vincenzo Jannuzzi thought Wilson was making a "safe democracy for mankind" and Antonio Demo thought the

⁸⁵⁴ Pietro Maschi, manuscript dated Framingham, June 3, 1917, CMS No. 042, Box 2, Miscellaneous Documents folder.

president was "making Democracy safe for Man-kind."⁸⁵⁵ In 1917, though, the important point, insofar as the Scalabrinians were concerned, was that the United States and Italy were on the same side in the war.

Scalabrinians and other Italians shared a reaction to the war that was also common to Americans: a revulsion against the enemy nation. For Italy, the Austro-Hungarian empire was a more important enemy than Germany, so Italians rejected all things Austrian the way Americans rejected all things German. Father Parolin expressed the sentiment that the war effort would "send to hell the Austrians with the Germans."⁸⁵⁶ In Melrose Park, such sentiments posed problems. Beniamino Franch had been born near the Austrian border, had learned German during his years as a stonemason for an international railroad, and had a not-very-Italian-sounding surname. Plus, he was already engaged in a struggle with a faction of his congregation for control of the Our Lady of Mount Carmel festa. Italian patriots thus had an opportunity demonstrate their loyalty to the Allied cause by demonstrating against Father Franch and denouncing him as an Austrian. Father Franch's supporters organized counterdemonstrations and a patrol to protect the pastor and parish property. Ironically, Father Franch had already become an American citizen.⁸⁵⁷

Even if the Scalabrinians had objected to World War I, they might have been unable to avoid being part of its system of support. Since it did not have time to create many new structures, the United States government tended to rely on existing social institutions to help with the war effort, especially with communicating to the public. In theory it might have been possible to point out that support of the American war effort was far from the Scalabrinians' traditional work of helping Italian immigrants. In reality, the Scalabrinians were predisposed to help Italy by helping America, and the social pressures to prove the Italian immigrants were good Americans were enormous. Therefore, the Scalabrinians mobilized their parishes for the U.S. war effort.

When men of Italian birth or descent joined the American armed forces, their parishes marked the occasion. Some parishes fielded small armies themselves. In January of 1918, Sacred Heart in Boston held a ceremony unveiling its service flag, which had stars for each of the 350 parishioners under American arms. Two children released the ropes that lowered the flag. Vittorio Oregoni of Sacred Heart blessed it. A military band from Commonwealth pier played patriotic songs and the crowd all sang "The Star-Spangled Banner." A representative of Mayor James Michael Curley and Private John Scanza, one of the parishioner-soldiers, both spoke. Then hundreds of small American flags were released into the crowd for people to catch and take home as souvenirs.⁸⁵⁸

As the soldiers and sailors headed to the front, the Scalabrinian pastors provided leadership for a variety of methods of civilian support. Now the American Red Cross and

⁸⁵⁵ Vincenzo Jannuzzi to Woodrow Wilson, New York, circa July 4, 1918, CMS No. 079, Box 5, folder 166; Antonio Demo, draft, New York, circa July 4, 1918, CMS No. 037, Box 3, folder 22.

⁸⁵⁶ Parolin to Demo, Syracuse, June 21, 1918, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1918 folder.

⁸⁵⁷ Carbon of talk dated 1980, SJB, Box 20, Fr. B. Franch folder.

⁸⁵⁸ *Boston Post*, January 13, 1918, CMS No. 062, Box 1, Newspaper Clippings.

other voluntary organizations competed with the Italian war charities. It behooved the Italians to contribute to these American charities and getting them to do so was part of their priests' work. In Syracuse, Father Pio was so busy collecting for war drives that he had to ask Father Demo for an assistant.⁸⁵⁹

Then there was the campaign to raise money for the government to fight the war. The federal government used a series of Liberty Loan drives to convince ordinary citizens to buy bonds, thus giving the government ready cash and long term low-interest loans. Working on this project appealed to several Scalabrinians. Saving sounded more virtuous than spending, and Liberty Loans allowed families to set aside money for future use. In East Boston, Father Toma joined the Italian Committee for the Third Liberty Loan drive in the spring of 1918. The loan was to be advertised with a neighborhood parade of automobiles and flags, English- and Italian-speaking orators, and a musical events.⁸⁶⁰

The federal government also sponsored food-conservation measures through its Food Administration. The Food Administration in turn expected preachers to spread the word, and sent out posters, brochures and sermon suggestions.⁸⁶¹ There was also a lot of what might be called involuntary conservation. The federal government bought up supplies for the war effort, and the resulting shortages inflated prices to put the goods out of reach. The cost of paper rose so high that *L'Italiano in America*, the Italian Catholic weekly in which the Scalabrinians were interested, nearly went broke. Sometimes goods could not be had for any price. In February of 1918, the Scalabrinians in Syracuse were faced with a bitter, snowy winter and a shortage of coal.⁸⁶²

The war also required moral support, and the Scalabrinians were called to attend, or to send parishioners to, a variety of demonstrations in favor of the war. The State Office for Immigration in Massachusetts, for example, organized a "patriotic festival of Italian mothers" in Boston's Italian North End. Rose Casassa of Sacred Heart, who was also on the Italian Women's Advisory Board, spoke at the affair, which was held at a playground not far from the church.⁸⁶³ The federal government fostered such support with a massive propaganda campaign, and also with programs for identifying and isolating dissidents. Vincenzo Jannuzzi had some contact with the Committee on Public Information and sent it a tip regarding "pro-German" activity in his Italian-Chinese neighborhood.⁸⁶⁴

The U.S. civilian population was still being urged to energetic support of the war effort when battlefield action began to wind down. On November 4, 1918, the Austro-Hungarian empire laid down its arms. From the Italian point of view this was a key event.

⁸⁵⁹ Parolin to Demo, Syracuse, June 2, 1918, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1918 folder.

⁸⁶⁰ "Un Comitato a Orient Heights," *Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, April 13, 1918, CMS No. 043, Box 2, General Correspondence folder.

⁸⁶¹ Brown, *Churches, Communities, and Children*, 145-146.

⁸⁶² Roberto Biasotti and Demo to Michael J. Lavelle, New York, February 25, 1918, CMS No. 005, Box 4, Correspondence of Fr. Antonio Demo, C.S.-1918 folder; Parolin to Demo, Syracuse, February 20, 1918, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1918 folder.

⁸⁶³ Unidentified clipping. *Gazzetta del Massachusetts*, n.d., CMS No. 062, Box 1, Newspaper Clippings.

⁸⁶⁴ Antonio Stella to Jannuzzi, New York, September 4, 1918, CMS No. 079, Box 5, folder 168.

It showed Italy's true military prowess and it knocked out the middle of the Central Powers' alliance, thus isolating Germany. The American viewpoint emphasized the German armistice, which began November 11, 1918. The end of the war showed the Scalabrinians' balance between the Italian and the American viewpoint. Father Gambera explained that "after the surrender of Austria, even Germany had to throw down its weapons." Vittorio Gregori was more Americanized. "Rejoice with me," he wrote on Armistice Day, "at living to the end of the bloody war which has for such a long time afflicted all of humanity."⁸⁶⁵

The rejoicing was tempered with concern for a new problem. What is now called Spanish influenza broke out in Fort Riley, Kansas, in March of 1918. It spread from soldier to civilian, from fort to city, and then across the world. It was a worldwide pandemic, but there was no equivalent of the World Health Organization to fight it. The U.S. Public Health Service did exist but had limited resources. The most important institutions in combatting the flu were local ones, including local parishes.

The records of Sacred Heart in Boston are especially descriptive. The Sisters of Saint Joseph turned from staffing the parochial school to tending the sick, a mission which gave them no rest. The Scalabrinians were equally tireless. In an era when Extreme Unction was performed only when death was imminent, the Scalabrinians anointed 200 flu victims in three weeks. They offered funeral masses at a similar pace. William Cardinal O'Connell visited the Scalabrinians and donated \$500 to distribute to families bereft of their breadwinners due to the flu. The Scalabrinians kept a list of recipients and reported to the cardinal that they had disbursed sums of \$5 and \$10 to 41 families. They provided a list of brief descriptions of the households: "David Girascole . . . widower with 8 children, all stricken with grippe . . . Biagio Polia, whose wife is at the hospital and 2 of 13 small children stricken . . . Gaetano Burgia . . . widow with 4 sons all under 14 years of age, and all sick with influenza at the same time . . . Rose Mamiano, widow with 7 children under 12 years of age. . ."⁸⁶⁶

Father Gregori also sent the cardinal a description of the Scalabrinians' work. The Scalabrinians noted that the city public health officials were as solicitous of the tenement districts as they were of the wealthier neighborhoods, visiting the sick and posting quarantine signs on dwellings where the flu appeared. However, this was more efficacious in upper-class neighborhoods, where the people lived one family to a house. In tenements, where the sick passed the healthy in the hallway and even shared the same beds, quarantine was hardly a concept. When they were not busy with the sick, the Scalabrinians were busy with the proper care of the deceased. North End undertakers took advantage of the sudden need for funerals to gouge the poor on the prices for coffins and hearses. The Scalabrinians reported on and protested against this grim bit of exploitation.⁸⁶⁷

⁸⁶⁵ Gambera, 189; Vittorio Gregori to Gaspare Moretto, Boston, November 11, 1918, CMS No. 005, Box 3, Correspondence of Fr. Gaspare Moretto, C.S.-1918 folder.

⁸⁶⁶ Clipping identified New York, October 20, 1920 [sic-should be 1918], AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 16, folder 19; Donations to Families Stricken during the Spanish Influenza Epidemic, 1918, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 17.

⁸⁶⁷ Gregori to William Henry O'Connell, Boston, October 24, 1918, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 17.

In several places, public health authorities not only quarantined homes but forbade public gatherings in order to stem contagion. This could have posed a hardship to Catholics, whose obligations included attendance at mass on Sundays and holydays. The Archdiocese of Boston, at least, forgave Catholics that obligation. When the Board of Health of the Town of Framingham prohibited public gatherings, the chancery advised Father Maschi at Saint Tarcisius that the order should be obeyed. Cincinnati closed its churches for seven weeks. Syracuse closed its for 20.⁸⁶⁸

For Father Pio in Syracuse, it was like living in a war zone. "The influenza goes on butchering with an ever-growing audacity." Father Pio reported more than 100 deaths among the Italians of Syracuse. Priests also fell ill. At one point Beniamino Franch was the only healthy priest in Melrose Park and its surrounding suburbs, a mixed blessing in terms of the work that then fell his way.⁸⁶⁹

As the flu pandemic receded, the war resumed its place as the event most profoundly affecting Scalabrinian life. War charities continued after the war was over. Chapter eight mentioned collections made in 1920 on behalf of veterans, war widows and orphans, and Saint Anthony of Buffalo and Holy Guardian Angel of Chicago were not the only ones taking up such collections. In 1922, the Italian consulate approached the Archdiocese of Boston regarding collecting for Italian war veterans in Italian parishes there.⁸⁷⁰

Once World War I ended, Father Vicentini could relinquish the office of superior general and set the process in motion to elect a successor. There were two steps to the procedure. In the first round, there was no slate of candidates. Every Scalabrinian could vote, each voted for one person, and all ballots went to the superior general. The general opened and counted the ballots. The three biggest vote-getters then became the only candidates in the second round of balloting. In the second round, each Scalabrinian brought a sealed envelope to the provincial chapter meeting for forwarding to Rome. The superior general, provincial superiors and one delegate from each province opened the envelopes, counted the ballots and announced the winner.

The western province held its chapter meeting April 23, 1918. Pacifico Chenuil, as provincial superior, presided. Others in attendance were Prospero Angeli, Manlio Ciufoletti, Raphael D'Alfonso, Carlo Delbecchi, Carlo Fani, Beniamino Franch, Giacomo Gambera, Modesto Gembrini, Riccardo Lorenzoni and Giuseppe Quadranti. Giovanni Battista Balangero was too sick to come, Pietro Barabino did not respond to the invitation and no one was sure if Giovanni Ferrara was indeed a member of the province, so they did not invite him. Given Father Chenuil's later position in the Scalabrinians, it is worth looking at the discussion in as much detail as the scanty minutes allow. The meeting discussed in general terms recruitment of Italians and Italian Americans, the creation of more solid unity within the Scalabrinians and greater deference toward the hierarchy and

⁸⁶⁸ Unsigned letter to Pietro Maschi, Brighton, October 11, 1918, AAB, R.G. 5.3., Box 41, folder 1; Bolzan, 28; Parolin to Demo, Syracuse, October 28, 1918, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1918 folder.

⁸⁶⁹ Parolin to Demo, Syracuse, October 5 and 25, 1918, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1918 folder; carbon copy dated 1980, SJB, Box 20, Fr. B. Franch folder.

⁸⁷⁰ C. J. Sullivan to Nazareno Properzi, Brighton, March 3, 1922, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 70, folder 15.

equity toward all Scalabrinians. This general discussion resulted in five recommendations to be passed to the general chapter meeting: 1) taking steps to replace auxiliaries with Scalabrinians; 2) separating the offices of pastor and house superior and having one six-year term for each; 3) allowing each priest to keep mass stipends for personal use and require other earnings be turned to the institute; 4) giving each Scalabrinian in the United States a \$200 per annum clothing allowance and 5) having each province take up annual collections to divide between the motherhouse and provincial needs. Apparently, the superior general's office had sent some items for discussion and the meeting approved them all. They were: 1) following established procedures for electing a new superior general; 2) keeping the house at Piacenza for the use of preprofessional students; 3) getting a house at Rome for theology students and senior citizens; 4) selling the school at Crespano; and 5) erecting one seminary each in North America and in South America. The attendees also gave provincial superior Pacifico Chenuil envelopes with their secret ballots, which he put into another envelope for delivery to the general chapter meeting. They elected a delegate, Riccardo Lorenzoni, to accompany Father Chenuil to Rome.⁸⁷¹

The eastern province met at Our Lady of Pompei in New York's rectory on April 29, 1919. Oreste Alussi, Domenico Belliotti, Vittorio Cangiano, Antonio Demo, Giuseppe Formia, Giovanni Ginocchio, Vittorio Oregon, Vincenzo Jannuzzi, Bartolomeo Marenchino, Pietro Maschi, Gaspare Moretto, Flaminio Parenti, Nazareno Properzi, Leonardo Quaglia, Angelo Luigi Strazzoni and Ludovico Toma were there. Francesco Berti, Giuseppe D'Andrea, Emilio Greco, Lino Merlo, Pio Parolin, Giuseppe Poia and Arnaldo Vanoli were all excused.⁸⁷² Father Demo opened the meeting by invoking the Holy Spirit to impart wisdom to the attendees. The next order of business was to determine if Father Ginocchio should be there, since he belonged to the western province. Father Ginocchio remained, and the group went on to electing a superior general. Each person present submitted a sealed envelope to Father Demo, who put the envelopes in a larger sealed envelope to carry to the general chapter meeting. The minutes advised the absentees to send their ballots to Father Demo.⁸⁷³ The meeting voted on a delegate to accompany Father Demo to deliver the ballots. Father Jannuzzi got seven votes, Father Alussi got three, Father Strazzoni, Father Belliotti and Father Gregori got two each, and Father Quaglia and Father Demo got one each (apparently someone did not understand that Father Demo was going to Rome *ex officio*.) After dinner the meeting regrouped, but it is impossible to tell what happened. The two recording secretaries noted that the meeting voted on item 1, item 2, etc., but no one saved the agenda that explained what the items were.

The next step was to convene the general chapter meeting. This was the first time since 1914 that Scalabrinians had been able to check on their families in Italy. Father

⁸⁷¹ Proposte fatte dai R.R. Padri della Provincia di S. Giovanni Battista (Chicago) riuniti per il Capitolo Provinciale-23 Aprile 1919, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-1919 folder.

⁸⁷² Strazzoni, Minutes of the Regional Chapter Meeting of the Province of Saint Charles, United States of America [August 29, 1919], CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Capitolo Provinciale folder.

⁸⁷³ Lino Merlo to Demo, New Haven, May 5, 1919, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Merlo Folder.

Demo sailed out in May to visit his parents; he had just left the village and was too far to return when he got word his mother had died. Vincenzo Jannuzzi also turned the trip into an open-ended vacation. His substitute kept paying the bills and assuring the creditors that Father Jannuzzi would be back in mid-August, an answer he had to keep changing as the pastor remained in Italy. The delegates were gone until November.⁸⁷⁴

The general chapter met in Rome on August 20, 1919. Superior general Domenico Vicentini presided. Some of the people present were there as part of the Scalabrinian leadership or to fulfill particular roles at the meeting: Massimo Rinaldi was there as the Scalabrinians' vicar and treasurer general; Michael Cardinal Lega was there in his capacity as protector of the institute; and Vittorio Oregoni of Sacred Heart in Boston was there as recording secretary. Others represented the various Scalabrinian provinces: Father Chenuil and Father Lorenzoni came for the Saint John the Baptist province; Father Demo and Father Jannuzzi attended for the Saint Charles Borromeo province; Pietro Dotto accompanied the provincial superior of the São Paulo province. Two Brazilian provinces had so few priests and so much territory to cover that they sent only provincial superiors: Giuseppe Martini was the superior of the Paraná province and Enrico Preti was superior of the Rio Grande do Sul province.⁸⁷⁵

On August 21, the general chapter members opened the envelopes the provincial superiors had brought and counted the ballots. The results were that Pacifico Chenuil was elected the Scalabrinians' third superior general. On the surface, it does seem a break with the past. Father Vicentini had seen service in three countries, the United States, Brazil and Italy, which gave people a chance to know him and to vote for him. Father Chenuil had spent the last fourteen years in the Scalabrinian province that was the smallest in terms of territory and numbers of missionaries: how did people come to know him and to vote for him? Enrico Preti thought that the election was run contrary to the procedures outlined in the Constitution of 1908. Father Gambera complained that the elections "were somewhat irregular, not to say, almost irresponsible because they were vitiated by some intrigue."⁸⁷⁶

The next part of the agenda concerned reorganizing the Scalabrinian administration. On August 23, Father Vicentini, Father Martini, and Father Rinaldi were elected councilors to Father Chenuil. It was also decided to reduce the number of provinces from five to two, one in the United States and one in Brazil, to reflect the small number of

⁸⁷⁴ Francesco Castellano, *La Messa D'Argento: Discorso Recitato Dal Rev.mo Francesco Canonico Castellano* (New York: Il Carroccio Publishing Company, 1923); Acting Pastor [Pasquale Mastropietro] to Rogers Pett [sic] Co., New York, July 18, 1919, CMS No. 035, Box 1, General Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents; Acting Pastor to James E Boyle, New York, September 12, 1919, CMS No. 079, Box I, General Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents-1919; Pacifico Chenuil to whom it may concern, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 58.

⁸⁷⁵ Mario Francesconi, C.S., *Storia Della Congregazione Scalabriniana*, volume V, *Il Primo Dopoguerra* (1919-1940) (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1975). The English translation is *History of the Scalabrinian Congregation, volume V, The Years Following World War I-1919-1940*, trans. Martin Bortolazzo, C.S. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1983), 1-3. Hereafter, Francesconi V.

⁸⁷⁶ Francesconi V, 16; Gambera, 233.

priests in each area for the provincials to supervise. Father Chenuil's term as western provincial superior had already come to an end. Father Demo remained in his office until the person in charge of the new United States province was announced.

The agenda then went on to discuss the issues that had been raised at the western province's April chapter meeting. On August 25, the meeting participants announced a new policy concerning retiring missionaries. The previous policy assumed retirees would live in the motherhouse in Piacenza. The new policy took into consideration the notion that senior citizens might want to live elsewhere. If the Scalabrinian general council (the superior general and councilors) found the retiree "worthy," that person could live anywhere in Italy and still receive an allowance. On August 26, the meeting announced new policies regarding the aforementioned allowances. Missionaries were to get \$1 from each mass intention, a clothing allowance of \$20 per month and a general allowance of \$50 per month.

The house in which the missionary lived was to supply room, board, laundry, health care and travel on institute business (that is, attending meetings, preaching missions). The details pointed to a general trend to treat the Scalabrinians more as individuals working in the mission field and less as a community of vowed religious. Historian Mario Francesconi argued that the 1919 general chapter represented a departure from the slow but steady development of the institute. Under Bishop Scalabrini and since his death, the institute had gradually become more of a religious congregation in spirit if not in canon law. The 1919 chapter reversed course and established policies that treated the missionaries as a collection of secular priests, vowed to chastity by their priesthood but not vowed to poverty or obedience.⁸⁷⁷

Father Chenuil's first action was to draft a circular to the Scalabrinians. He released it on November 28, 1919. He picked up on one other theme from the western provincial chapter meeting: replacing auxiliaries with Scalabrinians "who are good, zealous, and sincerely affectionate for our work and strongly interested in making it flourishing and triumphant for the greater glory of God and the honor of our dear homeland." Despite the reference to Italy, Father Chenuil was not simply going to restore Bishop Scalabrini's vision of preserving the homeland language or customs. "To succeed well and with full efficiency, I am fully convinced that our work will be conducted with new criterion and with more modern methods and more in harmony with the needs of the countries where it is exercised."⁸⁷⁸

After the letter was drafted, but before it was released, the American delegates headed for home. Father Demo came back to New York in late December to find more evidence that his world was changing. He had left Angelo Luigi Strazzoni as his substitute during his absence. Unlike Father Jannuzzi's substitute, who kept pacifying correspondents until the pastor returned, Father Strazzoni took a more active role, including transferring a few Scalabrinians. When Father Demo returned with orders from

⁸⁷⁷ Francesconi V, 3.

⁸⁷⁸ Chenuil to Reverendi e Carissimi Confratelli, Rome, November 28, 1919, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

Rome to act as United States regional superior until the superior general and councilors could decide on a further course of action, he found he could not do so; Father Strazzoni had changed things around and Demo could not pick up where he had left off. He was particularly irritated that Father Strazzoni had transferred assistants from Demo's own parish: "Strazzoni has. . . provided for churches by coming to chisel away and rob my house," he complained to Bartolomeo Marenchino of Saint Anthony's.⁸⁷⁹

Father Demo had only a few days to try to restore his sense of order. On January 16, 1920, Father Strazzoni announced Father Chenuil had appointed him regional superior for the United States. Father Demo was gracious enough. He begged off from attending the festive dinner his confreres planned to congratulate Father Strazzoni on his appointment, but he did send Father Strazzoni one of his rather old-fashioned, formal letters. "Finally, the Blessed Jesus had done me the grace of liberating me of a burden that I was not worthy to carry. I pray to the same Jesus the light necessary to guide to a port the little shipwrecked bark [that is, the Scalabrinian institute]." For his part, Father Strazzoni appointed Father Demo, along with Riccardo Lorenzoni, Beniamino Franch and Carlo Fani, as his councilors.

When he went to Italy in the autumn of 1922, Father Strazzoni appointed Father Demo as his substitute.⁸⁸⁰

During 1920 and 1921, the events that affected the Scalabrinian missionaries and their parishioners took place in Rome and in Washington, D.C. In Rome, Benedict XV resumed the work on migration that had been suspended due to the war and to Pius X's death. On September 15, 1920, he created a new position by appointing Michael Cerrati as Prelate for Emigration. Bishop Cerrati was charged with the spiritual care of Italians abroad, a responsibility he was supposed to exercise by recruiting and training priests for the mission field. The Scalabrinians had already decided to hold aloof from the Vatican initiative in order to preserve their claim to the Italian migrant mission field and in order to avoid interference in their internal affairs. Their decision may have indeed enhanced esprit de corps and brought independence; it also distanced them from Vatican support.⁸⁸¹

As part of their efforts to organize the Italian migrant apostolate, Vatican officials tried to combine non-Vatican Catholic efforts under one umbrella organization. Specifically, the Vatican wanted to bring together the Scalabrinians and the Società dei

⁸⁷⁹ Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, December 22, 1919, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder; Demo to Bartolomeo Marenchino, New York, January 7, 1920, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Marenchino folder.

⁸⁸⁰ Strazzoni to "Reverendi Fratelli Carissimi," Buffalo, January 16, 1920, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder; Demo to Strazzoni, New York, February 8, 1920, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder; Strazzoni to Rev. Confratelli, Buffalo, May 4, 1920, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder; Strazzoni to Demo, Buffalo, September 15, 1922, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁸⁸¹ Strazzoni to Demo, Providence, January 4, 1920, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Fr. Strazzoni folder; Jerome M. Zazzera, T.O.R., "Pastoral Care of Italian Immigrants," *Ecclesiastical Review* LXIV (March 1921), 279-284.

Missionari di Emigrazione di Sant'Antonio di Padova, which Giangiacomo Coccolo had founded in 1905 to provide chaplains aboard ships. On January 1, 1920, the two organizations formally united. Historical experience indicates such unions are difficult, as each religious institute generally has its own sense of identity, its own spirituality, and its own mission. The union between the missionaries of Bishop Scalabrini and those of Monsignor Coccolo fits this pattern. In 1923, the Prelate for Emigration took over responsibility for providing ship chaplains and that was the end of the union.⁸⁸²

Within the United States, the milieu in which the Scalabrinians exercised their ministry changed. First, there were fewer Italian migrants to tend. Between 1921 and 1965, the United States based its immigration policy on a national quota system. The system identified desirable and undesirable sending countries, and issues visas accordingly. The Italians were far from the system's ideal of a country of Anglo-Saxon Protestant immigrants. Accordingly, Italy was issued fewer than 5,000 visas per annum. The longer this situation persisted, the less need there seemed to be for Scalabrinian services. Second, American Catholicism began taking greater responsibility for migrant pastoral care. During World War I, the American hierarchy had organized the National Catholic War Council to coordinate war efforts. After the war, the hierarchy continued the organization as the National Catholic Welfare Conference. The NCWC took responsibility for charitable activities that were more effectively performed at the national rather than the local level. One of these was the pastoral care of migrants. The NCWC set up an office in New York. From there it sent representatives to Ellis Island to help migrants go through admission procedures and make connections to their final destinations. Although the NCWC provided services similar to those of the Saint Raphael Society, the philosophy was very different. The Saint Raphael Society was Italians helping Italians as part of the effort to preserve Italian loyalties. The NCWC was Americans helping immigrants as the first step to assimilating them into American life.

On the one hand, demand for the services only Scalabrinians could provide, such as ministry to Italian migrants in the context of their native language and culture, were shrinking. On the other hand, the Scalabrinians did not want to declare their mission at an end and disband their institute. Thus, Father Chenuil had to secure the future without making long-term plans. He used three strategies to accomplish this seemingly self-contradictory role. He urged the Scalabrinians to make themselves welcome in the United States by assimilating to American standards regarding the priesthood. He continued the trend toward focusing on parish ministry. And he found a supply of recruits that did not require Scalabrinian investment in vocational development or education.

It was under Father Chenuil that the Scalabrinians closed the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society. The Scalabrinians may have felt they had little choice in the matter. The NCWC was already replacing homeland-based with American-based migrant

⁸⁸² Mario Francesconi, CS., *Storia Della Congregazione Scalabriniana*, vol. IV, *Storia Interna Della Congregazione (1896-1919)*, *Le Missioni Nell'America del Nord (1895-1919)*, *Le Missioni Nel Brasile (1905-1919)* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1974). English translation is *History of the Scalabrinian Congregation*, vol. IV, *Internal History of the Congregation (1896-1919)*, *Missions in North America (1895-1919)*, *Missions in Brazil (1905-1919)*, trans. Martin Bortolazzo, C.S. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1983), 74-75.

pastoral care. Gaspare Moretto's embezzling had cost them at least some of the confidence of the Archdiocese of New York. Father Gambera, though, thought that there was a chance the Saint Raphael Society might be saved and that it had been squandered by Father Chenuil, "who was always unconcerned about it, not to say against it." Father Chenuil's lack of support for Saint Raphael was consistent with his actions regarding other Scalabrinian nonparochial institute. He also tried to shut down the Scalabrinians' preparatory school at Crespano del Grappa, Treviso, Veneto and the Christopher Columbus Institute in Piacenza.⁸⁸³

On September 28, 1920, Father Chenuil issued a circular that ran counter to the Scalabrinian tradition of preserving Italian culture. Maintaining Italian ways, he explained, was what marginalized the Scalabrinians in the United States and made it less likely the American hierarchy would rely on them. He urged the missionaries to use English when they were around American priests and ordinaries, to participate in spiritual and educational opportunities for the secular clergy, and to adopt American values regarding thrift and financial acumen. The more the Scalabrinians were part of American Catholicism, the more likely their institute would survive there.⁸⁸⁴

Instead of seminarians, Father Chenuil recruited ordained priests for the mission field. Between November of 1919 and August of 1922, he sent 36 priests and uncounted (but many fewer) brothers to the mission field, five to Brazil and 32 to the United States. Many were from Father Chenuil's home region of Valle d'Aosta, northwest of the Piedmont. Many had been military chaplains with the Italian armed forces during world War I. As a group they became controversial. Several historians have argued that their scandalous behavior triggered a Vatican investigation of the entire Scalabrinian institute.⁸⁸⁵

Actually, Father Chenuil's recruits were as varied as the Scalabrinians had always been. Some settled into the institute and gave many years of service. Luigi Franchinotti, for example, was from June 24, 1921, to May 15, 1942, pastor of Holy Rosary in Kansas City. Pietro Gorret was from 1922 to 1949 pastor of Saint Bartholomew's in Providence, Rhode Island. Silvio Sartori was from June 21, 1925, to 1950 pastor of Saint Anthony's in New Haven. At least one Chenuil-era recruit became fairly well-known. Carlo Rossini was born March 3, 1890, at Osimo, Ancona province, Marche region. During World War I he was a chaplain for prisoners of war. After the war he returned to school, where he received masters' degrees in Gregorian chant and music and in organ and composition. He joined the Scalabrinians in 1921 and spent two years at Saint Joachim's. In 1923 he returned to full-time music ministry, became the cathedral organist, choir director and Chair of the

⁸⁸³ Gambera, 145; Francesconi V, 36.

⁸⁸⁴ Peter R. D'Agostino, "Missionaries in Babylon: the Adaptation of Italian Priests to Chicago's Church, 1870-1940" (Ph.D., The University of Chicago Divinity School, 1993), 220.

⁸⁸⁵ Francesconi V, 5-12, Alba I. Zizzamia, *A Vision Unfolding: The Scalabrinians in North America, 1888-1988* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1989), 87-88.

Diocesan Music Commission for the Diocese of Pittsburgh. In 1940, he returned to Rome to organize the Saint Cecilia Society for Church Musicians.⁸⁸⁶

Others were not so much scandals as lost souls. Luigi Rusca, for example, arrived from Italy on September 3, 1920, and worked as an assistant at Saint Joachim's in New York and at parishes in New Haven and Providence. Then he became mentally unbalanced; Father Demo thought he suffered from a persecution complex. Unable to employ him or to figure out how to take care of him the Scalabrinians released him from his oath of perseverance and he found at least temporary haven with an Italian secular priest, Giuseppe Congedo, pastor of Sacred Hearts of Jesus and Mary at East 33rd Street in New York City. The case of Brother Federico Dal Piero was more tragic. According to the newspaper he had been "reduced to savagery" by his war experiences. He attempted suicide twice. The second time he succeeded, shooting himself in the head.⁸⁸⁷

Also, not every scandalous Italian cleric in the United States after World War I was a Scalabrinian. The poor postwar economy in Italy and the opportunity in the United States led to an outbreak of clerical fraud. During the early 1920s, a Pietro Celauro of the Diocese of Palermo appeared in New York to collect for war orphans; the archdiocese circulated a warning from the Sacred Consistorial Congregation that Father Celauro was really collecting for himself. In 1923, Giovanni Ronco showed up at Our Lady of Pompei, claiming to be part of Monsignor Coccolo's ship-chaplain mission. It turned out that connection had been terminated, Father Ronco had been suspended and was supposed to have returned to his home diocese in Albania but had escaped to North America.⁸⁸⁸

Finally, previous chapters amply demonstrate that scandalous behavior within the Scalabrinians was not limited to Father Chenuil's recruits. With that said, there were problems among the new recruits that set back the older Scalabrinians' long and difficult efforts to build a good reputation for the institute. The parishioners at Santa Maria Addolorata, for example, recalled that Pietro Gazzaniga "tried to put his people under severe control," a trait they charitably attributed not to any personal failing but to his experience with military discipline as a chaplain. Just as charitably, they wrote in their parish history that he returned to Italy for his health and omitted that he embezzled \$2,000 from the house funds and \$4,241.34 from the parish. Antonio Peretto, who had been ordained in 1901, had some kind of conflict with his ordinary before he became a military chaplain, and was unwelcome in his home see when he was decommissioned. He

⁸⁸⁶ Luigi Franchinotti to Silvano M. Tomasi, n.p., circa May 15, 1967, CMS No. 053, Box 1, Letters folder; R. Stephen Almagno, o.E.M., "The Days of Our Years: Saint Bartholomew's Parish, Providence, Rhode Island, 1907-1969" (typescript, 1969), 20; Questionario Circa La Persona per Silvio Sartori, 1949, CMS No. 78, Box 5, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Sartori folder; Carlo Rossini's papers are in CMS No. 070.

⁸⁸⁷ Demo to Thomas G. Carroll, New York, December 14, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Rusca folder; Raphael D'Alfonso to O'Connell, Boston, June 30, 1920, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 18; clipping from *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, New York, July 2, 1920, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Moretto folder.

⁸⁸⁸ P. J. Hayes, circular New York, September 23, 1926, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Celauro folder; Chenuil to Carissimo Padre, Rome, August 24, 1923, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Ronco folder.

joined the Scalabrinians August 18, 1920. The circumstantial evidence of his record suggests further trouble in the institute. In sixteen years, Father Peretto served in Boston, Providence, New Hampshire, Buffalo, Fredonia, Chicago and Cincinnati, a total of seven assignments. He was also transferred from one province to another, which the Scalabrinians often did with priests who had exhausted the goodwill of one province. He had almost no place to go after he was assigned to Holy Rosary in Kansas City. Then, Bishop Thomas F. Lillis revoked his faculties there, too, on the grounds that his drinking had become a public scandal.⁸⁸⁹

The veteran Scalabrinians did not simply accept these newcomers in a spirit of obedience to the superior general. After warning Corrado Pezzati about his relations with women, provincial superior Strazzoni ordered him to return not just to Italy but to Father Chenuil. To make sure he went as ordered, Father Strazzoni asked Father Demo to buy Father Pezzati's ticket.⁸⁹⁰ Among these troublemakers' troublesome qualities was that they did not go quietly. In December of 1921, Father Strazzoni ordered one priest back to Italy. Eighteen months later, Father Chenuil announced that the priest had "escaped" from Europe and put everyone on notice not to employ him. Not everyone got the message, though, and he settled in to work at Saint Rocco in Thornton. (For his part, the priest blamed the unfriendliness of other Chenuil recruits for squeezing him out of assignments in Kansas City and at Saint Joachim's.)⁸⁹¹

Even had Father Chenuil's recruits been paragons of priestly virtue, the veterans may not have accepted them because of their reputation for incompetence. Although Father Chenuil urged all missionaries to assimilate, he did not train his recruits in American ways or in the English language. The veterans sent reminders that the missionaries should learn English before they started for the mission field, but to no avail.

Father Chenuil was aware of the veterans' objections. On June 1, 1921, he issued a circular designed to rally all missionaries to support his policies. He held up Italy as an example. "Out of the tremendous war victory could have come unity and the perfect concord which gathers into one the souls and hearts of all Italy's sons." "However, such beautiful harmony was of brief duration and now the discord of peacetime compromises and ruins irreparably the fruits of the glorious victory." Like postwar Italy, the Scalabrinians' problems stemmed from enemies within: "pride, avarice, egotism, jealousy, bad-mouthing and criticism." To combat these enemies, he cited the Augustinian maxim *in necessariis unitas, in dubiis libertas, in omnibus caritas* (in necessities, unity; in cases of doubt, liberty; and in all things charity), with the emphasis on the first part. Father Chenuil's unity sounded more precisely like adherence to the hierarchy and the status

⁸⁸⁹ *Santa Maria Addolorata Parish Fiftieth Anniversary, 1903-1953* (Chicago, 1953); D'Agostino, 249; SJB, Box 2, P. Antonio Peretto folder.

⁸⁹⁰ Strazzoni to Corrado Pezzati, Buffalo, August 22, 1922, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁸⁹¹ Strazzoni to Demo, Providence, December 30, 1921; Chenuil to Demo, Rome, June 3, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder; Prospero Angeli to Demo, Thornton, July 23, 1923, CMS No. 078A, Box 1, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Angeli folder; Cesare Donanzan, CS., to Giacomo Danesi, CS., New York, November 19, 1968, AGS DE 21 16 F 01.

quo. He urged assistants to obey pastors and for pastors to manage their parishes in accordance with canon law and synodical statutes. If everyone obeyed, there would be no controversy or conflict.⁸⁹²

The circular had little effect, and Father Chenuil tried again on Columbus Day of 1921. This time, he was more defensive. He denied having deliberately recruited unacceptable missionaries in order to fill vacant posts. He also denied having oversold the recruits on the economic advantages awaiting them in the mission field. He offered both veterans and newcomers advice. The new recruits should "give thanks to the Lord that He sent you to a beautiful, civilized, rich and hospitable country, and in the midst of people who respect you, love you, and fill you with spiritual and temporal consolations you could not find in the old country, where the priest lives poorly and with difficulty." They should devote themselves to adjusting to their new home. For their part, the veterans should "search and recall to your memories the thoughts and sentiments you had the first time you set foot on American soil, and do not forget that in that moment the new missionary has need of sympathy, comfort and encouragement." They should prepare the new missionaries to inherit the field.⁸⁹³

The Scalabrinian generation gap may have been the most contentious problem but it was not the most important one. A much more profound controversy centered on whether the conduct and decisions of the 1919 general chapter accorded with the 1908 Rule, and whether that Rule accorded with Bishop Scalabrini's intentions. Both Father Vicentini and Father Chenuil argued for historical continuity. Father Chenuil denied that Bishop Scalabrini planned to create a canonical religious institute. Father Vicentini claimed that Bishop Scalabrini himself had not thought much about his institute's internal structure but that the Vatican had, and the Vatican had never given permission for the simple, perpetual vows Bishop Scalabrini introduced in 1895. Accordingly, Father Vicentini replaced the vows with oaths of perseverance in 1908, and he and Father Chenuil continued to manage the institute as Bishop Scalabrini had wanted it to be managed.⁸⁹⁴

Historian Mario Francesconi thought this was so obvious a misreading of Bishop Scalabrini's intent, especially on Father Vicentini's part, that he raised the question as to whether Father Vicentini had seen and understood all the documentation in the Scalabrinian archives or whether he had deliberately suppressed evidence. At present, the historical tradition indicates Bishop Scalabrini intended to develop a permanent organization. Such a conclusion would also be more logical than hypothesizing an ad hoc religious institute. On the other hand, the bishop's methods may have misled observers, especially Father Vicentini. Bishop Scalabrini was willing to let events unfold and then make decisions about the form the institute should take. Father Vicentini had been part

⁸⁹² Chenuil to Carissimi Confratelli, Rome, June 1, 1921, CMS No. 074, Box 3, Miscellaneous Communications folder.

⁸⁹³ Chenuil to Carissimi Confratelli, Rome, October 12, 1921, CMS No. 074, Box 3, Miscellaneous Communications folder.

⁸⁹⁴ Francesconi V, 16.

of a missionary institute before joining the Scalabrinians and his experience led him to evaluate Bishop Scalabrini as a "saint" but not really aware of the difficulties of running a religious institute. Both Father Vicentini and Father Chenuil had lived under Bishop Scalabrini's loose supervision. They knew from experience the Scalabrinians had trouble recruiting and retaining vocations. They could see the coming end of mass Italian migration. They concluded that since this was what had happened this must have been what the founder wanted to happen, and then they froze those historical developments into rules that kept the Scalabrinians at status quo.

The Vatican had its own historical development. In 1908, the United States was transferred from the jurisdiction of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to that of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation. Shortly thereafter, the Consistorial Congregation got a new secretary, who became an important non-Scalabrinian in Scalabrinian history. Gaetano De Lai was born in Malo, Vicenza, Veneto, on July 30, 1853. He entered the diocesan seminary in 1867 and was ordained on Holy Saturday, April 17, 1876. His bishop sent him to Rome to study canon law. He so impressed Vatican officials that when his bishop recalled him to the diocese, the Vatican claimed him as its own, and that was how he came to work for the Consistorial Congregation. In 1887, he went to Mantua on a mission for the Consistorial Congregation and met Archbishop Giuseppe Sarto. When Archbishop Sarto became Pope Pius X, he remembered De Lai and on November 11, 1903, appointed him Secretary of the Consistorial Congregation. Pius X appointed De Lai a cardinal December 7, 1907. He was in this position when the Scalabrinians adopted the 1908 Rule. He died at age 75 on October 24, 1928.⁸⁹⁵ When Benedict XV succeeded Pius X, he kept Cardinal De Lai in his position. On January 22, 1922, Benedict XV died. On February 6, 1922, the College of Cardinals elected a new pope, Ambrosiano Damiano Achille Ratti, who took the name Pius XI. Pius kept De Lai in his position and asked him for an investigation into the Scalabrinians.

Father Strazzoni, who was in Italy at the time, sent the news to Father Demo March 3, 1923. His letter reflected the theory that the Scalabrinians' problems were confined to a few malcontents. "Cardinal De Lai has decided to take energetic measures against the indiscreet, discontented disturbers and has nominated an apostolic visitor in the person of the Rev. Serafino Cimino, former superior general of the Franciscans. The visitor is to correct where there is need[,] and reestablish the good institute. The rest I'll tell you when I return." Father Strazzoni retained his optimism, at least on paper. On March 19, he told Father Demo that Father Cimino intended to start visiting the Scalabrinians' Italian institutions after Easter and characterized him as being of good intentions and good spirit.⁸⁹⁶ It turned out Father Strazzoni was alone in his estimate.

The only actual visiting Father Cimino did was to the motherhouse and the Christopher Columbus Institute. At this point, the visitation became more problematic. Although Father Chenuil was trying to wind down the seminary, the Scalabrinians had a

⁸⁹⁵ Vaientino Bondani, S.J., and Vito Bondani, S.J., *Paternità di Servizio: Raffaele Carlo Card. Rossi e gli Scalabriniani* (Rome: Postulazione Generale, o.C.D., n.d.) 39-40.

⁸⁹⁶ Strazzoni to Demo, Rome, March 5 and 19, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Father Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

group of seminarians. It is the seven senior seminarians, particularly their leader, Francesco Tironola, whom Scalabrinian history credits with helping to save the institute. Their immediate action did not seem very helpful. They distrusted Father Cimino and were, as Alba Zizzamia described them "as uncommunicative as possible."⁸⁹⁷

Father Cimino did speak with some North American Scalabrinians in Italy during the early part of 1922: Father Vicentini, Father Strazzoni, Father Gambera and Carlo Delbecchi.⁸⁹⁸ These might not have been the best people to interview. Father Vicentini had been doubtful about the Scalabrinians' institutional status since 1905. Father Gambera's memoirs indicate a low opinion of his confreres in general and Father Chenuil in particular. Father Strazzoni left no memoirs, but his correspondence with Father Demo is replete with negative judgments of his colleagues.

Father Delbecchi was in Rome because of accusations made against him in Chicago. Altogether, the quartet represented only two types of Scalabrinian, the dispirited and the scandalous. Father Cimino never saw any other representatives from the mission field. On May 22, 1923, he announced he would be unable to visit the mission field and requested all mission houses send him reports. Specifically, he asked for 1) separate house and parish accounts, 2) from 1921 to 1923, 3) broken down on a monthly basis, 4) listing expenses for food, clothing, coal, lights, candles, postage and monthly payments (such as mortgages), and 5) listing income from baptisms, masses, marriages, feast days, collections and preaching.⁸⁹⁹ Again, the Scalabrinians evaded cooperation. Father Demo set the example for the others. Throughout 1923 and 1924 he apologized for not sending accounts regarding the Pompei rectory, the parish or the Saint Raphael Society. Finally, the investigation ended and investigators stopped asking for them.⁹⁰⁰

The disadvantage of noncompliance was that all Father Cimino heard was complaints. Father Strazzoni confided to Father Demo that the investigation was drawing out all kinds of criticism by the younger members of the institute against the superiors and other members, including, for example, the complaint that Father Demo had appointed Riccardo Secchia to succeed Gaspare Moretto at the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society although Father Secchia knew neither immigration law nor English. For their part, the older ones criticized the defective spiritual life, the lack of loyalty to the institute and its mission and the incompetence of the newcomers.⁹⁰¹ The two sets of letters were like scissor blades. Independently, neither set was very effective. Together they were destructive. They raised the possibility that the first generation of clerical

⁸⁹⁷ Zizzamia, 90.

⁸⁹⁸ Chenuil to Demo, June 6, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁸⁹⁹ Serafino Cimino, O.F.M., to Missioni dell'Istituto di S. Carlo "pro italis emigratis," Rome, May 22, 1923, SJB, Box 19, Circolari importanti folder CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1934 folder.

⁹⁰⁰ Demo to Cimino, New York, n.d. [1923], CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 59; Antonio Demo to Pacifico Chenuil, New York, August 23, 1923, and February 8, 1924, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 58.

⁹⁰¹ Strazzoni to Demo, Rome, June 17, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder; Demo to Cimino, New York, October 5, 1923, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 59.

scalawags to find economic security in America were trying to deny similar opportunities to a young generation that was just as bad.

Anyone with anything good to say about the Scalabrinians refrained from saying it to Father Cimino, and the criticisms pointed in so many directions as to preclude expelling a few unworthy members. Father Cimino relied on the few people who spoke to him and wrote into his report Father Chenuil's interpretation of Scalabrinian history, that Bishop Scalabrini had never intended to found a religious institute in the first place. Father Cimino, though, saw no need to formally suppress the Scalabrinians. On December 23, 1923, he proposed putting the Scalabrinians under the Prelate for Migration, on par with graduates of the Pontifical College for Migration (the rectorship of which Father Gambera had refused in 1914) and halting all professions of oaths of perseverance. Thus, the Scalabrinian institute would die a natural death.⁹⁰²

Proposals were not law, and the Scalabrinians in the mission field mobilized to avoid having Father Cimino's recommendations implemented. They based their strategy on a particular thesis of how the Vatican worked. In their eyes, the Vatican was a hierarchy of patrons, and those with the most powerful patrons got the most respect. After all, when Bishop Scalabrini and Pope Leo XIII were both alive, the holy father himself wrote the Scalabrinians a letter of recommendation. The problem was the Scalabrinians had no such patron in the 1920s, even though, like other institutes, they had a person with the title "cardinal protector." "Why does our Cardinal Protector does not interest himself in defending our missions from all the calumnies stemming from grudges and jealousies?" Father Demo complained to Father Strazzoni.⁹⁰³

If the cardinal protector could not protect them, perhaps the Scalabrinians could present themselves as worthy of someone else's support. In January of 1924, a group of North American Scalabrinians drafted a telegram to Father Cimino: "We are humbly pleased with the conclusion of the Institute's visit, we strongly lament the superior's inaction in our difficult situation." When Father Demo suggested that it might be better to ask the superior general to make their case, instead of criticizing him, Father Vanoli replied that right now they needed to impress the apostolic visitor.⁹⁰⁴

No one responded to the Scalabrinians' telegram.⁹⁰⁵ The North American Scalabrinians were right. Their future was in Roman hands. It was too late for them to influence events. All they could do now, as winter dragged on, was wait for spring and a decision from Rome.

⁹⁰² Francesconi V, 38-39.

⁹⁰³ Demo to Strazzoni, New York, April 17, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

⁹⁰⁴ Arnaldo Vanoli to Demo, Buffalo, January 19, 1924, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vanoli folder; Demo to Vanoli, New York, January 21, 1924, Vanoli to Demo, Buffalo, January 22, 1924, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Vanoli folder.

⁹⁰⁵ Demo to Carlo Celotto, New York, February 21, 1924, CMS No. 078A, Box 4, Records of Fr. Corrado Martellozzo-Father Celotto folder.



11

Drastic Remedies

On February 21, 1924, a group of non-Scalabrinians met to decide the Scalabrinians' fate. They were members of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, gathered to discuss Serafino Cimino's report and to present a recommendation to Pope Pius XI. Going into the meeting, the group was prepared simply to pass on Father Cimino's recommendation for transferring jurisdiction over the Scalabrinians to the Prelate for Italian Migration and thus letting the institute die out as its members did. At the end of the meeting, the group voted to present a different recommendation: to transfer jurisdiction over the Scalabrinians to the Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation directly, thus maintaining its independence from the Prelate for Migration and continue it, however tenuously, as a separate society.⁹⁰⁶

Valentino and Vito Bondani, both Jesuit scholars, attribute the change to the presence of Raffaele Carlo Rossi, another non-Scalabrinian who became an important figure in Scalabrinian history. Rossi was born on October 28, 1876, the same year Bishop Scalabrini was appointed to Piacenza, to Francesco Rossi and his wife Maria Palamidissi, both of Pisa. He was educated up to the university level in public schools, but he also had a vocation to religious life and to the priesthood. He entered the Orders of Discalced Carmelites on October 3, 1897, received his habit on December 19, 1898, professed his vows on December 21, 1899, and was ordained on December 21, 1901, by Archbishop Ferdinando Capponi in Pisa. He spent the first nineteen years of his priesthood in a Carmelite monastery. On April 22, 1920, he was appointed Bishop of Volterra, and the rest of his life he was a monk out of his monastery. On June 23, 1923, he was appointed assessor in the Sacred Consistorial Congregation. On December 20, 1923, he received the title he held when he first began working with the Scalabrinians, Archbishop of Thessalonica. Pius XI named him a cardinal June 30, 1930, by happy coincidence his titular church was that of Saint Prassede, which in the seventeenth century had been the titular church of Saint Charles Borromeo. On July 4, 1930, Cardinal Rossi became Secretary of the Consistorial Congregation, a position he held for eighteen years. He died

⁹⁰⁶ Valentino Bondani, S.J., and Vito Bondani, S.J., *Patemità di Servizio: Raffaello Carlo Card. Rossi e gli Scalabriniani* (Rome: Postulazione Generale, o.C.D., n.d.), 49.

the night of September 16-17, 1948, at the Scalabrinian seminary of Crespano del Grappa.⁹⁰⁷

Exactly what Archbishop Rossi said at the meeting, and whether it really swayed others' minds, is not clear. Self-interest suggests Cardinal De Lai might have hesitated before adopting Father Cimino's recommendation. The Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation was responsible for the Prelate for Migration. Why mix in a group of Scalabrinian missionaries who might discredit the prelate's missionaries? If the Scalabrinians were destined to be phased out, they might as well be kept separate, so that whatever was wrong with them would not affect others. What Archbishop Rossi did add, though, was the suggestion that the Scalabrinians might not be phased out at all. The archbishop pointed out that Father Cimino's report described the seminary as being in perfect order. Perhaps a better future could be built on those seminarians.⁹⁰⁸

The Consistorial Congregation's revised recommendation, which called for keeping the Scalabrinians as a separate organization directly dependent on the Congregation's secretary, went to Pope Pius XI, where it received a favorable hearing. Pius XI had known Bishop Scalabrini and could form an independent judgement of the situation. He accepted the recommendation. He agreed to make the Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation superior general of the Scalabrinians, which prevented the institute from immediate dissolution but did not yet guarantee its permanency.

Cardinal De Lai announced the decision March 26, 1924, and notified the ordinaries of sees in which the Scalabrinians worked.⁹⁰⁹ Then he tried to determine what he had become superior general of and how best to plan for the future. In April of 1924, he asked Archbishop Rossi to conduct a second investigation.

Archbishop Rossi began his visit to Piacenza April 28, 1924. Like Father Cimino, he saw and spoke with the seminarians. Unlike Father Cimino, he got them to talk to him. Perhaps it was because he was a Carmelite and not a Franciscan and thus not a rival in the mission field. Perhaps, having tried noncompliance and losing their autonomy as a result, the Scalabrinians adopted a strategy of cooperation. Archbishop Rossi's personality definitely helped. When seminarian Francesco Tironola brought him in from the railroad station to the Christopher Columbus Institute and he saw the seminarians lined up in two rows along the walls of the corridor ready to greet him and kiss his ring, the archbishop exclaimed "What a beautiful community!" After spending a few days with the Bishop of Piacenza and with the local Carmelites, Archbishop Rossi returned to spend the evening of April 30 with the seminarians. He gave a talk in the chapel about the mission field awaiting the seminarians and his hopes for the future. It being the eve of the first day of the month devoted to the Blessed Mother, he joined them for a series of Marian devotions: a rosary, the litany of the Blessed Virgin Mother and the dedication of an altar in honor of the Immaculate Conception. He participated in recreation and kept up his

⁹⁰⁷ Valentino Bondani, S.J., and Vito Bondani, S.J., *Come Lo Conobbero: Raffaele Carlo Cardinal Rossi Nella Testimonianza* (Rome: Edizioni Saggi e Esperienze, 1973), 24-28.

⁹⁰⁸ Bondani, *Paternità di Servizio*, 49.

⁹⁰⁹ R. J. Haberlin to Ludovico Toma, Brighton, May 12, 1924, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 21.

end of the conversation with what the motherhouse diary called "witty stories." Presumably he could not sing the school song, but on hearing the seminarians sing it, he complimented seminarian Guglielmo Pizzoglio for composing the melody. Francesco Tironola conceded he was not sure what impression the seminarians made on Archbishop Rossi, but he wrote Father Demo that Archbishop Rossi had made an excellent impression on the Scalabrinians and that he was more confident about the future.⁹¹⁰

For his part, Father Demo was cautiously optimistic. "I'm sure that Cardinal De Lai understands the nature of our work," he wrote Pacifico Chenuil. On the other hand, that work was in disarray. "You can't believe how oppressed my soul is by the sight of the state of our beloved institute. . . . I don't understand the grip paralyzing a work which has done much and can do much in the future for the great good of purifying and protecting [Italian missionaries]." Father Demo's suggestions for rectifying the situation reflected the perspective of those veterans who had experienced both the patronage of Leo XIII and the recent deluge of newcomers. He recommended soliciting papal blessing and encouragement, restoring the Rule as it had been, and expelling and returning to Italy unworthy members.⁹¹¹

Like Father Cimino, Archbishop Rossi did not visit the mission field. However, his investigation relied on more than reports from the field. On August 7, 1924, Pope Pius XI appointed Amleto Cicognani, then working in the Sacred Consistorial Congregation in Rome, Apostolic Visitor for the Scalabrinians in North America and on August 16, 1924, he appointed the Reverend Joseph A. da San Giovanni in Persiceto, O.C.D., Apostolic Visitor to the Scalabrinians in Brazil. Like Father Cimino, Monsignor Cicognani requested written reports. He received greater cooperation than Father Cimino had received, which allowed him to write a more nuanced report. Those who adhered to the institute's rules were, he wrote, preferable to all other priests in the Italian migrant apostolate. The trouble was not enough adhered to the rules.⁹¹² Taken together, Archbishop Rossi's investigation of the seminary and the investigations of Monsignor Cicognani and Father da San Giovanni suggested a two-step program for the new superior general: careful nurturing of the seminarians so as to inculcate a true sense of religious life, and close supervision of the missionaries in the field.

Cardinal De Lai also investigated the general chapter of 1919. In July of 1924, he asked the Sacred Congregation for Religious to determine whether the modifications made in 1919 were in accord with the Rule of 1908. The Congregation on Religious replied they were not. It also pointed out that the code of canon law had been revised since 1908 — in 1917 — and suggesting drafting a new rule in confirmation with the updated law code. On

⁹¹⁰ Francesco Tironola to Antonio Demo, Piacenza, June 26, 1924, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of FrAntonio Demo—Casa Madre folder.

⁹¹¹ Demo to Pacifico Chenuil, New York, July 30, 1924, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 58.

⁹¹² Mario Francesconi, CS., *Storia Della Congregazione Scalabriniana*, volume V, *Il Primo Dopoguerra (1919-1940)* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1975). The English translation is *History of the Scalabrinian Congregation*, volume V *The Years Following World War I (1919-1940)*, trans. Martin Bortolazzo, C.S. (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1983), 47-48. Hereafter, Francesconi V.

August 1, 1924, Pope Pius XI recommended Cardinal De Lai request Maurus Serafini, O.S.B., Secretary of the Congregation for Religious, to draft such a new rule. Abbot Serafini submitted the new draft in January of 1925.⁹¹³

By the spring of 1925, Cardinal De Lai had a new role. Rather than preside over the Scalabrinians' dissolution, he was now in the position of reformer of the institute. On March 19, 1925, he signed a decree approving Abbot Serafini's work and ordered copies made for distribution to the members of the institute. These he sent in packets to the regional superiors, together with a letter dated May 5, 1925. With the implementation of the Rule of 1925 the Scalabrinians became, if not what their founder intended, at least something Vatican officials could identify, define, and work with. They became a pious society, a type of religious institute in which individuals do not take permanent vows but in which they join together to carry out some charitable work or mission. Scalabrinian clergy were really secular priests, albeit living in community, following special rules regarding poverty and obedience, and bound by oaths. They also kept their name and their historical mission to Italian migrants.⁹¹⁴

A new chain of command was already in place. At the top was the Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation. When Cardinal De Lai died in 1928, Pope Pius XI appointed Carlo Cardinal Perosi his successor, and when Cardinal Perosi died in 1930, the holy father advanced Cardinal Rossi to the position. The former Scalabrinian leaders, found, or were encouraged to find, other work. Father Vicentini, superior general emeritus and one of Father Chenuil's councilors, retired to Piacenza, where he died on March 15, 1927. Massimo Rinaldi, the other councilor, was appointed Bishop of Rieti. He continued his interest in the Scalabrinians, but the superior no longer had to find a place for him. Cardinal De Lai had already transferred Father Chenuil from superior general to rector of the motherhouse. On October 1, 1925, Monsignor Cicognani wrote Father Fani that Father Chenuil "insistently asked" to be returned to the mission field; Giacomo Gambera thought Father Chenuil was "sent back to the mission."⁹¹⁵

Cardinal De Lai soon determined that the governance system he had inherited, with one provincial superior for the United States and for Brazil, was unworkable: the territories were too large for anyone to administer. Therefore, on December 3, 1924, he reestablished the old system, this time calling the provinces regions and appointing regional superiors rather than having the members of the regions hold elections.⁹¹⁶ Carlo Fani served as superior of the western region from December 3, 1924, until July 4, 1927,

⁹¹³ Francesconi V, 48.

⁹¹⁴ Gaetano Cardinal De Lai to Carlo Fani, Rome, May 5, 1925, SIB, Box 26, folder B. The 1925 Rule was published as *Statuti della Pia Società dei Missionari di S. Carlo* (Rome: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticana, 1925). A copy is in CMS No. 047, Box 1, Constitutions, Etc., Ricordi e Richiami folder.

⁹¹⁵ Announcement of Domenico Vicentini's death in CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1927 folder; Amleto Cicognani to Fani, Rome, October 1, 1925, SJB, Box 19, Assegnazione e trasferimenti di Padri, Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 236.

⁹¹⁶ De Lai, circular, Rome, December 3, 1924, SJB, Box 26, folder B.

when Beniamino Franch was appointed to succeed him.⁹¹⁷ Father Franch held the position until 1946. The eastern regional superiors were: Leonardo Quaglia (1926-1931) , Giovanni Marchegiani (1931-1935) and Nazareno Properzi (1935-1946). The new governance system displaced one person, Angelo Luigi Strazzoni, who settled in for a long tenure as pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse.

Cardinal De Lai intended, though, to be an active and involved superior general, closely supervising missionaries who, he had been warned by Monsignor Cicognani's report, tended to ignore the rules. He informed Father Quaglia that the Sacred Consistorial congregation needed to maintain confidentiality in its decisions regarding personnel and members of religious institutes, a policy which could have left the regional superiors only the work of implementing decisions already made.⁹¹⁸ Actual practice differed from the ideal. Cardinal De Lai did not order all reprobates to Rome for disciplinary action; he wrote the regional superior describing the offenders' sins and asking the superiors to issue admonishments.⁹¹⁹ If only vague rumors reached Rome, the superior general asked the regional superior to investigate.⁹²⁰

From the superior general's point of view, the Scalabrinians in the mission field needed improvement in three areas: personal spirituality, adherence to the pious society's regulations, and attention to finances. Personal spirituality proved most difficult to reform. The superior general was too far away for conversation and too busy to write the exhortations that characterized Father Chenuil's leadership. The new superior generals concentrated their efforts in getting the missionaries to make biennial retreats, hoping they would receive good spiritual guidance there. Even this proved difficult. In 1928, regional superior Quaglia wrote Father Demo that none of the Scalabrinians stationed in New York City had made a retreat in 1927, and that "Rome absolutely wants this done." Father Demo set the record straight: the New York Scalabrinians had missed the Scalabrinians' retreat but had all gone together to the retreat the Archdiocese of New York sponsored for its priests. "I repeat," Father Demo told his young superior, somewhat disingenuously, "that I would willingly go on retreat 365 days a year but I don't want to destroy the merit offered to God in the sacrifice of daily business."⁹²¹

The superior generals had better luck with enforcing adherence to community discipline. They tried to eliminate the longstanding informal system whereby individual Scalabrinians exercised some control over their superiors by claiming their health necessitated a transfer, a trip to Italy, or some other special consideration. When Lino Merlo complained that gastrointestinal difficulties confined him to bed for all of December 1928, and requested permission to seek medical treatment in Italy, Cardinal

⁹¹⁷ Raffaele Carlo Cardinal Rossi to Beniamino Franch, Rome, July 4, 1926, SJB, Box 26, folder B.

⁹¹⁸ De Lai to Leonardo Quaglia, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1924 folder.

⁹¹⁹ De Lai to Quaglia, Rome, December 13, 1924, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1924.

⁹²⁰ Rossi to Giovanni Marchegiani, Rome, February 27, 1934, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

⁹²¹ Quaglia to Demo, New Haven, June 19, 1928; Demo to Quaglia, New Haven, June 20, 1928, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 74.

Perosi inquired if it were not possible to treat these ailments in the United States. The superior generals did try to err on the side of health preservation, though. Father Merlo did get permission to return to Italy, and when Pio Parolin took ill, Cardinal De Lai wrote Father Quaglia to take good care of him. "Father Parolin merits aid because of his attachment to the Institute."⁹²²

The superior generals were stricter with requests for vacations. The 1925 Rule stipulated that every missionary was entitled to a vacation in Italy after ten years in the mission field. Apparently, the rule applied retroactively. Flaminio Parenti requested a vacation in Italy in 1932. Unfortunately, he had taken one in 1925 and, even though the Rule had just gone into effect, that vacation counted; Father Parenti could not go to Italy again after only seven years. Also, the superior generals interpreted the ten-year rule literally. In 1929, when Antonio Sandro applied for a vacation, he had been away from Italy ten years but had not been in the mission field the entire time; he had briefly left the Scalabrinians to test his vocation with the Passionists and Trappists. He had to wait.⁹²³

The superior generals also took charge of transfers or tried to. As it turned out, the superior general often had insufficient information and relied on the regional superior for suggestions. By 1924, Riccardo Lorenzoni at Santa Maria Incoronata was ill; was there a parish that would not impair his health? Father Giovanni Quaglia had a difficult personality and could not return where he was; on the other hand, his temperament was unlikely to be improved by recalling him to Italy, so was there a place he could hold minimal duties as an assistant? Vittorio Cangiano did not get along with Father Demo and had too many visitors in New York; could he be sent somewhere with fewer distractions?⁹²⁴ Reliance on regional superiors may explain why some of the solutions to transfer problems looked like they could have been developed by the Scalabrinians before the Sacred Consistorial Congregation took over. When Riccardo Secchia failed in an important position, the Scalabrinians wanted to avoid making his failure public and also avoid repeating it. When they could not find a small parish to which they could appoint him pastor, they tried to convince him it was just as good to be an assistant at a large and prestigious parish. When Raffaele D'Alfonso left Sacred Heart, the superior general appointed Ludovico Toma titular pastor but, because Father Toma was already pastor of Saint Lazarus in Orient Heights, they asked assistant Francesco Berti to do the work. When the Bishop of Pittsburgh asked musician Carlo Rossini to take a position in that

⁹²² Carlo Cardinal Perosi to Quaglia, Rome, February 28, 1929, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1929 folder; De Lai to Quaglia, Rome, December 13, 1924, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1924 folder.

⁹²³ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, April 21, 1931, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1931 folder; Perosi to Quaglia, Rome, February 28, 1929, CMS No. 078B, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1929 folder.

⁹²⁴ De Lai to Quaglia, Rome, December 20, 1924, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1924 folder.

city, Cardinal De Lai made an exception to the policy of preferring the missionaries live in community.⁹²⁵

Besides centralizing personnel decisions, the superior generals centralized finances. They issued standard forms on which pastors and house treasurers were supposed to report income and expenditures. Cardinal De Lai never extended his control so far, but Cardinal Rossi was able to build on the work of De Lai and Cardinal Perosi, and to bring finances more fully under the superior general's control. In the 1920s, several Scalabrinian pastors were able to build new parish plants without interference from the superior general, but by the 1930s Cardinal Rossi was able to require that pastors seek his permission before contracting any debt.⁹²⁶ Cardinal De Lai was aware of major financial problems, and at least once he recalled a Scalabrinian to Italy for nonpayment of debts. Cardinal Rossi tried to spot problems before they became crises, and to look for signs missionaries might not be living up to promises of poverty. When the three priests at Holy Ghost in Providence spent \$526 in two months on groceries, Cardinal Rossi wrote the regional superior to ask that he find out what they were eating. He was even more severe when house superiors and pastors failed to file reports. Vincenzo Jannuzzi missed a report in December of 1933; Cardinal Rossi's first reminder warned of possible disciplinary action for noncompliance.⁹²⁷ His actions in Father Demo's case indicated Cardinal Rossi was quite serious about these reports.

In some personnel and financial matters, the Consistorial Congregation superior generals did not improve on the Scalabrinians' own leadership. Although vocations to the Scalabrinians increased, they did so slowly, and the new superior generals did not hustle young priests out to the mission field. Consequently, the Scalabrinians had the same problems with personnel shortages that they had under their own Scalabrinian superior generals. They resorted to the same tactics, too, relying on auxiliaries. Some of this auxiliary labor was quite casual: priests showed up, and the Scalabrinians were so happy to have the extra help they that did not inquire too closely into the clerics' backgrounds. Cardinal Rossi warned the Scalabrinians not to accept such hoboes into their houses lest they embarrass the pious society. For their part, the missionaries pointed out that unless

⁹²⁵ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, November 13, 1931, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1931 folder; R. J. Haberman to Ludovico Toma, Brighton, December 15, 1924, AAB, R.G. 5-3, Box 6, folder 21; De Lai to Quaglia, Rome, December 15, 1924, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1924 folder.

⁹²⁶ De Lai to M. R. Padre, Rome, December 15, 1927, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1927 folder; Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, July 9, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

⁹²⁷ De Lai to Fani, Rome, June 22, 1926, SJB, Box 20, P. Carlo Celotto folder; Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, January 4, 1935; CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder; Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, December 30, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

Scalabrinians entered the field from Italy, individual pastors had to pay high stipends to secure auxiliary clergy.⁹²⁸

Like the Scalabrinian superior generals, the Consistorial Congregation superior generals were not always good judges of character. Cardinal De Lai appointed Carlo Fani regional superior of the western region. In 1927 he removed him from that position for misconduct; the details are a bit vague because apparently Father Fani took the entire regional archives with him rather than turn them over to his successor, Beniamino Franch. However, the cardinal permitted Father Fani to remain as pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago. In 1931, rumors of further misconduct on Father Fani's part reached Cardinal Rossi, who asked Father Franch to investigate. Father Franch documented that Father Fani and his organist, Marguerite Steigmuller, were conducting an affair and were purchasing real estate together. "Because of the scarcity of priests and the lack of cooperation from the east [where the eastern regional superior was subverting the usual Scalabrinian policy of transferring offenders far away] I do not know what remedy to suggest." Cardinal Rossi told Father Franch to transfer Father Fani before a bigger problem erupted and to fire the organist as well. Father Fani was released from his oath of perseverance and returned to his home diocese.⁹²⁹

The Consistorial Congregation superior generals followed established policy in trying to recall the most scandalous disciplinary cases back to Italy. The culprits in these cases followed longstanding practice and avoided going. In 1937, Father Franch found out that one of his missionaries, Gabrielle Zaniolo, was smuggling opium from China to the United States, using his cousin, a Franciscan stationed in China, as a carrier. Father Franch discovered this in a most embarrassing way. Aware the police were looking for him, Father Zaniolo boarded a train for the West Coast and presumably a ship to China. Father Franch worked out a deal with the Federal Bureau of Investigation whereby authorities would not prosecute Father Zaniolo and the priest would return to Italy. Father Zaniolo, though, refused to go. Father Franch suspended him. Without the Scalabrinians' protection the authorities moved to rearrest Father Zaniolo, which finally got the priest to leave the country.⁹³⁰ If they did not judge the case too serious, the Consistorial Congregation superior generals, like the Scalabrinian superior generals before them, bowed to the pressures of personnel shortages and kept the offenders in the field, albeit in new posts that would both punish them and remove them from public scrutiny. When Father Franch removed Michele Favero from Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago, he found another position which would neither compromise the priest's dignity nor give him the opportunity to repeat his wrongdoing, the job as chaplain at Mother Cabrini's hospital. Transfers did not always discourage repeat offenders. In January of

⁹²⁸ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, January 27, 1924, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder; Marchegiani to Rossi, New York, October 15, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

⁹²⁹ Rossi to Franch, Rome, November 22, 1927, SJB, Box 26, folder B; Rossi to Franch, Rome, March 22, 1931, Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, September 29, 1931; Rossi to Franch, Rome, November 10, 1931; Franch to Maguire [chancellor of the Archdiocese of Chicago], Melrose Park, February 17, 1932, SJB, Box 30, folder Ba.

⁹³⁰ Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, August 5, 1937, SJB, Box 19, Provvedementi disciplinari.

1930, Father Franch discovered Manlio Ciufoletti was using his position as pastor of Holy Guardian Angel to enrich himself and his family back in Italy.⁹³¹ Accordingly, Father Franch transferred Father Ciufoletti from this prestigious position to a more obscure one in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, where Father Ciufoletti resumed such practices as skimming from the collection plate.

Like the Scalabrinian superior generals, the Consistorial Congregational superior generals continued to rely on transfer even when it seemed inappropriate. The career of Giovanni Peona is a case in point. Father Peona first appeared in the Chicago records in 1922 as pastor of Saint Michael's; the same year he became pastor of Santa Maria Incoronata. Until 1931, all was well. Then Father Peona's assistant, Giuseppe Lazzeri, wrote the superior general complaining about his pastor's conduct. Taking this as an act of insubordination and disobedience, Cardinal Rossi ordered Father Lazzeri transferred. Father Franch commented only that Father Peona was "suggestible, nervous and excitable and thus not a good guide" for a young priest.⁹³²

That incident, though, broke open the dam and unleashed a flood of complaints, so many different charges coming from so many different people that it was impossible to ignore them. Letizia Campagna had already complained that when Father Peona hired her as a housekeeper, he neither reimbursed her travel expenses nor paid her the promised sum of \$75 per month (which was an extravagant offer on his part.) Lawyer J. H. Jennings charged Father Peona with cheating his client, Rocco Dabici, by withholding wages and failing to return the securities Mr. Dabici had given him for safekeeping. Mr. Dabici himself accused Father Peona of carrying on an affair with his organist and told the story of stopping by the organists' rented rooms with the priest only to discover the woman was expecting the priest alone; she "presented herself dressed only in a transparent silk blouse." (By the time that particular story got around the parish, the organist's outfit had been reduced to "the clothing of Adam.") Another parishioner drafted a lengthy bill of indictment. Father Peona touched both boys and girls in an indecent manner, mistreated parishioners, and assistant priests, used his position to supply his family with \$15,000 and a fleet of seven automobiles, and was selling the communion wine to speakeasies.⁹³³

The only remedy Father Franch could think of was to send Father Peona quietly back to Italy. There is a letter from Father Peona to Cardinal Rossi requesting he be allowed to return to Italy. The letter is on Father Franch's stationery; as if Father Franch asked Father Peona to come to Melrose Park, displayed the evidence against him, and suggested he write out the letter requesting permission to return to Italy then and there. At least some of Father Peona's parishioners acted as though the transfer was routine and organized a banquet to honor him. Apparently, though, the Scalabrinians took action in

⁹³¹ Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, June 5, 1934, SJB, Box 27, folder A; Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, January 15, 1930, SJB, Box 30, folder Aa.

⁹³² Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, September 16, 1931, SJB, Box 27, folder B.

⁹³³ Letizia Campagna to Franch, Chicago, September 27, 1930; J. H. Jennings to Giovanni Peona, Chicago, November 21, 1930; Rocco V. Dabici to Autorità Ecclesiastica, Chicago, October 28, 1931; Vito Cosmo Mazzone, n.p., n.d., SIB, Box 27, folder C.

the nick of time. The chancery, hearing that Father Peona was planning a trip to Italy, appointed a temporary administrator to take over Incoronata not upon Father Peona's departure but immediately.⁹³⁴

Once Father Peona was sailing toward Italy, Father Franch took action to insure he would not again embarrass the western region. He wrote Cardinal Rossi regarding Father Peona's stewardship at Incoronata. Rather than paying off the debts Father Peona had been diverting the funds for personal use. For example, he had listed several checks as being used to pay for candles, but when Father Franch got hold of the actual checks, he found that they had been written to purchase stock in Standard Oil of New Jersey.⁹³⁵ Father Franch advised against returning Father Peona to the western province, even as an assistant. The end of this story is a curious one. Father Peona spent less than a year in Italy, too short a period for the rehabilitation of a hardened sinner. In 1933, he became pastor of Saint Anthony's in Everett, Massachusetts, and he remained there until his death on February 19, 1944. He was part of the Archdiocese of Boston, where William Cardinal O'Connell was notorious for his efforts to control archdiocesan activities down to the parish level. Except for one summons to the chancery for an explanation of the archdiocesan account system, there is no indication Father Peona caused further trouble.⁹³⁶

How did the Consistorial Congregation's new discipline affect the missionaries in the field? The intent was to either reform them or to get them out of the pious society. As the stories about Father Fani, Father Ciufoletti and Father Peona in this chapter show, some Scalabrinians did neither. Others did calculate they might do better outside the pious society. Archival records permit some comment about two of them. Corrado Pezzati's letter announcing his departure read much like the letters of older Scalabrinians to Father Cimino: he had nothing against the pious society itself, but only with certain troublemakers within it. Other Scalabrinians identified Father Pezzati as one of the troublemakers; it was for him that Father Strazzoni requested Father Demo purchase a one-way ticket to Italy. Another Scalabrinian, a Father Alfonso, asked to be incardinated into the Archdiocese of Detroit. In a letter explaining incardination procedures Cardinal De Lai changed the subject to remonstrate Father Alfonso for demanding so much money from his parishioners.⁹³⁷ It is worth mentioning that both these were Father Chenuil's recruits, and none had a long history of hidden misbehavior.

⁹³⁴ Peona to Raffaele Rossi, Melrose Park, February 8, 1932; Bernardo Borase to Pregiatissimo Signore, Chicago, February 8, 1921; George Cardinal Mundelein to Peona, Chicago, March 23, 1932, SJB, Box 27, folder C.

⁹³⁵ Corporate Sale Company to Peona, Chicago, March 10, 1932, SIB, Box 27, folder C. Someone has written at the bottom of the page, "Evidently this is stock, not candles."

⁹³⁶ Franch to Raffaele Rossi, Melrose Park, May 25, 1932, SJB, Box 27, folder C, unsigned letter to Peona, Brighton, November 30, 1935, AAB, R.G., 5-3, Box 40, folder 2.

⁹³⁷ Corrado Pezzati to Demo, Rochester, March 27, 1923, CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Pezzati folder; De Lai to Father Alfonso, Rome, June 4, 1924, CMS No. 078B, Box 1, Records of Fr. Leonardo Quaglia-1925 folder.

There was a group of older clergy whose behavior was shaped less by new rules than by long experience with each other and by many years in the mission field. This group continued to work as pastors and assistants. While they may not have been as competent or as devout as the Consistorial Congregation superior generals wished, their behavior was not so bad as to merit severe discipline, and so, for the most part, the new superiors left them alone. For their part, they continued their commitments to the institute, to their parishes and to each other.

For these veterans, loyalty did not depend on the shifting temporary vows, permanent vows or oaths of perseverance. They continued to consider ex-Scalabrinians as part of the group. On June 16, 1923, in the midst of Father Cimino's investigation, Felix Morelli died quietly at Saint Peter's Hospital in New Brunswick, New Jersey. The Scalabrinians could have minimized his passing, which called to mind his disastrous period under vows. Instead, the obituaries noted his connection with the pious society, Saint Joachim's, Most Precious Blood and Columbus Hospital in New York.⁹³⁸

When Cardinal De Lai announced the Scalabrinians were to be a pious society under his administration, the veterans shared their reactions with each other. Father Demo's letter lamenting to Father Chenuil how far the institute had fallen was quoted above. Pietro Maldotti, founder of the Genoa branch of the Saint Raphael Society, tried to use sarcasm to cover his feelings. "Have you seen the crash of the Congregation of Saint Charles?" he asked Father Demo. "In time it will be a fake organization. With its scarecrow vows and promises, which in practice no one ever observed or maintained serious questions were kept from the Congregation and now it is going badly adrift." Father Pio could not be sarcastic. He closed a letter to Father Demo with "Affectionately no longer confrere, because we are considered secular priests (according to the general's letter), but friends."⁹³⁹

Some Scalabrinians found it difficult to adjust to the new discipline. For twenty years, Bartolomeo Marenchino had managed to counter superiors who tried to move him from the parish he helped found, Saint Anthony's in New Haven. The new superiors proved harder to evade. In 1925, Cardinal De Lai transferred Father Marenchino to Saint Rocco in Thornton, Rhode Island. With his superiors and parishioners, Father Marenchino was an obedient missionary. Privately, he was confided to Father Demo, "I find myself here in this little village, where no one knows me and where I know no one. What tears I have shed these few days! I have asked to come to New York City with you or to Boston with Father [Francesco] Berti. . . "but to no avail. The superiors stood firm, and Father Marenchino never returned to the place he had made into a home."⁹⁴⁰

⁹³⁸ Clipping from *Corriere della Domenica*, n.p., August 15, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Morelli folder.

⁹³⁹ Pietro Maldotti to Demo, Genoa, June 9, 1924, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Maldotti folder; Pio Parolin to Demo, Boston, October 17, 1924, CMS No. 078A, Box 5, Records of Fr. Giuseppe Spigolon-Father Parolin folder.

⁹⁴⁰ Bartolomeo Marenchino to Demo, Thornton, Rhode Island, July 22, 1925, CMS No. 029, Box 1, Saint Rocco's Church Correspondence-1918-1953 folder.

By their long relationships with each other, the veteran Scalabrinians filled a gap which the new leadership had left open, care of senior missionaries. The Scalabrinian leadership professed itself willing to support those whose age or health prevented them from earning a living in the mission field. However, the leadership wanted to reserve to itself the right to determine who was too old or too sick to work, rather than let individual missionaries decide.

Father Gambera left the most complete account of the difficulties this policy could cause. In 1921, the year he turned 65, Father Gambera resigned his post at Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago and returned to Italy, where illness laid him low for several years. By 1925, he no longer felt the need for hospital care, and he made an appointment with Cardinal De Lai to discuss his future. He hoped to be allowed to retire to Brescia among his surviving relatives, or to reside with the Scalabrinian administration in Rome. Cardinal De Lai asked him what he wanted to do if he could not do either of those things. Thinking it best to make a show of his sacrificial spirit, Father Gambera replied, "If neither the first nor the second proposal should be granted me, I would return to the missions, no longer as pastor or assistant, but as chaplain in an Italian institute, for example, in a hospital." He was alarmed to hear Cardinal De Lai reply "Bravo! Very good. You shall return. I shall immediately call the mother general of the Mother Cabrini missionaries to determine the place and time of your departure." Father Gambera began to protest, but the cardinal cut him off: "No! No! You are still healthy — and strong — and you can still serve the mission in a charitable institute." Dumbfounded, Father Gambera commented, "If he had said I was still young, the miracle would have been complete."⁹⁴¹

What changes did the Consistorial Congregation superior generals really make? Answering that question requires making one small change in the way Scalabrinians understand their history. Even at the time of the Consistorial Congregation take-over, Scalabrinians spoke of old-timers and newcomers. Scalabrinian history since then has discussed the missionaries in the field in the early 1920s as being in need of a revitalized spirit and sense of mission, and the newcomers trained under Consistorial Congregation auspices as supplying that need. Actually, there are three generations of Scalabrinians involved: those trained under Consistorial Congregation auspices, those whom Father Chenuil recruited, and those who entered the pious society under Bishop Scalabrini or Father Vicentini.

Previous Scalabrinian historians have agreed the Consistorial Congregation built for the future by improving the training of young missionaries. This third generation began entering the mission field in the late 1920s and early 1930s. Their impact will be most noticeable in the last chapter of this work. The Consistorial Congregation also played a role in separating the sheep from the goats among the Father Chenuil's recruits. Such sorting would have happened without Consistorial Congregation intervention. As new recruits proved themselves in the mission field, their older confreres recognized their talents or defects and gave them more responsibility or tried to keep them from

⁹⁴¹ Gambera, 235-236.

embarrassing the pious society. As it was, the Consistorial Congregation facilitated the process so that the controversy over this second generation was largely over by the early 1920s.

The Consistorial Congregation had little effect on those who had been in the mission field before Father Chenuil's administration. The new superior generals tried to reform the older missionaries, to improve their spiritual lives and their sense of accountability to their superiors. The old-timers either met the new requirements or evaded them and, generally, got away with it. The superior generals were reluctant to embarrass veterans of the mission field. Besides, they had no one to replace them with — yet.

During the 1920s, no one noticed the possibility for conflict between the pioneers and the third generation. The seminarians were still in Italy. In the United States, the veterans were demonstrating their competence by erecting new parish plants and developing new parish programs suitable for the postmigration Italian communities. Only when the young missionaries arrived in the United States did conflict between old-timers and a new set of newcomers recur — and this time the newcomers would carry the day.



12

High Tide and Undertow

On the surface, the 1920s do not seem like good years for the American Scalabrinians. The general chapter of 1919 threw the institute into turmoil. The restrictive migration policies which the United States implemented beginning in 1921 ended Italian mass migration and threatened to render the Scalabrinians obsolete. The fascist takeover in Italy in 1922 was one step in a series of events that led the former Allies to opposite sides for much of World War II. Even the celebrated prosperity of the Roaring Twenties had its drawbacks. Wealth enabled some people to leave the rundown, congested Little Italies, and the Scalabrinian parishes in them. Jazz Age popular culture appealed to Italian-American youth — and that worried Italian Catholic missionaries. And then there was Prohibition.

Parish histories, news clippings and Scalabrinian letters permit a closer examination of the Roaring Twenties from the Scalabrinian point of view, and indicate the missionaries were not entirely dissatisfied with the decade. Even though prosperity was not evenly distributed, Scalabrinian parishes found the wherewithal to improve or expand their facilities. The geographical redistribution of the Italian-American population opened the possibility for new missions. Even the changes in mass culture could be construed as a challenge that brought out the creativity in Scalabrinian pastoral care. Accordingly, this chapter considers the growing stability of some missions and the expansion of others, how new consumer technology and prohibition affected the Scalabrinians themselves, how Scalabrinians updated the pastoral care of migrants to include youth, how they received fascism, and why the 1920s remains an important decade in the development of the Scalabrinian mission.

Some Scalabrinian parishes had enjoyed stability for years. Antonio Demo was getting quite proud of his longevity. In 1917, when Our Lady of Pompei celebrated its silver anniversary, he expressed dismay that no archdiocese representative attended the mass: "My parishioners were longing for the Episcopal Benediction, but they had to be satisfied with my humble one which they have been receiving for the last 19 years."⁹⁴² In 1924, he told Pacifico Chenuil, "I know the requirements and needs of this parish where I have

⁹⁴² Antonio Demo to John Cardinal Farley, New York, December 3, 1917, CMS No. 005, Box 5, copybook.

worked assiduously for 25 full years."⁹⁴³ It was the pride that goes before the fall, but it was also a real boon to the development of the parish.

Other parishes had more painful experiences. Sacred Heart in Boston was one of them. Vittorio Oregon, who had become pastor in 1908, left in 1919 and returned to his family in Italy. He was succeeded by Raffaele D'Alfonso, whom a portion of the parishioners adored and another portion accused of carrying on an affair with the organist. Amid this controversy, Father D'Alfonso departed in 1921. The Sacred Consistorial Congregation superior general advocated a kind of dual pastorate whereby Ludovico Toma held the title and supervised Francesco Berti, who did most of the work. The parishioners complained that Father Toma neglected their parish in favor of his other one, Saint Lazarus.⁹⁴⁴ In 1926, the Scalabrinians tried to solve two problems: assigning Pacifico Chenuil to Sacred Heart gave the former superior general a position worthy of his status and gave the parish an experienced pastor.

When the decade opened it appeared that stability was continuing to elude Holy Ghost in Providence. Domenico Belliotti had been pastor there since 1904, but he was an exception to the rule that long-term pastors contributed to parish peace. Father Belliotti was also unfortunate in having an assistant, an auxiliary named Vincenzo Vicari, who was more popular than he was. In July of 1920, Bishop William A. Hickey announced he was transferring Father Vicari. Letters urging Bishop Hickey to remove Father Belliotti and promote Father Vicari came to the episcopal residence. Father Belliotti claimed Father Vicari inspired the letters. Whether it was true in this case or not, it was not an uncommon accusation. Bishop Hickey believed it, supported the lawful pastor, and arranged for Father Vicari to find another position in another diocese. Despite Father Vicari's departure, the complaints against Father Belliotti escalated. Rather than send letters, which raised the question of whether the letters came from only a few individuals working at the behest of the ousted assistant, the parishioners organized large meetings to demonstrate that they were acting independently of Father Vicari and that they had widespread support. Bishop Hickey contacted Angelo Luigi Strazzoni, then the provincial superior for the Scalabrinians in the entire United States. Father Strazzoni transferred Father Belliotti to Saint Anthony's in Fredonia and came to Holy Ghost himself. This still did not bring Father Vicari back; rather it made it look as though the Scalabrinians were more interested in pacifying and retaining the parish for themselves than in addressing parish concerns.⁹⁴⁵

Diocesan historian Robert Hayman attributes the eventual resolution of the problem to actions by both Bishop Hickey and Father Strazzoni. Bishop Hickey created a new parish in the Italian neighborhood on Federal Hill. The new parish, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, opened in 1922. Its pastor was Nicola Armento, who had worked as an auxiliary

⁹⁴³ Demo to Pacifico Chenuil, New York, July 30, 1924, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 38.

⁹⁴⁴ Arthur Caleri to William Cardinal O'Connell, Boston, August 22, 1922, Angelo Bonugli to O'Connell, Boston, September 19, 1922, AAB, R.G., 5.3, Box 6, folders 16-25.

⁹⁴⁵ Robert J. Hayman, *Catholicism in Rhode Island, and the Diocese of Providence: 1886-1921*, 2 vols. (Providence: The Diocese of Providence, 1995), II, 208-210.

with the Scalabrinians but who was a secular priest. This gathered into one parish the laity who were most vocal about having a parish dedicated to their patroness and about not having Scalabrinians in charge of it.⁹⁴⁶ To revitalize Holy Ghost, Father Strazzoni appointed Flaminio Parenti to the parish. Father Parenti was born on December 4, 1885, at Le Mose di Mortizza, Piacenza, to Giovanni Parenti and his wife, Maria Bruni. He received his elementary education in Piacenza and then switched to the diocesan seminary for his preprofessional training and to the Christopher Columbus Institute for his priestly schooling. He took his oath of perseverance in 1903 and was ordained on September 19, 1908.

He served briefly as rector of the Christopher Columbus Institute before he departed for the mission field. He arrived in New York on May 7, 1909. On May 21, he began work as an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei; it was during his stay there that an irate parishioner's father tried to slash him with a cobbler's knife. From October 2, 1920, until December 11, 1920, he was acting pastor in one of the Scalabrinian parishes in New Haven. Immediately prior to coming to Holy Ghost he was pastor of Saint Bartholomew in the Silver Lake district of Providence.⁹⁴⁷ He arrived at Holy Ghost on January 2, 1922 and remained its pastor until 1964. He died February 27, 1972.

Moving Father Parenti to Holy Ghost was part of a series of transfers that stabilized two other parishes as well. When Father Parenti left Saint Bartholomew, Pietro Gorret went there and remained from 1922 to 1949. Father Strazzoni left Holy Ghost to Father Parenti and went to Saint Peter's in Syracuse, where he remained from 1922 to 1951.

Several other parishes also lost veteran pastors in the early 1920s but managed to make smooth transitions to new leadership. In New Haven, Saint Anthony's had since 1904 enjoyed the services of its founding pastor Bartolomeo Marenchino. On June 22, 1925, Gaetano Cardinal De Lai transferred Father Marenchino to Saint Rocco's in Thornton, Rhode Island, and brought Silvio Sartori from Saint Rocco's to be pastor of Saint Anthony. Father Sartori surpassed Father Marenchino's record at Saint Anthony, serving as pastor for 25 years. In Utica, New York, Giuseppe Formia, the first pastor of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel to be affiliated with the Scalabrinians, returned to Italy in 1921. He has been at the parish 19 years. He was succeeded by Giovanni Marchegiani. Given his problems at other parishes, it is worth noting that Father Marchegiani served from June of 1921 to 1933 at Mount Carmel and left no record of difficulty. In the western province, Sacred Heart of Cincinnati lost Giovanni Battista Balangero, who died of a cerebral hemorrhage the night of May 6-7, 1919. Father Balangero and the parish were fortunate in that the assistant, Giambattista Chiotti, was popular with the parishioners and cooperative with, rather than rivaling, the pastor. Father Chiotti was pastor of Sacred Heart from Independence Day of 1920 to May 29, 1925, when he died of appendicitis and peritonitis. In Chicago, Cesare Constantino Molinari was pastor of Saint Michael's from 1922 to 1933, and Michele Favero was pastor of Saint Anthony's in Kensington during the

⁹⁴⁶ Hayman, II, 211; Angelo Luigi Strazzoni to William A. Hickey, Providence, December 21, 1920, CMS No. 021, Box 3, unlabeled folder.

⁹⁴⁷ Questionario Circa La Persona per Flaminio Parenti, CMS No. 078A, Box 5, Records of Fr. Giuseppe Spigolon-Father Parenti folder.

same time period. Carlo Fani was pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago from 1918 to 1932, although his record there cast doubt on the benefit to the parish of his long tenure. Chapter ten mentioned that Luigi Franchinotti was a Chenuil-era recruit who was the exception to the rule regarding those vocations and served at Holy Rosary in Kansas City from 1921 to 1942.⁹⁴⁸

The Scalabrinians lost only two missions in the 1920s. In 1924, for reasons that will become apparent in the section on prohibition, a diocesan priest, Joseph Tantillo, took over Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah. However, even if the Scalabrinians had held onto the mission, they might not have kept it past 1929. That year, Our Lady of Pompei became a mission attended by non-Italian chaplains at Saint Joseph's Villa in Fairmont. In 1944, a diocesan priest of Polish extraction took charge of both Our Lady of Pompei and Saint Stanislaus in Monongah, and the situation returned to *status quo ante Scalabriniani*.⁹⁴⁹ In 1927, Giuseppe Panesi left Saint John the Baptist in Rome, New York, and the Scalabrinians lost their connection to that mission, too.⁹⁵⁰

Offsetting these two losses were gains in many parts of the United States. In 1922, Bishop Hickey asked the Scalabrinians to staff one more parish in his diocese, Our Lady of Loreto, which opened in East Providence on July 30, 1922.⁹⁵¹ The same year, Archbishop George Mundelein of Chicago asked the Scalabrinians to staff Saint Anthony's in the Kensington section of the city. The congregation had first been gathered the third Sunday of June in 1903 in a storefront at 160 Kensington Avenue purchased from Antonio Basile. Its first pastor was Orazio D'Andrea. Father D'Andrea worked there 19 years and succeeded in developing a small congregation, a parochial school and \$77,000 in debt. Until June of 1922, Father D'Andrea relied on the Archdiocese of Chicago to help fund Saint Anthony's. When the archdiocese withdrew its support Father D'Andrea handed in his resignation. The archdiocese then invited the Scalabrinians to the parish, calculating the pious society could use surplus from its established parishes to help this struggling one. The Scalabrinians were rewarded for taking this particular risk. Thanks to pastor Michele Favero and to the favorable economy, Saint Anthony's soon became solvent.⁹⁵² Father D'Andrea, meanwhile, began again with a new parish, Saint Michael's.

⁹⁴⁸ George G. Di Cenzo, "The History of Saint Anthony from 1904 to 1954," *Fiftieth Anniversary, 1904-1954, Saint Anthony's Church, New Haven* (n.p., n.d. [1954]); William Pizzoglio, C.S., *St. Mary of Mount Carmel Church, Utica, New York: Its History and Progress from the Beginning to the Present* (n.p., n.d.); Louis Bolzan, C.S., *Memories of an Italian Parish* (n.p., n.d. [1974]), 31-51; 1903-1953, *Golden Anniversary, St. Michael Church* (n.p., n.d.), Carmen C. Adduci, "St. Anthony Parish History," *Seventieth Anniversary of St. Anthony's Parish* (Chicago, C.D. Stampely, 1973); *Our Lady of Pompei Sixty-Fifth Anniversary, 1911-1967* (n.p., n.d.); *Holy Rosary Parish Golden Jubilee* (Kansas City, Missouri, 1942).

⁹⁴⁹ Everett F. Briggs, *Fiftieth Anniversary Year, 1907-1957: Catholic Churches of Monongah, West Virginia, St. Stanislaus Church, Our Lady of Pompei, Church, Monongah Disaster* (Monongah, 1957), 10.

⁹⁵⁰ The last letter from Giuseppe Panesi addressed Demo and dated Rome, New York, March 1, 1927. It is in CMS No. 078A, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Panesi folder.

⁹⁵¹ Hayman, II, 189.

⁹⁵² Adduci.

In 1925, the western province took over another parish in another city. By 1892, the Italian population of Milwaukee's Third Ward numbered 5,000. The faithful could attend mass at Saint John's Cathedral or at Saint Mary's parish church, but neither had Italian-speaking clergy or paid much attention to Italian devotional practices. Therefore, the laity raised money to purchase a tavern on East Clybourn Street between Van Buren and Jackson Streets and fix it up as the Chapel of the Sacred Heart of Jesus. In 1899, Rosario Nasca of Monte Maggiore in Sicily became the first resident pastor. How long he stayed is not clear. By 1903 the congregation had another secular priest, Dominic Leone, as pastor, and in 1904 it moved to a new parish plant (church and rectory) around the corner on Jackson Street between Clybourn Street and Detroit Street. When the congregation moved to the new church, the parish took the name of Blessed Virgin of Pompei. Father Leone left in 1905. Enrico Fadanelli, C.S.S., was pastor from 1915 to 1923 and 1923 to 1925. During the interlude in 1923, Peter Dietz, later famous for his advocacy of the working class, took charge of Pompei. In 1925, Father Fadanelli left permanently, and his congregation, the Stigmatines, did not replace him. Peter Schroeder, P.S.M., was pastor briefly in 1925. At this point, Archbishop Sebastian Messmer made arrangements with the Scalabrinians. Carlo Celotto was pastor briefly in 1925. The Scalabrinian who really developed the parish was Antonio Bainotti, who was pastor from 1925 to 1935.⁹⁵³

Prosperity led to the geographic dispersal of the old Italian neighborhoods and the founding of new neighborhoods and new parishes. During the early twentieth century, migrants who had left Genoa, the Marches and Avellino and spent years in the North End and Orient Heights ended their journeys at Everett in suburbs of Boston. After World War I, prosperity extended to migrants from Sicily, Abruzzi and Apulia. As the Italian population in Everett reached a critical mass, a group of laity arose who took interest in providing a church. Messrs. Orazio Rocco, Antonio Dragone and Celestino Pierotti petitioned Cardinal O'Connell for a parish. The petition reached the cardinal's secretary, who acknowledged it and asked Father Toma to investigate.⁹⁵⁴ The result of Father Toma's investigation was that Cardinal O'Connell authorized the erection of Saint Anthony's, and the Scalabrinians appointed Lino Buggini pastor. Father Buggini commuted out from Sacred Heart to Mr. Rocco's house, where he met with lay leaders and made plans. Late in 1925, Father Buggini rented the Broadway Theater. During the winter, lay leaders supervised renovations. On Palm Sunday, April 2, 1928, the parish celebrated its first mass.⁹⁵⁵

At the end of the decade, the western province expanded to a new mission in Canada. Holy Rosary in Winnipeg, Manitoba, had its start in 1912, when Ferdinando Anzalone, O.M.I., came to the city to say mass for the Italians there. Father Anzalone returned to Italy in 1915, and the congregation languished. On October 7, 1923, Archbishop A. A.

⁹⁵³ *Golden Jubilee of the Blessed Virgin of Pompei Church* (n.p., 1954), 8-13; "History of St. Rita's Church," *Twenty-Fifth Anniversary Edition* (n.p., 1961). Photocopy of the latter courtesy of parish secretary Rose Mastrogiovanni.

⁹⁵⁴ Secretary to Ludovico Toma, Boston, September 30, 1927, AAB, R.G., 5.3., Box 40, folder I.

⁹⁵⁵ William Pizzoglio, C.S., *Fortieth Anniversary, 1927-1967, St. Anthony's Church of Everett: Its History and Progress from the Beginning to the Present* (n.p., 1967), 1-2.

Sinnott made an effort to create a permanent Italian parish by dedicating a former Lutheran Church for Catholic worship. Pietro Gil was pastor until October of 1924, but when he left, the archdiocese had to appoint a non-Italian, C. Lynch.⁹⁵⁶ In 1929, Beniamino Franch tried to solve several problems at once. By accepting Holy Rosary for the Scalabrinians he hoped to expand the pious society's mission, provide the Italians of Winnipeg with a steady supply of priests, and find a suitable position for a priest who was on the verge of creating a scandal in Chicago.⁹⁵⁷

Along with the creation of new missions came the expansion of older ones. In Cincinnati, Italians who lived downtown within walking distance of Sacred Heart began moving to suburban Walnut Hills. Father Chiotti thought of Walnut Hills as a kind of annex to Sacred Heart and criticized the congregation there for taking up collections for fireworks rather than parish support. On Sunday January 3, 1924, Father Chiotti announced to the Sacred Heart congregation that Archbishop Henry Moeller wanted to erect a parish in Walnut Hills and transfer Father Chiotti there. Sacred Heart's trustees sent the archbishop a letter arguing that Walnut Hills ought to remain dependent on Sacred Heart. In Walnut Hills, the trustees' actions were interpreted not just as the trustees' effort to keep contributing members in the parish but also as the Scalabrinians' effort to expand to a second Cincinnati mission. Conflict between downtown and Walnut Hills continued for the rest of the year, and the two sides never did reach a mutual understanding. On January 5, 1925, Archbishop Moeller died and in May, Father Chiotti died. Archbishop John McNicholas, O.P., was installed August 12, 1925, and had a free hand to reconsider the Walnut Hills Italian parish. He decided to erect a separate parish dedicated to Our Lady of Mount Carmel, not a mission of Sacred Heart, and to appoint secular, not Scalabrinian, clergy. Similarly, as the Italians of Fairmount increased, the Sacred Heart Scalabrinians tried to expand there. This time, their own personnel shortages held them back. On October 8, 1922, the archdiocese dedicated a new parish to Saint Anthony of Padua in Fairmount and entrusted it to secular priests. In 1928, it became a Franciscan parish.⁹⁵⁸

At the time of the Scalabrinians' arrival in Milwaukee, its Italian population was already expanding beyond the bounds of the traditional Little Italy. Chapter nine explains how Carmelite Sisters of the Divine Heart of Jesus bought property in Italy's First Ward but did not develop a full Italian ministry. The Italian Catholic congregation that gathered in the First Ward seems to have been organized and maintained partly by weekly visits from Scalabrinians at Blessed Virgin of Pompei and partly by the Catholic Instructional League, which provided catechism outside the parochial school setting. The congregation in the First Ward had taken the name Saint Rita (of Cascia) by June 14, 1925, when a group of children from Saint Rita's mission made their First Communion.⁹⁵⁹

⁹⁵⁶ *Ricordo della Benedizione della Nuova Casa Parrocchiale al SSmo. Rosario, Manitoba* (n.p., n.d. November 11, 1930). Copy in SJB, Box 30, folder C.

⁹⁵⁷ Beniamino Franch to Raffaello Carlo Cardinal Rossi, Melrose Park, September 24, 1929, SJB Box 30, folder Aa.

⁹⁵⁸ Bolzan, 45-56.

⁹⁵⁹ "History of St. Rita's Parish."

Gradually, the Scalabrinians spent more and more time ministering to Saint Rita's with its growing population and many young families. By 1932, they lived in the First Ward and commuted to the Third Ward.

As usual, there were more opportunities than Scalabrinians to take them. In 1924, the eastern province got a chance to open another mission in Canada. However, Father Demo had to tell the bishop that he had insufficient clergy to staff a parish in North Bay, Ontario.⁹⁶⁰

Besides allowing newly prosperous Italian-American families to move to nicer homes, the 1920s economic boom allowed Scalabrinians to build nicer churches. Parishes that had for years met in small chapels or unfinished basements now had the funds or the access to mortgages to erect proper churches. On November 11, 1923, Cardinal O'Connell repaid the service Father Toma had given the Archdiocese of Boston by coming himself to dedicate the new church for Saint Lazarus parish. Saint Anthony in Somerville dedicated its upper church in 1925. Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago moved out of its multipurpose church-school and broke ground for a church in 1924.⁹⁶¹

Those with churches repaired and enlarged them. Among Father Marchegiani's first acts upon coming to Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica was to install one boiler to replace the four old furnaces heating various parts of the parish plant, and to drain the "veritable puddle" that had been accumulating for years in the basement. In 1926, Father Pietro Gorret enlarged the worship space at Saint Bartholomew's. Other parishes added new kinds of facilities. In 1923, Saint Michael's in New Haven announced the openings of its *Ricreatorio*, or recreation center, for young people.⁹⁶² After draining the lagoon in Saint Mary's basement, Father Marchegiani renovated the space for sodality meetings and parish dramas.

Some Scalabrinians tried to do everyone at once. In 1919, Vincenzo Jannuzzi made one last effort to have the Archdiocese of New York give the Scalabrinians (especially himself) Saint James's parish on Oliver Street so he could move his congregation out of Saint Joachim's chapel.⁹⁶³ Then he and the archdiocese found another solution to the problem. Since 1908, Father Jannuzzi had staffed Saint Rocco's chapel between Catherine, Cherry, and Oliver Streets. The board of trustees for Saint Joachim's eventually acquired a bloc of contiguous lots on the corner of Catherine and Monroe Streets. The Archdiocese of New York then gave permission to create a new parish, dedicated to Saint Joseph. As in

⁹⁶⁰ Demo to Joseph Megna, New York, April 25, 1924, CMS No. 078, Box I, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-North Bay, and Ontario folder.

⁹⁶¹ *Diamond Jubilee of St. Lazarus Church, 1892-1967* (n.p., n.d. [1967]); *Fiftieth Anniversary, 1915-1965, Saint Anthony Church, Somerville, Massachusetts* (n.p., n.d. [1965]); *Our Lady of Pompei Sixty-Fifth Anniversary, 1911-1976*.

⁹⁶² Pizzoglio, *Saint Mary of Mount Carmel Church, Utica*, 26; R. Stephen Amagno, O.F.M., "The Days of Our Years: Saint Bartholomew's Parish, Providence, Rhode Island, 1907-1969" (typescript, n.d.), 21; clipping from *La Parola Cattolica*, n.p., October 13, 1923, CMS No. 045, Box 8, Newspaper Clippings and Tear-Sheets folder.

⁹⁶³ Vincenzo Jannuzzi to Patrick J. Hayes, New York, November 5, 1919, CMS No. 036, Box 1, General Correspondence and Miscellaneous Documents-1919 folder.

past cases, the name was probably chosen to satisfy parish factions: Saint Joseph is the patron of the Universal Church, but his cult is widespread in Sicily. Many Sicilian migrants came to the United States with memories of Saint Joseph's feast day and its highlight, a Saint Joseph's table full of special food to be shared with the wandering poor in memory of Saint Joseph's care of the Holy Family during its journey to Bethlehem and flight to Egypt. Rather than start with a chapel and add buildings, Father Jannuzzi hired an architect and contractor, Matthew Del Gaudio, to design one edifice that housed both church and school, and to attach a rectory to it. Cardinal Hayes laid the cornerstone on November 25, 1923, the building was dedicated on June 28, 1925, and a parochial school opened in 1926.⁹⁶⁴

In 1923 Father Demo found out that Our Lady of Pompei was about to be seriously affected by 1920s prosperity. New York City launched plans for the elongation of Sixth Avenue to channel automobile traffic to the proposed Holland Tunnel. Plans called for Sixth Avenue to cross Bleecker Street exactly where Pompei stood. Like Father Jannuzzi, Father Demo purchased a bloc of lots and hired Mr. Del Gaudio to design and construct a building housing a church, school, and also a convent (although that part of the building was not completed until the 1950s), with an attached rectory. Cardinal Hayes dedicated the edifice October 8, 1928.⁹⁶⁵

Throughout the 1920s other parishes gambled on continued prosperity and made plans for future construction. On March 12, 1926, the lay trustees of Saint Anthony in New Haven purchased from a number of proprietors a plot of land on Gold Street. New pastor Silvio Sartori hoped to erect a parochial school. The Great Depression, though, slowed the fundraising, and the school did not open until 1936.⁹⁶⁶

In some ways, then, the Scalabrinians reacted to the booming economy in a traditional way. They used the extra money their parishes gave them to pay debts, buy real estate and erect buildings. Histories of the 1920s, though, indicate there were new ways to spend money. The 1920s saw the mass production and distribution of a number of new consumer goods. How did the new consumer technology affect the Scalabrinians?

The short answer was they loved most of it. Nazareno Properzi, for example, was effusive when he got an opportunity to make his first transatlantic telephone call. Apparently, superior general Raffaele Carlo Cardinal Rossi sent eastern regional superior Properzi a letter which required an immediate answer. Father Properzi consulted a Catholic entrepreneur familiar with long-distance calls, and went to the office to use the equipment:

With what anxiety and with what joy I awaited the moment of transmitting my humble word, my devout homage, to Your Excellency! From the turbulent Babylon of New York to the capital of our spirit! Six thousand kilometers of distance would be annihilated and in hearing the hoped-for voice this Father could also hear the beating of the heart! What things I wanted to say in those few seconds! Unfortunately, at the last minute I was told the transmission from Rome was bad

⁹⁶⁴ *Saint Joseph Church Fiftieth Anniversary, 1925-1975* (New York: Park Publishing, 1977).

⁹⁶⁵ Mary Elizabeth Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village: Our Lady of Pompei, 1892-1992* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1992), 80-92.

⁹⁶⁶ Di Cenzo.

that evening and indeed in my commotion and in the ardor of wanting so much to say little or nothing I found myself deluded. I hope that Your Excellency is not disappointed.⁹⁶⁷

The radio was an even greater favorite. From the mission frontier of Canada, Father Ciufoletti implored the Scalabrinians to buy one for Holy Rosary. "The radio is a grand solace and means of instruction, particularly in this little city; here the winters are long and harsh and the evenings are tedious." The radio was welcome in the big city, too. "Yesterday evening," Father Demo wrote opera singer Giuseppe Restiglian, "with [illegible] pleasure I attended the production of *Cavalleria Rusticana* [in which Restiglian sang] near our radio."⁹⁶⁸

The most controversial new consumer item was the automobile. Prior to coming under the direction of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation, the Scalabrinians had no policy regarding cars. No rule prevented individual Scalabrinians from owning them, but the Scalabrinians provided no money to buy cars, either. In 1916, Father Pio's parishioners at Saint Peter's in Syracuse took up a collection to purchase a car for their pastor. By 1918, Father Pio was able to drive the car down to New York City to pick up Father Demo so that they could attend an episcopal consecration together.⁹⁶⁹

When Cardinal Rossi became superior general, he issued a directive prohibiting Scalabrinians from owning cars unless he granted permission. He got a flood of requests for permission. The Scalabrinians in the field based their requests on perceived need. Father Gorret explained he had to help out at Holy Cross, a mile from Saint Bartholomew's, that he had to visit sick parishioners in hospitals around the city, and that he had to go from Silver Lake on the edge of Providence to the downtown area to run errands. Giuseppe Sorzana at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol pointed out he was 56 years old, the nearest city was 18 miles away, his parishioners lived scattered around the area, and a car would cut down on the length of time he had to be away from the rectory. The provincial superior, though, made recommendations based on merit. Father Marchegiani advised against permitting some Scalabrinians to have cars for fear they would use them "for their own forays" rather than parish business.⁹⁷⁰ Some Scalabrinians may have continued the tradition of honoring the rules in the breach. On January 7, 1935, Cardinal Rossi granted Giovanni Marchegiani permission to own a car. Father

⁹⁶⁷ Nazareno to Raffaello Carlo Cardinal Rossi, n.p., November 20, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1935 folder.

⁹⁶⁸ Manlio Ciufoletti to Molto Reverendo Padre, Winnipeg, January 16, 1932, SJB, Box 30, folder C; Demo to Giuseppe Restiglian, New York, February 9, 1925, CMS No. 037, Box 5, folder 33.

⁹⁶⁹ Vincenzo Senta and Francesco S. Benemati to Illustrissimo Signore, Syracuse, September 15, 1916, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1916 folder; Pio Parolin to Demo, Syracuse, CMS No. 046, Box 5, General Correspondence-1918 folder.

⁹⁷⁰ Pietro Gorret to Rossi, Providence, January 8, 1935, Giuseppe Sorzana to Rossi, Bristol, January 2, 1934, and Giovanni Marchegiani to Rossi, New York, January 18, 1934, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

Marchegiani already had a car, though; Father Gambera, who died in 1934, gave it considerable space in his memoirs.⁹⁷¹

Cars were not unmixed blessings. They brought on new expenses and troubles, as exemplified by the *incidente automobilistico* in which Brother Giovanni Larcher of Sacred Heart in Melrose Park broke an arm. Father Gambera had a lengthier critique. He denied priests needed their own cars for transportation. In rural areas people with cars were happy to chauffeur their clergy. Where Father Gambera himself lived, "There are all sorts of rapid transportation in New York City, whether for some recreation or for urgent and ministerial duties, in every area, at any time." He also denied priests often needed to be away from the rectory or church on business; priests with cars might abandon their duties for pleasures. And not always solitary pleasures: "The elegant little meeting-place does not always run unoccupied, almost always carries friendly acquaintances." Finally, he complained automobiles were unbelievably expensive: when the provincial superior took his car back to the dealer, he had to trade it in and pay \$500 extra for a new one.⁹⁷²

Besides its prosperous economy and the increase in consumer items, the 1920s were characterized by unlikely cultural juxtapositions. Immigrant neighborhoods were accustomed to conflicts between their traditions and the new ways they encountered in America. In the 1920s there were some contradictions in American culture as well: standards regarding women's clothing, dancing and dating became more daring at the same time that intoxicating beverages became unconstitutional. Bishop Scalabrini had intended that his missionaries help Italian migrants create a Christian civilization in the American geographical and moral wilderness. How did the missionaries fare in their task in the 1920s?

The Scalabrinians did not adjust well to prohibition. Father Gambera in particular argued against it. He dismissed the American religious reasons for prohibition as Puritan fanaticism and laid out the Catholic teaching that condemned only the abuse of alcohol. Prohibition eliminated a profitable legal business and placed outside the law the saloons and liquor manufacturing that authorities should have regulated to protect health and morals. Instead, the public got adulterated liquors, speakeasies (which Father Gambera thought of as sites for immoral activity as well as illegal drinking) flourished, and all the profits went to criminals who committed truly unethical acts — such as murder — along with bootlegging.⁹⁷³

The missionaries would have had to have been derelict in their duties not to have known that their parishioners were heavily involved in prohibition. Saint Michael's in

⁹⁷¹ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, January 7, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder; Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 271-272.

⁹⁷² Beniamino Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, December 8, 1938, SJB, Box 20, Brother Bruno Girigolato folder; Gambera, 275.

⁹⁷³ Gambera, 219-222.

Chicago experienced a sort of economic boom, with the speakeasies in the area laying the foundation for a neighborhood of popular Italian restaurants.⁹⁷⁴

The parishioners at Sacred Heart in Cincinnati engaged in manufacturing rather than distribution:

One weekday morning. . . during mass, we heard a loud explosion coming from a short distance; an old lady left her pew and ran out in a real hurry. Apparently, she knew what had happened; one of the clandestine moonshine distilleries in a nearby basement had exploded; the firemen came to put out the small blaze caused by the explosion, but their visit was followed by a police raid combing all the area for more illegal operations of that kind.⁹⁷⁵

Holy Rosary in Kansas City was divided by factions shooting each other for control of the trade. The results were a murder a month and a difficult problem for Father Franchinotti. "Bishop Lillis gave orders to minimize the publicity given the funerals, which would put the pastor in an embarrassing position because the more of an outlaw the deceased was the more solemn a funeral he seemed to want."⁹⁷⁶

While the Scalabrinians knew what was going on, it behooved them not to become too involved in combating it. When a Mr. and Mrs. Patri of Framingham were taken to court for dealing in illegal liquor, the judge denounced them from the bench as a threat to a law-abiding, church-going neighborhood. The Patris threatened to get back at the neighborhood by making trouble for Pietro Maschi of Saint Tarcisius. They did not hurt him physically, but Mr. Patri did complain to Cardinal O'Connell that Father Maschi had libeled him and his wife as "bad people" whose "home was a virtual rum joint." The chancery did investigate and although it took no action against Father Maschi, the priest had to take the time and trouble to defend himself and to find people to write letters of recommendation.⁹⁷⁷

A few missionaries were involved in breaking the law themselves. In fact, that was how the Scalabrinians finally lost Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah. On December 5, 1923, Bishop John J. Swint wrote Father Demo (who was acting regional superior for the United States while Angelo Luigi Strazzoni was in Italy) that Raimondo Maggiore "was unlawfully dispensing liquor (bootlegging). I could not bring myself to believe a priest would do such a thing. However, the rumors are so persistent and the evidence so strong that I am obliged to take action." Father Demo tried an old trick: "The only thing I know of Rev. M. Maggiore is that he was in this country travelling from place to place wherever his services were asked for. . . ." Father Demo had in fact been connected with Father Maggiore's arrival in Monongah. He had arranged for the granting of faculties that authorized Father Maggiore to function as a priest in Monongah, and he had once written a letter of introduction that began "With the present I declare that Father Raimondo Maggiore, of the Friars Minor, finds himself occupied in the role of Pastor of the Church

⁹⁷⁴ Harry C. Koenig, ed., *A History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 2 vols. (Chicago: the Archdiocese of Chicago, 1980), I, 64.

⁹⁷⁵ Bolzan, 74.

⁹⁷⁶ Luigi Camillo Franchinotti to Silvano M. Tomasi, n.p., circa May 15, 1967, CMS No. 053, Box 1, Letters.

⁹⁷⁷ The documents regarding Pietro Maschi and the Patris are in AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 41, folder 2.

of the Madonna of Pompei, dependent on me, in Monongah, West Virginia."⁹⁷⁸ The deception was unnecessary, since in the next sentence Father Demo apologized for not being able to send a replacement.⁹⁷⁹

Insofar as other elements of Jazz Age culture were concerned, only Father Gambera left lengthy criticisms of "Matrimony, the Family, and Divorce," and "The Liberty of the Young People,"⁹⁸⁰ Other Scalabrinians left records of actions that, taken together, form a particular pattern. On the one hand, both priests and people assimilated. On the other hand, they avoided doing so.

All kinds of local cultural artifacts crept into life at the Scalabrinian parishes. Some of them may not have seemed that much of a cultural jump. For example, Italians had processions to honor the Blessed Mother under titles such as Our Lady of Mount Carmel, the Assumption and Santa Maria Incoronata, so, when in 1921 Raffaello D'Alfonso of Sacred Heart in Boston asked Cardinal O'Connell for permission to hold a May procession, the Italian custom turned smoothly into an American one.⁹⁸¹ In other cases, the Italians made more of a leap. The Italians at Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, Utica, had made one such jump by 1927. They had absorbed the American blackface minstrel tradition. The Holy Name Society's annual fundraiser program was decorated with a cartoon of a white man in blackface, surrounded by dice, watermelon slices, tambourine, and rhythm sticks, and inside was a photograph of the minstrels, with the end men in blackface.⁹⁸² The artifacts were not always part of U.S. nonimmigrant culture. Some things the Scalabrinians and their parishioners borrowed came from other immigrant groups.

In 1928, the congregation at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Melrose Park celebrated Beniamino Franch's silver anniversary with a dinner, the menu of which was printed in Italian and listed many Italian favorites, and also chop suey.⁹⁸³ Outside the United States, the Scalabrinian parishes assimilated to other cultures. In Winnipeg, Father Ciufolletti and his assistant, an auxiliary named G. Battigelli, invited parishioners to a picnic on the afternoon and evening of July 1, 1932, the day on which Canada became a dominion instead of a British colony. The invitation promised music from the Grenadier's Band, "Various entertainments, and beer." (Canada had no prohibition laws.) The invitation

⁹⁷⁸ Demo, no recipient, New York, January 26, 1917, CMS No. 005, Box 5, copybook.

⁹⁷⁹ J. J. Swint to Demo, Wheeling, December 5, 1923; Demo to Swint, New York, December 10, 1923, CMS No. 078, Box 3, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Maggiore folder.

⁹⁸⁰ Gambera, 203-204, 213-215.

⁹⁸¹ Raffaello D'Alfonso to William Cardinal O'Connell, Boston, May 23, 1921, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 20.

⁹⁸² *Minstrel Show Given by the Holy Name Society of St. Mary of Mount Carmel Church for the Benefit of the School Fund*, (n.p., December 5-7, 1927). Copy in CMS No. 061, Box 1, Publications-Holy Name Society folder.

⁹⁸³ *Silver Jubilee of the Rev. B. Franch, Our Lady of Mount Carmel Parish, Melrose Park, Illinois, 1903-1928* (n.p., n.d. [1928]). Copy in SJB, Box 2, Fr. B. Franch folder.

finished with the exhortation: "Good Italian-Canadians celebrate Dominion Day together!"⁹⁸⁴

The Scalabrinian pastors did not notice the piecemeal adoption of discrete cultural artifacts. They were more troubled by the idea of assimilation. To them it meant individuals would become less Italian and Catholic and more American — and Protestant or secular. It was most likely that the young people among their parishioners would go through this process. The Scalabrinians thus embarked on programs to keep the youngsters firmly within the faith, even if they gave away their ethnic heritage to do so.

Sports were one strategy for attracting youth, young men especially, to the parish. As early as 1914, Father Pio used sports to lure people to Saint Lazarus's fundraising picnic, promising a "Base Ball Game: Scraps v. Orient A. A. [Athletic Association]." (For those who preferred traditional Italian sports there was also a boccie court.) By the 1920s, parishes fielded their own teams in local league competitions. Saint Mary of Mount Carmel had football, baseball, and basketball teams, each with uniforms, coaches and equipment.⁹⁸⁵

Drama involved both young men and young women. Some parishes had "entertainments" that were actually variety shows with numerous different acts, which increased the number of young people involved and also the number of friends and relatives willing to see the show. Our Lady of Pompei in Greenwich Village had a large drama program The Children of Mary put on fundraising plays on the average of twice a year. The big annual show was the Passion Play, a series of tableaux depicting the events from Palm Sunday to Easter. This was quite an elaborate production, with professional actors donating their services and a budget for scenery, costumes, and publicity.⁹⁸⁶

While the Scalabrinians and their parishes were developing their own version of Americanization, the rise of fascism in Italy recalled their loyalties to their homeland. While the Scalabrinians did not follow Italian politics very closely, it was a topic of conversations at community mealtimes. Father Gambera recalled Our Lady of Pompei's rectory was a house divided. The antifascist side was upheld by Francesco Levra. Father Levra was born December 28, 1884, at Mathi Canavese in the Piedmont and ordained September 18 or 19, 1909, in Turin. He entered the Scalabrinians November 27, 1927. Father Gambera noted that when he drank, Father Levra freely spouted opinions critical of the fascists and the Lateran Treaties.⁹⁸⁷ Father Levra, though, was in the minority.

The Scalabrinians did not necessarily come from profascist areas. Father Gambera was from Brescia, where the antifascist Popular Party had a foothold until the fascist dictatorship dislodged it. Father Demo's relatives wrote him that the fascists won communal elections partly by threatening those who stood in the way of their victory:

⁹⁸⁴ Manlio Ciufoletti and G. Battigelli, circular, Winnipeg, June 28, 1932, SJB, Box 30, folder C.

⁹⁸⁵ Advertisement, East Boston, circa August 5, 1914, CMS No. 043, Box 2, General Correspondence folder. Photographs of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel's sports teams from the early 1930s are in CMS No. 061 and 061A.

⁹⁸⁶ Brown, *From Italian Villages to Greenwich Village*, 80-94.

⁹⁸⁷ Gambera, 264-26.

"Poor Bassano needs the blessings of her protectors and the prayers of her citizens!" Instead, the Scalabrinians developed their interest in fascism in the context of their understanding of events in postwar Italy. The pride some Scalabrinians took in Italy's World War I victory proved short lived. By 1920, Father Gambera was confiding to Father Demo, "If Italy after the war and victory would have real peace, I would repatriate. . . . But! Now Italy is not inviting but repulsive. I await better days." In Italy itself, Father Chenuil was lamenting how divided the country was and urging recognition of the correlation of unity and strength.⁹⁸⁸ With such an analysis of Italy's situation, the Scalabrinians were predisposed not to protest the fascist takeover of October 28, 1922.

The fascists had purposes peculiarly their own: to turn every other social institution to the service of the Italian nation-state. However, they built on what they inherited from the governments that preceded them.

The fascists proposed to unite all Italians, even those outside the peninsula. Communities of migrants, even though they had settled in other sovereign states, were still considered colonies. The fascist government took steps to encourage Italians abroad to retain their loyalty to their homeland. One method the fascist government used which is significant for Scalabrinian history is the bestowal of awards. The Italian government had long given honors to Italian clergy serving in Italian communities outside Italy. In 1908, Francesco Beccherini was named a Cavalier of the Crown of Italy for his work in the Little Italy of Detroit. This practice continued into the fascist era, and even into the late 1930s, by which time many Americans had become less supportive of Mussolini. In cooperation with the fascist government, King Victor Emmanuel III bestowed the award of the Cavalier of the Crown of Italy on Father Demo December 27, 1923, and on Father Franch March 7, 1938.⁹⁸⁹

From the beginning, some of the older Scalabrinians, who could remember the anticlerical liberal governments of the late nineteenth century and the chaos of World War I, shared an interest in Mussolini. On his way back to the United States in 1926, Father Gambera even wrote a poem in which praise for Mussolini vied with his disappointment at not being able to retire to Italy. He sent a copy of the poem to Father Demo and copied it into his memoirs.⁹⁹⁰ The relevant part of the poem read:

Thirty years and more indeed I've spent
In work, in joys and anguish too
Among the Brethren in Foreign Lands
I shall return to keep in them the life of Christ

⁹⁸⁸ Gambera, 33; Gertrude Bellato to Demo, Bassano, May 2, 1923, CMS No. 037, Box 4, folder 29; Gambera to Demo, Chicago, July 27, 1920, CMS No. 069, Box 1, General Correspondence; Pacifico Chenuil to Carissimi Confratelli, Rome, June 1, 1921, CMS No. 074, Box 3, Miscellaneous Communications folder.

⁹⁸⁹ Clipping from *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, New York, July 26, 1908, CMS No. 078, Box 2, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Beccherini folder; CMS No. 037, Box 11, folder 133,1 Fontana to Beniamino Franch, Chicago, March 7, 1938, SJB, Box 20, Fr. B. Franch folder.

⁹⁹⁰ Giacomo Gambera to Antonio Demo, Chicago, January 23, 1926, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gambera folder; Gambera, 243-44

To them I shall proclaim:
 Now Grand and Strong is Italy,
 In Mussolini by Fate She's made Secure —
 And Him she made of greater things the Fashioner
 If Unity and Faith, Power and its Works
 In true Accord they might both be
 Greater still will always be our Italy.
 I am no Prophet, but my Heart does speak,
 Our Italy shall be as One that bring about
 New Laws that give importance to the needs of man,
 A Teacher who anew can bring renewal in this World –

The Scalabrinians also said nice things about Mussolini in public. Returning to the United States from a three-month stay in Italy in 1931, Father Demo told the people who had come to a welcome-home parish banquet: "I observed in Italy that by the work of the man sent by Divine Providence, Benito Mussolini, there has been and continues to be made grand progress; no longer are there divisions into restless factions, there is discipline and perfect order, respect for all, and there is a government that I can really call a government."⁹⁹¹ In 1929, the Italian government and the Vatican negotiated an agreement, the Lateran Treaty, which still governs relations between the two bodies. The Scalabrinians considered this a vindication of Bishop Giovanni Battista Scalabrini's advocacy of a reduction of hostilities between church and state in Italy.⁹⁹² Even years after the event, parish histories enumerated Mussolini's good qualities:

Despite the faults of the dictatorial fascist government there was a number of progressive achievements to the credit of the advent of Mussolini: the Lateran Treaty that solved the Roman Questions, the restoration of religion in the schools, the return of law and order, the Social reform, the reclamation of marshes, the campaign for self-sufficiency, and many others that enhanced the Italian name and the pride of the Italian people all over the world. The Italian regime had directly undertaken and subsidized educational programs, classes of Italian language and culture in every community abroad with a large Italian group. Then came the sensational exploits like the flights of the Balbo Armada to the Chicago World's Fair in 1939, which injected enthusiasm in the veins of all Italians abroad. Then came the dream of an African Empire; then things went too far and caused the entire castle to collapse.⁹⁹³

Cooperation between the fascist government and parochial schools was a particularly intricate issue. The Sacred Consistorial Congregation did facilitate the introduction of Italian government officials who were interested in investigating what was being done in Italian parochial schools.⁹⁹⁴ However, there was contradictory pressure from American

⁹⁹¹ Clipping from *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, New York, November 6, 1931, CMS No. 037, Box 17, folder 103.

⁹⁹² Vincenzo Pancotti, *Mons. G. B. Scalabrini nella Luce della Storia* (Piacenza: Union Tipografica Piacentina, 1930). Copy in CMS No. 074, Box 9, Mons. G. B. Scalabrini folder.

⁹⁹³ Bolzan, 70.

⁹⁹⁴ Unsigned letter to Giovanni Marchegiani, Rome, September 24, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

ordinaries who wanted parochial schools to promote assimilation rather than the preservation of particular ethnic cultures. The result was that various Scalabrinians acted in various ways. The Italian government supplied textbooks to Riccardo Secchia, who used them in the parochial school at Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago. Holy Ghost in Providence cooperated with a program whereby parochial schoolboys who did well in Italian received trips to Italy as guests of the Italian government.⁹⁹⁵ However, when the Italian government approached Giovanni Marchegiani, he reported them to his ordinary.⁹⁹⁶

As Mussolini became more interested in conquering territory outside Italy, non-Italian Americans became more worried about him. Italian Americans divided. The Scalabrinians remained mostly in the pro-Mussolini camp. Historian Peter D'Agostino argued that the Scalabrinian leadership in Rome thought Bishop Scalabrini himself would have welcomed Mussolini's expansionism.⁹⁹⁷ The leadership might have made a bad guess here: in his pamphlet on Italian migration to America Bishop Scalabrini argued that Italy should not compete in the colonial race. However, the point that the American Scalabrinians thought there was a congruence between their mission and Mussolini's was well made, as the Scalabrinians' experience in the Italo-Ethiopian War of 1935-1936 made clear.

During the war, Mussolini fostered nationalism among his colonies by calling for the moral and material support of all Italians everywhere. Patriotic rallies at which Italian women donated their wedding rings to Mussolini were common. Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago had such a rally on January 19, 1936.⁹⁹⁸ Saint Bartholomew's in Silver Lake had one on Sunday, May 24, 1936. Father Gorret secured a special preacher for the day, Christopher Perotta, O.P., who had done his master's thesis at the Catholic University of America on Italian-American pastoral care. He also preserved the sermon Father Perotta delivered at the 11:00 a.m. mass:

To you the youth of Silver Lake, the young men and the young women who, though born here in America and with full aspirations in your heart to be ever loyal and worthy American citizens, are nevertheless bound by ties of blood and tradition to the Italian homeland, this ceremony of today has a special significance. You have seen the representative of Italy give to your mothers and grandmothers a steel ring [in place of the gold ones they] offered to their homeland as a token of their love and devotion to the cause for which Italy has waged the Ethiopian War. It is this love and devotion that has enabled Italy to triumph over terrible obstacles both of a hostile nature and the unfriendly designs of schemers. While the soldier and the marshal, the warrior and the diplomat have contributed much to the glorious victory of Italy, the real success of the Ethiopian venture has been due to the spirit of intense love and sacrifice demonstrated by the mothers of Italy. They are the ones that have rallied the Italian soul, that have unified the spirit of Italy, so that presenting a united front, Italy has proven invincible. To the amazement of the whole world,

⁹⁹⁵ Peter R. D'Agostino, "Missionaries in Babylon: the Adaptation of Italian Priests to Chicago's Church, 1870-1940" (Ph.D., The University of Chicago Divinity School, 1993), 360; "History of Holy Ghost School, Providence, Rhode Island, vol. 1" (photocopied manuscript), CMS No. 021, Box 3, unlabeled folder.

⁹⁹⁶ Giovanni Marchegiani to Thomas Carroll, New York, April 25, 1934, CMS No. 037, Box 9, folder 104.

⁹⁹⁷ D'Agostino, 354.

⁹⁹⁸ D'Agostino, 356-357.

Italy has shown so united a front in the face of difficulties of the campaign, that as yet the nations of the world are bewildered. Nothing has been able to stop the march of Italian culture; for behind it were not only the genius of the Duce, the guns and the armament of the military forces, and the skill of diplomats, but the very soul of Italian nationality typified by the motherhood that gave us birth.⁹⁹⁹

When victory came, Scalabrinian parishes sponsored celebrations:

The Victory won by Italy's glorious exertion in east Africa will be celebrated by the Italians of Kansas City, Missouri, under the auspices of the Supreme Intersocial Council of civil and religious societies and of men's and women's clubs on Sunday, June 7, 1936.

At 10:30 a.m., the Reverend Luigi Franchinotti will celebrate a solemn mass with a Te Deum in the Italian Church of the Holy Rosary, situated at Missouri Avenue and Campbell St.

At 2:30 the societies, proceeding with their respective flags and with the Giuseppe Verdi Band, will parade down the principal street of the Italian colony.

At 3:30 there will be a grand meeting to Columbus Square, Missouri Avenue and Campbell Streets, where the band will play music dear to every Italian heart, and Cavalier Renato Citarelli, Royal Italian Consul in Saint Louis, Missouri, will be the official orator.

It should be that all Italians who feel a lively and sincere love toward the distant homeland will participate in this solemn meeting of enthusiasm and faith.¹⁰⁰⁰

At Saint Anthony's in New Haven, assistant Teofila Zutta's silver anniversary banquet coincided with the victory over Ethiopia. The event turned into a fascist exercise. Activities included singing the fascist hymn *Giovinezza* and another tune, *Facetta Nera*, which was intended to inspire Italians to join the fighting in Ethiopia; giving the fascist salute; cheering Mussolini's name; and glorifying the victory over Ethiopia. Speakers included Leonardo Quaglia of Saint Michael's in New Haven, whom newspapers described as saying that Italian churches were not only temples to glorify the Savior, they were also temples of Italian patriotism. The paper also mentioned that the youngsters at Saint Anthony's dressed their parochial schoolchildren in Balilla uniforms, Balilla being the Italian fascist organization for schoolchildren.¹⁰⁰¹

The examples can be multiplied endlessly: Gaetano Salvemini collected a book full for what was later published as *Italian Fascist Activity in the United States* and Peter D'Agostino's dissertation has more examples for the Scalabrinians in metropolitan Chicago.¹⁰⁰² They tend to all indicate the same level of involvement. The Scalabrinians followed events in Italy and organized events among their parishioners. Some of these events, such as the collections of wedding rings, were intended to give some material support as well. Scholar Luciano Tosi noted that prior to World War I, "The missionaries

⁹⁹⁹ R. Stephen Almagno, o.F.M., "The Days of Our Years: Saint Bartholomew's Parish, Providence, Rhode Island, 1907-1969" (typescript, 1969), 34, CMS No. 022, Box 1, no folder.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Advertisement, circa June 7, 1936, CMS No. 053, Box 1, Miscellaneous Documents.

¹⁰⁰¹ Clipping titled "Carnival Banquet Given to Rev. Teofilo Zutta," *L'Indipendente*, New Haven, July 25, 1936, CMS No. 045, Box 4, Newspapers and Clippings folder.

¹⁰⁰² Gaetano Salvemini, *Italian Fascist Activities in the United States* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977); D'Agostino, 354-360.

to the emigrants did not remain immune to the nationalist virus that spread in Italy in the years that preceded the war."¹⁰⁰³ This remained true after the war as well.

This would be just a sad story if it were not part of a larger story, to which we now turn. In recent years, the Scalabrinians have turned their attention to a different form of migrant pastoral care. Bishop Scalabrini had envisioned his missionaries as Italians accompanying Italians, helping to preserve their language and culture. Italian migration decreased, while Scalabrinian priests and brothers were still drawn from Italian and Italian-American communities. These Scalabrinians then began to take care of migrants regardless of ethnicity.

In some ways, the trend to minister to migrants across ethnic lines may obviate some of the problems of the fascist period, when clergy and laity were in accord over Mussolini, and it was hard for critics of Mussolini to compete with pastoral approval. However, having Scalabrinians of one ethnic group and migrants of another might cause other sorts of problems and place the Scalabrinians in the position of pleasing no one. As moral leaders, the Scalabrinians might feel called to preach against unethical political philosophies or institutions, and against politicians' misuse of religion. As "guests" in the culture of the people they are ministering to, it might be even harder for Scalabrinians to criticize the challenges to Christianity in that culture than it was for them to criticize the challenges Mussolini presented to Italian culture: they might be better able to see the clash between Christianity and culture but have less of a platform from which to speak up. The Scalabrinians' experience with American Italians and Mussolini was a hard lesson in what not to do when a particular culture misused Christianity, but it was not much help in developing plans for what would be more effective.

This chapter, though, was not only about Mussolini, but about the whole interplay between American and ethnic culture. Here, the Scalabrinian record might be of more help. While present-day Scalabrinians focus on the pastoral care of migrants *qua* migrants, present-day migrants will within a generation get past the stage of migration, settle down, and begin coping with Americanizing youth. Here the Scalabrinian experience of the 1920s, in which pastors led congregations in maintaining some control over the process of accepting and rejecting various cultural artifacts, may be helpful indeed.

¹⁰⁰³ Luciano Tosi, "Fede e Patria": Note su Consoli e Missionari degli emigranti (1890-1914)," in Gianfausto Rosoli, *Scalabrini tra vecchio e nuovo mondo* (Rome: Centro Studi Emigrazione, 1989), 509-518.



13

Ambiguous Endings

For the Scalabrinians, 1934 was a good year. That was the year that the Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation and Scalabrinian superior general Raffaello Carlo Cardinal Rossi announced a return to the simple perpetual vows Giovanni Battista Scalabrini had introduced in 1895 and Domenico Vicentini had suppressed in 1908. The vows were a guarantee the Society of Saint Charles would survive as an institute, the first step toward its restoration as an independent entity. However, the transition was more complex than many Scalabrinians who were there at the time realized. On the one hand, the return to a vowed community marked a return to the type of community the oldest veterans in the field had entered in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. On the other hand, the restoration of the Scalabrinians led to the marginalization of many of these same veteran missionaries. This chapter tells that story.

Cardinal Rossi made the preliminary announcement regarding the return to vows on November 4, 1933, the feast of Saint Charles Borromeo. He asked veteran missionaries to indicate whether they would prefer to remain under oaths of perseverance or take perpetual vows with the candidates for admission to the pious society.¹⁰⁰⁴ The earliest recorded reply was a yes. Eastern regional superior Giovanni Marchegiani wrote he had been urging poverty, chastity, and obedience for years and appreciated the opportunity to practice what he preached.¹⁰⁰⁵ Cardinal Rossi made the formal announcement March 24, 1934, two days before the tenth anniversary of Gaetano Cardinal De Lai's announcement putting the Scalabrinians under direct supervision of the Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation.¹⁰⁰⁶ Procedural directions soon followed. Cardinal Rossi himself received vows from seminarians and personnel at Piacenza on April 8, 1934. At first, he thought the apostolic delegate to the United States would receive the vows of Scalabrinians in the eastern region while the archbishop of Chicago would receive those of Scalabrinians in the west.¹⁰⁰⁷ As it turned out, the apostolic delegate did not administer

¹⁰⁰⁴ Raffaele Carlo Cardinal Rossi to Missionari della Pia Società di S. Carlo, Rome, November 4, 1933, SIB, no Box or folder.

¹⁰⁰⁵ Giovanni Marchegiani to Rossi, New York, December 8, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Father Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Marchegiani to Constantino Sassi, New York, March 24, 1924, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

the eastern Scalabrinians' vows, either. The Archbishop of New York, Patrick Cardinal Hayes, received Father Marchegiani's vows, and Father Marchegiani received those of other Scalabrinians.¹⁰⁰⁸

On vacation back in Italy, Giuseppe Poia wrote his friend Nazareno Properzi, "I heard that the changes in the rules contemplated by Cardinal Rossi don't please many of our missionary colleagues; I am curious to see how this will go."¹⁰⁰⁹ Historian Peter D'Agostino's figures confirm Father Poia's hearing. Of the 88 priests in the pious society at the time of the reinstatement of vows, only 33, or 37.5 percent, supported vows. Of the 88 seminarians, 47, or 53 percent, supported vows. Of the 54 postulants, 46, or 87 percent, supported vows. Ten of the twelve brothers supported vows.¹⁰¹⁰ The statistics indicate the more recently one had joined the Scalabrinians, the more likely one was to accept vows. This seems to have been true of priests in the field as well. When he received word regarding the restoration of vows, regional superior Marchegiani sent Cardinal Rossi a list of clergy who immediately showed themselves willing to take vows. His name was on the list, and he had joined April 27, 1920. The other names were Constantino Sassi (joined April 11, 1920), Carlo Celotto (June 19, 1922), Raffaello Larcher (July 10, 1928) and Luigi Donanzan (December 8, 1931). Recent membership, though, was not the only factor. Beniamino Franch, who had first joined in 1900, signed his simple perpetual vows August 21, 1934.¹⁰¹¹ Others, such as Flaminio Parenti, did not take the new vows but never ceased identifying with the Scalabrinian community.

As had happened when the Consistorial Congregation took charge, several members left rather than take vows. Whatever reasons the individuals offered for not taking vows, the Scalabrinian leadership took the position that the issue of vows separated the truly committed and dedicated from the less worthy. Whenever anyone asked to be relieved of vows, the Scalabrinian leadership traded comments about the individual's instability or maladaptation for community life.¹⁰¹² Some of the Scalabrinians who took vows had problems that would have been familiar to Bishop Scalabrini. Arnaldo Vanoli, for example, took vows but then asked to be relieved of them because the vow of poverty interfered with his ability to care for his poor, elderly sister.¹⁰¹³

¹⁰⁰⁷ Rossi to Beniamino Franch, March 10, 1934, SJB, Box 19, Emissione voti folder.

¹⁰⁰⁸ Rossi to Marchegiani, August 4, 1934, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder; J. Francis McIntyre to Marchegiani, New York, November 13, 1934, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

¹⁰⁰⁹ Giuseppe Poia to Nazareno Properzi, Vicenza, Valdagno, February 14, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Father Nazareno Properzi-1934.

¹⁰¹⁰ Peter R. D'Agostino, "Missionaries in Babylon: the Adaptation of Italian Priests to Chicago's Church, 1870-1940" (Ph.D., The University of Chicago Divinity School, 1993), 235.

¹⁰¹¹ Formula per il P. Beniamino Franch, August 21, 1934, SIB, Box 20, folder H 10.

¹⁰¹² Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, December 15, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder; Rossi to Nazareno Properzi, Rome, December 7, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1935 folder.

¹⁰¹³ Rossi to Properzi, Rome, June 10, 1936, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1936 folder. Father Vanoli remained a member of the Scalabrinians until his death.

The vows were part of a general revision of the Scalabrinian constitution, the promulgation of which took place September 8, 1936. At this point, the Scalabrinians became a congregation of male religious in conformity with canon law.¹⁰¹⁴ The institute underwent other changes later in its history. In 1951, it became independent of the Consistorial Congregation and resumed the election of superior generals from within its own ranks. Like other institutes, it undertook a revision of its constitution in the light of Vatican II; that process was completed in 1977.

Vows and constitutions provided some structure for the Scalabrinian institute, but not a full identity. Another ingredient in developing that identity was the process of recovering the complete history of the congregation. A comprehensive Scalabrinian history was a difficult and delicate matter, for several reasons. One was Bishop Scalabrini himself. The bishop had been so fully immersed in his times that it has been difficult for other times to understand or appreciate him. Most problematic was that the bishop had held out hope for a fully integrated Christian civilization. It had seemed unrealistic enough in his day when others saw a gap between Christianity and the modern world. It seemed positively dangerous in the 1930s, when thoughtful Christians feared totalitarian states which co-opted all other institutions, including religious ones, for their support. One way to bridge the gap between Bishop Scalabrini and other Catholic leaders was to stress the faith they shared. In 1934, Francesco Oregon wrote the first biography of Bishop Scalabrini for use as an inspiration to the members of the congregation. On May 5, 1936, Bishop Ersilio Menzani, Bishop Scalabrini's successor as bishop of Piacenza, started a diocesan investigation into his predecessor's "cause," that is, whether he was truly a saint. The diocesan investigation ended February 29, 1940. On March 26, 1940, Bishop Menzani transmitted the findings to the Sacred Congregation of Rites, the Vatican office charged with maintaining the canon of saints. On April 30, 1940, the Congregation of Rites announced that to the best of its knowledge, Bishop Scalabrini was a Venerable Servant of God, and inaugurated its own investigation as to whether the bishop was to be counted among the beatified, or blessed, or among the canonized, or saints.¹⁰¹⁵

A second problem with using history to give the Scalabrinians an identity was the previous generations of Scalabrinians. From the point of view of a new recruit entering in the 1920s or early 1930s, the institute had a checkered history. Bishop Scalabrini himself was deceased and biographers could safely highlight particular aspects of his personality, certain that no one would meet him and discover anything else about him. The first generation of Scalabrinians could not be pictured as worthy models, though, for then why was the Consistorial Congregation intervention necessary? Thus, the period between 1905

¹⁰¹⁴ Rossi to Tutti i Sacerdoti, Chierici e Fratelli della Pia Società dei Missionari di San Carlo, Rome, September 3, 1936, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1936 folder; Mario Francesconi, P.S.S.C., *La Pia Società dei Missionari di S. Carlo Scalabriniani: Studio Storico-Giuridico dalla Fondazione al Capitolo Generale del 1951*, 2 vols. (Rome: Society of Saint Charles, 1956).

¹⁰¹⁵ Francesco Gregori, *La Vita e L'Opera di un Grande Vescovo: Mons. Giov. Battista Scalabrini (1839-1905)* (Turin: Roberto Berruti and Co., 1934); Marco Caliaro and Mario Francesconi, *John Baptist Scalabrini: Apostle to Emigrants*, trans. Alba I. Zizzamia (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1977), 395-396, 451-452.

and 1924 became a kind of Dark Ages and the advent of the Consistorial Congregation and the new recruits a kind of Renaissance. As the people who had been active during the Dark Ages passed away, it became easier to subject them to the same treatment as Bishop Scalabrini and write little biographies that made them over into models for young members of the congregation. The first example of this came about 1947, when Remo Rizzato published *Figure di Missionari Scalabriniani*.

Besides rules and a history, a third ingredient of Scalabrinian identity was a way of life: a round of devotions and a commitment to living in community. The Scalabrinian leadership had always called for the missionaries to practice devotions familiar to many Catholics, such as the rosary. They had also had a few distinctively Scalabrinian devotions. For example, whenever the congregation photographed its members in Piacenza, the shot included a portrait of the founder. There were also some attempts to promote the cult of Saint Charles Borromeo, the Scalabrinians' patron saint. Father Demo put a statue of Saint Charles atop the new church of Our Lady of Pompei, the western province named a new parish in Stone Park for him, and the leadership urged appropriate celebrations of his feast day.¹⁰¹⁶

As the community became more important, the Scalabrinians took steps to protect the vulnerable within it, aged and incapacitated missionaries. At an interprovincial meeting held October 18 and 19, 1932, the two U.S. regions announced that Scalabrinians requiring long-term care should go to the Casa di Riposo at the rectory of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol, Rhode Island.¹⁰¹⁷ Gradually, the Scalabrinians opened a new field of action for themselves in the care of the elderly.

A final ingredient in building a Scalabrinian identity was a specific apostolate. Whatever Bishop Scalabrini may have intended in terms of developing a migrant apostolate for all ethnic groups, the Scalabrinians were now fully identified with the ministry to Italians. As Cardinal Rossi put it, the congregation's goal was to "keep alive in the hearts of the Italian emigrants the Catholic faith, to procure their spiritual good and also, insomuch as is possible, their temporal good."¹⁰¹⁸ Without studying their founder much, the Scalabrinians indicated that they, too, saw faith as integrated into culture to form a Christian civilization, distinct from American society. As Father Marchegiani and Father Franch put it in one of their interprovincial meeting reports:

Considering the various ways taken by the American government to reduce to the minimum the migration of strangers, we can with security affirm that the migration of Italians can be considered to have almost ceased and that almost all the work of the Pious Society should be in

¹⁰¹⁶ Marchegiani to Properzi, New York, October 28, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

¹⁰¹⁷ Franch and Marchegiani, announcement, Melrose Park, October 18-19, 1933, SJB, Box 19, Disposizioni amministrative folder. Although it can devote only a little space to Italians, and has nothing on Scalabrinians in particular, a good background article on the development of ethnically based senior-citizen care is N. Sue Weiler, "Religion, Ethnicity and the Development of Private Homes for the Aged," *Journal of American Ethnic History* XII:1 (Fall 1992), 64-90.

¹⁰¹⁸ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, April 14, 1931, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1931 folder.

the future devoted to the masses who migrated years ago and who in their way of being are almost completely absorbed into the local element.

We ascertain that these masses, notwithstanding the continual and incessant work of Americanization, are conservative Italians in their religious and patriotic sentiments and in the indestructible love of family. It is the duty of our Pious Society to hold united these masses in the neighborhood of the parochial institutions, also to hold alive in their sentiment the spirituality and the love for the familiar institutions [that is, the family] that its characteristic of the Latin population and in open contrast with the materialism and rigidity, also in religious matters, of the Anglo-Saxon population.¹⁰¹⁹

Any plans made in Rome for the revitalization of the Scalabrini community had to be executed in the field. The 1936 constitution resumed the traditional system of an eastern and western, Saint Charles Borromeo and Saint John the Baptist, province (rather than two regions) each with provincial superiors to whom the constitute delegated certain powers *ex officio*. New rules, though, could not undo the forces of tradition and personality. The result was a lack of cooperation between provincial superiors that hindered development.

The provincial superiors at the beginning of the 1930s were Beniamino Franch, who had been appointed western regional superior in 1927, and Giovanni Marchegiani, a newcomer who had been appointed eastern regional superior in 1931. One of their clashes was fraught with irony. Father Franch kept to the established practice of trying to transfer clerical sinners out of the province before they caused scandal. Father Marchegiani rightly observed that those transferred simply carried their evil ways with them.¹⁰²⁰ However Father Marchegiani's actions looked less like he wanted a real solution to the problem of recidivist priests and more like he wanted to protect the eastern province from the west's problems. Cardinal Rossi notified Father Marchegiani he intended to transfer one priest from west to east, Father Marchegiani did not dare question his superior general but did not hesitate to challenge his colleague Father Franch: "We cannot accept into this province said priest without first knowing the precise reason for which you wish to remove him."¹⁰²¹ Nor was Father Marchegiani about to give up priests he trusted. At one point, the Consistorial Congregation transferred Luigi Donanzan from east to west; Father Marchegiani threatened to come to Chicago himself and have Father Donanzan's faculties suspended there so he would have to return to the east.¹⁰²² Father Marchegiani's commitment to obtaining good clergy may have been admirable, but partly because he limited that commitment to obtaining such clergy for the eastern province and partly because he worded his letters to Father Franch in such a belligerent way, the two provinces did not act as parts of the same congregation.

The eastern province had trouble charting a course. Father Marchegiani could not resolve some long-term causes of parochial instability. Much to his dismay, he found that

¹⁰¹⁹ Marchegiani and Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, May 12, 1931, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-folder.

¹⁰²⁰ Marchegiani to Franch, Utica, July 3, 1931, SJB, Box 19, Assegnazione e trasferimenti di padri.

¹⁰²¹ Marchegiani to Franch, Utica, September 16, 1931, SJB, Box 30, folder Ab.

¹⁰²² Marchegiani to Franch, Utica, August 15, 1933, SJB, Box 26, folder D.

when Flaminio Parenti went on vacation and left the finances at Holy Ghost in the hands of the *onestissimo* Francesco Berti, the honest but inexperienced Father Berti unbalanced the books by \$800.¹⁰²³ Up in Fredonia, Father Marchegiani was so dissatisfied with the situation that in 1933 he transferred out the priests staffing Saint Anthony's and brought in Pio Parolin. It turned out the problem was not just the clergy; the parishioners were embroiled in a partisan dispute over whether it should buy land for an Italian Catholic cemetery.¹⁰²⁴

Cardinal Rossi tried to encourage Father Marchegiani to recover Bishop Scalabrini's interest in nonparochial ministries, but without success. In 1934, Monsignor Germano Formica of the Italian Auxiliary, the archdiocese's agency for ministry to Italian migrants on Ellis Island, died. Cardinal Rossi thought the Scalabrinians might be able to revive their previous work with the Saint Raphael Society.¹⁰²⁵ Father Marchegiani feared a conspiracy. "I believe that the [New York] Curia wants to create first a *fait accompli*, annexing the Italian Auxiliary and some other diocesan work and removing by this means the Italian clergy dependent on religious institutes or on the College of Emigration."¹⁰²⁶ Father Marchegiani obediently spoke to Patrick Cardinal Hayes regarding the Italian Auxiliary, but the cardinal said he intended to shut it down.¹⁰²⁷ Actually the agency continued, but under an archdiocesan priest's direction with a reduced scope of action.

Father Franch had his problems in the west. When Giuseppe Chiminello came to Sacred Heart in Cincinnati to substitute for Cesare Constantino Molinari, he warned the provincial superior that Sacred Heart was a sanctuary, not a full church. Americans came for the preaching with novenas, but there were few marriages or baptisms, signaling a declining Italian population. Once the immigrant generation was gone the parish would be deserted and the priests would be rattling around the rectory, which Father Chiminello described as "more than palatial."¹⁰²⁸ The present Chicago curia disliked the Scalabrinians, Father Franch wrote Cardinal Rossi. Sacred Heart in Cincinnati was moribund. The archbishop of Kansas City did not want any more Italian priests at Holy Rosary.¹⁰²⁹

¹⁰²³ Marchegiani to Rossi, Rome, June 24, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

¹⁰²⁴ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, June 3, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder; Pio Parolin, "El Toso de Andrian Pado, Pio Parolin" (typescript, n.d.), 69-74 CMS No. 073, Box 1, Autobiography folder.

¹⁰²⁵ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, November 16, 1934, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

¹⁰²⁶ Marchegiani to Amleto Cicognani, New York, February 15, 1925, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

¹⁰²⁷ Marchegiani to Rossi, New York, January 14, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

¹⁰²⁸ Giuseppe Chiminello to Franch, to Cincinnati, June 23, 1936, SJB, Box 26, folder B.

¹⁰²⁹ Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, January 4, 1929, SJB, Assegnazione e trasferimenti di padri folder.

Father Franch hoped to replace the dying parishes with growing ones. Hence, he sought opportunities to add new parishes in the Chicago suburbs and to expand to new cities such as Milwaukee or Winnipeg. Father Franch's expansion program encountered some problems. There was a shortage of qualified personnel: the missionary sent to Holy Rosary in Winnipeg was accused of conspiring with the trustees to skim the collection plate receipts.¹⁰³⁰ This was just the sort of scandal Cardinal Rossi feared, and he preferred Father Franch not expand at all rather than expand with unworthy clergy.¹⁰³¹ Ordinaries with Italian immigrants, though, continued to request Scalabrinian missionaries, and Father Franch kept Cardinal Rossi informed of the opportunities available as soon as good personnel could be trained.¹⁰³²

Father Franch also cultivated an episcopal patron the Scalabrinians needed. This was William D. O'Brien. Bishop O'Brien, an auxiliary in Chicago, became interested in the Scalabrinian mission there and in the 1920s visited the Scalabrinian institutes in Italy. He later became a generous donor to Scalabrinian education. He was a major contributor to the construction of Sacred Heart Seminary in Melrose Park, the cornerstone of which he blessed on September 20, 1936. He also gave toward the construction of the Scalabrini-O'Brien Seminary in Cermenate, Como, which received its first students in March of 1940.

Despite Depression conditions, Father Franch expanded the Scalabrinians' mission. During the 1930s, Our Lady of Pompei and Saint Rita's in Milwaukee developed into two separate parishes. In 1937, the Scalabrinians offered the first mass in Saint Rita's new basement chapel and divided the duties at the two parishes between two priests: Giuseppe Bolzan took charge of Our Lady of Pompei and Gregory Zanoni at Saint Rita's. Saint Rita's church was completed in 1938.¹⁰³³

The Scalabrinians also took responsibility for another parish in Chicago. In 1919, after receiving complaints that a self-styled "Messenger of God" was luring Italian Catholics in the area between Saint Michael's and Holy Guardian Angel, the Archdiocese of Chicago authorized the erection of Saint Callistus parish. At first, Italian-speaking but non-Italian ethnic secular priests staffed the parish. The founding pastor, William A. Murphy, apparently did well. Parish women, though, refused to accept his successor, John A. Keating, who took charge in June of 1929. According to the parish history — and parish historians are usually reticent about confrontations — "A guard of women armed with sticks and clubs kept watch day and night almost two months until police interfered . . ." Father Keating did not actually take possession of Saint Callistus until July 21, 1929, and lasted less than two years. On Holy Thursday of 1931 he was transferred to Sacred Heart in Joliet. The Chicago chancery asked the Scalabrinians to take Saint Callistus. The first pastor was Ugo Cavicchi, one of those zealous young graduates of Cardinal Rossi's reformed Scalabrinian training. Within two years, Father Cavicchi had organized a Saint

¹⁰³⁰ To Franch, Winnipeg, February 15, 1934, SIB, Box 30, folder C.

¹⁰³¹ Rossi to Franch, Rome, April 20, 1934, SJB, Box 30, folder C.

¹⁰³² Franch to William Mark Duke, Chicago, June 11, 1934, SIB, Box 29, Assegnazione e trasferimenti di padri. Duke was the Archbishop of Vancouver.

¹⁰³³ Joseph Castalano et al., *Blessed Virgin of Pompei* (Milwaukee: Our Lady of Pompei Men's Club, 1967).

Vincent de Paul Society to distribute funds to those impoverished by the Depression, remodeled part of the parochial school for a convent, transferred the old church into a social and recreational hall and installed pews in the new church.¹⁰³⁴

From Saint Callistus, the Scalabrinians continued to expand. When in August of 1933 Father Cavicchi was transferred to Saint Anthony's in Kensington, Antonio Cogo became Saint Callistus's second Scalabrinian pastor. In August of 1936, Father Cogo began saying mass for Italian-speaking members of Our Lady of Sorrows parish, gathered at the Granta Funeral Home at 900 South Sacramento Boulevard, where there was a chapel as part of the business. The new congregation took the name of Blessed Mother Frances Xavier Cabrini. (Mother Cabrini became a saint later, on July 7, 1946). In 1940, the congregation became a separate parish under Scalabrinian care.¹⁰³⁵

Revitalization at the provincial level, then, was uneven and ironic. Under Father Franch, a veteran of Bishop Scalabrini's day but a committed, dedicated, stable and thoughtful leader, the western province prospered. Under Father Marchegiani, a more recent recruit and apparently of good morals and high purpose, but with little experience and a brusque personality, the eastern province struggled.

Neither provincial took a leadership role in coping with the Great Depression, which began with the stock market crash in October of 1929 and continued until the U.S. economy expanded to meet the demands of World War II, which the United States entered in December of 1941. Each parish had to handle the Depression on its own.

The Depression caused receipts to plummet. The most useful figures are from Holy Rosary in Kansas City, where Luigi Franchinotti was publishing an annual balance sheet. Holy Rosary's income went from \$11,014.56 in 1929 to \$9,495.47 in 1930, a drop of \$1,519.09, or 13.6 percent.¹⁰³⁶ In other parishes, the evidence is more anecdotal, but indicates similar drops. Although the aforementioned example of Ugo Cavicchi at Saint Callistus indicates some pastors were concerned about increasing traditional charitable works to meet increasing need, other evidence suggests other pastors reacted to the Depression by neglecting fraternity or social justice and concentrating on their financial responsibilities to their own parishes and parishioners. Carlo Fani at Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago obtained permission to divert funds intended for the Scalabrinian congregation to the payment of parish priest's salaries.¹⁰³⁷ Father Franch reduced organists' salaries to \$100 per month for playing at Sunday masses, funerals, novenas, evening devotions and other events, and for directing choirs.¹⁰³⁸

The Depression especially hurt parishes which had borrowed money in the 1920s and were stuck paying high interest rates at a time when wages, prices and parish income

¹⁰³⁴ *Fiftieth Anniversary, March 23, 1969, Saint Callistus Parish, 1919-1969* (n.p., n.d. [1969]).

¹⁰³⁵ Harry C. Koenig, *A History of the Parishes of the Archdiocese of Chicago*, 2 vols. (Chicago: The Archdiocese of Chicago, 1980), 279-282.

¹⁰³⁶ Resoconto Finanziario per l'Anno 1931, CMS No. 053, Box 1, Annual Reports.

¹⁰³⁷ *Golden Jubilee, 1911-1961: Our Lady of Pompei, Chicago, Illinois* (n.p., n.d. [1961]), 19.

¹⁰³⁸ Franch to Reverendo Padre, Melrose Park, December 16, 1931, SJB, Box 19, Disposizioni amministrative folder.

were all tumbling. Holy Rosary in Kansas City, for example, had bought a new organ in the 1920s. Besides using it for worship, they tried to make it earn its mortgage money by holding concerts of sacred music.¹⁰³⁹ The deflation of wages and prices, though, gave those parishes that had delayed construction their golden opportunity. Saint Bartholomew's in Providence hired construction workers from Rhode Island's Director of Unemployment Relief to add side chapels and benches to the sanctuary, repair the campanile and roof, and repaint the church.¹⁰⁴⁰ Pietro Maschi requested archdiocesan permission to renovate Saint Tarcisius in Framingham, where falling plaster was "endangering very seriously the lifes [sic] of the people that come to Church."¹⁰⁴¹ Saint Anthony in Everett renovated its interior in 1931, and Saint Anthony in the Kensington section of Chicago renovated its church during the administration of Ugo Cavicchi, pastor from 1933 to 1935.¹⁰⁴²

Other parishes completed or commenced full-scale construction projects. Besides fixing the falling plaster in the church nave, Saint Tarcisius built a rectory.¹⁰⁴³ Saint Michael and Saint Anthony, both in New Haven, opened parochial schools in 1936.¹⁰⁴⁴ Some priests even began to think of the sisters' needs. Father Toma requested permission to build a convent in 1938, because "the poor Sisters[,] after ten years of commuting[,] deserve to be considered."¹⁰⁴⁵

Besides the uneven leadership in each province and the lack of resources due to the Great Depression, there was one final factor slowing the reformation of the Scalabrinian congregation in the 1920s: the continued presence of veteran Scalabrinians. Their stories provide an interesting commentary on the strengths and weaknesses of Scalabrinian reform.

For some Scalabrinians, there was a slow transition from the peak of health and power as pastors to old age as assistants and finally to death. Oreste Alussi's decline began in 1916, when his arthritic fingers could no longer control a fountain pen and at that point, he was transferred from pastor at Saint Michael's in New Haven to assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston, where he was happy enough, but increasingly incapacitated. He grew too blind to read his daily office and was granted permission to substitute a daily

¹⁰³⁹ Advertisement, Kansas City, circa January 3, 1932, CMS No. 053, Box 1, Miscellaneous Documents.

¹⁰⁴⁰ R. Stephen Almagno, O.F.M., "The Days of Our Years: Saint Bartholomew's Parish, Providence, Rhode Island, 1907-1969" (typescript, n.d.), 24-25, CMS No. 022, Box 1, no folder.

¹⁰⁴¹ Pietro Maschi to R. J. Haberlin, Framingham, January 26, 1934, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 41, folder 3.

¹⁰⁴² William Pizzoglio, CS., *Fortieth Anniversary, 1927-1967, Saint Anthony's Church of Everett: Its History and Progress from the Beginning to the Present* (n.p., 1967), CMS No. 052, Box 1, Publications folder; Carmen C. Adduci, "St. Anthony's Parish History," in *Seventieth Anniversary of St. Anthony's Parish* (Chicago: C.D. Stampley, 1973).

¹⁰⁴³ *Fiftieth Anniversary (1907-1957), St. Tarcisius Church, Framingham, Massachusetts* (n.p., n.d. [1957]).

¹⁰⁴⁴ CMS No. 045, Box 5, Seventy-Fifth Anniversary Photographs and Draft folder page 9; George G. Di Cenzo, "The History of the Church of St. Anthony from 1904 to 1954," in *Fiftieth Anniversary, 1904-1954, St. Anthony's Church, New Haven* (n.p., n.d. [1954]).

¹⁰⁴⁵ Toma to William Cardinal O'Connell, East Boston, April 29, 1938, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 15, folder 11.

fifteen decades of the rosary. He returned to Italy and died at Piacenza on November 8, 1928.¹⁰⁴⁶ Similarly, Riccardo Lorenzoni, founder of Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah and the first Scalabrinian at Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago, took ill, returned to Italy, and died at his home in Romallo di Trento September 5, 1929.¹⁰⁴⁷ Vittori Oregon, of Sacred Heart in Boston from 1908 to 1919, also returned to Italy, and died in Rome August 11, 1930.¹⁰⁴⁸ Domenico Belliotti, controversial pastor of Holy Ghost, was transferred out of Rhode Island in 1920. He spent ten more years as pastor of Saint Anthony's in Fredonia. He took ill, returned to Palermo, and died September 26, 1930.¹⁰⁴⁹ Bartolomeo Marenchino, founder of Saint Anthony in New Haven, died February 10, 1939, after a brief illness.¹⁰⁵⁰

Other Scalabrinians still held important positions at the time of death. In 1926, Pacifico Chenuil became pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston. On October 26, 1931, while visiting his family in his hometown of Ponte S. Martino, Father Chenuil died.¹⁰⁵¹ His unexpected passing threatened to destabilize Sacred Heart. Unable to think of anyone else for the position, regional superior Marchegiani himself took the late Father Chenuil's post as Sacred Heart's pastor in November? 1931.¹⁰⁵² On February 5, 1932, Father Marchegiani entered Massachusetts General Hospital.¹⁰⁵³ What was wrong is unrecorded, but Father Marchegiani required a lengthy convalescence and so appointed Pio Parolin pastor pro-tem, a situation which disturbed Cardinal Rossi because Father Pio was in poor health, too.¹⁰⁵⁴ It would take the rest of the decade to restore the stability at Sacred Heart.

A final category of Scalabrinians survived into the era of reform but had difficulty adjusting to it. Reading their records, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that in some ways Giacomo Gambera, Angelo Luigi Strazzoni, Vincenzo Jannuzzi and Antonio Demo were perceived as obstacles to the revitalization of the congregation. The reasons had little to do with their competence as priests or pastors, or with their dedication to the congregation. They were unfortunate enough to grow old at the wrong time, to encounter

¹⁰⁴⁶ Haberlin to Toma, Brighton, August 4, 1926, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 22; Carlo Cardinal Perosi, Beniamino Franch, Rome, November 14, 1928, SJB, Box 21, Padri morti folder.

¹⁰⁴⁷ AGS, DE 24/02, P Lorenzoni Riccardo.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Leonardo Quaglia to Carissimo Confratello, New Haven, August 26, 1930, CMS No. 078B, Box I, Records of Fr. Leonardo Qhaglia-1930 folder.

¹⁰⁴⁹ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, October 12, 1931, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1931 folder.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Rossi to Franch, Rome, February 17, 1939, SIB, Box 21, Padre Morti folder.

¹⁰⁵¹ To Marchegiani, Rome, October 26, 1931, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1931 folder.

¹⁰⁵² Marchegiani to O'Connell, Utica, November 7, 1931, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 23.

¹⁰⁵³ Agostino Lazzarini to Chancellor, Boston, February 5, 1932, AAB, R.G. 5.3., Box 6, folder 24.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Marchegiani to O'Connell, Boston, April 26, 1932, AAB, R.G. 5.3, Box 6, folder 24; Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, December 21, 1932, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1932 folder.

the Great Depression at a vulnerable moment, or to have to work with zealous young missionaries not trained to deal with the veterans.

Father Gambera, who had hoped to retire to his native Brescia but had been reassigned to Columbus Hospital in Chicago, had worked himself into a state of resignation by the time he boarded the ship in Italy. Just before embarking, he heard that Father Chenuil was also returning to the mission field. "The news surprised him [Father Chenuil]," he wrote Father Demo, "but how many painful and sad surprises are there in a long life! In any case, I willingly will see again that land where went the largest and best part of my life. Old Father Giacomo hopes to find fraternal hospitality for a few days with Fr. Antonio."¹⁰⁵⁵ Once at Columbus Hospital, Father Gambera tried to see his new assignment as a learning experience. "In that house [the hospital] there reigned suffering and charity, science and faith, grace and salvation, suffering humanity and compassion which treated and healed it, and all this was useful to me for edification, meditation, and training." His resolve, though, soon weakened. He thought himself too sensitive to be around the afflicted day after day. He also felt marginalized. Most patients were there to get well, not to prepare for a happy death, and there was little the chaplain could do for them. At least some of the patients were lapsed Catholics; the Missionaries of the Sacred Heart thought such patients' hospital experiences might reawaken their faith and so urged the chaplain to visit them, but Father Gambera regarded the Missionaries as hopelessly naive and the patients as just hopeless.¹⁰⁵⁶

Father Gambera did keep in touch with his long-term friends, and in 1926 he heard about Father Demo's plans for a new parish plant. This may have given him ideas; in a Christmas letter to Father Demo, he hinted that "the living quarters of the fathers will be certainly commodious, comfortable, spacious, with air and light. . . ."¹⁰⁵⁷ The next year the Pompei clergy moved into their new rectory, and Father Gambera was openly lobbying to join them. Leonardo Quaglia, the eastern regional superior, met Father Gambera during a visit to Chicago, then wrote Father Demo about accepting Gambera as an assistant.¹⁰⁵⁸ Superior general Carlo Cardinal Perosi gave his permission in March of 1928.¹⁰⁵⁹ By May, Father Gambera was at Pompei. It was his final home, but ultimately not a happy one. A conflict with his regional superior, his health, and a change in personnel made Father Gambera's last years more difficult.

The conflict with the regional superior is both well-documented and obscure. Father Gambera began his memoirs while he was at Columbus Hospital in Chicago. They are a

¹⁰⁵⁵ Giacomo Gambera to Antonio Demo, Brescia, November 21, 1925, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gambera folder.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Giacomo Gambera, *A Migrant Missionary Story: The Autobiography of Giacomo Gambera* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994), 245-246.

¹⁰⁵⁷ Gambera to Demo, Chicago, December 15, 1926, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gambera folder.

¹⁰⁵⁸ Leonardo Quaglia to Demo, New Haven, December 15, 1927, CMS No. 078, Box 5, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Gambera folder.

¹⁰⁵⁹ Quaglia to Demo, New Haven, March 13, 1928, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 74.

fascinating account of his years as a missionary and an intriguing reflection on American culture viewed from the Italian Catholic perspective, and they have been helpful for this research, but apparently, they were intended to be more than that. In May of 1929, Father Gambera sent a copy of his typescript to Father Quaglia. His account ended with the dramatic story of his conversation with Gaetano Cardinal De Lai and his return to the mission field despite his age and ill health. Father Quaglia picked up an unstated message: surely a veteran missionary deserved better than this. He responded to that message when he met Father Gambera and told him, "This is not worth the effort. If you have done some things and suffered some sacrifices, at Rome they also know you as a prodigious spendthrift." The remark sent a shocked Father Gambera back to his desk. In late 1929, he sent Father Quaglia an eighteen-page rebuttal of the charge that his memoirs had not been worth the effort.¹⁰⁶⁰

Shortly after this, Father Gambera had to spend a great deal of time and trouble on his health. From April 20 to May 20, 1931, he was at Columbus Hospital in New York, City, and from November 16, 1932, to January 14, 1934, some fourteen months, he was either at Saint Raphael Hospital in New Haven or at the Casa di Riposo for convalescent Scalabrinians at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol, recovering from the removal of his gall bladder. At about the same time, his vision began to fail. A cataract blinded his right eye and clouded his left one. Father Gambera was used to illness, though, and had the mental resources to accept his aches and pains. Returning to Pompei outfitted with stronger eyeglasses and an abdominal truss, he quipped that the latter "serves me very well as a hair shirt."¹⁰⁶¹

Father Gambera returned to a changed, and in some ways less pleasant, household. Pompei had a new pastor, Father Marchegiani. Father Gambera soon decided the man was a menace. He was intelligent enough, shrewd, crafty, competent and careful regarding household finances. He was also so self-righteous he could not speak well of other people, especially his predecessor as Pompei's pastor. He was also so sure he was on the side of the angels that he overlooked in himself what he would condemn in others. It was particularly annoying to Father Gambera that he kept a tight rein on household expenses, which affected all the house residents, while permitting himself extravagances such as an automobile.¹⁰⁶²

Avoiding contact with difficult people made Father Gambera a ghost in his own house. He excused himself from the community prayer that was supposed to cement corporate life. He kept to his room, coming out to take his turn saying mass, visiting the sick or hearing confessions. When he was not needed for sacramental duties, he stayed in his room. On the morning of August 13, 1934, he failed to appear downstairs. His housemates found him still in bed, having died peacefully during the night. In his room was a handwritten, but completed, draft of the second installment of his memoirs.¹⁰⁶³

¹⁰⁶⁰ Gambera to Quaglia, 1929, CMS No. 068, Box 1, Miscellaneous Documents 3 folder.

¹⁰⁶¹ Gambera, 254.

¹⁰⁶² Gambera, 271-272.

¹⁰⁶³ Gambera, 19.

It was a bit easier for Father Strazzoni to distance himself from the developments in the Scalabrinians, since he was already in a relatively isolated parish, Saint Peter's of Syracuse. From there he successfully resisted Scalabrinian attempts to change him in keeping with the revitalized congregation. Eventually, he compiled quite a records of individualism — or obstinacy, depending on one's point of view. "[F]or 14 years I have not accepted the new disposition," he wrote the Scalabrinian superiors in 1948, "and this insistence on constraining my will and adherence to the new dispensation assumes the character of unmerited persecution of one who has given the Congregation 41 years of good and faithful service."¹⁰⁶⁴

The new Scalabrinians, though, placed a renewed emphasis on community identity and on corporate life. Unable or unwilling to come to terms with this, Father Strazzoni gave up his Scalabrinian identity. On April 19, 1951, after 43 years as a Scalabrinian, he became a secular priest in the Diocese of Syracuse. After 27 years as pastor of Saint Peter's, he yielded the position to Luigi Riello and became chaplain at Saint Mary's hospital and resident at Immaculate Conception Cathedral.¹⁰⁶⁵ Pope Pius XII honored Father Strazzoni with the title of monsignor on June 24, 1960. At some point, he retired to a nursing home. He died December 17, 1976, at the age of 93.¹⁰⁶⁶

It is not clear whether Father Jannuzzi was as displeased with the events of 1934 as Father Strazzoni was, but when Cardinal Rossi announced the return to simple perpetual vows, Father Jannuzzi replied that he felt old and ill and rather than take vows he wanted to retire to Italy.¹⁰⁶⁷ Cardinal Rossi agreed that Father Jannuzzi could take a trip to Italy — not a retirement — provided he documented his management of Saint Joachim's and Saint Joseph's.¹⁰⁶⁸ This started a tug of war. The more the Scalabrinian leadership examined Father Jannuzzi's methods, the less competent he seemed. Even the Board of Consultors of the Archdiocese of New York thought "that perhaps a younger and more efficient administrator might be able to accomplish better results than Father Jannuzzi has attained."¹⁰⁶⁹ Father Jannuzzi, though, wanted his health and age, not his ability, to be the criteria for his retirement.¹⁰⁷⁰ Indeed, the parish history gave health as the reason

¹⁰⁶⁴ Angelo Luigi Strazzoni to Molto Rev. Padre, Syracuse, February 11, 1948, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Strazzoni folder.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Unidentified clipping, "Rev. Angelo Strazzoni Becomes Priest of Diocese; to Serve at Saint Mary's Hospital, Cathedral," circa April 19, 1951, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Strazzoni folder.

¹⁰⁶⁶ "Msgr. Strazzoni; priest 69 years," *Syracuse Herald-Journal*, December 18, 1976, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Strazzoni folder.

¹⁰⁶⁷ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, May 14, 1934, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, June 22, 1934, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Patrick Cardinal Hayes to Marchegiani, New York, May 1, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Father Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Properzi to Rossi, n.p., August 19, 1936, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1936 folder.

Father Jannuzzi left Saint Joseph in October of 1936.¹⁰⁷¹ He returned to his family in Zungoli, Avellino, where he died on January 16, 1948.¹⁰⁷² He had at that point been released from his vows.

No matter how overdue the Scalabrinians thought Father Jannuzzi's retirement was, he was still difficult to replace. Tarcisio Prevedello went to Saint Joachim's, which was still a small chapel, but the large parish plant at Saint Joseph's was another matter. Ugo Cavicchi was nominated as a possible successor; he had done well at Saint Callistus and Saint Anthony. Father Marchegiani opposed him, claiming his "fanaticism" had disturbed some unnamed people, and that experience in Chicago was inadequate preparation for New York.¹⁰⁷³ Father Cavicchi went to Milwaukee, where he had the confrontation with the Sisters of Charity described in chapter nine. Father Raffaello Larcher was nominated; the Archdiocese of New York thought him too young and inexperienced. Father Larcher did get the job, but not before his nomination provoked a scramble among Scalabrinians eager to go to what they thought of as a prestigious parish.¹⁰⁷⁴ No matter how the new leadership tried to reform the Scalabrinians to be humble and obedient missionaries willing to go where their superiors thought best, it was hard to prevent the jockeying for position reminiscent of Bishop Scalabrini's turn-of-the-century recruits.

Father Gambera thought that the root of Father Demo's story was that Father Marchegiani held a grudge against him that eventually led him "to dispose of his predecessor and to sacrifice him." The evidence for this is scanty. Father Demo had his share of enemies. When he first came to Pompei, his two assistants protested his appointment by quitting in disgust.¹⁰⁷⁵ In that case, the problem might not have been Father Demo personally, but that he had been promoted in preference to one of them. There are documents regarding conflicts with Vittorio Cangiano and with Carlo Delbecchi.¹⁰⁷⁶ (Father Demo thought Father Cangiano was developing ambitions to be pastor, and Father Delbecchi was at Pompei because he had been accused of scandalous activity in the western province.) Insofar as Father Marchegiani is concerned, there is no indication of trouble. In fact, when Father Marchegiani was Father Demo's assistant at Pompei and Father Strazzoni tried to order the young priest to Utica, Father Demo protested he needed him at Pompei; had he not got along with Father Marchegiani he would have simply requested a replacement.¹⁰⁷⁷ When Father Marchegiani became

¹⁰⁷¹ V. Santoro to Properzi, Rome, October 1, 1936, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1936 folder; *Fiftieth Anniversary, Saint Joseph Church, 1925-1975* (New York: Park Publishing, 1977), 10.

¹⁰⁷² AGS, DH, 18/01, P. Vincenzo Jannuzzi.

¹⁰⁷³ Marchegiani to Rossi, New York, May 7, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1935 folder.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Properzi to Rossi, n.p., November 2, 1936, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Nazareno Properzi-1936 folder.

¹⁰⁷⁵ Gambera to Demo, Boston, July 22, 1899, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 62.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Demo to Chenuil, New York, July 30, 1934, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 58; Gambera, 265.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Demo to Strazzoni, New York, June 1, 1921, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Marchegiani folder.

regional superior, Father Demo wrote the kind of note a superior emeritus might write a successor: "To the Easter good wishes I add congratulations for the trust that the superiors have placed in you for managing the fate of this province."¹⁰⁷⁸ If there was any animosity, it was not mutual.

There is, though, another element of personality that might be relevant. Father Gambera, who liked Father Demo well enough to make his retirement home at Pompei, nevertheless commented that:

He served as a regular soldier, a grenadier. That service gave him a sense of order, strict discipline, stem command, and a certain authoritarian power.

Due to this, in his position as superior, he had a certain independent behavior, a concentration of authority and of keys, and like a true officer mobilizing his troops, he made use of his field Marshall's baton, a system which was somewhat odious to the assistants. . . .

He was very frugal with himself and with others, and not only with money, but also with his appreciation toward his assistants, who were precious to him, and necessary collaborators, especially when it concerned preaching. He wanted for himself the merits and honors, especially those that were publicly given. This refusal to recognize their qualities was disgusting, irritating, and discouraging.¹⁰⁷⁹

This does not entirely square with Father Demo's long friendships with Father Gambera or Father Pio, but it does make a certain sense. Most of Father Demo's relationships were hierarchical: he was the pastor to his parishioners, the house superior to his assistants, the provincial superior to the other Scalabrinians and, by the early 1930s, a veteran to the neophyte missionaries. These hierarchical relations provided him with connections to people and with a proud, perhaps overly proud, record of service. It also left him vulnerable to people who wanted to climb to the top of the hierarchy themselves, especially to people who thought their superior zeal and fidelity to the revitalized congregation entitled them to leadership.

There is no denying economics played a major role in Father Demo's downfall. Father Demo failed to take into account that the prosperity of the 1920s might come to an end or that parishioners whose finances improved might leave Greenwich Village and thus cease sharing their new wealth with Pompei. By the early 1930s he owed several people money for work they did for the parish.¹⁰⁸⁰

Father Demo also failed to realize how seriously Cardinal Rossi took the issue of financial accountability. In order to prevent mix-ups or fraud arising from having one person responsible for both household and parish accounts, Cardinal Rossi issued an order, dated April 8, 1930, requiring two persons keep those two accounts. Father Demo ignored the order. Eight months after Cardinal Rossi issued the directive, regional superior Quaglia appointed a house treasurer for Father Demo. Father Quaglia tried to

¹⁰⁷⁸ Demo to Marchegiani, New York, April 6, 1931, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1931 folder.

¹⁰⁷⁹ Gambera, 261.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Demo to J. Francis McIntyre, New York, June 1, 1931, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 54; Rossi to Marchegiani, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1934 folder.

soften the humiliation by appointing Father Pio, whom Father Demo liked, but he also warned Father Demo that he was counting on his good will and diligence to prevent more intrusive interventions in Pompei's affairs.¹⁰⁸¹

Then, in early 1931, Father Demo failed to turn in his 1929 and 1930 accounts, which Father Quaglia needed to complete a report to Rome. Father Quaglia asked for them and received in reply a letter in which Father Demo blamed the Great Depression for upsetting his financial planning.¹⁰⁸² Father Quaglia sent his report to the apostolic delegate for transmission to Rome with "has not sent the reports" where Father Demo's information should have been.¹⁰⁸³ He also turned over a copy of the report to Father Marchegiani, who was succeeding him as regional superior.

The apostolic delegate's auditor saw the report and acted. He ordered Carlo Celotto transferred to Pompei to serve as house treasurer. (Father Pio's appointment had not worked out, partly because Pio was pastor at Sacred Heart in Boston.) The auditor also ordered Father Demo to give Father Celotto the records he needed to do his work or incur suspension, stern action for the imposition of a first penalty.¹⁰⁸⁴

While the apostolic delegate and the Scalabrinian leadership in Rome wanted Father Demo to conform to the rules regarding submission of reports, Father Marchegiani was more concerned about what the completed reports might reveal about the management of Pompei. On Armistice Day, 1932, he called a house meeting at Pompei. One assistant, Carlo Ronci, was in Providence substituting for another missionary, but Father Demo, the young assistant and household treasurer Father Celotto and the two retirees in residence, Father Gambera and Pietro Dotto, sat quietly while Father Marchegiani lectured them on how Pompei was the scandal of the province. He criticized conduct that the straight-laced, fault-finding Father Gambera never mentioned in his memoirs, the number of laity, men and women, who joined the Scalabrinians for dinner and even slept over. Mostly, though, he complained about the debt and the continuing expenses.¹⁰⁸⁵

Apparently, all the meeting accomplished was to alert Father Demo that he had a new enemy and to encourage him to dig in his heels. On January 14, 1933, Cardinal Rossi sent Father Marchegiani a letter directing that "Father Demo should be transferred, without hesitation, from Our Lady of Pompei to another parish in the province of minimum importance, where he will assume no responsibilities of a financial nature."¹⁰⁸⁶

¹⁰⁸¹ Leonardo Quaglia to Demo, New Haven, December 29, 1930, CMS No. 078, Box 4, Records of Fr. Antonio Demo-Father Parolin folder.

¹⁰⁸² Demo to Quaglia, February 17, 1931, New York, CMS No. 037, Box 7, folder 74.

¹⁰⁸³ Pia Società dei Missionari Di S. Carlo per gli Emigrati Italiani, Regione Est, "S. Carlo Borromeo," n.d. [1931], CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1931.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Paul Marella to Marchegiani, Washington, May 13, 1932, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1932 folder.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Marchegiani to Rossi, Utica, November 14, 1932, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1932 folder.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Rossi to Marchegiani, Rome, January 14, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

But nothing happened. Eight months later, on August 29, 1933, Father Marchegiani notified Cardinal Rossi that Father Demo had made some kind of request to the curia in New York. Father Demo's request cannot be found, but it was almost certainly a resignation, for in the next sentence Father Marchegiani applied for the position of pastor at Pompei, explaining that as provincial superior he was best able to handle the problems there.¹⁰⁸⁷ Two days later, Father Marchegiani notified Nazareno Properzi and Leonardo Quaglia, his provincial councilors, that he had given Father Demo a telegram from the apostolic delegate summoning him to Italy.¹⁰⁸⁸ Much to Father Marchegiani's dismay, Father Demo refused to indicate he was worried. He announced to Pompei's parishioners his "temporary stay" in Italy, gave Father Marchegiani a cool reception at Pompei and departed, arriving in Rome a little before November 9.¹⁰⁸⁹

During 1934 and most of 1935, the Consistorial Congregation tried to determine what Father Demo had been doing at Pompei for the previous 34 years. There were enormous piles of records, some in good shape. Even Father Marchegiani praised the perfect order with which Father Demo kept his sacramental records. The financial records, though, were in an embryonic state. Father Demo had boxes of receipts — the raw data — but no account books.¹⁰⁹⁰ The result of the investigation was the conclusion that Father Demo was not to be trusted. On September 6, 1935, Apostolic Delegate Amleto Cicognani wrote Father Marchegiani that Father Demo had booked passage for New York for October and that the provincial superior should use "paternal benevolence" in assigning him a position.¹⁰⁹¹ Remigio Pigato, a member of the western province then in Rome, heard that Father Marchegiani responded he wanted nothing to do with Father Demo.¹⁰⁹² Thus, Father Demo was assigned to Father Gambera's old position as chaplain at Columbus Hospital in Chicago, a city which, as far as can be determined, Father Demo had never seen.

Father Demo indeed sailed out in October of 1935. At the end of November, Cardinal Rossi wrote western provincial superior Franch inquiring if Demo had arrived in Chicago.¹⁰⁹³ No, Father Franch replied, he was at Pompei in New York.¹⁰⁹⁴ Nothing and no

¹⁰⁸⁷ Marchegiani to Rossi, Utica, August 29, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Marchegiani to Properzi and Quaglia, Utica, August 31, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Marchegiani to Properzi, New York, September 27, 1933; Rossi to Marchegiani, October 9, 1933; Amleto Cicognani to Marchegiani, Washington, November 9, 1933, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1933 folder.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Marchegiani to Rossi, New York, March 27, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

¹⁰⁹¹ Cicognani to Marchegiani, Washington, September 6, 1935, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Fr. Giovanni Marchegiani-1935 folder.

¹⁰⁹² Remigio Pigato to Franch, Rome, September 26, 1935, SJB, Box 19, Assegnazione e trasferimenti di padri.

¹⁰⁹³ Rossi to Franch, Rome, November 30, 1935, SJB, Box 19, Assegnazione e trasferimenti di padri.

one seemed able to move him. So, Father Marchegiani gave him the titles of pastor emeritus and superintendent of the parochial school and let him busy himself about the parish.

On December 1, 1935, Father Demo was helping some men to move a piano. His hand slipped, he dropped his share of the load and broke a foot. The accident confined him to bed for the Advent and Christmas seasons, and the enforced bed rest may have led to cardiac complications. On January 2, 1936, while chatting with a lay visitor, Father Demo suffered a sudden heart attack and died.

Father Marchegiani's assistants, Father Ronci and Manlio Ciuffoletti, signed an affidavit that this is what happened next:

Some days after the death of Father Demo — and before his funeral — Father Giovanni Marchegiani, pastor of the Church of Our Lady of Pompei in New York and superior of the house, went into the room of the deceased to assist with an examination which he performed upon Father Demo's effects. From a little wooden box locked with a key he took the following items of value:

1. \$10,000 in United States government bonds with interest due in two years.
2. Various passbooks from various United States savings banks in the amount of about \$22,000 in capital, exclusive of the interest which had been accumulated for two years.
3. A passbook describing an account of over 50,000 Italian lire.
4. \$1,005 in bank notes of various denominations.

These items were then registered on a paper which we countersigned.

Evidently Father Marchegiani took these and Father Demo's other effects and documents to his room for further examination.¹⁰⁹⁵

At the time of his death, Father Demo was still under the oath of perseverance and not under the new simple, perpetual vows. Thus, he could legally hold property. However, he left no will and no directions as to the disposition of the property. His relatives in Italy claimed some of the money, but Cardinal Rossi told Cardinal Hayes that the money really belonged to Our Lady of Pompei.¹⁰⁹⁶

This is most likely what Father Demo himself intended. His mother died in 1919 and his father in 1933, and there is no evidence he felt obliged to support other relatives. Had

¹⁰⁹⁴ Franch to Rossi, Melrose Park, December 15, 1935, SJB, Assegnazione e trasferimenti di padri.

¹⁰⁹⁵ Carlo Ronci and Manlio Ciuffoletti, declaration, New York, February 7, 1938, CMS No. 078A, Box 3, Records of Fr. Remigio Pigato-Father Ciuffoletti [sic] folder.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Rossi to Hayes, May 13, 1926, CMS No. 078B, Box 2, Records of Father Nazareno Properzi-1936 folder. Peter D'Agostino has suggested Father Demo may have misused parish or Scalabrinian funds; see *Italian Americana* (Summer, 1995), 238. The story at Our Lady of Pompei parish was that Demo fell behind on parish mortgage payments. It is difficult to prove a negative conclusively, but there is no evidence in Scalabrinian or New York archdiocesan files to support the parish story. There are no documents in the parish files or province files indicating the Scalabrinian superiors found evidence of misuse of funds in the same sense that they found such misuse in other cases. The evidence indicates mostly that Father Demo failed to adjust to changing standards; he continued to act as he had prior to the Consistorial Congregation takeover in 1924.

he wanted the money for himself he could have hidden it better. And if he wanted Father Marchegiani to have it, he could have given it to him or left it for him to find; it is hard to believe Father Marchegiani did not check Father Demo's room while Demo was in Italy. It is in keeping with his character that Father Demo held onto the money as the last vestige of his former position as pastor of Pompei. Leaving the money where Father Marchegiani would find it left him open to charges of embezzlement, but it was more humiliating to concede parish leadership to someone who obviously thought so little of his predecessor. Leaving the money in the lockbox, with the key handy, became a face-saving way of making a bequest to the parish which had become the project of Father Demo's life, the one thing that remained constant despite the deaths of friends and changes in the Scalabrinian institute.

Father Demo's funeral was quite an event. The body was kept in Pompei's church several evenings so that people could pay their last respects. Among those that came was mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, whose first wife Father Demo had attended on her deathbed in 1921. Parish societies, archdiocesan colleagues and Scalabrinian confreres crowded the church for the funeral itself, which took place Tuesday, January 7, at 10:30 a.m. As befitted his position as pastor, Father Marchegiani offered mass, but it was probably just as well that one of the distinguished guests, newly appointed provincial superior Nazareno Properzi, preached the homily.

The most fitting touch came at the final blessing of the body, when Bishop Ernesto Coppo, S.D.B., Father Demo's former colleague in the New York Italian migrant apostolate, stepped forward. It just so happened that he was in New York to visit the Salesian houses in the area, and so was able to attend the funeral. Of all the people present, he might have been closest to Father Demo's experience. The younger Scalabrinians who came to honor their confrere really knew very little about it, and what they did know they did not value. They were going to give the Society of Saint Charles a much better future.



Appendix 1

Profiles of Selected Scalabrinians and Auxiliaries Mentioned in the Text

Albanese, Francesco. Scalabrinian auxiliary who worked as assistant to Domenico Belliotti of Holy Ghost. Helped organize Holy Angels in Warren, Rhode Island.

Alussi, Oreste. Born on July 12, 1856, in Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. Educated for the diocese of Piacenza and ordained by Bishop Scalabrini May 22, 1880. Joined the Scalabrinians September 7, 1888. He was an assistant at Saint Joachim's from February 3, 1889, to February 25, 1890, at which point he became pastor of Saint Michael in New Haven, where he served from February 25, 1890, to August 16, 1894. In Piacenza December 8, 1894, where he took perpetual vows. He next appears as pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati, where he served from 1897 to 1898. Saint Joachim's parish history claims him as pastor from March of 1898 to April of 1902, but the more reliable parish history of Sacred Heart in Boston has him there from August 22, 1898, to November 1898. He returned to Saint Michael's and served as pastor from December of 1904 to September of 1916 and was in residence until December of 1916. He then returned to Sacred Heart in Boston as a senior citizen in residence. Died November 8, 1928, at Piacenza.

Angeli, Davide. Born in Cloz, Trentino, December 9, 1887. Entered the Scalabrinians January 9, 1902. He was ordained July 25, 1912. On November 9 of that year, he said his first mass as a curate at Sacred Heart. In December of 1913, he suffered what was diagnosed as a mental breakdown, and spent some time at Bellevue Hospital in New York City. Appears as acting pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago from 1919 to 1921, and as pastor of Saint Rocco's in Thornton, Rhode Island, from 1921 to 1924. Spent time in Italy in 1924-1925. Pastor of Monte Veneto in Brazil from 1925 to 1936, and in Esperança from 1936 to 1945. Died suddenly December 18, 1945, while he and some of his friends from the parish were visiting the Chapel of San Gerolamo. He was 58 years old.

Angeli, Prospero. Born circa 1894 in Borgo di Trento. Ordained 1918. Emigrated 1919. Served briefly in Chicago and then in Kansas City, where he became pastor of Holy Rosary, then at Saint Joachim's. Left that parish for Italy, probably after January 19, 1922.

Returned to the United States and was briefly at Saint Rocco in Thornton before he left the active priesthood and enrolled in Columbia University. Apostolic Delegate Amleto Cicognani brought him back to active ministry, and he served briefly at Saint Anthony in New Haven. After accusations regarding his relations with women, he again left the active priesthood, enrolled in Yale, transferred back to Columbia, received a doctorate in letters, taught in New York until 1945, and then, from 1945 to 1955, worked for Westinghouse in New Jersey. In 1955, he retired from Westinghouse and for three years lived in Bloomfield, New Jersey. In 1958, he purchased a small, tumbledown house in Weston, Pennsylvania. He died August 30, 1978, at the age of 84.

Annovazzi, Giacomo. Joined Scalabrinians on January 24, 1889, and departed for New York. Arrived at Saint Joachim's on February 3, 1889. In 1892 he was transferred to Saint Anthony's in Buffalo as an assistant. He later served in the Brazilian mission field.

Arcelli, Vincenzo. Born in Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna, August 16, 1867. Intended to become a priest, but his eyesight did not permit the necessary studying, so he became a religious brother. Joined the Scalabrinians January 24, 1889. He departed Piacenza for New York, where he arrived February 3, 1889. He came to Boston February 7, 1889. Except for a brief assignment in Connecticut, he spent the rest of his life in the North End. He died June 13, 1925.

Armento, Nicola. Scalabrinian auxiliary. Ordained for the Diocese of Tricarico, Matera, Basilicata. Assistant of Holy Ghost in residence at Saint Bartholomew's in Providence from March 1908, to December 1910. In 1912, he became pastor of Our Lady of Grace in Manton, Rhode Island. In 1922 appointed pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel, which had been created out of the territory in Holy Ghost.

Astorri, Amos Vincenzo. From Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. Joined the Scalabrinians July 11, 1888, and departed for the U.S. mission field the same day. Arrived in New York July 22, 1888, and until September 1, 1889, was Felice Morelli's assistant at Saint Joachim's. First pastor of Saint Michael's in New Haven, where he served from September 1, 1889, to February 25, 1890. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from February 25, 1890, to June 16, 1895. Pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1899 to 1903. He later left the Scalabrinians.

Baffo, Giovanni. May be the same person as Giuseppe Boffo, below. Arrived in Providence, Rhode Island, in February 1901. Died in the mission field soon thereafter.

Baincotti, B. The name appears in Holy Rosary of Kansas City's history as being at that parish during 1920 and 1921. See B. Biancotti below.

Bainotti, Antonio. Born May 22, 1882. Ordained May 25, 1907. Joined Scalabrinians June 25, 1921. Supposed to be at Sacred Heart in Cincinnati as of July 13, 1921. At Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee from 1925 to 1935.

Balangero, Giovanni Battista. Born 1849 at Envie, Cuneo, Piedmont. His mother died during his birth. Educated at the Collegio Cottolengo at Turin and at the Istituto Brignole-Sale delle Missioni Estere. Ordained 1871. In 1872 the cardinal prefect of Propaganda sent him to a parish at Ravenswood in the Diocese of Brisbane, Queensland, Australia. He served there until 1879, at which point his superiors transferred him to Ceylon to minister to an Irish congregation. In 1885 he returned to Italy. That same year, he published his account of his missionary work: *Australia e Ceylon: Studi e Ricordi di tredici anni di Missione*. From 1893 to 1901 he served as spiritual director of the Collegio Umberto I. In 1901 he left the Diocese of Saluzzo and joined the Scalabrinians. He took an oath of perseverance December 17, 1903, and left for the North American missions. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from January 2 to September 1, 1903. He then went to Sacred Heart, Cincinnati, where he served as pastor from 1903 to his death May 7, 1919.

Bandini, Pietro. Born in Forlì, Emilia-Romagna, on March 31, 1852. Entered the Society of Jesus on September 24, 1869. He studied at Monaco and Romagna, and then was sent to the mission to the Indians in the U.S. Rocky Mountains, where he was ordained in 1878. The Jesuits recalled him to Italy as rector of Thomas Aquinas School in Cuneo, Piedmont. He left the Jesuits July 22, 1890, and on Christmas Eve of the same year took his five-year vows with the Scalabrinians. On March 29, 1891, he and a mission band of Sisters of Saint Anne arrived in New York harbor. Father Bandini commenced work as the first chaplain of the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Emigrants. On May 8, 1892, he said mass in the society's chapel, named for Our Lady of Pompei; this was the genesis of the Scalabrinians' largest New York mission. On January 1, 1896, he finished his five-year commitment and departed New York. He then became pastor of a group of Italians involved in an experiment in using Italian, instead of African-American labor, at Sunnyside plantation in Arkansas. When the experiment failed, he led the Italians to found their own community at Tontitown, Arkansas. He died January 1, 1917.

Barabino, Pietro. Also, appears as Salvatore Barbino. First appears in the records April 25, 1908, when he was granted faculties to work in New York and became an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei. Assistant at Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago from 1909 to 1911. From 1911 to 1918 pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago. In 1918 returned to Italy. Later he returned to the United States and worked at Saint Ambrose in Saint Louis.

Barbato, Salvatore. Born Naples, Campania. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from August 29, 1902, to August 27, 1905. At Saint Michael's in New Haven from 1908 to 1916.

Battaglia, Ermenegildo. Born Milan, Lombardy. Took perpetual vows December 8, 1894. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from July 3, 1896, to February 10, 1901.

Beccherini, Francesco. Ordained May 23, 1891, in Florence as a member of the Barnabites. Left the Barnabites for the Scalabrinians October 2, 1891. Assistant at Saint Ann's in Providence from June 1892, to February 1893, assistant at Saint Michael's in New Haven

from August 16, 1894, to June 3, 1895, pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse from June 3, 1895, to September 20, 1896. He was briefly at Holy Rosary in Kansas City in 1896. Pastor of Saint Frances, Detroit, which was founded in 1896, from October 31, 1897, to January 15, 1943, when he resigned. Died July 4, 1949.

Bellioti, Domenico. Born October 6, 1866, in Valledolmo, Palermo. Educated at the diocesan seminary in Cefalù. Ordained June 8, 1895. Emigrated June 5, 1901. Began work in Providence, met the Scalabrinians, and joined the institute November 4, 1901. At Sacred Heart, Boston, as an assistant, November 12, 1901, to March of 1902. Pastor of Holy Ghost in Providence until 1920. Also, pastor of Saint Rocco in Thornton from 1903 to 1907, and had a hand in organizing Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol and a parish in Warren. Pastor of Saint Anthony in Fredonia from 1920 to 1930. Returned to Valledolmo intending to recuperate from an illness, but died in a sanitorium there September 26, 1930, at the age of 63.

Beltrame, Primo. Born October 27, 1910 at Onara di Tombolo, Padova, Veneto. Entered the motherhouse at Piacenza in the fall of 1925. Took perpetual vows September 8, 1936. Ordained by Raffaello Carlo Cardinal Rossi June 29, 1937. Emigrated to the western province in July of 1937. Was pastor of Guardian Angel in Chicago from 1942 to 1948 of Saint Rita's in Milwaukee from 1949 to 1950, and of Saint Lucy in Chicago from 1953 to 1961, then held a series of appointments as assistant. Deteriorating health led him back to Italy in 1974. Died at the Scalabrini-Tirondola Seminary in Bassano del Grappa during the night of May 20-21, 1980, at the age of 79.

Bernardi, Giuseppe. Born May 18, 1903, at Longa, Vicenza, Veneto, to Giovanni Bernardi and Maddalena Bernardi. Educated 3 years at Longa, four years at Sandrigo, 2 years at the ginnasio in Bassano and 3 years at Piacenza. Joined Scalabrinians in 1922. Ordained July 8, 1928, at Bedonia by Bishop Menzani. Said first mass July 9, 1928. Taught 1 year. Left Naples August 3, 1929, and arrived New York August 13, 1929. Assigned to Santa Maria Addolorata as assistant for 1929-1931 and as pastor for 1931-1947. Pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in New York City, 1947-1951. Returned to Italy and died at Pergine Valsugana, Trento, January 25, 1959.

Berti, Beniamino. May be same as Beniamino Berto, below. Pastor of Immaculate Conception in Iron Mountain, Michigan, from September 1898 to March 1902.

Berti, Francesco. Born in Assisi, Umbria, November 16, 1880. Educated at his local elementary schools and seminary. He came to the Piacenza in July 1904. He completed his studies there in 1908 and was ordained June 13, 1908. On August 20, 1908, he departed for Boston, where he took up work as curate at Sacred Heart. In 1913, he was at Holy Ghost in Providence and, for seven months in 1916, he was pastor of Saint Bartholomew's in the same city. That same year he was transferred back to Boston as an assistant. In 1918, he was back in Rhode Island, where he served as pastor of Saint Rocco's in Thornton from 1918 to 1921. He died in Boston February 28, 1938, after a brief illness.

Berto, Beniamino. Pastor of Italian congregation in Bridgeport, Connecticut, from July of 1892 until 1895, when he finished his five-year commitment. Pastor of Saint Francis in Detroit from 1895 to 1897. May have been pastor of Immaculate Conception in Iron Mountain, Michigan, from September of 1898 to March of 1902.

Berton, Giuseppe. Born Crespano Del Grappa, Treviso, Veneto, September 18, 1913. Entered motherhouse in Piacenza in 1924. Took perpetual vows April 8, 1934. Ordained at Piacenza March 28, 1936. Emigration to the United States May 1936. Assistant at Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, Utica, from 1936 to 1946, and at Saint Joseph's in New York City from 1946 to 1948. Second pastor of Saint Tarcisius, Framingham, a position he held from 1948 to 1950. He was assistant at Utica again from 1950 to 1963, at Saint Catherine of Siena in Mississauga, Ontario, from 1967 to 1973, and at Saint Anthony in Everett from 1973 to 1974. He was promoted to pastor of Our Lady of Loreto in East Providence in 1975, and in 1976 returned to the status of assistant and transferred to Saint Peter in Syracuse. On May 13, 1984, he was admitted to a hospital in Syracuse; he died there May 16, at the age of 71.

Bertorelli, Carlo. From Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. Pastor of a congregation of Italians in Bridgeport, Connecticut, from late 1891 to July of 1892. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from April 27 to November 1893.

Bianchetta, Pietro. Born August 13, 1887, Salassa Canavese, Piedmont, to Celestino Bianchetta and Caterina Bruno. Educated at his hometown for elementary school. Studied at seminaries in Chieri and Turin. Ordained June 29, 1912, by Cardinal Richeimi of Turin. Said first mass June 30, 1912, at Salassa Canavese. Entered Scalabrinians in Rome October 30, 1921. Left Genoa November 14, 1921. Arrived New York. Assisted at Santa Maria Incoronata December 3, 1921, to July 2, 1922, and at Saint Anthony in Kensington from July 1922, to August 1933. Pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago from 1933 to 1949. Retired in January 1949, returned to Italy in May 1949, and died at Salassa Canavese, on February 26, 1950, at age 63.

Biancotti, B. Name appears at Holy Rosary in Kansas City in 1921. See also B. Baincotti above.

Biancotti, C. Name appears at Santa Maria Incoronata July 11, 1921.

Biasotti, Roberto. Born March 20, 1863, in Annone Veneto Venezia. Educated at the Seminario di Portogruaro. Ordained September 20, 1885. Spent 1886 as spiritual director of Lorenzaga in the province of Treviso. From 1886 to 1889 was private tutor to the children of Count Riccardo Cattaneo. Between 1889 and 1899 he traveled in Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Switzerland. He had experience working with Italian migrants in Alsace and Lorraine, Luxemburg, Belgium, and France. Came in contact with Bishop Scalabrini in 1889. Arrived in Boston May 20, 1899, and served as a curate at Sacred Heart under Giacomo Gambera until November 1, 1901, when he succeeded Gambera as Sacred Heart's sixth pastor. He held the position of pastor until December 31, 1906; his pastorate was

marked with controversy concerning his efforts to follow Bishop Scalabrini's wishes and open a school which would educate Italian-American youth in both English and Italian. He left Sacred Heart on October 3, 1907, and began working as an itinerant missionary. In September 1912, John Cardinal Farley invited him to establish an Italian Apostolate in the Archdiocese of New York; this was a group of Italian priests dedicated to giving missions in Italian parishes, in non-Italian parishes with Italians in the congregation, and in communities where the Italians remained unchurched. He continued this work through 1916.

Bini, Adamo. Born Cremona, Lombardy. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from April 20 to May 22, 1905.

Bocache, Attilio. At Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica in September of 1915.

Boffo, Giuseppe. See also *Giovanni Baffo*, above. Born Turin, Piedmont, in 1867. At Holy Ghost in Providence about 1901. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from December 15, 1901, to Easter, 1902. Died December 2, 1902.

Bolzan, Giuseppe. Born July 3, 1909. Joined Scalabrinians December 8, 1932. Ordained June 29, 1933. At Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee in 1937 and again from 1952 to 1961. Died July 5, 1982.

Bolzan, Luigi. Born October 24, 1901. Joined the Scalabrinians June 14, 1924. Ordained September 7, 1924. Assistant at Saint Anthony's in Kensington from 1933 to 1934. Pastor of Immaculate Conception in Eveleth, Minnesota, from January 15, 1941, to September 12, 1942. Pastor of Saint Callistus in Chicago from 1942 to 1949. Pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1953 to 1972. Died October 2, 1980.

Bonomi, Giovanni. Born Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from August 20, 1905, to September 15, 1907.

Borromeo, Charles. Not a Scalabrinian, but their patron saint. Born in Rocca d'Arona October 2, 1535, to Count Giberto Borromeo and Margherita de' Medici. Being a second son meant he would not be the primary heir, and this might have been why his parents settled on a career in Catholicism for him. His parentage, though, also gave him certain advantages insofar as advancement was concerned; he received clerical tonsure and the title of the abbacy of San Gratiniano at age 12. On December 25, 1556, his maternal uncle, Gian Angelo Cardinal de' Medici, became Pope Pius IV, and thereafter Borromeo worked for him. More honors and wealthy positions fell his way. In 1560 he became cardinal of Saints Vitus and Modestus (later Saint Praxedus), cardinal protector of Portugal, the Low Countries, the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, the Franciscans, the Carmelites, a religious order called the Humiliati, the Canons Regular of the Holy Cross of Coimbra, the Knights of Malta, the Knights of the Holy Cross of Christ in Portugal, administrator of the Archdiocese of Milan, administrator of the legations of Bologna, Romagna, and the

Marches, prefect secretary of state and assistant to his uncle during the third session of the Council of Trent. The death of his older brother Federico on November 19, 1562, changed Charles's life. He received ordination July 17, 1563. Of all his posts, he took the one at Milan most seriously. In October 1565, he presided over the archdiocese's first provincial council (the result of Tridentine legislation). In April 1565, he took up residence in Milan. The great care with which he shepherded his archdiocese was one factor which led the Catholic Church to count him as a saint. In October 1584, Borromeo left Milan for a course of spiritual exercises. He became ill during his retreat and died on his way back to Milan, on November 3, 1584. His feast day is celebrated on November 4.

Borsella, Giacomo. Religious brother who joined Scalabrinians January 24, 1889, and came to Sacred Heart in Boston on February 7, 1889.

Bove, Antonio. Born in Albano di Lucania on May 17, 1877, to Vincent Bove and his wife, Marianne Molfese. Educated at the seminary of Tricarico, Matera, Basilicata. Ordained for service in the Diocese of Tricarico in July of 1900. He came to Providence, Rhode Island, in February of 1901 as a Scalabrinian auxiliary. He was an assistant at Holy Ghost, during which time he helped to gather a congregation for Saint Rocco of Thornton. On December 6, 1901, he moved to Saint Ann's. Saint Ann's became an independent parish in 1906, and Father Bove became pastor in January 1907. He was awarded the Chevalier of the Crown of Italy on September 17, 1921. He also received Church honors and became a monsignor on December 24, 1924. In 1929, he took charge of organizing a new parish, Saint Anthony's, in North Providence, Rhode Island. The new church dedicated its building on June 13, 1931. Monsignor Bove died December 4, 1931.

Buffo, Giacomo. Born Cuorgnè, Piedmont, November 30, 1884, to Antonio Buffo and Maria Goddò. Educated at elementary and ginnasio levels in Cuorgnè, had seminary training in Torino. Ordained June 29, 1907, by Bishop Agostino Richelini of Torino. Entered Scalabrinians in 1921. Left Le Havre December 25, 1921, and arrived in United States January 5, 1922. Assistant at Holy Ghost in Providence from 1922 to 1931, at Saint Anthony's in Fredonia from 1932 to 1934, and at Saint Bartholomew's beginning in June 1934. In 1953 he retired to the Scalabrinians' property on Staten Island, and died January 13, 1959, at age 74.

Buggini, Lino. Founding pastor of Saint Anthony in Everett, Massachusetts, where he served from 1927 until September of 1933.

Buonaiuti, Alfredo. Born Rome, Lazio. At Saint Charles Borromeo in Saint Louis from 1909 to 1910. At Sacred Heart in Boston from July 1 to July 30, 1910. In 1901-1911, he worked with Cesare Spigardi in Saint Louis. In 1912, threat of scandal — a romance with a nurse — led to his transfer to San Antonio at Bico de Pedra, São Paulo, Brazil.

Cabras, Efisio. Born Genoa, Liguria. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from March 17 to September 16, 1900. A Scalabrinian auxiliary.

Canestrini, Domenico. Born in 1890, probably in Piacenza. Educated and ordained in Piacenza and spent a year working there. Pastor of Santa Maria Addolorata from 1921 to 1925. Reassigned to Brazilian mission. Returned to Italy. Died May 10, 1929, at Piacenza.

Cangiano, Vittorio E. Born May 7, 1882, at Calitri, Avellino, Campania, to Marco Antonio Cangiano and Carolina De Musis. They migrated to Boston during Vittorio's youth, and he was educated in Boston and at Piacenza. Joined the Scalabrinians December 8, 1900. Ordained July 9, 1905, by Andrea Sarti. Left Italy July 22, 1905. Arrived New York, August 10, 1905. Assistant at Saint Joachim's in New York, from 1905 to 1910, pastor at Immaculate Conception in Iron Mountain, Michigan, from December, 1911, to April, 1912, assistant at Saint Joachim again from 1912 to 1917, assistant at Saint Bartholomew's in Providence from 1917 to 1921, assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York from 1922 to 1925, assistant at Saint Joachim's for a third time from 1925 to 1931, assistant at Saint Joseph from 1931 to 1936, assistant at Saint Anthony in Buffalo from 1936 to 1938, and at New Haven from 1938 to 1948. Died August 29, 1950, at age 68.

Cardinale, Vincenzo. Born Ariano, Puglia. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from September 1, 1911, to April 7, 1912.

Casazza, Bernardo. Born Aosta, Val D'Aosta. Assistant at Sacred Heart, Boston, from July 7 to August 8, 1900, pastor of Saint Anthony in Buffalo from 1901 to his death May 6, 1909.

Casazza, Mario. Born Tortona, Piedmont. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from July 27, 1912.

Cavicchi, Raffael. Born Bologna, Emilia. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from September 7, 1889, to January 3, 1890. Died in 1913.

Cavicchi, Ugo. Born February 23, 1901. Joined the Scalabrinians June 14, 1924. Ordained March 20, 1926. From 1929 to 1931 pastor of Santa Maria Addolorata. From 1933 to August 1933 first Scalabrinian pastor at Saint Callistus in Chicago. From 1933 to 1935 pastor of Saint Anthony in Chicago. From 1935 to 1937, pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee. From 1937 to 1948 pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in New York City. From 1951 to April 19, 1954, pastor of Saint Michael's in New Haven. Transferred to the South American mission field. Died April 15, 1984, at age 83.

Cavigiolo, Giorgio. Born in Vercelli, Piedmont, in 1882. Ordained at Piacenza in 1907. Served at Porto Alegre, Brazil, from 1907 to 1920, at which point he was transferred to the eastern province in the United States. Died at New Haven January 8, 1939, following an accidental fall.

Gazzaniga, Pietro. Former military chaplain. Pastor of Santa Maria Addolorata from 1927 to 1929. Returned to Italy in 1929.

Celotto, Carlo Enrico. Born July 15, 1884, at Saint Eulalia del Grappa. Treviso, Veneto, to Pietro Celotto and Caterina Campana. Educated in Padua. Ordained June 8, 1908, in Padua by Bishop Luigi Pellizzo. Prior to joining the Scalabrinians he was chaplain at Fonzaso, Monselice and at Crespano in Treviso, worked with L'Opera Bonomelli, and spent 2 years in Rome. Joined Scalabrinians June 19, 1922. Left Cherbourg July 1922. Arrived New York August 1922. Up to 1949 spent time at Saint Peter's in Syracuse, Saint Anthony in Buffalo, Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago, Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee (1925), Sacred Heart in Boston, Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica, Our Lady of Pompei in New York, Saint Joseph in New York, and Saint Anthony in Buffalo. Died May 30, 1961.

Cerruti, Gaetano. Born Cremona, Lombardy. Ordained by Bishop Scalabrini in New York November 3, 1901. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from November 12, 1901, to April 27, 1902. Later left the Scalabrinians. By January of 1903 he was at Saint Anthony's in Walston, Pennsylvania.

Chenuil, Pacifico. Born Ponte San Martino, Val D'Aosta, 1869. Educated in local seminaries. Ordained for diocesan service at the age of 23. Joined Scalabrinians after ordination. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from July 7 to August 8, 1900. In 1901, he and Bernard Casassa came to Saint Anthony's, Buffalo, where Chenuil met Bishop James Edward Quigley. In 1903, Bishop Quigley was appointed archbishop of Chicago and began introducing Scalabrinians to that see. Chenuil came to Holy Guardian Angel in 1905. From that year to 1919 he also served as superior of the Province of Saint John the Baptist. In 1919 he left Chicago for Rome, having been elected third superior general of the Scalabrinians. He resigned in 1923 in the wake of the reorganization. In 1926 he became pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston. He died October 26, 1931, while visiting his family at Ponte San Martino.

Chiariglione, Angelo. Born about 1833 in Modena, Emilia, of a poor family. He turned from work as a mason to the priesthood, entered the Christopher Columbus Institute, was trained, ordained, and in 1889 went to New Orleans. From 1890 to 1892 he was at Sacred Heart, Cincinnati. He was in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1892. He then worked as an itinerant missionary in the south. He died August 13, 1908, in a heavily wooded area near Daphne, Alabama, which he was crossing on the way to bringing Communion to an invalid.

Chiminello, Giuseppe. Born January 2, 1900, in Rosà, Vicenza, Veneto. Joined Scalabrinians June 14, 1924. During the period under study here, he served in the eastern province. He was recalled to Rome in 1934. When he was returned to the mission field, it was to the western province. He died December 13, 1995.

Chiotti, Giovanni Battista. Scalabrinian auxiliary. Born 1881. Ordained 1905. Migrated to United States in June 1912. Appointed assistant at Sacred Heart, Cincinnati, in 1912. Appointed pastor July 4, 1920. Died in Cincinnati on May 29, 1925, of appendicitis and peritonitis.

Chmielinski, John. Born in Masiak, Przasnycz, in Russian Poland, on November 13, 1868, he entered the seminary at Plotz in September of 1887. In 1889 he transferred to a school in Genoa, where he heard of Bishop Scalabrini's work and contacted him. On April 24, 1892, he was ordained and made his five-year vows. On May 28, 1893, he arrived at Sacred Heart in Boston. On October 2, Archbishop Williams assigned him to minister to Polish Catholics, and he began gathering the congregation for the parish of Our Lady of Czestochowa. He renewed his vows at Bishop Scalabrini's hands on September 10, 1901, during the bishop's U.S. visit. On July 12, 1909, he was incardinated into the Archdiocese of Boston, and he spent the rest of his life there, dying in 1937 at age 69.

Ciufoletti, Manlio. Born December 28, 1888. Joined the Scalabrinians September 10, 1914. Ordained April 3, 1915. Pastor of Holy Guardian Angel from 1919 to 1929. Accusations of financial wrongdoing at Guardian Angel led to his transfer to Holy Rosary in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1930. Accusations of financial wrongdoing at Holy Rosary led to his transfer to the eastern province. He was at Our Lady of Pompei in New York City in 1936. He served as a military chaplain in the U.S. armed forces during World War II,

Cogo, Antonio. Born to Serafino Cogo and Maria Mincheo February 4, 1900, at Schiavon, Vicenza, Veneto. Educated at Schiavon and Piacenza elementary schools, the Christopher Columbus Institute, and the diocesan seminary in Piacenza. Took oath of perseverance in 1919. Ordained March 21, 1925, by Bishop Menzani. Said first mass April 15, 1925, at Schiavon. Left Naples October 10, 1925. Arrived New York, October 22, 1925. Assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston from 1925 to 1927, assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago from 1927 to 1929, assistant at Holy Guardian Angel from 1929 to 1932, pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1932 to 1933, pastor of Saint Callistus in Chicago from 1933 to 1938, pastor of Frances Xavier Cabrini in Chicago from 1938 to 1953 (Frances Cabrini being an outgrowth of Saint Callistus), pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee from 1953 to 1959, assistant at Our Lady of Sorrows in Vancouver from 1959 to 1960, pastor of Saint Frances Cabrini for a second time from 1960 to 1963, assistant at Saint Anthony in Chicago from 1963 to 1964, assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago for a second time from 1964 to 1967, and, from September 20, 1967, to May 18, 1972, assistant at Immaculate Conception in Eveleth, Minnesota. Died on March 10, 1982, at age 82.

Consiglio, Antonio. Born Trapani, Sicily. Arrived Saint Louis 1922. Sought incardination into the Archdiocese of Saint Louis in 1932 but was refused. From April 24, 1934, to May 13, 1935, assistant at Holy Rosary, Kansas City. On May 13, 1935, transferred to assistant at Our Lady of Pompei, Chicago. By August 16, 1943, he was an assistant at Frances Xavier Cabrini in Chicago. He died in Chicago and is buried in the Scalabrinian lot.

Cuneo, Giovanni Battista. Born Chiavari, Liguria. Pastor of Saint Joachim's in New York from May of 1905 to May of 1906, assistant at Sacred Heart, Boston, from June to July 1906, in residence at Saint Lazarus (then dependent on Sacred Heart) from 1906 to 1908, pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse from November of 1907 to October 19, 1914. At that point he resigned from the priesthood and left the Catholic Church.

Dal Bon, Lawrence. Born in 1912. Joined the Scalabrinians December 8, 1932. Ordained June 29, 1937. Taught at the motherhouse during 1937-1938. In 1939, became an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei, New York. Later had short stays as assistant at Saint Joachim's and at Saint Joseph's. From 1951 to 1957, he was at Saint Anthony in Fredonia. During 1947, he was pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol, Rhode Island. In 1948, he was transferred to the western province and spent a short time as assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago before being named pastor of Saint Callistus. During his time in Chicago, he also taught one year at Sacred Heart Seminary in Melrose Park. In 1956, he was sent to a new Scalabrinian mission at New Westminster, British Columbia. During that time, he was also chaplain of the Haney Correctional Institution. In 1964, he was called to the new parish of Saint Francis of Assisi in Revelstoke, British Columbia. On September 20, 1966, he arrived in Rome to spend a few days at the general house before taking a vacation with his brothers. There, he was stricken by cerebral thrombosis. He was brought to a hospital, where he suffered a series of heart attacks. After four months in the hospital, he was well enough to be transferred to the Scalabrinian house at Arco, Trent. He suffered another heart attack and was sent to the hospital in Trent, where he died on September 10, 1967. He was about 55 years old.

Dal Piero, Federico. Born in Verona, Veneto, in 1883. He probably joined the Scalabrinians after World War I. He was a religious brother. Died June 30, 1920, at age 33, of suicide committed in front of the rectory at Sacred Heart in Boston, where he was serving as sacristan.

D'Alfonso, Raffaele. First appears in the records at Holy Ghost in Providence in 1914. From 1915 to 1917 he was in New Haven. From 1918 to 1919 the history of Holy Rosary in Kansas City has him there. From 1919 to 1920 he was pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston.

D'Andrea, Giuseppe. Born 1868. Ordained 1892. Assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York until 1903, when he went to Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah. Pastor in Monongah from 1904 to 1914, when he was transferred to a position as assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York. In 1915, he was transferred to a position as assistant at Saint Anthony's in Buffalo. He died in Buffalo March 23, 1926.

D'Andrea, Orazio. Neither a Scalabrinian nor an auxiliary, but the Scalabrinians followed in his wake in Chicago. From 1903 to 1922 he was at Saint Anthony's in Chicago. In 1922 he was at Saint Michael's in Chicago. He had died by 1973.

De Toro, Angelo. At Holy Rosary in Bridgeport in 1916.

Delbecchi, Carlo. At the time of Bishop Scalabrini's August 1901, landing in New York, Delbecchi was an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York. Pastor of Holy Rosary in Kansas City from November 29, 1902, to 1918. Pastor of Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago from 1919 to 1922. In Rome in 1924, when Serafino Cimino was investigating Scalabrinians.

Assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago in 1926, where he got caught up in a scandal. Thereafter, assistant at Our Lady of Pompei, New York City.

Dellarole, Domenico. Born 1882. In February 1922, he became the first pastor of Our Lady of Loreto in East Providence. Died August 27, 1939.

Demo, Antonio. Born April 23, 1870, at Lazzaretto di Bassano, Veneto. Began studying for the priesthood in his local seminary but left the seminary to do a tour of duty with the Italian army during 1891 and 1892. Upon his discharge he entered the Christopher Columbus Institute. Took perpetual vows December 8, 1894. Left the seminary for further army service in 1895. Ordained by Bishop Scalabrini on July 20, 1896. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from December 8, 1897, to July 7, 1899. Father Gambera, who was both pastor of Sacred Heart and provincial superior, assigned him to Our Lady of Pompei in 1898 to assist the stricken Father Zaboglio. He became pastor of Pompei officially on July 19, 1899. Removed from this position on August 28, 1933. In Italy from October 1933, to October 1935. Died at Our Lady of Pompei January 2, 1936.

Doglio, Carlo. At Saint Anthony in Buffalo in 1908. That same year, he began working with Italians in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Donanzan, Luigi. Born September 3, 1908, at Casoni di Mussolente, Vicenza, Veneto. Entered the motherhouse in October of 1924. Ordained June 29, 1932. Emigrated to United States in May 1933. Became an assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston. In 1934, he became an assistant at Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Utica. He took his perpetual vows in New York on November 21, 1934. In 1936, he became an assistant at Saint Callistus in Chicago. During 1938, he was vice-rector and teacher at Sacred Heart Seminary in Melrose Park. In 1939, he was assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee. He was pastor of Holy Rosary in Kansas City from 1941 to 1948 of Saint Michael in Chicago from 1948 to 1962, and of Saint Peter in Los Angeles from 1962 to 1978. He also founded the Villa Scalabrini in Sun Valley. Increasing paralysis reduced his activities after 1983. He died early in the morning of the Scalabrinians' congregational feast day, November 4, 1992, at the age of 84.

Dotto, Pietro. Born San Giuseppe, Treviso, Veneto, August 15, 1857, to Giovanni Dotto and Matilde Pederiva. Educated at the Christopher Columbus Institute. Took perpetual vows December 8, 1894. Entered the Scalabrinian mission field in 1905, when he arrived in Brazil. Returned to Italy in 1919. Between December 1 and 20, 1919, he sailed out of Genoa for the United States. He was in residence at Our Lady of Pompei in New York City from 1919 to 1933. Died at Pompei May 19, 1933.

Duda, Stefano. Born Gornicza, Poland. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from November 12, 1901, to August 27, 1902. First pastor of Holy Trinity in Lowell and Saint Michael's in Lynn, both in Massachusetts. In 1908, commenced work at Saint Stanislaus in Newark and that same year was incardinated into what is now the Diocese of Passaic.

Fani, Carlo. At Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago from 1918 to 1932. Superior of the western region from 1924 to 1927. Retired to his home diocese in 1932.

Favero, Michele. Pastor of Saint Anthony's in Chicago from 1922 to 1933 and pastor of Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago from 1933 to 1934.

Felicicchia, Anthony. Born November 28, 1909. Educated at Quigley Preparatory Seminary and Sacred Heart Seminary. Took vows April 8, 1944. Ordained March 19, 1945. Served as assistant at Saint Frances Cabrini in Chicago, Saint Peter's in Syracuse, Saint John the Baptist in Kansas City and Saint Callistus in Chicago. Served as pastor of Saint Frances Cabrini. Died February 10, 1960.

Ferrara, Giovanni. Born Villalba, Caltanissetta, Sicily, December 8, 1882. Entered the Salesians but left them and joined Scalabrinians in 1903. Ordained June 13, 1908. Served at Santa Maria Addolorata, Santa Maria Incoronata and Saint Callistus (all in Chicago), Iron Mountain, Michigan, Williamsville, Saint Louis, and Kansas City, usually as an assistant; he was pastor of Santa Maria Incoronata briefly in 1932. He took only two trips back to his homeland, one in 1908 and another in 1954. On the second trip he visited Villalba, where he died unexpectedly on August 15, 1954.

Ferraro, Eusebio. Born October 25, 1875, in Asigliano, Vercelli, Piedmont. Entered the Scalabrinians in 1907. Ordained December 18, 1909, by Bishop Giovanni Maria Pellizzari of Piacenza. Left Italy January 20, 1910. Arrived New York February 11, 1910. Assistant at Saint Joachim's in New York from February 11 to April 26, 1910, assistant at Saint Anthony in New Haven from April 26, 1910, to September 14, 1911, and assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston from September 15, 1911, to May 12, 1912. On April 20, 1912, he was admitted to Saint Elizabeth's for what was diagnosed as appendicitis. He lingered three weeks after an unsuccessful operation, dying on May 12, 1912.

Fontana, Attilio. Born Lazzaretto di Bassano, Veneto. At Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica in 1905. At Saint Anthony of New Haven in 1909. Returned to Italy in 1910.

Foriero, Joseph. Pastor of Saint Anthony in Buffalo from 1927 to 1934.

Forlani, Luigi. Born in 1874 in Cremona, Lombardy. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from February 16, 1910, to August 29, 1911. At Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah from August 1914, until his death on October 2, 1915, at about age 39. The cause of death was appendicitis.

Formia, Giuseppe. Born March 19, 1874, at Tonenzo Canavese, Piedmont. Ordained December 18, 1897. An assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston from January 13 to March of 1899. Assistant to secular priest Antonio Castelli at Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica from 1902 until Castelli's death October 23, 1903. Pastor of Saint Mary's from 1903 to 1921. Returned to Italy and worked as a convent chaplain. Died July 16, 1942.

Foriero, Giuseppe. Assistant at Saint Anthony's in Buffalo in August and September of 1925.

Franch, Antonio. May also be Franchi. Born in Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. Pastor of Holy Ghost in Providence from 1892 to 1894. At Sacred Heart in Boston from February 4, 1894, to June 12, 1984.

Franch, Beniamino. Born September 28, 1871, in Cloz, Trent, Trentino. Received elementary education. Began working at 12. Until age 21 labored in railroad construction in Switzerland, Germany, and Austria and until 26 worked as a stonemason for a company drilling railroad tunnels in the Alps, the Carpathian Mountains and Vienna. At 26, he decided he had fulfilled any obligation he had to support his parents and now he was going to be a priest. The Salesians, the first order to which he applied, thought him too old to begin training, and suggested he be a religious brother instead. The Scalabrinians accepted him as a candidate for the priesthood. Bishop Scalabrini ordained him December 19, 1903. Migrated to the United States in 1904. Assistant at Sacred Heart, Boston, from March 8 to April 10, 1904, nine months at Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, Utica, and nine months more at Santa Maria Incoronata, Chicago. Founder Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Melrose Park, and at that parish from 1904 until his death May 26, 1954. He also served as provincial superior of the Province of Saint John the Baptist from 1927 to 1946.

Franchinotti, Luigi Camillo. Born July 14, 1884 at Tromello, Pavia, Lombardy, to Francesco Franchinotti and Teresa Rho. Educated at Tromello and the educational institutions of the Diocese of Vigevano. Ordained May 21, 1910, by Bishop Pietro Berruti of Vigevano. Career in Italy included being a curate at Lomellina, Pavia, and military service. Joined Scalabrinians in 1920. Left Rome October 1920, and arrived in New York, November 15, 1920. Served as assistant at Santa Maria Addolorata until June 24, 1921, when he was transferred to the position of pastor of Holy Rosary in Kansas City, where he served until May 6, 1942. On May 15, 1942, he was transferred to the position of assistant at Saint Michael the Archangel in New Haven. He died February 19, 1981, at age 96.

Franco, Stefano. Born in 1876 in Cuneo, Piedmont. Educated at Christopher Columbus Institute. Took perpetual vows December 8, 1894. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from January 13, 1899, to December 6, 1900. Died at age 25 in Italy on July 22, 1901.

Gambera, Giacomo. Born in Brescia, Lombardy, September 17, 1856. Educated in Brescia and ordained for service in the Diocese of Brescia on May 31, 1879, by Bishop Gerolamo Verzeri of that diocese. Worked as curate and then pastor in that diocese. On November 20, 1889, took his five-year vows and left Piacenza. Sailed from Genoa and arrived in New York December 7, 1889. Gambera worked in New Orleans from 1889 to 1893, at Saint Peter's, Pittsburgh, from 1893 to 1895, as fifth pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston, from January 17, 1895, to November 12, 1901, as second official chaplain of the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society from 1901 to 1905 (overlapping with his work in Boston), as

first Scalabrinian pastor of Santa Maria Addolorata, Chicago, from 1905 to 1921, and as chaplain of Columbus Hospital, Chicago, from 1925 to 1928. He lived in retirement at Our Lady of Pompei, New York, from 1928 to 1934, during which time he wrote his memoirs. He died August 13, 1934.

Gambini, Nazzareno. Born Gubbio, the Marches. Arrived in United States October 16, 1912. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from October 31, 1912, to July 31, 1913.

Garrau, Andrea. Born Sassari, Sardinia. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from March 30 to August 24, 1902.

Gembrini, Modesto. Born Trent. Pastor of Saint Michael in Chicago from October 1904 to September 1908.

Gibelli, Antonio. Born 1855 in Camporosso di Ventimiglia, Liguria. Entered Scalabrinians in March of 1889. At Saint Anthony in Buffalo from October 23, 1890, to 1893, although he probably left Buffalo in 1892. Pastor of Holy Rosary in Cleveland from 1892 to his death, which took place during the night of March 12-13, 1907, when Father Gibelli was 51, while he was attending a rectory dedication at Our Lady of Pompei in New York.

Ginocchio, Giovanni. Pastor at Saint Anthony in Buffalo in 1914 and 1915.

Glesaz, Teofilo. Born Aosta, Val D'Aosta. Assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston from January 11, 1903, to May 14, 1904. Pastor of Saint Anthony in Fredonia from 1906 to 1910. In 1912, worked briefly among Italians in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada.

Gorret, Pietro. Born June 26, 1886, at Val d'Aosta. Ordained June 29, 1909. Joined the Scalabrinians February 26, 1920. From 1922 to 1949 pastor of Saint Bartholomew's in Silver Lake.

Gotti, Giuseppe. Name appears as pastor of Saint Rocco, Thornton, from 1907 to 1918.

Gragnani, Giulio. Born October 7, 1911. Joined the Scalabrinians December 8, 1921. Ordained June 24, 1924. From 1926 to 1937 assistant at Saint Anthony's in Chicago. In 1942 became assistant at Holy Rosary in Kansas City. Pastor of Immaculate Conception in Eveleth, Minnesota, from November 1, 1950, to February 7, 1958. Died February 7, 1979.

Grassi, Francis. At Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica in 1914.

Greco, Emilio. At Saint Joachim's in New York August 18, 1915. Auxiliary at Holy Ghost in Providence in 1918, where his status as a Scalabrinian was uncertain. He was pastor of Holy Angels in Barrington, Rhode Island, from 1919 to 1924, and pastor of Saint Anthony's in Woonsocket from October 24, 1924, to September 2, 1927.

Gregori, Vittorio. Born November 9, 1881, in Viustino, Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. After elementary education at Rissola and Carpaneto, he entered the Saint Charles Borromeo Institute on October 20, 1895. He took his vows as a novice October 5, 1898, and was ordained May 28, 1904. On August 27, 1904, he boarded the *Romanic* at Genoa for the United States. Upon his arrival he took up work as a curate at Our Lady of Pompei in Greenwich Village, New York. On November 3, 1904, provincial superior Paolo Novati sent him to be a curate at Saint Michael the Archangel in New Haven. On March 5, 1905, he began publication of an Italian Catholic journal, *La Parola Cattolica*. On August 12, 1905, provincial superior Paolo Novati transferred him to be curate of Holy Ghost, Providence, where Novati himself resided. His father's unexpected death led Gregori to return to Italy briefly in 1907. When he returned to the United States, he found he had been appointed first pastor of Saint Bartholomew, Silver Lake, Rhode Island. He stayed there only a few months. On March 28, 1908, he became eighth pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston. He left that position in 1919 and returned to Italy. He died at the Fatebenefratelli Hospital in Piacenza August 11, 1930.

Grigolato, Bruno. Born May 21, 1914, at Arzignano, Vicenza, Veneto, to Joseph and Mary Grigolato. Educated at Arzignano and Crespano del Grappa. Took vows as a brother March 19, 1937, in Piacenza. Left Naples November 26, 1938. Arrived in United States December 4, 1938. Worked as a sacristan at Frances Xavier Cabrini in Chicago from December 1938, to June 1938, at Sacred Heart Seminary in Melrose Park from June 1938, to February, 1939, and at Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago from February, 1939, to May, 1939. He left the Scalabrinians and later married.

Jannuzzi, Vincenzo. Born in Zungoli, Avellino, Campania. Ordained August 5, 1900. Joined Scalabrinians December 18, 1905. Took perpetual vows in January of 1906. Pastor of Saint Joachim's from 1907 to 1925. Pastor of Saint Joseph's from 1925 to 1936, at which point he returned to Italy. He was dispensed from his vows in 1936 and died at Zungoli on January 16, 1948.

Lai, Gaetano De. Born in Malo, Vicenza, Veneto, July 30, 1853. Entered diocesan seminary in 1867. Ordained April 17, 1876. Pope Pius X appointed him Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation November 11, 1903, and elevated him to the position of cardinal on December 7, 1907. On March 26, 1924, he became ex officio fourth superior general of the Scalabrinians. He died October 24, 1928.

Lango, Luigi. Educated at Christopher Columbus Institute. Took perpetual vows December 3, 1894. Pastor of Saint Michael's in New Haven from 1898 to December of 1900. Appears in the record September 15, 1902, at Saint Joachim's in New York. At Immaculate Conception, Iron Mountain, April 1903, to December 1911. By 1920 had returned to Italy and was living in Milan.

Larcher, Giovanni. Born Ruffrè, Trent, Trentino-Alto Adige, September 3, 1909. Took oath of perseverance as a brother November 1, 1930. Left for United States July 3, 1932. Worked

at Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago from 1932 to 1936, at Saint Rita in Milwaukee from 1936 to 1937, at Sacred Heart Seminary in Melrose Park from 1937 to 1949, at Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1940 to 1941, at Immaculate Conception in Eveleth, Minnesota, from 1941 to 1942, at Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago from 1942 to 1945, at Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago from 1945 to 1952, at Santa Maria Incoronata from 1952 to 1955, and at Sacred Heart Seminary a second time from 1955 to 1968. Died March 6, 1968, at age 59.

Larcher, Raffaele. Born at Ruffrè, Trento, Trentino-Alto Adige, on November 14, 1904. Entered the motherhouse in 1919. Ordained March 15, 1930, by Bishop Ersilio Menzani of Piacenza. During 1930-1931, he was vice-rector of the seminary at Bassano del Grappa. He left for the United States in August of 1931. He was an assistant at Saint Callistus in Chicago from his arrival until June of 1933, when he was transferred to the eastern province. He spent three months at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Utica and one year at Sacred Heart in Boston. In October of 1934, he was named teacher to the first-year novices, which necessitated his return to Italy. He took perpetual vows November 8, 1934. From January to July of 1935, he was again vice-rector of Bassano del Grappa. Then he returned to the United States. He was pastor of Saint Joseph in New York from 1936 to 1939, and of Saint Rocco in Thornton from 1939 to 1952. The 1951 General Chapter named him councilor and treasurer. In 1957, he was elected superior general, a position he held until 1963. He then returned to the United States, where he was chaplain at Cabrini Hospital in Chicago from 1963 to 1964, and pastor in Rhode Island from 1964 to 1973. He spent his last years at Villa Scalabrini in North Kingstown. He died on All Souls' Day, November 2, 1981, at the age of 76.

Lazzen, Giuseppe. Born March 17, 1900, at Capriana, Trent, Trentino-Alto Adige (then a part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire). Entered the motherhouse in Piacenza in September of 1911. Took an oath of perseverance June 14, 1924. Ordained at Crespano del Grappa by Bishop Elia Della Costa of Padova on September 7, 1924. He emigrated to the United States in 1925. After several months at Saint Anthony in Buffalo, he was sent to Chicago. Between 1925 and 1929, he was at Our Lady of Pompei and Santa Maria Incoronata, both in Chicago. In 1929 an assistant at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Melrose Park. He was at Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago briefly in 1931-1932. In 1932, he returned to Incoronata. He became pastor there in 1934 and held the position until 1950. From 1950 to 1952, he was at Sacred Heart in Boston. In 1952, he returned to Chicago, and worked at Saint Callistus, at Saint Anthony and at Cabrini Hospital. In 1959, poor health led him back to Italy, where he became the confessor at a seminary in Rezzato. In 1970, he retired to the Scalabrinian home in Arco, Trent. He died there the afternoon of September 10, 1993, at the age of 93.

Lazan, Agostino. Born May 26, 1887, at Conselve, Padova, Veneto. Ordained July 26, 1911. Military chaplain during World War I. Entered Scalabrinians August 18, 1920. He was an assistant at Saint Joachim in New York, pastor at Saint Joseph in the same city, and served in Boston. In 1923 he was proposed as a successor to Gaspare Moretto at Saint Raphael. In 1924 he served as pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse. Increasing paralysis led to his return

to Italy in 1939. He retired to the seminary as Bassano del Grappa. Died April 10, 1953, at age 65.

Lega, Michael Cardinal. Cardinal protector of the Scalabrinians. Died December 17, 1935.

Levra, Francesco. Born December 28, 1884, at Mathi Canavese, Piedmont. Ordained in Turin September 18, 1909. Joined Scalabrinians November 27, 1928. Served as assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York City, in late 1920s and early 1930s. Died in New Haven on April 15, 1947.

Lorenzoni, Riccardo. Born October 16, 1872, at Romallo, Trent, Trentino. Began his studies at the Istituto Mander and from there entered the Scalabrinians. Took perpetual vows December 8, 1894. Ordained June 8, 1895. Left for the United States September 25, 1895. Served as assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston from October 19, 1895, to August 20, 1896, and as assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York, probably from 1896 to 1902. In 1903, sent to establish the Scalabrinians at Our Lady of Pompei, Monongah. In 1904 went to Chicago to be the first Scalabrinian pastor at Santa Maria Incoronata, where he served until 1919. In 1922 took a parish at Kenosha, Wisconsin. Returned to his hometown in 1928 and asked to be released from his vows, but the process had not been completed when he died September 5, 1929, at age 57.

Lotti, Pietro. Organized Italian mission at Bridgeport, Connecticut, in 1891. Pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1892 to 1897, of Saint Michael in New Haven, from 1897 to 1898, and of Holy Rosary in Kansas City from 1899 to November 29, 1901. There is a letter datelined Cincinnati, September 17, 1906, in which Giovanni Battista Balangero informs a correspondent that Father Lotti is returning to Italy.

Maggiore, Raymond. A Franciscan who worked as a Scalabrinian auxiliary serving at Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah from 1916 to 1924.

Mainardi, Paolo. Born at Cremona in Lombardy in 1881. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from August 27, 1905, to November 13, 1906. Died April 14, 1909, at age 28, after a lengthy illness, in Piacenza.

Mantese, Domenico. Born in Torrebelticino, Vicenza, Veneto, April 25, 1847. Ordained for service in the Diocese of Vicenza on August 8, 1875. Served as a curate in his hometown until 1879, as a curate at Quinto Vicentino from 1879 to 1881, and as pastor at Poianella from 1881 to 1887. By 1886 he was corresponding about the possibility of missionary work in Brazil with Father Pietro Colbacchini, who became one of Bishop Scalabrini's priests in that country. Joined Scalabrinians November 28, 1887, and sailed for Brazil July 12, 1888. Transferred to the United States in 1890 and served in Pittsburgh until illness forced him to New York, where he died on June 12, 1891. His was the first death in the Scalabrinians and in the mission field.

Marchegiani, Giovanni. Born September 3, 1880, in Gubbio, the Marches. Ordained March 8, 1903. From 1903 to 1909 pastor of Saint Mark's in his home diocese. From 1909 to 1919 pastor of Saint Angelo and secretary for diocesan visitation. In 1919 he transferred to the Diocese of Bologna. April 27, 1920, he joined the Scalabrinians. June 12, 1921, became pastor of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel. In 1932 he was elected provincial superior, a position he held until 1935. He left Saint Mary's to take temporary charge of Sacred Heart in Boston. He appointed himself pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in New York in 1933. In 1938, he was recalled to Rome. As of 1946, he was rector of a shrine at Pedigrotta, Naples.

Marenchino, Bartolomeo. Born July 28, 1867, in Castelletto Stura, Cuneo in Piedmont. Educated at Christopher Columbus Institute. Took perpetual vows December 8, 1894. Ordained March 30, 1895. Left for the United States in 1895. Appears as assistant at Saint Joachim's in 1898. He was pastor of Saint Michael in New Haven from December of 1900 to October of 1904. He founded Saint Anthony in New Haven and served as pastor from 1904 to 1925. Died February 10, 1939, after an illness which some accounts describe as brief and others as painful. He spent 44 years in the mission field without ever returning to Italy.

Martinacci, Adolfo. Born Susa, Turin, Piedmont. Came to Scalabrinians from Saint Peter's in Mount Carmel, Pennsylvania. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from January 21 to April 1909. Name appears in the records of Saint Joachim's of New York for April 2, 1909. By January 15, 1910, he was at Saint Rita of Cascia in the Bronx.

Martinelli, Ludovico. Born Bagnocavallo Ravenna, Emilia-Romagna, September 23, 1857. Ordained March 28, 1880. Joined the Scalabrinians by 1888. Served at Saint Anthony's in Buffalo from 1893 to October 1901, at Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1898 to 1899, as pastor at Saint Joachim's in New York from 1902 to 1904 and as assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston from October 14 to November 10, 1904. Returned to Buffalo, where he organized a parish at Hilpertown and then transferred to the old cathedral. Died about March 11, 1920.

Martini, Giuseppe. Born November 23, 1859, in Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. Educated at the elementary school of Saint Andrea, at that area's ginnasio and at the Alberion College of Piacenza. Ordained May 19, 1883, by Bishop Scalabrini. Entered Scalabrinians November 2, 1888. He left Italy January 24, 1889, arrived New York February 3, 1889, and arrived in Boston February 7, 1889. Martini served as assistant at Sacred Heart under Luigi Paroli from February 9 to August 25, 1889, and as third pastor of Sacred Heart from August 25, 1889, to June 12, 1894. He died May 26, 1942.

Maschi, Pietro. Born Ravarano, Parma, Emilia-Romagna, August 21, 1879, to Angelo and Angela Maschi. Studied at Berceto and entered the Scalabrinians February 15, 1903, against his parents' wishes. Ordained December 19, 1903. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from March 8, 1904, to January 27, 1907. Founding pastor of Saint Tarcisius, Framingham, and at that parish from 1907 until his death June 3, 1948.

Maselli, Vincenzo. First appears in the records in 1906 when he wrote from Immaculate Conception parish in Pittsburgh asking to join the Scalabrinians. Assistant at Saint Anthony's in Chicago from 1934 to 1936. Died January 26, 1937, in Melrose Park, of pulmonary complications following appendicitis while he was serving as auxiliary chaplain at Cabrini Hospital in Chicago.

Masotti, Gaetano. Born Verona, Veneto. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from November 1, 1907, to June 1908.

Merlo, Lino Francesco. Born Ronsecco, Vercelli, Piedmont, September 23, 1866, and ordained for that diocese May 26, 1888. Joined the Scalabrinians September 20, 1908, and arrived in the United States May 21, 1909. Served a total of 20 years at various places. He was at Sacred Heart in Boston from June 1 to June 30, 1909, at Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago and at Saint Anthony in Buffalo in 1910, at New Haven from 1910 to 1914, and at Our Lady of Pompei in Monongah in 1916. Returned to Italy in 1928. Entered the Scalabrinian rest home at Arco in 1948. Died October 17, 1952, at age 88.

Michieli, Antonio. First appears in the records writing from Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica. Apparently, he left the Scalabrinians or discontinued his auxiliary status. Thereafter he was at Williamsbridge, New York, in 1905, at Saint Zenone in Brescia in 1907, and thereafter, in Arkansas.

Migliardi, Rocco. Born Sinopoli, Reggio di Calabria, Calabria. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from April 20 to May 22, 1905.

Molinari, Cesare Costantino. Born April 14, 1883, at Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna, to Giuseppe Molinari and Luisa Firelli. Ordained August 11, 1910, for the Diocese of Piacenza. Pastor of Calteragna from 1910 to 1914, vicar for Ozzole from 1914 to 1920, and military chaplain from 1915 to 1918. Entered Scalabrinians July 7, 1920. Assistant at Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago for ten months in 1920 and 1921, assistant at Holy Rosary in Kansas City from 1921 to 1924, and then promoted to pastor at Saint Michael's in Chicago, where he worked from 1922 to 1933. In 1932, he was briefly pastor of Santa Maria Incoronata. From 1933 to 1939 he was pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati. Died June 3, 1961, at age 78.

Molinari, Giuseppe. Born in Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna, on August 21, 1856, and ordained by Bishop Scalabrini on May 22, 1880. Curate at Sarmato and at Sant' Antonino, Piacenza, then entered the Scalabrinians. Joined Scalabrinians November 28, 1887, and sailed for Brazil July 12, 1888. Transferred to the United States in 1890. Served at Saint Joachim, New York, and at the Scalabrinian mission in Pittsburgh. Returned to Piacenza in 1894 because of illness and served as rector of the motherhouse and vicar general of the institute. Took perpetual vows December 8, 1894. Died May 31, 1900.

Morassi, Francesco. Born Udine, Friuli Venezia-Giulia. From 1904 to 1905 had charge of Saint Lazarus in Orient Heights, then dependent on Sacred Heart. From December of

1904 to November of 1907, he was at Saint Peter's in Syracuse. He was returned to Saint Lazarus but the archbishop asked he be removed from there August 18, 1911. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from October 23 to December 1, 1911, at which point he left for Italy. He arrived his Naples, met his friends and colleagues there, but travelled no further. Death overtook him in Naples on December 19, 1911.

Morelli, Felice. Born in Ravenna, Emilia-Romagna. Joined Scalabrinians July 11, 1888, and departed that day for the U.S. mission field. Arrived in New York July 22, 1888. Pastor of Saint Joachim's from 1888 to 1893, during which time he also opened the Christopher Columbus Hospital, purchased real estate for a proposed seminary, preached missions to start Scalabrinian parishes in elsewhere, and began Most Precious Blood parish in New York. In 1893, he was assigned to Most Precious Blood as pastor, but was unable to put it on firm financial footing. When his five-year vow expired, he did not renew it, but worked among his migrant compatriots in New Jersey. He died June 16, 1923, at Saint Peter's Hospital in New Brunswick, New Jersey.

Moretti, Francesco Cristoforo. Born Bergamo, Lombardy. Assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston from March 8 to September 5, 1904. Pastor of Saint Michael's in New Haven from October of 1904 to his death, which occurred on November 2, 1904. The cause of death seems to have been asphyxiation.

Moretto, Gaspare. Born at Cartigliano, Vicenza, Veneto, August 20, 1880. Ordained March 7, 1903. Left for the United States August 3, 1903. His Scalabrinian obituary has him serving at Holy Rosary in Cleveland, Saint Francis in Detroit, and Our Lady of Pompei in New York; Sacred Heart in Boston has records indicating he was an assistant there from August 6 to December 31, 1904. From 1905 to 1921, he directed the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants. In 1921, he retired to Italy. Revelations of financial impropriety at Saint Raphael soon followed. An illness rendered him mentally incapacitated. He died at a sanitorium in Padova July 2, 1924, at the age of 53.

Moroni, Marcellino. Born in Agnadello, Como, Lombardy, in 1828. A Capuchin monk from 1846 to 1870, when he left with the Capuchins' permission. Worked as a priest in the Diocese of Cremona from 1870 until 1884, when apparently, he himself came up with the idea of a mission to Italian migrants in the state of Espírito Santo, Brazil. Spent the years from 1884 to 1887 in Espírito Santo. Spent the rest of 1887 and part of 1888 in New York City assisting Father Thomas Lynch with the Italian parishioners of the Church of the Transfiguration, 29 Mott Street. Became a Scalabrinian and left for Brazil July 12, 1888. Incardinated into the Diocese of Rio de Janeiro 1893. Returned to Cremona in 1907 and died there within the year.

Novati, Paolo. Born in Como, Lombardy, in 1865. Educated in Como, at the Somaschi Fathers' college at Gallio, at the Barnabites' college in Monza, and at the seminary in Como. Ordained 1880 and assigned to Schignano. Joined Scalabrinians in 1892. His first

assignment was as a preacher in New York. He then came to Providence, Rhode Island, to be second pastor of Holy Ghost. In this capacity he gathered a community around the Church of Saint Anne; originally a chapel to Holy Ghost, it became a parish in its own right. From 1901 to 1906 he served as provincial superior. From January 1, 1907, to March 27, 1908, he served as seventh pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston. In April 1908, he travelled to Italy for his health. He returned to the United States that same year but found himself in too poor health for the mission field. He returned to Italy in March 1910. Superior General Domenico Vicentini appointed him vicar general and rector of the motherhouse. Again, his poor health caught up with him. His problem was diagnosed as renal cancer, and in September 1912, he underwent an operation for it. By January 1913, he was bedridden again. He died on April 21, 1913, at age 48.

Orlando, Gaetano. Scalabrinian auxiliary who was pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse from September 20, 1896, to August 1, 1899.

Ostino, Eugenio. Scalabrinian status uncertain. Pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse from July 21, 1900, to December of 1904. Incardinated into the Diocese of Trenton in December of 1904.

Pandolfi, Giuseppe. Born August 7, 1862, in Bergamo, Lombardy. Ordained May 30, 1885. Joined Scalabrinians May 3, 1892. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from December 9, 1893, to March 7, 1897. Died at age 88 on October 12, 1950.

Panesi, Giuseppe. Born in Chiavari in Liguria in July of 1871. Ordained in 1895 and taught in his home diocese. Emigrated in September of 1911. From 1911 to 1913 he was assistant to a Newark, New Jersey, priest named Sansone. From 1913 to 1917 he was assistant at Saint Anthony's in Revere, Massachusetts. From 1917 to 1927 he was a Scalabrinian auxiliary and pastor of Saint John the Baptist in Rome, New York.

Parenti, Flaminio. Born December 4, 1885, at Lemose di Mortizza in Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna, to Giovanni Parenti and Maria Bruni. Educated through elementary and ginnasio levels at Chiavenna Landi and at Cortemaggiore, both in Piacenza. Attended the seminary in Piacenza and the Christopher Columbus Institute for his priestly training. Took vows in 1903. Ordained September 19, 1908, by Bishop Pellizzari. Served briefly as rector of the college at Piacenza. Arrived in New York May 7, 1909. From May 21, 1909, to October 2, 1920, he was an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York. From October 2, 1920, until December 11, 1920, he was acting pastor of Saint Michael's in New Haven. From December 11, 1920, to January 2, 1922, he was pastor of Saint Bartholomew's in Providence. On January 2, 1922, he became pastor of Holy Ghost in Providence. He retired as pastor in 1964. He died February 27, 1972, at age 86.

Paroli, Luigi. Born August 10, 1856, in Modena, Emilia-Romagna. Educated at the local archepiscopal seminary. Ordained by Archbishop Giuseppe Maria Guidelli September 23, 1882. Worked for five years in Modena. Became acquainted with Scalabrinians at the end

of 1888. He departed Italy January 24, 1889, arrived in New York City February 3, and in Boston February 7. Paroli was pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston, from February 7 to August 25, 1889, and pastor of Holy Ghost, Providence, from August 1889 to June 1892. May have been briefly in New York, but his next major assignment was New Orleans, where he served until 1906, when he entered the Benedictine Abbey of Saint Joseph in Louisiana. On December 8, 1910, he professed his solemn vows at the abbey and took the religious name Theodore. He remained a member of the abbey but did not live all his life there; he was in New Orleans in the 1920s and died in Rome February 2, 1930.

Parolin, Pio. Born April 25, 1879, in Casoni di Mussolente, Vicenza, Veneto, to Andriano Parolin and Pierina Facchinello. Received his elementary education at Casoni and at Crespano del Bassano, his priestly training at Piacenza. Brought to the United States for ordination; the ceremony was performed November 4, 1901, by Bishop Scalabrini. He served as an assistant at Saint Joachim's in 1904, as an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York from 1904 to 1914, as pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse from 1914 to 1922, as assistant at Our Lady of Pompei for a second time, as pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston, as assistant at Saint Tarcisius in Framingham, as pastor of Saint Anthony's in Fredonia from 1934 to 1953, and as assistant for a third time at Our Lady of Pompei from 1954 to his retirement at the Scalabrinian rest home in Mitchellville, Maryland, where he died February 4, 1970 at age 81.

Paschini, Luigi. Auxiliary at Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago in July and August of 1923, at which point he asked to join the Scalabrinians. Because the Vatican was studying the congregation with an eye to planning its future, he was referred to Rome.

Peona, Giovanni. Born May 20, 1886. Ordained June 29, 1910. Served as lieutenant in World War I. Joined Scalabrinians after the war. Served as assistant in New Haven, Boston, and Utica, before being transferred to the western province. Pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago in 1922 and of Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago from 1922 to 1932. The threat of scandal led to his recall to Rome in 1932. He returned to the United States in 1933, this time to the eastern province. He was from 1933 to 1944 pastor of Saint Anthony's in Everett, Massachusetts. Died February 19, 1944, at age 58.

Perardi, P. Name appears as pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago from July of 1909 to February of 1913.

Peretto, Antonio. Born Saint Eulalia in Treviso, Veneto, October 25, 1877. Ordained in Veneto July 25, 1901. Pastor of Saint Anna parish there and teacher at the preparatory seminary. Entered the Scalabrinians August 18, 1920. Served in Boston, Providence, New Haven, Buffalo, Fredonia, Chicago, and Cincinnati. In 1936 he left the United States for Italy on what was to be his decennial vacation. Instead, he returned to the Diocese of Padua.

Pezzati, Corrado. At Our Lady of Pompei in New York beginning in April 1922. Left Scalabrinians shortly before March 27, 1923, and was at Saint Rita of Cascia in Connellsville, Pennsylvania, in 1923 and at Saint Joseph in Monroe, Michigan, in 1924.

Piemonte, Pietro. Born Udine, Friuli Venezia-Giulia. An auxiliary who served as assistant at Sacred Heart, Boston, from January 11 to October 31, 1912, and from August 1 to October 1, 1913.

Pigato, Remigio. Born June 17, 1900. Joined the Scalabrinians June 14, 1924. Ordained September 7, 1924. From 1927 to 1931 pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati. From 1932 to 1947 pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in Chicago. Died July 15, 1986.

Pizzoglio, Guglielmo. Born June 24, 1904, in São Paulo, Brazil. Went to study in Piacenza in 1914. Joined the Scalabrinians June 14, 1924. Ordained March 12, 1927. Continued to study in Italy until 1929. Assistant in Boston, Providence, Saint Anthony's in Everett, Massachusetts, and Our Lady of Pompei in New York City between 1929 and June of 1934, at which point he became pastor of Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica. Died June 19, 1973, at age 68.

Pizzolotto, Pietro. Also referred to as Francis Pizzolotto. Religious brother in first mission band to United States. Arrived in New York on July 22, 1988. Worked at Saint Joachim's.

Poggi, Paolo. Pastor of Saint Joachim's and eastern provincial superior from May 22, 1906, to February 13, 1907, when he left both positions.

Poia, Giuseppe. Born at Valdagno, Vicenza, Veneto, September 13, 1884. Entered Scalabrinians October 7, 1906. Took perpetual vows October 13, 1907. Ordained May 21, 1910. Left for United States October 1910. Assistant at Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago and at Holy Rosary in Kansas City. In 1917, he became founding pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol. In 1947, he retired to his hometown. Died April 20, 1962.

Preti, Enrico. Born Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. Pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati in 1899. Assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston from April 1 to August 30, 1902. Also served in Brazilian mission field. Died June 29, 1942.

Prevedello, Tarcisio. Born January 12, 1905, at Fonte, Treviso, Veneto, to Antonio Fioravanta Prevedello and Maria Gazzola. Educated at Fonte, San Zenone, Treviso, Piacenza and Rome. Joined Scalabrinians in Piacenza July 10, 1928. Ordained December 21, 1929, at Piacenza by Bishop E. Menzani. Served as vice-rector and teacher at Crespano del Grappa. Left Naples November 22, 1930. Arrived in New York November 30, 1930. Spent 6 months as assistant at Saint Michael's in New Haven, 3 months as assistant at Holy Ghost in Providence, 6 months as assistant at Saint Joseph's in New York, three months as assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York. In 1932 he became an assistant at Sacred Heart in Boston. In 1935 he was promoted to pastor of the same parish, but that

same year he was transferred to Saint Joachim's and from 1935 to 1938 he was pastor of the latter. From 1938 to 1940 he was pastor of Saint Joseph's in New York. In 1940 he was transferred to pastor of Saint Anthony's in Buffalo. From October of 1957 to September of 1964, he was pastor of Saint Michael's in New Haven. Died June 15, 1965.

Properzi, Nazareno. Born February 5, 1890, in Corridonia in the Marches to Liberato Properzi and his wife Domenica Corona. Educated in Corridonia, the episcopal seminary in Piacenza, and the Collegio Angelico in Rome. Entered Scalabrinians July 1, 1903. Ordained April 12, 1914. Left for New York May 15, 1914. Arrived there May 29, 1914. Assistant at Sacred Heart, Boston, June 5, 1914, to June 6, 1915. Founding pastor of Saint Anthony, Somerville, Massachusetts and at that parish from June 6, 1915, to his death from a heart attack on December 21, 1960.

Prosseda, Giovanni. Joined Scalabrinians April 29, 1910, in New York. Pastor of Saint Anthony in Fredonia from 1910 to 1915. In December of 1915 went to Oak Field, New York, to organize a congregation there. Pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago from 1921 to 1922.

Pugnetti, Pietro. Born 1847 or 1855. Took perpetual vows December 8, 1894. A Scalabrinian brother who served in the eastern United States province, dying at Saint Anthony in New Haven on July 30, 1925.

Quadranti, Giuseppe. Born 1863. Acting pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1899 to 1903. Thereafter served as assistant at Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago and Our Lady of Pompei in New York. Died at age 58, December 4, 1920.

Quaglia, Giovanni. Pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago from 1921 to 1922.

Quaglia, Leonardo. Born at Malamocco, Venezia, Veneto, October 30, 1883. While still young he moved with his family to Sostegno, Biella, Piedmont. In 1898 he entered the seminary at Vercelli. In 1904, Francesco Beccherini spoke there as part of a recruiting trip, and Quaglia entered the Scalabrinians, taking perpetual vows on December 21, 1906. He was ordained May 25, 1907, and left for the United States on July 4, 1907. He served as an assistant at Sacred Heart, Boston, from July 21, 1907, to February 19, 1909. He then served as assistant at Buffalo, and Saint Joachim's in New York. He served as pastor of Saint Bartolomeo from 1910 to 1916 and as pastor at Saint Michael's in New Haven from September 9, 1916, to May 25, 1949. From 1925 to 1931, he was also provincial superior. He returned to Italy, where he served as pastor of SS.mo Redentore in Rome. He had just returned to his work from a visit to his family when he suffered a fatal heart attack and died September 4, 1956.

Ricci, Domenico. Born on February 12, 1872, in Sorrento, Naples. Educated at diocesan seminary. Ordained by Archbishop Giuseppe Giustiniani of Sorrento on December 19, 1896. Received faculties in the Diocese of Piacenza on July 29, 1902. Emigration in September of 1902. Spent 1902-1903 in New York. Received faculties for the Diocese of

Hartford on December 1, 1903. Was at Saint Michael's during 1903 and 1904. When the Scalabrinians appointed Francesco Cristoforo Moretti pastor, Moretti dismissed Ricci as assistant, and a quarrel ensued between Ricci and Moretti supporters in the parish. Moretti died November 2, 1904, leaving Ricci without a post. He was a Sacred Heart, Boston, from November 5, 1904, to April 24, 1905. He then returned to Italy to consult with Bishop Scalabrini but had to go to Sorrento to attend his dying mother. His mother passed away May 8, 1905, Bishop Scalabrini died on June 1, and once again Ricci had no post. He returned to Saint Michael's shortly after January 27, 1906, the date he was given permission to embark for the United States. He was released from the Scalabrinians in March of 1906, but continued to serve at Saint Michael's until October 1, 1906, at which point Bishop Tierney appointed him pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Meriden. He was still there in 1913.

Riello, Luigi. Born at Mussolente, Vicenza, Veneto, March 13, 1909. Entered Christopher Columbus Institute in Piacenza in 1924. Took perpetual vows April 8, 1934. Ordained June 29, 1935. His first American assignment was as an assistant with the youths at Sacred Heart Seminary in Melrose Park. Between 1936 and 1951, he worked in Chicago, Milwaukee and Melrose Park. Transferred to the eastern province, he succeeded Angelo Luigi Strazzoni at Saint Peter in Syracuse. From 1958 to 1964, he was the Saint Charles Borromeo province's superior. Upon leaving that post, he became an assistant at Saint Anthony in Somerville and director and treasurer of Immaculate Conception novitiate in Cornwall. He died at the Scalabrinian residence in North Kingston during the early hours of January 23, 1971, at the age of 61.

Rigo, Giovanni Battista. Born at Crespano del Grappa, Treviso, Veneto, November 14, 1908, to Joseph Rigo and Angela Bolzan. Educated at Crespano del Grappa and at the episcopal seminary in Piacenza. Ordained June 29, 1933, by Cardinal Rossi. Said his first mass July 16, 1933, at Crespano del Grappa. Took perpetual vows April 8, 1934, at Piacenza. Left Naples May 4, 1934. Arrived in New York on May 16, 1934. He was an assistant at Santa Maria Incoronata, Chicago from May 31, 1934, to November 15, 1934; an assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee from November 16, 1934, to January 10, 1936, an assistant at Saint Callistus in Chicago from January 11, 1936, to June 15, 1936; an assistant at Incoronata for a second time from June 16, 1936, to May 20, 1939; an assistant at Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from May 21, 1939, to March 1, 1940; pastor of the same parish from March 2, 1940, to June 30, 1942; assistant at Our Lady of Pompei, Chicago from June 30, 1942, to February of 1944; assistant for a third time at Incoronata from February of 1944 to April of 1948; substitute pastor of Bovey, Minnesota, from April to October of 1948; assistant at Immaculate Conception in Hibbing, Minnesota, from October of 1948 to July of 1949; assistant at Saint Anthony, Chicago, from July to September, 1949; assistant for a second time at Pompei, Chicago from September of 1949 to September of 1959; assistant at Saint Rita, Milwaukee from September of 1959 to September of 1960; assistant at Santa Maria Addolorata, Chicago, from September of 1960 to November of 1961; assistant at Saint Maria Goretti in Edmonton, from November of 1961 to December of 1964; assistant at Holy Rosary, Kansas City during December of 1964; and assistant at Saint Peter's, Los

Angeles from December of 1964 to October of 1966. In October of 1968, he was made assistant at Our Lady of Sorrows in Vancouver. He died December 7, 1975, at age 66.

Riva, Benedetto. Religious brother whose name appears in connection with Saint Anthony of Padua in Buffalo in 1892.

Riva, Paolo. Born Como, Lombardy. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from January 12, 1891, to June 6, 1891. Died by 1913.

Ronci, Carlo. Born at Saint Vito Roman in Palestrina, Lazio, March 17, 1876, to Vincenzo Ronci and Maria Felice Diofebi. Received elementary education at Saint Vito Roman, ginnasio at Florence, liceo at the Vatican Seminary in Rome and theological courses at the Gregorian Pontifical University in Rome. Entered the Carmelites and was ordained December 22, 1900, in Rome by Bishop Parocchi. Left Naples June 18, 1920. Arrived in the United States July 1, 1920. Came to the United States with the permission of the Sacred Concistorial Congregation and began helping Father Vincenzo Jannuzzi at Saint Joachim's in New York, which he did from 1920 to 1925. Became a Scalabrinian auxiliary April 14, 1926. Served as an assistant at Saint Joseph from 1925 to 1931, at Our Lady of Pompei in New York from 1932 to 1938, and at Saint Joseph again beginning in 1939. Admitted to Long Island College Hospital about a month before his death, which took place February 17, 1966.

Rossi, Carlo Luigi. Born August 30, 1887, in Turin to Luigi Rossi and Caterina Camino. Attended elementary school in Turin, ginnasio at the archdiocesan seminary at Giaveno, liceo at the seminary in Chieri and theological studies from the metropolitan seminary in Turin. Ordained June 29, 1912, by Agostino Cardinal Richelmy. Assigned to teach at the Seminario Filosofico di Chieri after ordination. Joined the Scalabrinians June 20, 1921. Left Genoa July 1, 1921. Arrived New York July 12, 1921. Assistant pastor of Saint Anthony in Buffalo from July 14, 1921, to June 15, 1925. Pastor of Saint Anthony in Buffalo from June 15, 1925, to November 1927. Assistant at Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago from November 1927, until March 1942. Assistant at Saint Anthony in Everett, Massachusetts, from March 1943 to December 1946, at which point he was transferred to Saint Joachim's in New York. He died at age 63 on May 11, 1950.

Rossi, Raffaele Carlo Cardinal. Born October 28, 1876, in Pisa, to Francesco Rossi and Maria Palamidissi. Educated in public schools. Entered order of Discalced Carmelites on October 3, 1897, received habit December 8, 1898, and professed vows December 21, 1899. Archbishop Ferdinando Capponi of Pisa ordained him on December 21, 1901. Appointed Bishop of Volterra April 22, 1920. Appointed assessor in Sacred Consistorial Congregation on June 23, 1923. One of his early assignments was to conduct a follow-up investigation to Serafino Cimino's study of the Scalabrinians. Appointed Archbishop of Thessalonica December 20, 1923. Appointed cardinal June 30, 1930. Appointed Secretary of the Sacred Consistorial Congregation July 4, 1930. Died the night of September 16-17, 1948, at the Scalabrinian seminary in Crespano del Grappa.

Rossi, V. Name appears as pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse in 1923.

Rossini, Carlo. Born March 3, 1890, at Osimo, Marche. Educated by Scalabrinians. Ordained September 1913. Received further training at the Pontifical Institute of Sacred Music. Drafted during World War I and served as chaplain for prisoners of war. Received a master's degree in Gregorian chant and music paleography and, in 1921, a degree in organ and composition. Came to New York in 1921 and worked with the Scalabrinians at Saint Joachim until 1923. In June 1923, he came to Pittsburgh as cathedral organist, choir director and chairman of the Diocesan Music Commission. In 1940 he returned to Italy to organize the Italian Society of Saint Cecilia for Church Musicians. In 1956 he helped organize an Italian Boys' Town. Died August 6, 1975.

Roti, Francis. Born Simbario, Catanzaro, Calabria, June 12, 1882, to Fortunato Roti and Maria Rosa Salerno. Received three years of elementary education in Italy. Received an English-language education through the ginnasio level. He went into business, married, and fathered six children before his wife died. He raised his offspring and then began looking into the vowed religious life. Joined the Scalabrinians as a brother at Sacred Heart Seminary in Melrose Park October 24, 1938. Died at Oak Park Hospital, October 11, 1953.

Roverato, Valentino. An auxiliary who signed an agreement to work with the Scalabrinians in New York October 15, 1908.

Rusca, Luigi. Born Cremona, Lombardy. Probably joined Scalabrinians after World War I, definitely arrived in New York September 3, 1920. Worked as an assistant at Saint Joachim's in New York and in New Haven and Providence. Developed what Antonio Demo described as an uncontrollable persecution complex. The Scalabrinians released him from his oath of perseverance. He remained in the United States and was last noted in spring of 1923 as being with Giuseppe Congedo, pastor of Sacred Hearts on East 33rd Street in New York City.

Sandri, Felice. Born Turin, Piedmont. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from March 3 to July 1892.

Sandro, Antonio. Born August 12, 1889 at Casoni di Mussolente, Vicenza, Veneto. Received elementary education at Casoni, ginnasio at Bassano del Grappa, liceo and theological studies at Piacenza. Entered Scalabrinians December 21, 1916, at Piacenza. Ordained September 22, 1917, at Piacenza by Bishop Giovanni Battista Maria Pellizzari. After World War 1, sent to the United States. His death notice, in a rare description of a personality, notes he "bore the cross of a restless, impressionable spirit," which phrase was used to explain why he served in various parishes in North America, and also why he left the institute briefly twice, once to join the Passionists and once to join the Trappists. He spent 1919 at Our Lady of Pompei in New York, was an assistant at Holy Guardian Angel in Chicago from 1919 to 1925, an assistant at Saint Anthony in Buffalo from 1925 to 1927, an assistant in New Haven during 1927, and an assistant at Saint Bartholomew's in Providence from 1927 to 1931. From 1931 to 1933 he was in Piacenza and from 1933 to 1948

he was at the Casa Generalizia in Rome. In 1948 he returned to the United States as an assistant at Saint Michael's in New Haven. He was suffering from arteriosclerosis when he entered the Scalabrinian rest home at Kingston, Rhode Island, where he died June 20, 1964, at age 75.

Sannella, Francesco. Born Lacedonia, Avellino, Campania. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from March 26 to December 7, 1902.

Santipolo, Ferdinando. First appears in records in 1891 at Holy Rosary in Kansas City. He left Kansas City in 1896. He was the official pastor of Saint Joachim's from 1904 to 1906, but actually he served only during 1904. That same year, fear of financial scandal caused Bishop Scalabrini to remove him from office.

Sartori, Silvio. Born December 21, 1893, in Cavrie, Treviso, Veneto, to Giuseppe Sartori and Leonilda Pasin. Completed his studies at Treviso in 1914. Ordained April 15, 1917, in Treviso. Joined Scalabrinians in 1920. He was pastor of Saint Rocco's in Thornton, Rhode Island, from 1924 to 1925. In 1925, he was reassigned to Saint Anthony in New Haven, where he built a parochial school. In 1950 transferred to Saint Tarcisius in Framingham. In 1953 transferred to Saint Michael's in New Haven as an assistant. Died September 16, 1966, in New Haven.

Sassi, Costantino. Born January 20, 1866, in Gubbio, Perugia, the Marches, to Augusto Sassi and Caterina Baldasserini. Educated at the diocesan seminary. Ordained June 11, 1891, by Bishop Luigi Lazzareschi. His work in Italy included serving as a parish vicar from 1891 to 1900, seminary rector from 1902 to 1906, and chapter vicar from 1906 to 1911. Left Genoa May 22, 1916. Arrived in the United States June 8, 1916. He worked as an auxiliary at Our Lady of Pompei in New York from 1916 to 1919. He formally joined the Scalabrinians November 4, 1920, at Holy Ghost in Providence. He worked at Holy Ghost from 1920 to 1921, at Sacred Heart in Boston from 1921 to 1923, as acting pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol, Rhode Island, for four months in 1923, at Saint Joachim's in New York from 1923 to 1936, and at Our Lady of Pompei for a second time from 1937 to 1951. In 1951 he retired to the Scalabrinian rest home in Arco and died June 25, 1954.

Scalabrini, Giovanni Battista. Born and baptized on July 8, 1839, at Fino Mornasco, Como, Lombardy. Received his elementary education in Fino Mornasco, and the equivalent of a high school education at the Liceo Volta, Como. His pastor at Fino Mornasco, Father Philip Gatti, began to notice a possible vocation to the priesthood in the 15-year-old Scalabrini, and in 1857 Scalabrini entered the minor seminary of Saint Abbondio in Como. Ordained May 30, 1863, by Bishop Pietro Luigi Speranza of Bergamo for service in the diocese of Como. Scalabrini spent a few months as curate in Valtellina and in Fino Mornasco. In November 1863 he became Director of Discipline and teacher of history and Greek at Saint Abbondio. In 1865 he became the teacher of Greek at the Castellini College in Camerlata. In 1868 he became rector of Saint Abbondio. In 1870 he was appointed pastor of San Bartolomeo in the city of Como. In 1875, Bishop Antonio Ranza of the

Diocese of Piacenza, near Como, died, and on January 30, 1876, Scalabrini was consecrated Ranza's successor. He organized the Scalabrinians in 1887 and the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Emigrants in 1890. In 1901 he visited his missionaries in the United States, and in 1904 he visited his missionaries in Brazil. Died June 1, 1905.

Sciolla, Vincenzo. Born Turin, Piedmont. First appears in the records October 27, 1891, when he went to Sacred Heart in Cincinnati. Served as pastor of Saint Michael's in New Haven from January of 1896 to 1897. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from June 13, 1897, to September 9, 1897. By March 4, 1908, he was writing to his former confreres from Plainfield, New Jersey.

Secchia, Riccardo. Born March 17, 1885, at Masserano, Biella, Piedmont, to Francesco Secchia and Rosa Marucchi. Educated through the ginnasio level at Masserano, attended the Collegio Maria Ausiliatrice in Turin and studied for the priesthood at the seminary in the Archdiocese of Vercelli. Ordained May 3, 1911, by Archbishop Teodoro Valfre for Vercelli. Said first mass May 6, 1911, at Masserano. Assistant at Lozzolo, Caresana, from 1911 to 1916 and military chaplain from 1916 to 1919. Entered Scalabrinians November 1920, in Rome. Left Genoa December 2, 1920. Arrived New York December 17, 1920. Assistant at Our Lady of Pompei in New York from 1920 to 1925, chaplain of the Saint Raphael Society from 1921 to 1923, assistant at Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from November, 1925, to December, 1926, assistant at Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago from December, 1926, to September, 1929, pastor of Holy Guardian Angel from September, 1929, to June, 1942, pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from June, 1942, to September, 1953, at which point he was transferred to Saint Frances Xavier Cabrini in Chicago as an assistant. He died at age 76 on October 13, 1961.

Sinopoli, Giovanni Pietro di Giunta. Born Agira, Enna, Sicily. Joined Scalabrinians and arrived in the mission field in October 1901. May have been an itinerant missionary. At Immaculate Conception, Iron Mountain, from April 1902 to March or April, 1903.

Snider, Luigi. Brother who on November 20, 1889, departed Piacenza for the mission field. Arrived In the United States December 7, 1889, and in New Orleans December 18, 1889.

Sorzaria, Giuseppe. Born June 16, 1878, in Bernezzo, Cuneo, Piedmont, to Giovanni and Maddalena Sorzana. Educated in Cuneo. Ordained October 6, 1901, in Cuneo by Andrea Fiore and made a vice-curate. Joined the Scalabrinians in Rome in June of 1921. Left Genoa July 19, 1921. Arrived United States August 2, 1921. From 1921 to 1930 he was an assistant at Saint Anthony's in New Haven. From 1930 to 1932 he was acting pastor of Saint Joachim's in New York. In 1932 he was made pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Bristol. He held this post until his death, which took place February 18, 1958, when he was 79.

Soyala, Victor. Came to the United States as a Scalabrinian and then remained as an auxiliary. Pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse from August of 1899 to July 21, 1900. In July of

1900 he went to Italy. By 1902 he was back and at Saint John the Baptist in Columbus in the capacity of auxiliary. The bishop suspended him in 1914, at which point he was given some time to plan for a trip back to Italy. He was in the United States in 1920, whether this represents a third trip or whether he had not left in 1914 is not clear.

Spada, Vincenzo. Born Campolieto, Campobasso, Abruzzi e Molise, on April 15, 1864. Left for Brazil as a religious brother July 18, 1888. His name appears at Sacred Heart in Cincinnati in January and February of 1892. He later returned to Italy, completed his priestly education, and was ordained by Bishop Scalabrini on May 25, 1902. He returned to Brazil but was found to be ill with cancer. He then returned to Piacenza, where he died on September 18, 1905, at the age of 41.

Spigardi, Cesare. Pastor of Holy Rosary in Kansas City from 1897 to 1899, in which year he came to Saint Louis. He lost his ties to the Scalabrinians but remained in Saint Louis and founded three parishes there.

Stefanetti, Ambrose J. First appears in the records as a possible successor to Gaspare Moretto at Saint Raphael in 1921. A priest with this name was pastor of Sacred Heart in Cincinnati from 1927 to 1931. In 1931, the threat of scandal — he had been carrying on an affair with a married woman whose husband discovered the relationship — led to his transfer.

Strazzoni, Angelo Luigi. Born May 12, 1883 in Castelvetro San Giuliano, Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna. Joined the Scalabrinians December 29, 1901. Ordained May 25, 1907. Migrated to the United States July 4, 1907. Career included being curate at Saint Joachim's (July 18, 1907, to January 16, 1909), acting pastor of Saint Anthony's in Buffalo (January 17 to May 17, 1909), pastor of Saint Anthony's (May 17, 1909, to April 10, 1920), pastor of Holy Ghost (August 8, 1921, to February 15, 1922), acting pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston (May 1, 1922 to 1925), and pastor of Saint Peter's in Syracuse (January 2, 1925, to 1950.) Regional superior of Scalabrinians in the United States from 1919 to 1924. In 1950 incardinated into the Diocese of Syracuse. Served as chaplain of Saint Mary's hospital from 1951 to his retirement, when he entered a nursing home. Died December 17, 1976.

Strumia, Giuseppe. First appears in the records at Sacred Heart in Cincinnati about 1890 or 1891. At Holy Rosary in Cleveland in 1891. Pastor of Saint Joachim's in New York from 1893 to 1898. In Rome during 1896 and 1897. Upon his return to Saint Joachim's, he was accused of running up the parish debt, and he returned to Italy in 1898.

Svanera, Angelo. Religious brother who on November 20, 1889, departed Piacenza for the mission field. Arrived in New York City December 7, 1889, and in New Orleans December 18, 1889.

Tabbia, Bartolomeo. Born in Pinerolo, Turin, Piedmont, in 1891. Ordained April 17, 1917, while in the Italian army. In 1927 he emigrated to the United States and served in

Syracuse and Hartford before becoming assistant at Saint Bartholomew's in Providence on November 27, 1928. He died at age 43 on May 12, 1934, of appendicitis.

Teta, Anthony. Pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago from February of 1913 to 1915.

Toma, Ludovico. Born Piacenza, Emilia-Romagna, March 21, 1888. Joined Scalabrinians February 15, 1903. Ordained May 25, 1907. At Sacred Heart, Boston, from July 21, 1907, to October 23, 1911, when he became pastor of Saint Lazarus on Orient Heights, in which capacity he served until his death at age 79 on July 9, 1961.

Tortello, Giuseppe. Name appears as pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago from October of 1908 to July of 1909.

Valetto, Luigi. Name appears as pastor of Saint Michael's in Chicago from 1915 to 1919.

Valitutti, Francesco. Name appears at Saint Mary of Mount Carmel in Utica in May of 1916.

Vanoli, Arnaldo. Born August 30, 1881, at Busseto, Parma, Emilia, to Boniforte Vanoli and Adele Castellini. Received elementary education at Busseto and the rest of his education at the Borgo San Donnino Seminario. Ordained September 23, 1905, by Giovanni Tescari for the Diocese of Fidenza. Served as curate at Monticelli D'Ongina, Piacenza. Entered the Scalabrinians in May of 1910. In November of 1910 he left Genoa for New York. During 1911, he was an assistant at Saint Joachim's in New York; from 1911 to 1914 an assistant at Saint Anthony's in Buffalo; from March of 1915 to April of 1920 pastor of Saint Anthony's in Fredonia; from 1920 to 1925 pastor of Saint Anthony's in Buffalo; from 1925 to 1935 pastor of Saint Joachim's; and from 1935 to 1950 pastor of Sacred Heart in Boston. In 1950, he was transferred to Chicago, where he died on January 9, 1957.

Vicari, Vincenzo. Scalabrinian auxiliary who worked with Domenico Belliotti at Holy Ghost in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1910s.

Vicentini, Domenico. Born at Pescantini, Verona, Veneto, July 6, 1847. Educated at the diocesan seminary, ordained for service in the Diocese of Verona, and labored as a pastor in that diocese. In 1881, he entered the Stigmatines in Verona. In 1882, he asked to go to the African missions. In 1883, he came to Khartoum in the Sudan, which was in the midst of a native insurrection. In 1884, he accompanied an expedition from Cairo to Dongola at the source of the Nile and helped negotiate the release of missionaries taken captive. The Stigmatines ended their African mission in 1888. In 1890, Father Vicentini joined the Scalabrinians. From 1890 to 1895, he served as provincial superior. During late 1893 and early 1894, he was at Most Precious Blood, New York. From June 12, 1894, to January 17, 1895, he served as fourth pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston. From March 1896 to December 1904, he worked in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. He left that position to become rector of the motherhouse in Piacenza, which role he occupied at Bishop

Scalabrini's death. From September 28, 1905, to 1919, he served as second superior general of the Society of Saint Charles. He died March 15, 1927.

Zaboglio, Francesco. Born at Campodolcino, Sondrio, Lombardy, February 25, 1852. He met Scalabrini when he was a student and Scalabrini his teacher. Ordained for service in the diocese of Como in 1875, where he worked as prefect of discipline at Gallio College and as pastor in the towns of Menarola and Grossotto, Valtellina. He resigned to join the Somascan Fathers but did not take vows with them. At some unknown date, Father Zaboglio's immediate family migrated to the United States: his parents, brother sister-in-law, and their children, lived in Genoa, Wisconsin, and other relatives lived in Louisiana and the Dakotas. Francesconi notes that by 1886 Bishop Scalabrini and Father Zaboglio were corresponding about the Italian migrant problem, and the latter became the first general secretary of the institute. On April 10, 1888, he formally joined the Scalabrinians and went to the United States to arrange for the coming of the Scalabrinian missionaries. He served as pastor of Sacred Heart, Boston, from September 10, 1888, to February 1889. He also spent most of 1889 and 1890 in Boston. In October 1890, Bishop Scalabrini appointed him vicar general of the institute. During the early part of 1891, he was in New York assisting with the establishment of that city's branch of the Saint Raphael Society. The rest of that year and part of 1892, he travelled about the northeastern and Midwestern United States visiting Scalabrinian missions. In 1892, he came to Piacenza, where Bishop Scalabrini appointed him rector of the motherhouse. In 1894, he set off again, this time to visit Scalabrinian missions in Brazil. He returned to Italy in January of 1895 to make his report, and then took off for the United States. In January of 1896, he took over the Saint Raphael Society and Our Lady of Pompei from the departing Pietro Bandini. On July 14, 1897, he was permanently injured in a gas explosion at Pompei. In 1898, he returned to Italy. He died September 3, 1911.

Zacchello, Giuseppe. Born at Santa Maria di Sala in the province of Venice, Veneto on March 22, 1917. Began his Scalabrinian education in Piacenza in 1929 at the age of 12. Ordained October 22, 1939. Cardinal Rossi assigned him to the United States missions two months after ordination. He served four years as assistant at Blessed Mother Frances Cabrini in Chicago before being transferred to Saint Joseph's in New York. In February of 1944, he inadvertently tuned in a radio broadcast coming from Calvary Baptist Church in New York City and underwent the beginnings of a conversion experience. He left the priesthood and Catholicism in favor of evangelical writing, speaking, and editing *Convert* magazine. He received an honorary doctorate from Lighthouse Bible College. He died July 26, 1982.

Zanoliolo, Gabriello. Was serving in the western province in 1937, when he was accused of smuggling opium. Returned to Italy.

Zanon, Daniel F. Born May 20, 1914, at Casoni di Mussolente, Vicenza, Veneto, to Domenico Zanon and Maria Ferronato. Received elementary education at Casoni, spent five years at the Christopher Columbus Institute in Piacenza, then attended the diocesan

seminary in Piacenza. Had one year of seminary training in the United States. Entered the Scalabrinians at Piacenza April 8, 1934. Took perpetual vows September 8, 1936, at Bassano del Grappa. Ordained June 29, 1937, at Piacenza by Carlo Cardinal Rossi. Said first mass July 11, 1937, at Casoni. Left Naples July 29, 1937. Arrived New York August 5, 1937, and assigned to Our Lady of Pompei in New York as assistant. Later served in the western province in Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee, Saint Callistus in Chicago and Saint Catherine of Siena in Clarksville, Ontario. Died July 24, 1970, at age 56.

Zanoni, Gregorio. Born June 29, 1908. Joined the Scalabrinians March 19, 1930. Ordained March 21, 1931. Pastor of Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee in 1937 and of Santa Maria Addolorata in Chicago from 1947 to 1949.

Zanoni, Silvio. Born September 10, 1909. Joined the Scalabrinians June 28, 1932. Ordained March 12, 1932. Pastor of Saint Callistus from 1939 to 1942, of Immaculate Conception in Eveleth from September 12, 1942, to November 1, 1950, and of Saint Anthony's in Chicago from 1955 to 1959. In 1973 he was in San Francisco, California. He died June 21, 1980.

Zutta, Teofilo. Born in Turin, Piedmont, on October 28, 1885. Educated at the diocesan seminary and ordained in Turin by Cardinal Richelmy on June 29, 1911. Was vice-rector at San Gaetano in Turin until World War I. During the war he worked in the medical corps in Grigno and Crespano. He was a soldier with the occupational forces in Carizia until 1921. He returned to his post at San Gaetano and then became director of social work at Holy Guardian Angels. Responding to Leonardo Quaglia's call for missionaries, he emigrated and entered the Scalabrinians in July of 1927. He worked at Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Utica, Saint Anthony in New Haven, Saint Anthony in Buffalo, and Saint Rocco in Thornton. Illness led him to the Scalabrinian rest home in North Kingstown, and thence to a sanitorium, where he died peacefully on August 31, 1970, at the age of 84.



Appendix 2

Profiles of Scalabrinian Missions Mentioned in the Text

Holy Angels, Barrington. In the 1900s, Mr. Michele Cicerchia obtained a statue of Our Lady of the Assumption. The statue was housed at Saint John's in Warren, Rhode Island. Every August 15, the Italians of Barrington walked in procession to Warren, got their statue, walked back to Barrington for a festa, and then formed a procession to carry the statue back. In 1913, Bishop Matthew Harkins appointed the Reverend Antonio Bove, who had been a Scalabrinian auxiliary, to organize Barrington's Italians into a congregation. Father Bove began saying mass for Barrington's Italians in the basement chapel of Saint Mary's in Warren. In the spring of 1913, the parishioners, and a number of non-Italian benefactors, including an M. J. Houlihan, gave enough donations for the parish to begin purchasing land. The lower church was ready in the fall of 1913, and Father Bove said the first mass there on November 30. Holy Angels was incorporated December 17, 1913, with Mr. Cicerchia and Placido Mancino as lay trustees. The church building was dedicated June 7, 1914. On February 12, 1915, a secular priest, Francis J. Albanese, was assigned to the parish. The one other person associated with the Scalabrinians who was also associated with the parish was Emilio Greco, pastor from 1919 to 1924.

Holy Cross, Providence. Holy Cross was founded as a mission of Saint Bartholomew's, in the Silver Lake district of Providence, Rhode Island. Its first pastor was Pietro Gorret of Saint Bartholomew. Bishop William A. Hickey blessed the first Holy Cross chapel on December 11, 1927. He reclassified Holy Cross as an independent parish on February 1, 1949, with Father Gorret as pastor. The next year, the trustees acquired a tract at 18 King Philip Street. The house on the lot was enlarged for a rectory. On July 15, 1951, Father Gorret left his position. The parish continued in Scalabrinian hands.

Holy Ghost, Providence. The Scalabrinians came to Providence, Rhode Island, soon after they had arrived in Boston, Massachusetts. The Scalabrinians' first mass in Providence took place on September 22, 1889. The parish was incorporated on November 9, 1889. The Holy Ghost was chosen as the parish's patron in order to choose a figure of importance to the Universal Church and thus avoid conflicts between groups of migrants wishing to honor the patrons of their hometowns. Land for a church was purchased in April of 1890, and a church on that site dedicated on August 17, 1890. The rectory was erected in 1897. In

1901, the parish began to build a second church building. Bishop Scalabrini dedicated the basement during his U.S. pastoral visit. The upper church was completed in February of 1910. The pastors during the period under research were Luigi Paroli (1889-1892), Antonio Franchi (1892-1894), Paolo Novati (1895-1903), Domenico Belliotti (1904-1920), Angelo Strazzoni (1920-1921), and Flaminio Parenti (1922-1964). Father Parenti began the next building drive. He redecorated the church (1922), opened a parochial school (dedicated October 7, 1923), built a new rectory, renovated the church façade, expanded the school to junior high level, and lead the effort to organize the Bishop Scalabrini Home for the Aged, now Villa Scalabrini of North Kingston, Rhode Island.

Holy Guardian Angel, Chicago. The Scalabrinians came to this parish in 1903. Paul Ponziglione, S.J., had done the work of gathering the congregation, Tomaso Moreschini, O.S.M., opened a chapel in 1894, the alumnae of Sacred Heart Convent on Taylor Street organized a Sunday school at the parochial school for Holy Family parish at 711 West Forquer Street (later Arthington Street) under the name Holy Guardian Angel, and Father Edmund Dunne had been appointed the official first pastor in 1899. Scalabrinians at the parish include Pacifico Chenuil (1903-1919), Manlio Ciufolletti (1919-1929), Riccardo Secchia (September 20, 1929-?), Primo Beltrame, and Italo Scolo (1957-1963.) When the Scalabrinians came to Holy Guardian Angel, they found a church, which had been dedicated November 26, 1899, at 717 Forquer Street. Mrs. William Amberg organized Guardian Angel Social Center in 1912 at Saint Francis Assisi School, 1216 South Newberry Avenue. In 1917, this moved to 927-931 West Polk Street. In 1922 it moved to 722 South Loomis Street and became Madonna Center. A school at 736 West Forquer Street was dedicated October 3, 1920. Construction of the Dan Ryan Expressway condemned the church, and on August 30, 1959, the congregation moved to a new church at 860 West Cabrini Street. Expansion of the University of Illinois condemned the new building. The parish closed June 15, 1963.

Holy Rosary, Bridgeport. Scalabrinian missionary Gaetano Cerruti began saying mass for Bridgeport Italians in January of 1903. The community had a church, dedicated to the Holy Rosary, by January 9, 1904; that night it was damaged by fire. Bishop Michael Tierney blessed the restored church March 26, 1905. Father Cerruti was dispensed from his Scalabrinian vows in 1906. He disappears from the record at this point. Auxiliary Angelo De Toro replaced him at Holy Rosary. By 1908, Father De Toro was no longer acting as an auxiliary.

Holy Rosary, Cleveland. Bishop Richard Gilmeres requested aid for the Italians of his see city in 1889. The Scalabrinians sent Giuseppe Strumia to Cleveland in 1891. He established himself in East Cleveland and began gathering parishioners. Holy Rosary got a church in 1893. Antonio Gibelli arrived to take the position of pastor in 1894. He supervised the erection of a new rectory (1896) and church (1897). In 1907, Father Gibelli died while on a visit to New York City. Bishop Ignatius E Horstmann decided to entrust Holy Rosary to secular clergy.

Holy Rosary, Kansas City. Italians came to Kansas City to work in railroad construction. The first Scalabrinian, Ferdinando Santipolo, came to the city in October of 1890. He celebrated the first mass for Holy Rosary in a storefront on the corner of Fifth Avenue and Forest. Scalabrinians assigned to the parish during the time covered by this research were Santipolo (1890-1897), Cesar Spigardi (1897-1899), Pietro Lotti (1899-1901), Carlo Delbecchi (1901-1918), Raffaele D'Alfonso (1918-1919), Prospero Angeli (1920), P. Bainotti (January 1921-?) and Luigi Camillo Franchinotti (1921-1942). At the end of 1891, the congregation moved to a new worship space on the second floor of a storefront on Independence between Cherry and Locust. Early in 1892, it moved to a third storefront, on Fifth Avenue between Holmes and Cherry. In 1895, Santipolo used his own money to help the congregation purchase a lot on Missouri Avenue and Campbell Street. He erected a building there, which Father Spigardi renovated in 1899. The building was destroyed in a fire April 17, 1903; Father Delbecchi rebuilt it.

Holy Rosary, Winnipeg. Ferdinando Anzalone, O.S.M., came to Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada, to say mass in a former Protestant church in 1912. In 1915, Father Anzalone returned to Italy. In 1923, Pietro Gil arrived. He acquired the present church, which had formerly belonged to a Lutheran congregation. Archbishop A. A. Sinnott dedicated it October 7, 1923. In October 1924, Father C. Lynch succeeded Father Gil. In 1929, the Scalabrinians took the parish and sent Manlio Ciufoletti there.

Immaculate Conception, Eveleth. The parish was incorporated June 7, 1915, as an Italian church for this mining town. Secular priests staffed it until 1941. The Scalabrinians who served as pastor there were: Luigi Bolzan (January 25, 1941, to September 12, 1942), Silvio Zanoni (September 12, 1942, to November 1, 1950), Julio Gragnani (November 1, 1950, to February 7, 1958), Francis Pasetto (February 14, 1958, to September 20, 1967), Antonio Cogo (September 20, 1967, to May 18, 1972), Angelo Cugnidoro (May 18, 1972, to June 14, 1976), and Charles LaVerde (June 14, 1976, to July 15, 1978). On July 15, 1978, the parish merged with Resurrection, also in Eveleth.

Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Iron Mountain. An Italian congregation gathered at Saint Joseph's French parish in this Michigan mining town. In 1889, Raffaele Cavicchi became the parish's second assistant, and organized the congregation for independence. In April 1891, Bishop John Vertin of the Diocese of Marquette arranged for the purchase of a lot on Stanton Street. A church dedicated to the Holy Rosary was erected. This building burned November 2, 1893. Father Cavicchi left in 1894. He was succeeded by Joseph G. Pinten (December 1894, to August 1898), Beniamino Berto (September 1898, to March 1902) and Giovanni Pietro Sinopoli di Giunta. Giovanni Pietro di Giunta Sinopoli became pastor in April 1902. That same year, a new, larger, tract was purchased on Blaine Street, and a new church, this time dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, was erected. Giovanni Pietro di Giunta Sinopoli left in April 1903. Subsequent Scalabrinian pastors were Luigi Lango (April 1903, to December 1911), Victor E. Cangiano (to April 1912), and Giovanni Ferrara (to December 1913). From 1914 to 1917, Franciscans

staffed Immaculate Conception. In 1917, secular clergy began staffing Immaculate Conception.

Our Lady of All Souls, Hamilton. Our Lady of All Souls grew out of Saint Anthony's, which is also in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. The cornerstone for the parish was laid on November 2, 1922, at the corner of Barton and James Streets. The decision to adopt Our Lady of All Souls as the parish patroness stemmed from the date for the cornerstone ceremony. The church was dedicated on October 21, 1923. The first rectory was built in 1925; this was where the Reverend Giovanni Bonomi, who began the Scalabrinian mission in Hamilton at Saint Anthony's, relocated the headquarters of his ministry. In 1953, Father Bonomi retired to Italy.

Our Lady of Loreto, East Providence. Our Lady of Loreto grew out of the parish of Saint Francis Xavier in East Providence, Rhode Island. Vincenzo Vicari said the first mass for the congregation September 8, 1920. In mid-1921, Pietro Gorret replaced Father Vicari as pastor of the nascent congregation. Father Gorret bought a rectory and remodeled the parlor for a chapel. On February 5, 1922, Domenico Dellarole succeeded Father Gorret. It was under his administration that the parish built its first church.

Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Bristol. In the 1890s, migrants from Manfredonia, Foggia, began to settle in Bristol, Rhode Island. In 1895, Saint Mary's in Bristol entered its first Italian name in its baptismal register. In 1899, the Manfredonians celebrated the first festa of their patroness, Our Lady of Mount Carmel. On June 25, 1916, a group of laymen met to develop an organization to secure a parish. The organization's officers were: president Achille Maturi, secretary Pietro Vaccaro, treasurer Domenico Palumbo, and trustees Salvatore Della Merete, Saverio Rinaldi and Natale Maranello. A subcommittee — Messrs. Maturi, Vaccaro, Della Merete and Rinaldi, plus Michele Chiarello and Santo Milano — petitioned Bishop Matthew Harkins for a parish. Bishop Harkins asked the Scalabrinians to take the parish. Giuseppe Poia became the first pastor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel on November 11, 1916, at which point Saint Mary's ceased administering the sacraments to Italians. In December, the trustees purchased a church building on High Street. Father Poia said the first mass in this renovated building January 7, 1917. In March 1917, the trustees purchased a lot on State Street for a complete parish plant. They began building in June of 1918, and Bishop William A. Hickey dedicated the new church on May 4, 1919. Our Lady of Mount Carmel plays another role in Scalabrinian history in that in 1932 its rectory became the first designated rest home for elderly or ailing members of the Society of Saint Charles. Father Poia travelled to Italy several times during his pastorate; Francesco Berti served as substitute pastor in early 1920, Constantino Sassi was substitute pastor at the end of 1920, and Giacomo Buffo was substitute pastor in 1928. In 1931, Father Poia resigned and Giuseppe Sorzana succeeded him.

Our Lady of Mount Carmel, Melrose Park. When Emmanuella De Stefano's husband recovered from a life-threatening illness, she promised to promote an annual celebration in honor of Our Lady of Mount Carmel in Melrose park. A statue of the Madonna del

Monte Carmelo arrived from Italy in 1894, and the first festa took place at the De Stefano farm on 25th Avenue and North Avenue. Tomaso Moreschini, o.S.M., said mass. Mrs. De Stefano then got a wooden chapel on the 900 block of 24th Avenue to house the statue. In May 1903, Archbishop James Edward Quigley elevated the chapel to the status of a parish and sent Antonio Petrillo to be pastor. Father Petrillo left in July 1905. Archbishop Quigley then asked the Scalabrinians to take the parish. Beniamino Franch came as pastor and remained until 1954. He moved the chapel to 23rd Avenue between Augusta and Cortez Streets. In 1907, he built a rectory. In 1908, he built a new church. In 1913, he built a school, and hired the Sisters of Saint Joseph of La Grange, Illinois, to teach. In 1914, he built the sisters a convent. In 1928, he remodeled and enlarged the rectory. He died May 26, 1954, at age 83. Subsequent pastors: Salvatore De Vita (administrator, then pastor, February 20, 1955-1964), Adam Torresan (1964-1973), Umberto Rizzi (1973-1975), Albert Corradin (1975-1978), and Florian Girometta (1978-) . Construction included a new church (1961), and a new school (dedicated September 24, 1967).

Our Lady of Pompei, New York. Pompei began as the chapel for the New York branch of the Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, and the first mass was said on May 8, 1892, at the society's headquarters, then at 113 Waverly Street. On April 28, 1895, Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan dedicated the first parish church, a red brick structure at 214 Sullivan Street, erected in 1810 for an African-American Baptist congregation and later home to the Bethel Methodist Colored Church. On July 4, 1896, a gas explosion killed two men who worked at the parish and at the Saint Raphael Society, injured the pastor and damaged the building. After this event, the parish trustees purchased a third home, a Greek Revival building which had been erected in 1836 for the third Unitarian Universalist Church and had since 1883 been occupied by the African-American Roman Catholic Congregation of Saint Benedict the Moor. Pompei stayed at this address from 1898 to 1927, when the extension of Sixth Avenue forced another move. The trustees purchased a block of lots between Carmine, Bleecker and Leroy Streets, and erected a complete parish plant. The rectory and church opened in 1928, the school in 1930 and the convent in the 1950s. Pastors include Pietro Bandini (1892-1895), Francesco Zaboglio (1896-1899), Antonio Demo (1899-1933), Giovanni Marchegiani (1933-1938), Ugo Cavicchi (1939-1947), Giuseppe Bernardi (1947-1951), Mario Albanesi (1952-1964), Anthony Dal Balcon (1964-1967), Guido Caverzan (1967-1970), James Abbamo (1970-1975), Edward Marino (1975-1980), Charles Zanoni (1980-1989), Tarcisius Bagatin (1989-1993) and Ralph Bove (1993-). Most of this parish's records spell Pompei with one 'i,' while other parishes with the same name use two.

Our Lady of Pompei, Chicago. In 1910, Archbishop James Edward Quigley asked Father Pacifico Chenuil to provide a second parish for the Italians in the neighborhood of Holy Guardian Angel parish. The Scalabrinians purchased land at the corner of McAllister Place and Lytle Street. Pastors at Our Lady of Pompei to 1976 included Peter Barabino (1911-1918), Carlo Fani (1918-1932), Remigio Pigato (1923-1947), Louis Riello (1948-1949), Salvatore de Vita (1949-1952), Joseph Bolzan (1952-1961), John Bonelli (1961-1965), Gino Dalpiaz (1965-1974), and A. J. Calandra (1974-). The parish construction record began with

the church itself, which was ready in April 1911. The parochial school opened in rooms above the church in 1912, with Missionary Franciscan Sisters of the Immaculate Conception as teachers. The convent followed in 1914. A new church went up in 1924, allowing the space previously occupied by the church to be turned into classrooms. The rectory, at 1224 West Lexington Street, was dedicated 1912. The parish dedicated a new church on October 7, 1923, remodeled the school in 1942, and built a new convent in 1952. Construction of the Dan Ryan Expressway cost the parish two thirds of its homes but also put it in a position to profit from neighborhood gentrification.

Our Lady of Pompei, Milwaukee. Italians gathered the money to purchase a tavern on the south side of East Clybourn Street between Van Buren and Jackson Streets. They renovated the tavern for a chapel. In 1899, the Reverend Rosario Nasca came to the city, and the congregation took the name Mission of the Precious Blood of Jesus. The parish bought land for a church in 1903, and dedicated a church named for the Blessed Virgin of Pompei in 1904. Father Nasca left in 1903. Subsequent pastors included Dominic Leone (1903-1915), and Enrico Fadanelli (1915-1925), at which point Archbishop Sebastian Messmer assigned the parish to the Scalabrinians. Scalabrinian priests include Carlo Celotto (1925), Antonio Bainotti (1925-1935), Ugo Cavicchi (1935-1937), Gregory Zanon (1937), Joseph Bolzan (1937-1939), Luigi Donanzan (1939-1941), Louis Riello (1941-1948), Daniel Zanon (1948-1954), and Anthony Cogo (1954-1959). In 1959, Salvino Zanon of the other Scalabrinian parish in Milwaukee, Saint Rita, was appointed administrator of Our Lady of Pompei as well. On October 9, 1967, the church was demolished to make way for a freeway.

Our Lady of Pompei, Monongah. The parish history claims that Bishop Patrick J. Donahue of the Diocese of Wheeling (now Wheeling-Charleston) journeyed to Boston to confer with Bishop Scalabrini regarding supplying Italian-speaking priests for the Italian miners in West Virginia, but this would have been in 1904, and the Scalabrinians were active in Donahue's diocese before that. In 1903, Riccardo Lorenzoni came to Wheeling. In February, he and Bishop Donahue agreed that Monongah would be a good site for the Italian parish. Six laymen arranged for the purchase of a tract at the intersection of Church Street and Route 19. Groundbreaking took place in the summer of 1903. Also in 1903, Giuseppe D'Andrea came to Monongah. When Father Lorenzoni went to Santa Maria Incoronata in Chicago, Father D'Andrea continued as pastor in Monongah. Father D'Andrea completed construction of a church building in 1905, coped with the Monongah mine explosion of 1907, and built an elementary school in 1908. Until 1909, he also tended Saint Joseph's in Fairmont. Beginning in 1910, he attended Saint Sebastian's in Middleton. Father D'Andrea left in 1914. His Scalabrinian successors were Luigi Forlani (August 1914-October 2, 1915), Lino Francesco Merlo (1916) and Raimondo Maggiore (1916-1923). Diocesan priest Joseph Tantillo was pastor from 1924 to 1929. In 1929, Our Lady of Pompei ceased to have resident pastors.

Sacred Heart, Boston. This parish developed out of that of Saint Leonard of Port Maurice, a Franciscan-staffed parish for Italians in Boston's North End. Genoan parishioners

organized the Saint Mark Society, purchased the former Father Taylor's Seaman's Bethel facing North Square, and sought archdiocesan permission to become a parish. Archbishop John J. Williams wanted the Saint Mark Society to regularize its position within the archdiocese by transferring ownership of the property to the archdiocesan corporation. Francesco Zaboglio negotiated a settlement that permitted the parish to be opened under the name Sacred Heart. Pastors during the time under consideration include Francesco Zaboglio (September 10, 1888, to February 7, 1889), Luigi Paroli (February 7 to August 25, 1889), Giuseppe Martini (August 25, 1889, to June 12, 1894), Domenico Vicentini (June 12, 1894, to January 17, 1895), Giacomo Gambera (January 17, 1895, to November 12, 1901), Roberto Biasotti (November 1, 1801, to "December 31, 1906), Paolo Novati (January 1, 1907, to March 27, 1908), Vittorio Gregori (March 28, 1908, to April, 1920), Raffaele D'Alfonso (1920-1922), Ludovico Toma (1922-1926), Francesco Berti (1926-1927), Pacifico Chenuil (1927-1931), Giorgio Cavigiolo (1921-1932), Tarcisio Prevedello (1932-1935), Arnaldo Vanoli (1935-1950), Louis Savio (1950-1960), Joseph Invernizzi (1960-1964), Mario Spada (1964-1965), Louis Savio again (1965-1975), Hilary Zanon (1975-1983), Ignatius Battaglia (1983-1986) and Dominic Rodighiero (1986-1989). The parish opened its first parochial school in 1906, when the Apostles of the Sacred Heart came to Boston. This school soon closed. A second, Saint John's, opened in 1912.

Sacred Heart, Cincinnati. Founded 1890. Pastors to 1974: Angelo Chiariglione (1890-1892), Pietro Lotti (1892-1897), Oreste Alussi (1897-1898), Ludovico Martinelli (1898-1899), Enrico Preti (1899), Vincenzo Astorri (1899-1903), Giovanni B. Balangero (1903-1919), Giovanni B. Chiotti (1919-1925), Joseph A. Stefanetti (1925-1927), Remigio Pigato (1927-1931), Antonio Cogo (1932-1933), Cesare Molinari (1933-1939), Giovanni B. Rigo (1939-1942), Riccardo Secchia (1942-1953), Luigi Bolzan (1953-1972), and Carl Birarelli (1972-). The parish was located at 527 Broadway. In 1893, Sisters Blandina and Justina Segale, blood sisters and Sisters of Charity, opened the Santa Maria Institute as a social service center for Italian migrants. The rectory was completed in 1910. In 1922, a social center opened on Fairmount Avenue. In 1968, the church was condemned to improve access to the city's stadium. In July 1969, the parish merged with Sacred Heart in Camp Washington.

Saint Ann, Providence. In 1892, Mr. Francesco Barone, a layman living in the North End of Providence, Rhode Island, began to work for an Italian parish in that neighborhood. In 1896, Bishop Matthew Harkins appointed Giulio Triolo, a priest who had emigrated to Providence to be near his family, to organize the congregation of Saint Ann's. The parish was incorporated September 2, 1896. In 1901, Bishop Harkins asked the Scalabrinians to take the parish. The Scalabrinians sent as pastor auxiliary Antonio Bove. On August 2, 1902, Bishop Harkins dedicated the renovations of the church building the congregation had been using. The trustees later purchased a lot on Monticello Street and moved their church building to it for temporary use while a new building was being erected. Bishop Harkins laid the cornerstone for the new building July 1, 1909, and dedicated the completed work October 16, 1910. Father Bove died in 1931. He had ceased his connection with the Scalabrinians, and his successor was Beni Di Mascoli, a secular priest from the Diocese of Providence.

Saint Anthony, Buffalo. In 1870 Buffalo's Italian population consisted of about 200 Genoans, plus migrants from Tuscany and Lombardy. By 1880, migrants from Abruzzi, Basilicata, Calabria, Naples and Sicily had raised the population to about 1,000. Bishop Stephen V. Ryan first asked an Italian-speaking Hungarian priest named Koffler to minister to the Italians, then appointed the Reverend James Edward Quigley to organize a congregation in the chapel behind Saint Joseph's old cathedral. Father Quigley held the first meeting the night of November 18, 1888. In order to stimulate the congregation, he asked the Reverend Felice Morelli to preach a mission. This was the beginning of Scalabrinian work in Buffalo, and also of the Scalabrinian relation with Quigley. Scalabrinian pastors at Saint Anthony during the period under research were: Antonio Gibelli (October 20, 1890-October 1893), Ludovico Martinelli (October 31, 1893-1901), Bernardo Casassa (1901-May 2, 1909), Angelo Luigi Strazzoni (May 17, 1909-1914), Arnaldo Vanoli (1919-1925), Carlo Rossi (1925-1927), Joseph Foriero (1927-1934) and Carlo Celotto (1934-1940). The construction record began with the laying of a cornerstone for a church on August 2, 1891. On December 20, 1891, Bishop Ryan dedicated a two-story building, the top floor of which served as worship space while the bottom floor housed the rectory and school. The parish opened a separate rectory on August 9, 1903, and a separate parish school on January 11, 1912.

Saint Anthony, Chicago. In 1903, Archbishop James Edward Quigley sent Father Orazio D'Andrea to the Kensington, or Roseland, district of Chicago to take a census of Italian Catholics and to open a parish. Father D'Orazio opened at temporary chapel at 160 East Kensington Avenue in June 1903. In November 1903, the parishioners selected a site for a new church, the northwest corner of Kensington and Prairie Avenues. The cornerstone was laid in June of 1904, and the church dedicated in September of the same year. At this point, Sisters of the Sacred Heart came to the parish on Sundays for catechism. A parochial school, staffed by the Sisters of Saint Joseph of La Grange, Illinois, was dedicated on August 23, 1914. Until 1922, the Archdiocese of Chicago subsidized the parish. In June of that year, the archdiocese announced it was ending the subsidy. Father D'Andrea resigned, and the Scalabrinians took the parish. Scalabrinian pastors included Michael Favero (1922-1933), Ugo Cavicchi (1933-1935), Joseph Chiminello (1935-1947), Emil Donanzan (September 1963-June 1964), Florian Girometta (June, 1964-1978), and Dino Dai-Zovi (November 1, 1978-). The parish construction record under the Scalabrinians starts with a redecoration of the church interior, which was blessed June 8, 1934. The church interior burned December 13, 1935. Groundbreaking for an addition to the school took place February 13, 1950, and the completed project was dedicated on December 17, 1950. On September 16, 1954, a new convent at 11515 South Prairie Avenue was dedicated. On August 20, 1961, a new church on the northeast corner of Kensington and Indiana Avenues was dedicated. On August 21, 1967, anew rectory at 11533 South Prairie Avenue was dedicated. Saint Anthony's serves two ethnic groups; Italians, who have an Italian Cultural and Communication Center, and Mexicans.

Saint Anthony, Everett. In the 1920s, Italian laity residing in Everett, Massachusetts, led by Messers. Orazio Rocco, Antonio Dragone and Celestino Pierotti, appealed to William

Cardinal O'Connell for an Italian parish in Everett. Cardinal O'Connell asked the Scalabrinians to take the new parish, and the congregation assigned Luigi Buggini as the first pastor. In 1927, a building known as the old Broadway Theatre was rented, and under Messrs. Pierotti and Accurzio Indelicato, it was renovated for a church. The first mass was offered on April 1, 1928, Palm Sunday. During the time period covered in this book, Saint Anthony's had one other pastor, Giovanni Peona, who served from September 1933, until his death February 19, 1944. The building record during that time included the renovation of the church in 1932, and the purchase of the rectory at 38 Oakes Street, also in 1932.

Saint Anthony, Fredonia. In 1901, Bishop Charles Colton of Buffalo requested that the Scalabrinians, who were already represented in his diocese, extend their work to Fredonia. The church cornerstone was laid September 10, 1905, the building completed in 1906. Pastors to 1953 included: Teofilo Glesasz (1906-1910), auxiliary Giovanni Prosseda (1910-1915), Arnold Vanoli (March, 1915-April, 1920), Domenico Belliotti (to 1930), and Pio Parolin (1934-1953). On February 24, 1953, the church building burnt to the ground. A new church on the same site was dedicated July 15, 1953. On January 1, 1976, the Scalabrinians turned over the parish to diocesan clergy.

Saint Anthony, Hamilton. Saint Anthony's was the mother church of the Scalabrinian mission in Hamilton, Ontario, Canada. Giovanni E. Bonomi, a Scalabrinian, came from Boston to Hamilton on March 6, 1908. He organized an Italian congregation at the chapel of Saint Mary's old cathedral on the corner of Park and Sheaf Streets. Saint Anthony's was established in 1910. Ground for the church was broken in 1911. The church was dedicated on May 20, 1911. In 1933, Saint Anthony's was reclassified as a mission of nearby Saint Ann's, and an Italian-speaking diocesan priest from Saint Ann's attended to the needs of Saint Anthony's. In 1948, Saint Anthony's was reclassified again, this time as a parish. In 1975, the Scalabrinians began to staff it again.

Saint Anthony, New Haven. This parish was created from that of Saint Michael the Archangel. In 1903, Archbishop Michael Tierney of Hartford asked Saint Michael's pastor, Bartolomeo Marenchino, to organize a second parish for New Haven Italians. The name was chosen to honor Father Marenchino's devotion to the saint and possibly because Saint Anthony was the hometown patron of a portion of the Italians who had relocated to New Haven. The pastors to 1979 were Marenchino (1904-1925), Silvio Sartori (June 1925-November 1950), Guido Ferronato (November, 1950-October, 1957), Tarcisio Prevedello (October, 1957-September, 1964), Attilio Bordignon (October, 1964-October, 1973), Vincent Lo Savio (October, 1973-January, 1978), and Mario Bordignon (1978-). Construction included the church itself, located on the corner of Gold Street and Washington Avenue (dedicated March 5, 1904), a parochial school on Gold Street (dedicated August 30, 1936), a convent (the parish purchased the former Ukrainian Hall on Lafayette Street in October 1944, and renovated it), and a basement shrine chapel for Saint Anthony (dedicated in 1975).

Saint Anthony, Somerville. Italians began appearing in Somerville, Massachusetts, in 1890. In 1915, Nazareno Properzi, then a curate at Sacred Heart, was assigned to gather Somerville's Italians into a congregation. Father Properzi secured a building at the corner of School Street and Somerville Avenue, where he had both living and worship space. He said the first mass at the new parish on August 1, 1915. In June of 1916, he secured a lot on which to build and in November of that year work commenced on the new church. Dedication of the nearly finished church basement took place on February 11, 1917. In June of 1921, Father Properzi purchased a second lot on which to build a new rectory, so that he could complete the construction of the church on the first lot. The upper church was dedicated October 4, 1925. Father Properzi continued to serve as pastor throughout the time period covered in this research.

Saint Bartholomew, Providence, Rhode Island. Saint Bartholomew's story began when migrants from Vairano Patenora, Caserta, Campania, resettled in the Silver Lake district of Providence, Rhode Island. In 1902, a delegation called on Domenico Belliotti of Holy Ghost regarding a parish. In the fall of 1905, trustees purchased property at the intersection of Moorfield and Murray Streets and Silver Lake Avenue. In July 1906, architect A. Murphy presented drawings. In September 1906, Famiglietti Contractors began construction. Bishop Matthew Harkins dedicated the completed church September 22, 1907. The congregation chose Saint Bartholomew as its patron because he was the patron saint of their hometown. At this point, Saint Bartholomew was a chapel tended by Holy Ghost. While it had this status, a series of Holy Ghost curates tended the chapel: Vittorio Gregori (1907-1908), Nicola Armento (1908-1910) and Leonard Quaglia (1910-1916). Under Father Quaglia, Saint Bartholomew became an independent parish. Its pastors during the period researched here were: Francesco Berti (for seven months between 1916 and 1917), Vittorio Cangiano (1917-1920), Flaminio Parenti (1920-1922), and Pietro Gorret (1922-1949).

Saint Callistus, Chicago. In response to Mr. James Pacelli's complaint that a self-styled "messenger of God" was celebrating mass at the former Baptist church on DeKalb Street, George Cardinal Mundelein authorized the erection of Saint Callistus. William A. Murphy, an Italian-speaking secular priest became the first pastor in 1910. In June 1929, Father Murphy took ill, and John A. Keating succeeded him as pastor. On Holy Thursday, 1931, Father Keating was transferred to Sacred Heart, Joliet, and the Scalabrinians took Saint Callistus. Scalabrinian pastors during the period under review here were Ugo Cavicchi (1931-1933), Anthony Cogo (1933-1939), Silvio Zanoni (1939-1942), Luigi Bolzan (1942-1949), Lawrence Dal Bon (1949-1956), Peter Sordi (1956-1965-), Valerio Baggio (1964-1969), Salvino Zanon (1969-1973), and Alex Peloso (September 5, 1973-). The parish dedicated a church at 2185 DeKalb Street October 19, 1919. On August 5, 1925, it laid the cornerstone for a church-school complex. Father Cavicchi remodeled part of the school for a convent. Father Cogo dedicated a separate convent in February 12, 1939, established a mission in honor of Frances X. Cabrini on Sacramento Boulevard in 1940, and built a grotto in honor of Our Lady of Lourdes. Father Zanon built a convent at 2189 West Bowler Street. Father Dal Bon dedicated an addition to the school October 14, 1955.

Father Sordi dedicated a new rectory at 2167 West Bowler. Ethnic groups serviced include Italians, who have had a Saint Joseph's Day Table since 1954, and Spanish-speaking people. The teaching sisters are Missionary Sisters of Saint Charles.

Saint Charles Borromeo, Stone Park. When on May 9, 1937, Sacred Heart Seminary opened, Catholics in Stone Park began attending mass there. In 1942, Sacred Heart rector Florian Girometta surveyed the neighborhood for a parish. A prefabricated building was erected at 37th Avenue and Soffel Street and dedicated November 4, 1943. Pastors after Girometta include: John De Vito (October, 1953-1956), Emil Donanzan (1956-September, 1963), Thomas Carlesimo (1963-1969), Peter Rigo (1969-1975), and Angelo Moscato (July 16, 1975). Construction included a new rectory at 1637 North 37th Avenue (completed during Emil Donanzan's term), a school (opened September 3, 1945), the remodeling of the old rectory for a convent, a church (dedicated November 25, 1961), and the remodeling of the prefabricated building for a social center. The Mantellate Sisters of Mary Immaculate of Blue Island, Illinois, taught from 1945 to 1961, when the Missionary Zelatrices of the Sacred Heart took the school.

Saint Frances Cabrini, Chicago. In August 1936, Anthony Cogo organized Saint Callistus mission on the second floor of the Granata Funeral Home, 900 South Sacramento Boulevard, in the Lawndale section. He was formally appointed pastor of the new parish of Blessed Frances Cabrini in 1940. The record of Scalabrinian pastors is: Florian Girometta (October 1953-September, 1959), Anthony Cogo again (1959-1964), Joseph Scopa (1964-1965), and Charles La Verde (1965-1968). The Scalabrinians' construction record begins with a church, dedicated March 29, 1942. A rectory was purchased at 743 South Sacramento Boulevard during Father Cogo's first tenure. The school, staffed by Missionary Sisters of the Sacred Heart, was dedicated November 25, 1951. The Missionaries' convent, at 2944 West Polk Street, was dedicated October 23, 1957. The Scalabrinians served two ethnic groups at the parish, Italians, and Hispanics. In 1968, the Scalabrinians withdrew, and the archdiocese began staffing the parish with secular clergy.

Saint Francis, Detroit. Lombards began arriving in Detroit in the 1880s, Sicilians thereafter. Beniamino Berto founded a parish for them under the name of Saint Francis in a chapel on Saint Joseph Street between Russell and Riopelle Streets. On October 31, 1896, Francesco Beccherini came to the parish. On August 7, 1898, he laid the cornerstone for a new church at 1035 Brewster Street. The church was dedicated November 20, 1898. The School Sisters of Notre Dame opened a school on Eliot Street on September 11, 1914. The sisters got a convent at 1320 Wilkins Street in 1915. The cornerstone was laid for a new school October 22, 1922, and the new building was occupied September 10, 1923. Father Beccherini retired in 1943, to be followed by a non-Scalabrinian, Emil Capano. Fire ravaged the church April 24, 1944. The school closed June 12, 1952. In 1956, the Italians planned to move the parish itself out of the neighborhood, closer to suburbs where many of them now lived.

Saint Joachim, New York. The first Scalabrinian parish in the United States. Its pastors were: Felice Morelli (1888-1893), Giuseppe Strumia (1893-1898), Oreste Alussi (March 1898-April, 1902), Ludovico Martinelli (September, 1902-June, 1904), Pietro Santipolo (June, 1904-April, 1905 - officially, actually, Antonio Demo began overseeing parish affairs late in 1904), Giovanni Battista Cuneo (May, 1905-May, 1906), Paul Poggi (May 22, 1906-December, 1906), and Vincenzo Jannuzzi (1907-1936), and Arnaldo Vanoli (1936-1950). The parish began meeting at a former Presbyterian church on Roosevelt Street; in November 1889, it moved to 22 Roosevelt Street. The parish closed in 1958.

Saint John the Baptist, Rome. The Scalabrinian connection with this upstate New York parish was through Giuseppe Panesi, pastor from 1917 to 1927.

Saint Joseph, New York. Saint Joseph's developed out of Saint Joachim's. In 1908, Saint Joachim's pastor, Vincenzo Jannuzzi, opened a chapel dedicated to Saint Rocco at 18 Catherine Slip. As the congregation grew, Father Jannuzzi closed Saint Rocco's chapel and opened a new one, dedicated to Saint Joseph, at 64 Catherine Street. The cornerstone for a complete parish plant was laid November 23, 1923. The completed project was dedicated June 28, 1925. The teachers at the new parochial school were Missionary Zelatrices (now Apostles) of the Sacred Heart. Father Jannuzzi relinquished his position at Saint Joachim's to devote his full attention to Saint Joseph. When Father Jannuzzi left for Italy in 1926, Father Rafael Larcher succeeded him at Saint Joseph's, and stayed until 1939.

Saint Lazarus, East Boston. Francesco Zaboglio began attending the Italian community at Orient Heights in 1892. First masses were celebrated at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Frank De Marchi, 35 Leyden Street. In May 1892, the first meeting was held to plan to build a chapel. The first chapel opened in 1892 at 121 Leyden Street. The congregation took as its patron a saintly bishop of Milan. The chapel became a parish in 1904. Rectory construction began in 1906 at 125 Leyden Street. Pastors through 1967 include: Francis Morassi (1904-1905 and 1908-1911), Giovanni Battista Cuneo (1906-1908), Ludovico Toma (October 1911-July 9, 1961), and Settimo Basso (August 22, 1961). Construction included a church building (dedicated November 11, 1923), parochial school (completed October 1927), convent (completed October 1938), new rectory on Ashley Street (purchased 1951), Our Lady of Fatima Shrine (blessed May 30, 1954), and the Reverend Louis Toma Youth Center (dedicated April 5, 1959).

Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, Utica. Italians arrived in Utica in the early 1880s while building the West Shore Railroad in the Mohawk Valley. Bishop Patrick Ludden requested Father John S. M. Lynch of Saint John's care for the Italians. Father Lynch recruited Cecelia Repetti Keman and Father Antonio Castelli, who in 1887 came to Utica as assistant at Saint Agnes. The parish was incorporated July 24, 1895. Land at the corner of Catherine and Jay Streets was purchased August 3, 1895. Work commenced on the basement but was halted June 16, 1896, when the costs exceeded means and the lay trustees disagreed as to how to handle the situation. Work resumed after one faction withdrew from the board of trustees December 14, 1896. On April 26, 1901, trustees

purchased adjacent land for a school. Bishop Scalabrini blessed the cornerstone of the church September 15, 1901, and sent the first Scalabrinian, Giuseppe Formia, in 1902. The church opened for worship June 29, 1902. Father Castelli died October 23, 1903. Scalabrinian pastors included Formia (1903-1921), Giovanni Marchegiani (June 12, 1921-1932) and Guglielmo Pizzoglio (who succeeded Marchegiani). Construction included a parochial school, which opened in 1904. The Sisters of Saint Francis of Syracuse, the parish schoolteachers, lived first in a house six blocks from the school, then in unused classrooms in the school itself, and, after 1909, in a building adjacent to the school which had been purchased by a Mr. Joseph Tomaino and rented to the nuns. The parish purchased Mr. Tomaino's building for a convent during Father Marchegiani's administration.

Saint Michael, Melrose Park. Lucchese and Pistoians came to work at the McCormick factory in 1880s; Italians from Friulani and Undine arrived about 1900. At first, they attended the Servites' Assumption parish across town. Father Edward Dunne arranged for Italian services at Saint Pius's subsidiary chapel. Archbishop James Edward Quigley assigned Father V. Diaferia to organize a parish in 1903. The Scalabrinians came in 1904. Scalabrinian pastors to 1953 were M. Gembrini (October, 1904-September, 1908), Joseph Tonello (October, 1908-July 1909), P. Perardi (July, 1909-February, 1913), Anthony Teta (February, 1913-1915), Luigi Valetto (1915-1919), David Angeli (1919-1921), John Quaglia (1921-1922), John Peona (1922), Orazio D'Andrea (1922), Cesar Molinari (1922-1933), Pietro Bianchetta (1933-1949), Luigi Donanzan (1949-1963), Sylvan Bosi (1963-1973), Italo Scola (1973-1974), and Valentino Alberton (September 25, 1974). The parish began meeting at a former Swedish Evangelical Church at 2325 West 24th Place, Melrose Park, in October 1903. A school was dedicated at 2315 West 24th Place June 29, 1955. A convent was erected at 2323 West 24th Place.

Saint Michael the Archangel, New Haven. Italians began arriving in New Haven in the 1870s. In 1884, a delegation, led by Paul Russo, Esq., approached Bishop Lawrence McMahon of Hartford about a pastor. In 1885, the bishop appointed a Father D. Riviaccio to the Italian apostolate, but the priest soon left the city. Bishop McMahon then requested the Scalabrinians provide clergy. The parish was authorized September 1, 1889. It was dedicated to the patron saint of Gioia Sannitica, Caserta, whence many parishioners came. Pastors to 1979 included: Vincent Astorri (September 1, 1889-February 25, 1890), Oreste Alussi (February 25, 1890-August 16, 1894), Francesco Beccherini (August 16, 1894-June 3, 1895), Louis Lango (1898-December, 1900), Bartolomeo Marenchino (December 1900-October 1904), Francesco Moretti (October-November, 1904), Oreste Alussi (December, 1904-September, 1916), Leonardo Quaglia (September, 1916-May 25, 1949), Raphael Larcher (May 25, 1949-1951), Ugo Cavicchi (1951-April 19, 1954), Francis Minchiatti (April 19, 1954-September 28, 1964), Guido Caverzan (September 28, 1964-January 28, 1967), Joseph Bizzotto (January 28, 1967-November 24, 1974), Thomas Carlesimo (January 1976-November 3, 1978), and Tarcisio Bagatin (1979-). Prior to the authorization of the parish, the Italians met for mass with Father Riviaccio in the basement of Saint Patrick's on Grand and Wallace Streets, at a chapel on Union Avenue

near Chapel Street, and on the seventh floor of a building on Chapel and State Streets. Father Astorri began work at a former Lutheran church on Wooster and Brewery Streets. In 1898, the congregation moved to an 1852 Congregational church at 29 Wooster Street; the building had to be remodeled extensively after a destructive fire in January 1904. Other construction included: Saint Michael's Hall at Greene and Chestnut Streets (completed 1923), a parochial school at 234 Greene Street (opened September 1940), and renovation of the church, sacristy and rectory and creation of a new Saints' Chapel (1951). The Sister Apostles of the Sacred Heart arrived in the parish July 6, 1906. They began work at 81 Olive Street. In 1907, they moved to 134 Chestnut Street, and in 1908 to 125 Greene Street; later they also purchased the adjacent 121 Greene Street. The sisters began with day care. In 1908, they moved into work with female orphans, which they continued until 1938. In 1940, they became the parochial schoolteachers.

Saint Peter's, Syracuse. Italians working on the Weehawken-Buffalo Railroad began settling in Syracuse in the 1880s. In 1890, they petitioned the apostolic delegate for a priest. Apostolic Delegate Francesco Satolli had recruited a Father Nicola Minnella for the United States; Gherardo Ferrante of the Archdiocese of New York directed him to Syracuse. The Italians began meeting in the basement of Father Michael Dunn's parish, Saint John the Evangelist. The Scalabrinians were then invited to take the parish, and Domenico Vicentini visited May 19, 1895. Pastors to 1955 include Francesco Beccherini (June 3, 1895-September 20, 1896), auxiliary Cajetan Orlando (September 20, 1896-August 1, 1899), auxiliary Victor Sovilla (August 1899-July 21, 1900), auxiliary Eugene Ostino (July 21, 1900-December, 1904), Francesco Morassi (December, 1904-November, 1907), Giovanni Battista Cuneo (November, 1907-October, 1914), Pio Parolin (1914-1922), V. Rossi (1923-), Agostino Lazarin (1924-), Angelo Strazzoni (1924-1950), and Louis A. Riello (1950-1955). The parish purchased a German Lutheran church (also called Saint Peter), on State Street and Burnet Avenue, June 24, 1895. Bishop Patrick Ludden dedicated it for Catholic worship October 6, 1895. The parish paid off its mortgage in 1916. A fire destroyed the interior in 1937, and sometime thereafter New York Center Railroad laid tracks adjacent to the church, disturbing services. Building engineers pronounced the church unsafe, and the parish dedicated a new church at Catherine and Willow Streets on September 18, 1955.

Saint Rita, Milwaukee. In 1936, Italians attending Our Lady of Pompei in Milwaukee began studying the feasibility of a second church and a school at North Cass and East Pleasant Streets. In 1937, a basement chapel was completed, the first mass offered, and Gregory Zanon, who was that year appointed pastor of Pompei, left the duties at that parish to Father Joseph Bolzan so as to devote his full time to Saint Rita's. The full church was finished in 1938, and Pompei officially divided into two parishes in 1941. In 1959, Salvino Zanon, already pastor of Saint Rita's became administrator, dedicated to Saint Rita of Cascia, of Pompei; thus, the founding parish became subsidiary to the new one. In 1963, Italo Scola succeeded Father Zanon in both positions. In 1967, Our Lady of Pompei was demolished, so the next pastor, Joseph Vicentini, who arrived in 1973, was pastor only of Saint Rita's. On November 20, 1985, Father Vicentini's successor, Albert Corradin, transferred the parish from the Scalabrinians to secular clergy.

Saint Rocco, Thornton. Plans for this parish were first laid in 1901. Bishop Matthew Harkins asked the Reverend Domenico Belliotti to organize a congregation for the Italians of Thornton, Rhode Island, and Father Belliotti gave the work to his assistant, Antonio Bove. When Father Bove was transferred to Saint Ann's, Father Belliotti resumed work at Saint Rocco's. He became the first official pastor in 1903 and continued in that capacity until 1907. His successors were Giuseppe Gotti (1907-1918), Francesco Berti (1918-1921), David Angeli (1921-1924), Silvio Sartori (1924-1925), Bartolomeo Marenchino (1925-1939) and Raffaele Larcher (1939-1949).

Saint Tarcisius, Framingham. Several stories are told about the origins of Saint Tarcisius. In early accounts, Pietro Maschi was in Framingham, Massachusetts, on July 23, 1906, when a building under construction collapsed. Father Maschi rushed to the scene to administer the sacraments to dying workers pulled from the rubble and found the first such victim was his brother. Other accounts do not put Father Maschi on the scene of the building collapse but bring him to town later for his brother's funeral. The connection between the building collapse, Father Maschi's acquaintance with Framingham, and the decision to build a church is sure. Father Maschi himself wanted to name the parish for Saint Tarcisius, to whom he had been devoted since his youth. Saint Tarcisius held its first mass August 4, 1907. At this point, the congregation met on the third floor of the Tribune Building on Irving Street. Land was purchased in May of 1908, and the first mass said in the completed church in December of 1909. A church fire on January 4, 1918, necessitated rebuilding. Father Maschi was pastor throughout the period under research. Upon his death on June 3, 1948, Giuseppe Berton became pastor.

Santa Lucia, Chicago. In 1943, when Chinatown was growing up around Santa Maria Incoronata, its pastor, Giuseppe Lazzeri, bought a community hall at 3022 South Wells Street, and named it Santa Lucia chapel. Parish activities transferred there in 1951. Scalabrinian pastors: Adam Torresan (1949-1960), Dino Dai Zovi (1960-1969), Angelo Carbone (1969-1978), Luciano Morselli (administrator, 1978-May 30, 1979), and Peter Gondolfi. Building activity included a school at 3017 Wells Street, dedicated October 27, 1961, and staffed by School Sisters of Notre Dame. In 1963, the Scalabrinians merged Santa Maria Incoronata with Santa Lucia under the titles of both, with the church at the Wells Street location.

Santa Maria Addolorata, Chicago. Sicilians, Tuscans, Piedmontese, and Venetians settled in near northwest Chicago. Archbishop James Edward Quigley purchased Trinity Norwegian Lutheran Church on Grand Avenue and Peoria Street and in 1903 sent Anthony D'Ercole as pastor. The Scalabrinians came in 1905. Scalabrinians at the parish were: Giacomo Gambera (May 6, 1905-1921), Dominic Canestrini (July 15, 1921-1927), Peter Gazzaniga (1927-1929), Ugo Cavicchi (1929-1931), Joseph Bernardi (1931-1947), Gregory Zanoni (1947-July 1949), Mario Albanese (1949-1952), Joseph Bolzan (1952), Alex Peloso (August, 1952-october; 1967), Peter Tessaro (October 1967-1969), Dino Dai-Zovi (1969-

November 1, 1978), and Delizio J. Articobec (November 1, 1978-). The church began with a building which had been constructed in 1865. This building was destroyed by fire January 9, 1931, and the parish bought Our Savior Norwegian Evangelical Lutheran Church at May and Erie Streets, which had been constructed in 1871. It opened for Catholic worship Easter Sunday, April 5, 1931. Father Cavicchi purchased a new rectory at 648 North May Street. In 1930, he opened the first parochial school, staffed by Daughters of Saint Mary of Providence, an order Father Gambera had originally brought to the church to tend to the day nursery. Under Father Bernardi, a new rector was purchased at 648 North May Street, and Sacred Heart Seminary opened in the old one at 909 West Grand Avenue on September 8, 1935. A new school at 1337 West Ohio Street opened in 1956. The School Sisters of Saint Francis, Milwaukee, took over school duties in 1960, moving into a convent at 1216 West Grand Avenue. A new church on the northwest corner of Ohio and Ada Streets was dedicated July 10, 1960. A new rectory was opened at 528 North Ada Street. The Scalabrinians have served two ethnic groups at the parish, Italians, and Spanish-speaking.

Santa Maria Incoronata, Chicago. Italians relocated from Ricigliano, Salerno, to the area around the corner of State and Taylor Streets. The nearest pastor was Daniel Riordan of Saint John's on 18th and Clark Streets, but he did not have the language skills to minister to his new parishioners. In 1896, a Father Orazio Mangone came to Chicago and rallied the Riciglianesi around a hometown patroness, Santa Maria Incoronata. He collected money for a statue, which arrived in 1897 and which was used to convince Father Riordan to hold a feast day celebration at Saint John's September 19 of that year. The next step was to get a parish, which was done with the help of a benefactress, a Mrs. Mollie V O'Neil Cleary, who agreed to pay the rent on a building at Twenty-First and State Streets. The statue of Santa Maria Incoronata moved to the church of the parish named for her on November 26, 1899. Father Mangone died of asphyxiation, January 18, 1903. The Archdiocese of Chicago tried using a non-Italian secular priest, Edward Keough, at Incoronata, but the parishioners objected. Archbishop Quigley asked the Scalabrinians to take the parish. Riccardo Lorenzoni arrived and went to work leading the parishioners in getting a new church building; the statue was transferred to the new church on Alexander Street December 8, 1904. Scalabrinian pastors until 1979 were Father Lorenzoni (1904-1919), Carlo Delbecchi (1919-1922), Giovanni Peona (1922-1932), Cesare Molinari (1932), Giovanni Ferrari (1932), Michele Favero (1933-1934), Giuseppe Lazzeri (1934-1949), Adam Torreson (1949-1960), Dino Dai Zovi (1960-1969), Angelo Carbone (1969-1978), Luciano Morselli (administrator, 1979—May 30, 1979), and Peter Gondolfi. Construction included a school which stood at 239 West 25th Place, it was dedicated September 27, 1953. The school burned November 21., 1967. Incoronata has served two ethnic groups; Italians and Chinese. The latter began attending mass September 4, 1960. In 1963, the building formerly occupied by Incoronata became part of Saint Therese Chinese Mission. The Scalabrinians withdrew, reforming the parish as Santa Maria Incoronata-Santa Lucia at 3022 South Wells Street.

Archival Sources

Archives of the Archdiocese of Boston, 2121 Commonwealth Avenue, Brighton, Massachusetts 02135-3193.

Record Group 5.3, Box 6, Folders 6-25. Correspondence between the chancery and Sacred Heart, the Scalabrinians' parish in Boston's North End.

Record Group 5.3, Box 15, Folder 11. Correspondence between the chancery and Saint Lazarus, the Scalabrinians' parish in East Boston's Orient Heights.

Record Group 5.3, Box 22, Folders 6-20. Correspondence between the chancery and Our Lady of Czestochowa, the pastor of which, John Chmielinski, came to the United States as a Scalabrinian.

Record Group 5.3, Box 40, Folders 1-2. Correspondence between the chancery and Saint Anthony of Padua, Everett, Massachusetts, a Scalabrinian parish.

Record Group 5.3, Box 41, Folders 1-4. Correspondence between the chancery and Saint Tarcisius, the Scalabrinians' parish in Framingham.

Record Group 5.3, Box 70, Folders 14-16. Correspondence between the chancery and Saint Anthony of Padua, Somerville, Massachusetts, a Scalabrinian parish.

Archives of the Archdiocese of Detroit, 1234 Washington Boulevard, Detroit, Michigan 48226.

Has files on the priests of the diocese by the name of the priest, and also a collection of parish histories. Specifically, it has material on Francesco Beccherini, who came to the United States as a Scalabrinian.

Archives of the Archdiocese of New York, Saint Joseph Seminary, 201 Seminary Avenue, Yonkers, New York 10704.

The papers of Archbishop Michael Augustine Corrigan (coadjutor from 1889 to 1885 and archbishop from 1885 to 1902), James Cardinal Farley (archbishop from 1902 to 1918) and Patrick Cardinal Hayes (archbishop from 1918 to 1938) are on microfilm. It is best to prepare for one's trip to this archives by making an inclusive list of every individual or institution that might appear in any of these archbishops' papers, as the finding guides consists of drawers full of index cards organized alphabetically by the last names of individuals and the names of institutions.

Archives of the Diocese of Cleveland, Chancery Building, 1027 Superior Avenue, Cleveland, Ohio 44114.

In 1992 the archivists sent material regarding Holy Rosary parish.

Archives of the Diocese of Kansas City—St. Joseph, PG. Box 419037, Kansas City, Missouri, 64141-4037.

The archivist was good enough to photocopy published materials regarding Holy Rosary.

Archives of the Diocese of Wheeling—Charleston, Sister Celestine, Diocesan Archivist, Po. Box 230, Wheeling, West Virginia 26003.

Sister was good and trusting enough to send along an original copy of Everett F. Briggs, Fifty-Year Anniversary, 1907-1957: Catholics Churches of Monongah, West Virginia, St. Stanislaus Church, Our Lady of Pompei Church, Monongah Disaster (N.p., 1957).

Center for Migration Studies, 209 Flagg Place, Staten Island, New York 10304.

Collection No. 005. The Saint Raphael Society for the Protection of Italian Immigrants, 12 boxes. This collection contains the record of the New York office, which operated from 1891 to 1923. It also contains the copybooks Antonio Demo used from 1909 to 1917. Copybooks were blank books filled with special sheets of paper; one could make a copy of a particular letter by writing that letter on a piece of stationery placed atop a blank sheet of paper. However, the copybook preserved the letters in the order in which the blank sheets were used. Since Demo was at one point in charge of the Saint Raphael Society, Our Lady of Pompei parish, and the eastern province, letters regarding all three subjects are in these copybooks. Collection No. 021. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Holy Ghost, Providence, Rhode Island, 3 boxes. In this and in most of the parish collections that follow, the basic arrangement identifies published primary sources such as parish histories and souvenir books, financial records, photographs, and private written documents.

Collections No. 022 and No. 041, 5 boxes altogether. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Bartholomew, Silver Lake, Providence, Rhode Island.

Collection No. 035, 14 boxes. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Joseph, New York City. This parish was founded in 1925 but grew out of Saint Rocco chapel (founded 1908), which in turn grew out of Saint Joachim parish (founded 1888). This particular collection has a good set of records regarding the construction of the building which houses both church and school.

Collection No. 037. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Our Lady of Pompei, New York City, 61 boxes. Antonio Demo was from 1899 to 1933 pastor of this parish, and his papers make up the bulk of this collection. There is a file of incoming mail that sheds much light on parishioners' interests and parish management, and other files on fundraisers and building programs. As mentioned in Collection No. 005, Demo used a copybook to retain copies of outgoing mail, so some of the mail pertinent to Collection No. 037 is actually in Collection No. 005. About 1919 Demo discovered carbon paper; thereafter he either wrote short remarks on the incoming mail about his replies, or he interfiled carbon copies with his incoming mail.

Collection No. 042. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Tarcisius, Framingham, Massachusetts, 2 boxes.

Collection No. 043. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Lazarus, East Boston, Massachusetts, 2 boxes. This collection contains notes for sermons preached by Father Ludovico Toma, who was pastor of Saint Lazarus from 1911 to 1961.

Collection No. 044. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Anthony of Padua, Somerville, Massachusetts, 2 boxes.

Collection No. 045. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Michael the Archangel, New Haven, Connecticut, 8 boxes.

Collection No. 046. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Peter's, Syracuse, New York, 8 boxes. This has correspondence between Antonio Demo and Pio Parolin for the 1910s. See also collection No. 079.

Collection No. 047. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Anthony, New Haven, 5 boxes.

Collection No. 048. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Our Lady of Pompei, Monongah, West Virginia, 2 boxes.

Collection No. 049. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Anthony of Padua, Buffalo, New York, 2 boxes.

Collection No. 052. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Anthony of Padua, Everett, Massachusetts, 1 box.

Collection No. 053. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Holy Rosary, Kansas City, Missouri, 1 box. Holy Rosary is actually in the western province.

Collection No. 054. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Anthony, Fredonia, New York, 3 boxes.

Collection No. 055. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Western Province, Santa Maria Addolorata, Chicago, 1 box. See also Collection No. 069.

Collection No. 059. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Western Province, Chicago Churches, 2 boxes. This contains records regarding Saint Anthony, Saint Callistus, Saint Lucy, Saint Michael, and Our Lady of Pompei.

Collection No. 060. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Western Province, various Chicago Foundations, 3 boxes. This contains records regarding Saint Charles and Our Lady of Pompei parishes, the Italian Cultural Center Sacred Heart Seminary, and the Villa Scalabrini for the Aged.

Collections No. 061 and No. 061A. Saint Mary of Mount Carmel, Utica, 17 boxes altogether. Although the parish dates back to 1896, it became a Scalabrini parish in 1903.

Collection No. 062. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Sacred Heart, Boston, Massachusetts, 4 boxes.

Collection No. 069. Papers of Father Giacomo Gambera 1 box. This box contains penciled, Italian-language notes for sermons and correspondence for the period 1925-1928, when Gambera was chaplain at Chicago's Columbus Hospital. See also Gambera's published memoir *A Migrant Missionary Story* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1994).

Collection No. 073. Papers of Father Pio Parolin, 1 box. This box contains an Italian-language version of Pio Parolin's memoirs and photographs, newspaper clippings, and personal papers.

Collection No. 074. Scalabrinian Fathers-Primary Source Material: Printed Histories and Related Books or Studies, 14 boxes. This contains rare and hard-to-find books and pamphlets on Scalabrinian history. Collections No. 078 (5 boxes), No. 078A (8 boxes), and No. 078B (6 boxes). Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Provincial Headquarters. These are the records that ended up in the hands of the various provincial superiors of the Society of Saint Charles. The records are arranged in a main collection and two addendums, each unit then arranged by provincial superior. In 078 and 078A, the provincial superiors with numerous papers, have their papers arranged by the name of the person whom the papers concern. In 078B, the provincial superiors with numerous papers have their papers arranged either by year or by place of origin.

Collection No. 079. Scalabrini Fathers in North America, Eastern Province, Saint Joachim, New York City, 8 boxes. Saint Joachim's, founded in 1888, was the Scalabrinians' first parish. Vincent Jannuzzi, pastor from 1907 to 1938 was, by his very longevity, a significant person in stabilizing the Scalabrini community. This collection contains a file of materials on Jannuzzi's participation in World War I, and a file of material on relations between the parish and the various mutual benefit societies in its Lower East Side neighborhood.

Province of Saint John the Baptist, Society of Saint Charles-Scalabrinians, 546 North East Avenue, Oak Park, Illinois 60302.

This has the records of the western province of the Scalabrinians in North America. The records are strongest for the years after 1927. They are organized by province, parish and priest, and include material on parishes the Scalabrinians once staffed but no longer do, and on individuals who were once in the institute but left. There is also a collection of parish and institutional histories.

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