CHAPTER EIGHT

THE GENERALATE OF FATHER IGNA TIUS

SCHWIN DENHAMMER, 1852-1881

1. Introduction

Ignatius Schwindenhammer was born in Ingersheim, Alsace, the eldest son of a pious and respected family. Following his example, his five brothers and sisters all joined religious orders: one brother as a Spiritan priest and another as an agrégé of the Holy Ghost Fathers, the third as a Redemptorist, and his two sisters as nuns in a convent at Amiens. Ignatius himself first met his future superior when Francis Libermann enrolled in the Seminary of Strassburg. In 1843, soon after the founding of the Congregation of the Holy Heart of Mary, he submitted his application for admission. Father Libermann had a very high opinion of this compatriot, for the following year we find him writing to Father Le Vavasseur in Reunion:

N. D. 6, 115

Father Schwindenhammer has just asked me permission to make his promises and his consecration. He is an excellent fellow, highly pious and very capable, a wise adviser and a born administrator. He is destined to remain here and not to go to the missions.

N. D. 10, 105

In 1847, after the death of Bishop Truffet, there was question of sending him to Africa as Vicar Apostolic. However, Libermann made it clear to the Propaganda that he needed Schwindenhammer, so that in the end Father Kobès was appointed in his stead. In the light of the sharp difference of opinion between these two men five years later, it would be interesting to speculate on what might have happened if their roles had been reversed: Schwindenhammer Vicar Apostolic of the Two Guineas, and Father Kobès Superior General.

In deference to the Venerable's wishes, as we have already seen, Father Schwindenhammer was elected Superior General after Libermann's death. Since 1844, the thirty-four year old Superior had been closely associated with the general administration of the Con-
The Spiritans

gregation. He possessed an intimate knowledge not only of all current affairs affecting it, but of Libermann's intentions and plans as well. Moreover, Le Vavasseur, Libermann's trusted friend and co-founder of the Holy Heart of Mary Congregation, now became Schwindenhammer's first assistant. Lastly, as a further precaution against any tendency to deviate from Libermann's ideas in the future conduct of the Congregation's business, he asked Father Lannurien, the Venerable's secretary and the recipient of many intimate confidences during his last years, to indicate exactly how Libermann had felt about the union with the Holy Ghost Fathers and how this union affected the aims and purposes of the Congregation.

We have already presented the answers Father Libermann and his secretary gave to this question. Hence it is not necessary for us to repeat them here. We may simply summarize them in this way:

1. So-called social works in the homeland fall directly within the scope of the Congregation's purpose.

2. The Congregation must consolidate itself in the homeland against excessive demands from the missions.

3. Although the Congregation wants to retain Africa as its main mission territory, it remains fully responsible for the religious service of the Holy Ghost missions in the old French colonies.

4. Educational works are indirectly in line with the purpose of the Congregation and serve to consolidate its position in the homeland.

2. New Foundations and Their Reasons

After this reminder, let us have a look at what happened under the generalate of Father Schwindenhammer. The tables on pp. 187 ff. tell a graphic story. Of seventy-nine new foundations, thirty-three were in Europe and the United States. Among these, there are nineteen colleges and seminaries, only two of which served exclusively for training aspirants to the Congregation, and in addition there were five social works such as orphanages and industrial schools for juvenile delinquents. Of the forty-five foundations in mission territories, twenty were in Africa, and twenty-five in the West Indies and the old French colonies. Of these overseas foundations, eleven were seminaries and colleges.
The Generalate of Father Ignatius Schwindenhammer

New Foundations established during the generalate of Father Schwindenhammer in Europe and the United States (1852-1881)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Colleges and Seminaries</th>
<th>Social Works</th>
<th>Others</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2. College, Plormerl, France; and</td>
<td>2. Industrial and agricultural schools, Carlan, France</td>
<td>Chaplaincy Brothers</td>
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<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>3. Seminary-College, Gourin, France</td>
<td>3. Industrial and agricultural schools, St. Michel, France</td>
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<td>1855</td>
<td>4. Seminary-College, Cellule, France; and</td>
<td>Orphanage</td>
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<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>5. Seminary-College, Langonnet, France; and</td>
<td>Industrial and agricultural schools</td>
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<td>1858</td>
<td>6. College, Blackrock, Ireland</td>
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<td>1859</td>
<td>7. Senior Seminary, Chevilly, France (for Congregation only); and</td>
<td>Orphanage</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1860</td>
<td>8. Seminary-College, Rockwell, Ireland</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1862</td>
<td>9. Seminary-College, Marienstadt, Germany; and</td>
<td>Orphanage; and</td>
<td>2. Retreat House for clergy, Kaiserswerth, Germany</td>
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<td>1863</td>
<td>10. Junior Seminary, Santarem, Portugal (for Congregation only)</td>
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<td>3. Parish and Shrine, Retreat House, Marienthal, Germany</td>
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<td>1864</td>
<td>11. College, Gibraltar</td>
<td>5. Holy Family Institute, Toulon, France (youth organizations)</td>
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<td>1866</td>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>Colleges and Seminaries</th>
<th>Social Works</th>
<th>Others</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1872</td>
<td>12. Seminary-College, Braga, Portugal</td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Parish, Russia, Ohio</td>
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<td>1873</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>5. Parish, Piqua, Ohio</td>
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<td>1876</td>
<td>15. College, Gravelines, France</td>
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<td>1878</td>
<td>17. Seminary-College, Mesnières, France; and</td>
<td></td>
<td>8. Colony, Arkansas</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>18. Seminary-College, Pittsburgh, Pa.</td>
<td></td>
<td>9. Mission Band, Gourin, France</td>
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<td>19. College, Rambervillers, France</td>
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In all, therefore, thirty colleges and seminaries—an average of one a year—were established under Father Schwindenhammer. Although some of these were of brief duration and others were subsequently combined with existing institutions, quite a number of them have carried on their excellent work down to the present day.

In analyzing the Superior General’s motivation in founding so many non-African works, we learn that:

C. S. 4, 5

1. With respect to the old Holy Ghost Missions, he felt “a kind of obligation in justice.” Moreover, he regarded seminaries in these missions as “directly within the scope of the Congregation.”

2. With respect to seminaries in the homeland, after indicating that they achieve the ends of the Congregation only indirectly, he echoes the words of Father Lannurien:

C. S. 4, 18 f.

It is to be noted that seminaries do not appear to be excluded from the list of works the Congregation may assume. The old Congregation of the Holy Ghost itself had taken charge of seminaries and directed, in addition to that of the Holy Ghost,
The Generalate of Father Ignatius Schwindenhammer

New Foundations established during the generalate of Father Schwindenhammer
in mission territories (1852-1881)

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Colleges and Seminaries</th>
<th>Other Works</th>
<th>In Africa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 1853 | 1. Senior Seminary, Martinique  
2. Seminary, Guadeloupe | 1. Parish, Morne Rouge, Guadeloupe | 1. Station, Rufisque, Senegambia |
| 1858 | 4. Seminary-College, Port of Spain, Trinidad | 3. Orphanage, Trade and Agricultural School, Providence, Reunion | 3. Station, St. Joseph, Senegambia |
| 1864 | | | 9. Bagamoyo Mission, East Africa |
| 1865 | | | |
| 1866 | | | |
| 1867 | 6. College of St. Louis, Mauritius | | |
| 1868 | 7. Seminary-College, Guadeloupe | 11. Parish, St. Croix, Mauritius | |

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<th>Year</th>
<th>Outside Africa</th>
<th>In Africa</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Colleges and Seminaries</td>
<td>Other Works</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873</td>
<td>9. College, Miquelon</td>
<td>13. Parish, Cassis, Mauritius</td>
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<tr>
<td>1875</td>
<td></td>
<td>10. Landana Mission, Congo</td>
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<tr>
<td>1877</td>
<td></td>
<td>11. Station Sediuu, Senegambia</td>
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<td>1878</td>
<td></td>
<td>12. Rio Pungo Station, Sierra Leone</td>
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<td>14. Omarara Mission, South West Africa</td>
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<td>1880</td>
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<td>15. Fadiut Station, Senegambia</td>
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<tr>
<td>1881</td>
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<td>16. Cimbebasia Mission, South West Africa</td>
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<td>17. Central Cape, South Africa</td>
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<tr>
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<td>18. Boma Mission, Belgian Congo</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>19. Carabana Station, Senegambia</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>20. Mandera Mission, East Africa</td>
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</table>

The senior seminaries of Meaux and Verdun. Moreover, our Holy Founder, who so fully possessed the true spirit of Christ's priesthood, would seem to have left in his society the seeds of this priestly life so that it might be developed in the Church at a time indicated by divine Providence.

3. As to the colleges, he repeatedly emphasized that they serve "to consolidate and develop the Congregation and its work" and "bring in recruits."

4. Regarding the foundation of colleges and other works in Ireland, Germany, the United States, and Portugal, he cited not only the personal desire of Father Libermann to see the Holy Ghost Fathers spread to these countries, but also the necessity of having non-French personnel to staff missions in foreign colo-
The Generalate of Father Ignatius Schwindenhammer

B. G. 3, 7 ff. Moreover, he pointed out the dangers of being at the mercy of the French government and this would be almost a certainty if the Spiritans remained restricted to France.

3. The Two Guineas

a. The Conflict with Bishop Kobès

The table on p. 189 shows another striking phenomenon. Between 1852 and 1862 only one small station was opened in Africa. Schwindenhammer preferred to go slow in Africa. We learn the reason for this caution from his circular letters of 1853:

C. S. 3, 14

1. The enormous loss of personnel in Africa: of the seventy-four missionaries sent out since 1842, twenty had died and fifteen others had to be permanently withdrawn. These losses were so heavy that a continuation of them would have prevented the Congregation from developing and thus would have ultimately tended to destroy the mission itself.

C. S. 3, 15

2. The heavy financial burden of these missions, a liability which the Congregation could ill afford to increase. By sending nearly every available man to Africa, the Congregation sacrificed income for support of the central administration and thereby found it impossible to consolidate its position.

C. S. 3, 15

3. The instability of the missions. Death, sickness and plunder had caused the closure of seven out of thirteen stations. A careful reappraisal of the situation was in order.

C. S. 4, 7

4. The discredit which the loss of so many young lives brought on the Congregation. Under conditions prevailing at the time, only the most heroic souls would seek entrance, and such heroic souls were few and far between.

cf. p. 128 ff. Father Libermann himself had advised a slow-down on the African enterprise for fear of destroying the Congregation. Nevertheless, as was natural, the reaction of the men in Africa was most unfavorable toward retrenchment. Even while Father Libermann himself was still alive, the African missionaries registered strong protests against a diversification of works. In 1845, for instance, when he embarked on the Australian venture, there had been a particularly violent outburst of anger, for which Father
Arragon had bluntly assumed the position of spokesman. Similarly Bishop Kobés argued vehemently that the Congregation should be nothing more than a source of personnel for the African missions. To his way of thinking, only a skeleton staff was to be retained at the Motherhouse; anyone else not in Africa was a walking demonstration that the Spiritans had deviated from their original purpose. The African missionaries insisted on the abandonment of the old Holy Ghost missions, the closure of Holy Ghost Seminary, the return to Notre Dame du Gard, and the withdrawal from all other establishments of the Congregation except those in Africa! This obstinacy in putting Africa first made Father Collin, one of Libermann's first two novices, compare Bishop Kobés to "a savage who, in order to get at the fruits of a tree, cuts it down by the very root."

It must be admitted, of course, that Bishop Kobés had ambitious plans for Africa and therefore wanted a good deal of manpower. He had projected missions at a distance of five leagues all over his immense territory: a dozen between Dakar and Senegal, another dozen between Dakar and Albreda, and a whole string along the Senegal river. His colleague, Father Boulanger, the Prefect Apostolic of Senegal, demanded six men for St. Louis alone. However, in Bishop Kobés' projects there was not enough systematic planning. He was particularly unfortunate in his choice of centers wherein new stations were to be established. When he died in 1872, only four of the stations in his territory had survived the continuous disasters and misfortunes which kept harassing him in everything he undertook.

In his argument with Father Schwindenhammer, despite long letters of explanation to and fro, little progress was made toward a solution. In the hope that a personal interview would be more productive, therefore, the Bishop accepted an invitation to come to Paris and discuss the affair. Long conferences followed in which both men appealed to Libermann's intentions to justify their respective positions. Still there was no agreement. If anything, the misunderstanding was intensified by a sharp difference of opinion regarding the Ecclesiastical Superior's position and the Motherhouse's responsibility in matters pertaining to the missions and the missionaries. Later, however, Bishop Kobés had long conversations with several prominent confreres for whom he had great esteem, such as Fathers Le Vavasseur, Lannurien and Collin.
At last he began to realize that the Superior General was not alone in his position and that the missionaries' fears for Africa were entirely groundless. In a letter of March, 1854, Father Collin happily records the return of peace:

I have restricted myself to pointing out that the general meeting, held after the retreat, had taken place in the best of spirits and in perfect harmony; that the resolutions taken there must be regarded as the expression of the whole Congregation; that the new works undertaken are indispensable because of our circumstances; and finally that the African mission is not the Congregation, but only one of its works. We were in perfect agreement on all this.

Shortly after, Bishop Kobès returned to Dakar, reassured and confident. Although Father Schwindenhammer's circular letters, in which we find numerous echoes of this conflict, continued to annoy him somewhat, and although he never did obtain all the personnel he wanted, he was now much better adjusted to the situation. Without entirely changing his viewpoint, he appears to have resigned himself to let the Superior General make the final decision as to which works would be undertaken and who should staff them. There was no longer any reason to fear that Africa would be left to its fate. This is evident from his own report to the Propaganda:

between 1853 and 1862 the Two Guineas received twenty-three priests and thirteen Brothers. Their mortality, however, was still frightful: of the hundred and eight men sent out between 1843 and 1862, no less than forty-two had died, while thirty-four others had left because of sickness or discouragement. Although at the end of Father Schwindenhammer's generalate only seventy-five Fathers (23%) were working in Africa, at least an equal number of others had been sent to this mission and died there at an early age.

b. Welcome Aid

In 1859, one of the most ardent desires of the Holy Ghost Fathers became a reality; another congregation of priests tried to come to their aid in the immense mission of the Two Guineas. Neither Libermann nor his successor nor the Vicars Apostolic in the missions had any desire to reserve for themselves alone a territory stretching over a coastline of five thousand miles without limits to the interior. They were delighted, then, when Bishop Melchior de Brésillac, the Founder of the Society of African Mis-
sions (1856), offered to take over part of their territory. On the advice of Father Schwindenhammer, who was convinced that Sierra Leone offered the best chance of success, Bishop Brésillac abandoned his plan to start in Dahomey. In March 1859, he and his companions sailed for the place recommended by the Spiritans. As events turned out, the advice was so unfortunate that it nearly wrecked the new society. In the absence of any other information, however, it was the best available, for the Spiritan missions were relatively close to Sierra Leone, and it was natural to assume that conditions in the two regions would be similar.

After spending seven weeks as the guests of the Holy Ghost Fathers in Gorée and Dakar, and receiving from Bishop Kobès faculties for the whole Vicariate of the Two Guineas, the new missionaries sailed for Sierra Leone. When they reached their destination by the end of May, the terrible tragedy of Cape Palmas repeated itself for these newcomers: on June 2, the first priest died, and he was followed in ten days by a Brother. Before the month was over, the Bishop-Founder himself succumbed, and so did the one remaining priest. Only a Protestant minister was left to officiate at their grave. One lone survivor, a Brother, had escaped death and made his way back to Europe. In Rome, the Propaganda thought that the new group itself could not survive this tragedy and sadly assigned Sierra Leone again to the Holy Ghost Fathers, who established the mission of Freetown there in 1864. However, within two years the Society valiantly returned to Africa, this time to Dahomey. In 1868 the territory was separated from the Vicariate of the Two Guineas and erected into an independent mission. In this way the Society of African Missions became the first Congregation to come to the aid of the Spiritans in their assault on the treacherous and stubborn territory of West Africa.

A. P. F. 38,
247 ff.

C. FIRST EFFORTS SOUTH OF THE EQUATOR

In the southern part of the Two Guineas, the old diocese of Angola was still functioning. It was first visited by a Holy Ghost Father in 1852. He found a resident bishop assisted by five priests. The exercise of his jurisdiction was confined to the two coastal towns of Loanda (four priests) and Benguela (one priest). In these two settlements there was a numerous white population of soldiers, traders and Portuguese government officials, but the

B. G. 4, 643 ff.
A. P. F. 38, 233
rest of the country was abandoned as far as religious ministration was concerned. As early as 1851, Bishop Bessieux had wanted to resume missionary work in this part of his Vicariate, but it was not before 1866 that the first Holy Ghost Fathers, Father Charles Duparquet and Father Victor Poussot settled in Angola. These two were followed by others and, four years later, after having tried three different locations and lost three priests, they had to leave the country because at that time Portugal was still suspicious about the possible political intentions of "foreign" missionaries.

Nevertheless, in 1873 Father Duparquet returned and founded the mission of Landana in what is now called the Portuguese Congo. From this central location he and his fellow priests roamed far and wide among the tribes of northern Angola. In their wanderings they came across populations which had retained some Catholic practices from the days of the extinct Portuguese missions. For example, in San Antonio the natives still sang the Salve Regina, the local king sprinkled water, preached, and gave his blessings with a crucifix; in San Salvador a royal "secretary" said "Mass" every Sunday, which seemed to consist mainly in switching a book back and forth on an improvised alter. All these people were haunted by a desire to see Catholic priests established among them and they staunchly resisted all efforts of Protestant missionaries to convert them.

In 1878 the tireless Father Duparquet went on an exploratory trip from Capetown to the southernmost end of the Two Guineas. On this trip he acquired his famous "prairie schooner," the "Raphael." It was a kind of combined chapel and bed-room mounted on oxles and drawn by eight pairs of oxen, and it required a crew of three men to manage it. After travelling four hundred miles to the north of Walvis Bay without finding a single Catholic missionary anywhere, he stopped at the Bay and founded the mission of Omarara (1878), laying claim to the territory as part of the Vicariate of the Two Guineas. The next year, the Prefect of the Propaganda confirmed his view that the Spiritans had charge of the area and erected it into the Prefecture of Cimbebasia. Father Duparquet became its Vice Prefect. More than one million square miles were confided to his care and for good measure the Prefecture of Central Cape of Good Hope was added. It was a territory that belonged to the Society of African Missions, but they were anxious to exchange it for the Spiritan territories on the Gold and Ivory Coasts.
4. The Opening Phase of the Evangelization of East Africa

While these Holy Ghost Fathers were establishing their bases of operations in the West, others launched an attack on the East. The first initiative came from the island of Reunion. In 1858, its Bishop, Armand Maupoint, sent his Vicar General, Father Armand Fava, to Zanzibar on a preliminary exploration. The next year he appealed to the Holy Ghost Fathers to undertake the mission. Meanwhile he had founded a first base on the island of Zanzibar, off the east coast of Africa (1860). We say “base” advisedly, for the construction undertaken was so enormous that it aroused the suspicions of the British. Their consul reported to his government that the buildings could “easily accommodate 1,200 men, and probably as many as 2,000.” Fearful of possible political implications, England could be pacified only by a joint Anglo-French declaration to respect the territorial integrity of Zanzibar’s sultan. There was really no reason for concern, however, for the construction had been undertaken to accommodate the schools, hospitals, and huge workshops to be established there by the Spiritans. In 1862, the Congregation took charge of the Prefecture of Zanguebar or Zanzibar (“the Land of the Infidels”), which stretched from Cape Guardafui, near Arabia, to Cape Delgado in Mozambique, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, again without limits to the interior. In 1863, this mission, which is justly called “the Mother of all Churches in East Africa,” received its first pioneers: Father Anthony Horner and Father Edward Baur, accompanied by Brothers Celestine and Felician. In addition to the base on Zanzibar, they established a similar one on the mainland at Bagamoyo (1868). Within two years after the foundation of the Bagamoyo mission, a junior seminary began to function, and three native youths went to France to enter the Brothers’ novitiate.

Zanzibar is infamous in history as the greatest slave market in the world: every year fifty to sixty thousand slaves were sold on its markets. Despite the general degradation, however, the Moslem world was soon agape with admiration for the work of the pioneer Spiritans. Camps for liberated slave children, schools

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B. M. 17, no. 7197

1Father Fava had studied at Holy Ghost Seminary in Paris. In 1851 he went to Reunion. Twenty years later he became Bishop of Martinique. In 1875 he was transferred to the See of Grenoble, where he died in 1899.
and workshops, hospitals and plantations, a college, a seminary, and a novitiate arose in the mission centers of Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. The workshops especially drew the admiration of the Sultan. He became a steady visitor of the Brothers, one of whom was the only European allowed to enter the palace at his own discretion to confer with His Majesty about the royal enterprises. By 1872 the Bagamoyo mission alone comprised over fifty buildings. Although a fierce hurricane destroyed nearly everything but four wretched shelters, the Fathers and Brothers immediately began the task of reconstruction and succeeded so well that the next year Sir Bartle Frere recommended the mission “as a model to be followed in any attempt to civilize or evangelize Africa.” This same Bagamoyo mission became world-famous as the starting point for Livingstone, Stanley, Cameron and other explorers when they set out on their expeditions to the interior. While these men returned to the civilized world singing the praises of the humble Catholic missionaries they had met, tom-toms were carrying the news into the bush. Soon messages came from the interior begging for “the white men who teach good religion.”

By way of response to these requests, a new center of operation was established at Mhonda in 1877. Before long it was followed by others, for increasingly large numbers of priests and brothers began to flow in through Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. When the first children had grown up in their missions, the Fathers set out to establish Christian “freedom villages,” from which the Faith, they hoped, would radiate over the surrounding tribes and prepare them for the Glad Tidings. In 1878, eighteen years after the founding of the Zanzibar mission, the Holy Ghost Fathers rejoiced to learn that another society of missionaries was coming to take part in the common task. Organized in the Spiritan mission at Bagamoyo, three successive caravans of White Fathers set out in a daring push to the lands of Nyassa and Uganda, deep in the interior of Africa, whence the messengers had come to beg for the “white men who teach good religion.”

5. Educational Works

a. In Europe and the United States

While the missionary work went blazing ahead in Africa, Father Schwindenhammer applied himself seriously to the con-
solidation of the Congregation at home by means of educational works. The first of these was the foundation of a seminary for the French clergy in Rome. It was the personal desire of Pope Pius IX that the Spiritans undertake this work and Father Schwindenham-mer who had himself come close to being a seminary rector in Cincinnati just two years before was delighted to accept the invitation. This Roman seminary was destined to render great service to the Church by stamping out the remaining traces of Gallicanism among the French clergy, for during the first century of its existence more than 3,000 priests and one hundred bishops were to receive their spiritual training in it.

This foundation was followed by a long list of colleges and seminaries both in France and abroad. Although some of these were short-lived or only of a provisional character, others quickly acquired a solid reputation and showed that the nineteenth century Holy Ghost Fathers were rightful heirs of their eighteenth century predecessors in the field of academic achievement. The most important of these colleges were those of Beauvais and Mesnières in France, Blackrock and Rockwell in Ireland, Braga in Portugal, and Holy Ghost College (Duquesne University) in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. Most of them were combined with other works—nearly always a junior seminary of the Congrega-
tion, but occasionally also there were orphanages, trade-schools and novitiate for Brothers.

These various foundations adequately fulfilled the purpose for which they had been established. Despite the high death rate in the missions, Father Schwindenhammer's generalate was blessed with a six-fold increase of priests and a ten-fold increase in Brothers. The charge has often been made that he and his suc-
cessor, Father Emonet, undertook so many works in Europe and North America that the missions were neglected. This charge is utterly without foundation as the reader can see from the statistical tables on page 200. At the end of his generalate, no less than 57% of the Fathers were working in the missions and the figure went down only four percent under Father Emonet. On the other hand, at a later time under Archbishop Le Roy, when all the colleges in France and Portugal were closed, the percentage of Fathers in the missions kept its current level of 53% and the

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2From 56 priests and 33 Brothers to 329 priests and 305 Brothers. The figures for 1852 are based on the lists of N. D. 13, App., pp. 44-84.
Brothers even dropped from 33% to 32%. Father Schwindenhammer's rate of 57% has never been surpassed and it has been equalled only in very recent times.

It is true, of course, that the percentage of personnel in Africa was lowest (23%) at the end of his generalate, but, we have already pointed out why he had to proceed more deliberately there. Subsequently, when Father Emonet and Archbishop Le Roy began to send larger contingents of Fathers and Brothers to Africa, the average age of Spiritans who died there began to drop alarmingly. In 1895 it reached the low of twenty-nine years and eight months. Between 1890 and 1910, one hundred and fourteen of them failed to reach the age of thirty, while eighty-one others died between thirty and thirty-five years of age. It is quite apparent from this that Father Schwindenhammer had good reasons for caution in the days when the Congregation was still too weak to sustain such heavy losses.\(^3\)

**b. In the Missions**

*Outside Africa.* The missions themselves were not forgotten in this educational movement. In mission territories other than Africa, eleven seminaries and colleges were founded during Father Schwindenhammer's generalate. With respect to them, there was no question of seeking to consolidate the Congregation itself. Their purpose was directly in line with that of all missionary work: to establish a local church with a local clergy and a local elite of Catholic laymen, capable of imbuing society with Catholic principles. Some of these colleges and seminaries did not survive because their establishment had been premature. Others, however, such as St. Mary's College in Trinidad and St. Martial's College in Haiti, made amazing progress and still fulfill at present the role for which they were created.

*In Africa.* As Father Libermann had demanded, the African missions did not fail to work toward educating a Christian elite. Native colleges and seminaries began to function as early as 1845 in the Two Guineas and from 1870 on in Bagamoyo. Although Bishop Kobès was able to ordain his first native priest in 1852

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\(^3\)The statistics and graph on p. 231 deviate from the one compiled by Brother Novatus Ebbers, C.S.Sp., and published in *B. G.* 25, p. 467. Although frequently referred to as applying to missionaries, Brother Novatus' statistics are based on all members of the Congregation.
**TERRITORIAL DISTRIBUTION OF PERSONNEL AT THE END OF EACH GENERALATE**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Europe and N. America</th>
<th>All Missions</th>
<th>Continental Africa</th>
<th>Elsewhere</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libermann</td>
<td>1852</td>
<td>56 100</td>
<td>23 41</td>
<td>33 59</td>
<td>24 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priests</td>
<td>33 100</td>
<td>11 33</td>
<td>22 67</td>
<td>17 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schwindenhammer—Le Vavasseur</td>
<td>1883</td>
<td>329 100</td>
<td>143 43</td>
<td>186 57</td>
<td>75 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priests</td>
<td>305 100</td>
<td>221 72</td>
<td>84 28</td>
<td>52 17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emonet</td>
<td>1896</td>
<td>599 100</td>
<td>279 47</td>
<td>320 53</td>
<td>209 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priests</td>
<td>531 100</td>
<td>356 67</td>
<td>175 33</td>
<td>140 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Le Roy</td>
<td>1926</td>
<td>1,042 100</td>
<td>488 47</td>
<td>554 53</td>
<td>370 35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priests</td>
<td>621 100</td>
<td>421 68</td>
<td>200 32</td>
<td>164 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Le Hunsec</td>
<td>1950</td>
<td>2,457 100</td>
<td>1,054 43</td>
<td>1,403 57</td>
<td>988 40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priests</td>
<td>777 100</td>
<td>565 72</td>
<td>212 28</td>
<td>176 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Griffin</td>
<td>till 1955</td>
<td>2,994 100</td>
<td>1,273 43</td>
<td>1,721 57</td>
<td>1,297 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Priests</td>
<td>799 100</td>
<td>567 71</td>
<td>232 29</td>
<td>189 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Brothers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The personnel figures for Europe and North America include also the aged, the sick, and young Brothers in their technical training period. *Elsewhere* refers to West Indies, South America, St. Pierre et Miquelon, Cape Verde, Madagascar, Reunion, Mauritius, and Pondicherry.
Territorial Distribution of Personnel at the End of Each Generalate

**Priests**

- **Europe and North America**
- **Other Missions**
- **Africa**

**Brothers**

- **Europe and North America**
- **Other Missions**
- **Africa**

Years:
- 1852
- 1883
- 1896
- 1926
- 1950
- 1955
and five more during the remaining years of his episcopacy, this phase of academic endeavor did not share the success of the schools and colleges. In fact, it was not before the twentieth century that appreciably larger numbers of African priests were to issue from the African seminaries.

6. The Development of Social Works

In Europe. The social works, which Father Libermann himself had inaugurated with the foundation of a house in Bordeaux, received a new impetus under Father Schwindenhammer. The most important of these were the large establishments of Saint-Ilan, Saint Michel, and Carlan in France. They served as juvenile detention homes, orphanages, industrial and agricultural schools. The Government was delighted to see the Spiritans take charge of these abandoned and wayward youths and elevate them morally and socially to a high level. It was more delighted still when the bill came in and the cost appeared to have gone down to less than one franc a day per boy, despite the fact that these schools were soon among the finest and best equipped in the country. The guiding genius of this work was Father Le Vavasseur. His ability in this respect procured for the Congregation a tremendous reputation for competence in the handling of problem children. Soon there was a flood of invitations to take up similar works throughout France. If these had not been declined, the Spiritans would in short order have found themselves devoted exclusively to the abandoned youth of France. Nevertheless, one more orphanage was accepted in Ireland to aid in establishing the Congregation in this country. Even in their colleges the Fathers did not forget the orphans, for several, such as those of Cellule and Mesnières, had an orphanage attached to them. In 1874 the Holy Ghost Brothers, who had assumed a large share of responsibility for these institutions, were officially certified as teachers by the French Government and this recognition exempted them from compulsory military service.

In the Missions. Similar works were undertaken in the missions of the Congregation. The best known of these was Providence Institute in the island of Reunion. It was a huge establishment, comprising a hospital, an orphanage, a technical school, a school of agriculture, and a juvenile detention home, all of which the
local government had obliged itself by contract to support for twenty-five years. Under the Spiritan Brothers’ capable direction, the schools of this institution were very successful—too successful in fact, for local industries began to complain about unfair competition. Then the newspapers took up the complaint and began a campaign against the institution. Popular resentment smouldered. On the occasion of a local riot, the frenzied mob sacked a nearby Jesuit College and then laid siege to Providence, demanding that it be closed. Meanwhile, a weak colonial Governor stood by and did not dare to oppose the demand. Although the Congregation later entered a breach of contract suit against the colony before the National Superior Court and won the case, nevertheless the institution could not be reopened. As the island’s Senator, Mr. Drouet, sadly remarked, “We have managed to destroy Providence Institute, but we have not been able to replace it.”

In faraway Chandernagor, India, other Holy Ghost Brothers dedicated themselves with equal success to another school of trades and agriculture (1860), while still more operated similar schools in Senegambia, Zanzibar and Bagamoyo. In addition, there were other schools in Guadeloupe and Martinique, but these two did not live up to expectations, for the Congregation found it impossible to supply these institutions with technically qualified instructors.

7. International Expansion

We have already referred several times to Father Libermann’s desire to see the Congregation expand beyond the borders of France. He personally made efforts to establish his society in Ireland, England, Spain, Portugal, Belgium, and the United States, and his thoughts constantly turned in a special way toward Germany. Although he did not live to see this desire fulfilled, his successor was able to introduce the Holy Ghost Fathers into Ireland, Germany, Portugal and the United States.

a. Foundations in Ireland

First Contacts. The first Irishman to join the Holy Ghost Fathers was Father Henry Power of the diocese of Cork. Following the example of several of his countrymen, he had entered Holy
Ghost Seminary in 1820. Two years later he became a member of the Congregation. However, when the French Government forced the closure of its junior and senior seminaries in 1830, Father Power thought that it was only a matter of time until the Congregation would become extinct. He withdrew and returned to Ireland.

In 1842 Father Libermann seriously considered the project of founding a branch of his Society in Ireland, but when he heard that Father John Hand was just then establishing the missionary college of All Hallows, he modestly postponed his plan on the assumption that two simultaneous foundations of the same type would hamper each other's efforts. He did have the satisfaction, however, of receiving the first Irish Brother in 1849. He was William Farrel of Dublin.

First Foundations. In 1859, seven years after Libermann's death, the Spiritan Fathers at last opened a junior seminary at Blanchardstown. Father Jules Leman, the founder of this first Irish house, reported that he was quite pleased with his charges. "These young Irishmen are charming and very intelligent, but somewhat mischievous," he wrote to the Motherhouse. The work gave such promise of success that the next year it was decided to transfer the community to Blackrock and add a college to the seminary. For the next eighty-four years they leased a large estate, the main house of which was formerly occupied by a Protestant boarding school and was now supposed to be haunted. During the first few nights everyone was awakened several times by the violent clanging of bells, but the old records report that this phenomenon ceased after the house had been blessed.

From its very beginning the new institution was successful. It immediately began to show those characteristics which were later to make it Ireland's leading college. In 1864, the Bishop of Longford, who had personally known Father Libermann, was so impressed by Blackrock's rapid advances that he offered the direction of his own seminary to the Congregation. Only lack of personnel prevented acceptance of the offer. Two years earlier, the Spiritans had accepted an orphanage at Glasnevin, near Dublin, but this work was shortlived because the St. Vincent de Paul Society failed to keep its agreement with the Congregation and insisted on retaining internal control of the institute.
**The Scottish Lawsuit.** The year 1864 saw the opening of another Seminary-College at Rockwell, Tipperary. The foundation of this college involved the Spiritans in a long lawsuit with the Hierarchy of Scotland—a complication into which both parties stepped quite innocently. Mr. Thiébault, a rich French businessman, was anxious to provide priests for Scotland and on this basis he gave the Congregation his three hundred and eighty acre estate. At the same time, he promised an annual endowment of 10,000 francs on condition that the Congregation train twelve seminarians for the dioceses of Scotland. Beyond that, the Spiritans were given full liberty to start any additional works of their choice on the Rockwell property. Although the Bishop of Cashel, in whose diocese Rockwell was situated, at first showed some reserve toward the Fathers, they soon gained his entire confidence to such an extent that he wanted to confide his own seminary and college to their direction.

Unfortunately, the enthusiasm of Mr. Thiébault, who was a pious but rather irascible gentleman, soon began to diminish. In 1867, things became really serious when the Bishops of Scotland, who were ignorant of the exact situation, claimed full control over the institution. Four years later the climax was reached. The Archbishop of Glasgow sent a curt note announcing that, with the approval of Mr. Thiébault, the Bishops of Scotland had decided to suppress the seminary and sell the Rockwell property. Not a word was said about the acquired rights of the Congregation or compensation for buildings constructed and services rendered. The next year the Motherhouse was formally notified that the property had been put up for sale by the Scotch party!

Soon the dispute reached the Court of Justice in Dublin. In his verdict, the presiding judge severely reprimanded the legal representatives of the Scotch party for falsifying evidence presented to the Court. He unhesitatingly gave his decision in favor of the Congregation and required Mr. Thiébault and the other plaintiffs to pay costs. Great was the rejoicing in Tipperary County, where the Fathers had come to be much beloved. The people lit bonfires all over the hills in celebration of the victory. In Rockwell itself, however, where Mr. Thiébault still lived beside the lake on the property, everyone spared his feelings by refrain-

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4 Legally, Rockwell College was owned by a board of trustees, the majority of whom were always to be Holy Ghost Fathers.
ning from any open celebration. From then until his death in June 1873, he continued to agitate through the Protestant newspaper of Cashel against the very work he himself had founded, but Rockwell College forged ahead undisturbed.

B. G. 9, 692

When the Scotch Bishops registered their dissatisfaction with the Dublin decision by appealing to Rome, their representative made no mention of the fact that their solicitors had been reprimanded in the Irish Court. As can well be imagined, the Congregation’s procurator at the Holy See was not so reticent and thereby considerably strengthened the Spiritan case. Nonetheless, the Superior General offered to settle the whole matter amicably by submitting it to arbitration by the Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin. It appears that this was regarded as a sign of weakness, for the opposing party tried immediately, though in vain, to have the Congregation declared responsible for the cost of the Dublin lawsuit. At last, in 1874, an agreement was reached. Because the Bishops of Scotland categorically refused to have their seminarians remain in Rockwell, it was agreed that the property should be ceded to the Congregation at a reduced price in compensation for services rendered and that the Scotch students should return to their native country. Throughout this whole period of trial, these seminarians were not ignorant of the litigation yet their behavior remained exemplary and full of respect. It was with great sadness that the Spiritans watched them depart, for from the very beginning those young Scots had stolen the hearts of the Fathers by their seriousness and piety. A Spiritan report to the Motherhouse had this to say about them: “These boys are really good. It is said that young Scots generally are better than Irishmen. Be that as it may, without prejudice to the Irish [we must say that] the Scots we have here seem to be excellently disposed.” These were the fine young men who had to leave. After they had gone, Rockwell continued as a combined college and seminary of the Congregation, and soon took its place among the outstanding colleges of the land.

B. G. 10, 74

B. G. 4, 288

B. G. 14, 187 ff. Development of Blackrock. As we have mentioned, Blackrock College caught on magnificently almost from the first day of its

B. G. 11, 242

5His last will distributed all his possessions to various charities. The Congregation succeeded through Cardinal Manning in obtaining from his legal heirs one half payment of the endowment he had promised to the Rockwell foundation.
foundation. It soon surpassed all other colleges, including the heavily endowed Protestant colleges of Cork and Galway. Before long, a university college was added to the existing secondary divisions and at once established itself as top-ranking in its field. As might be expected, these constant successes were bound to excite a measure of envy. The chancellor of the University deliberately refrained from even mentioning Blackrock in the opening session of the Royal University in 1885 and reserved all his praise to the Jesuit College of Stephen's Green. When the London Tablet did the same, Archbishop Walsh of Dublin could stand it no longer. In a letter, published in the Tablet, he severely took to task the paper's Dublin correspondent, who called Stephen's Green "the only great successful college in the country." From the official statistics of examinations and prizes gained, he showed how Blackrock had constantly far surpassed all rival institutions despite the fact that its students were handicapped by having to take their examinations before a board composed exclusively of teachers from the other institutions. The Archbishop's defense was indeed a grand tribute to the academic excellence of this great institution.

b. Houses in Germany and Expulsion

cf. p. 120 f.

In Chapter VI we have seen how Father Libermann's thoughts had turned toward Germany from the very beginning of his Congregation. He wanted very much to start his work close to the German frontier and thereby attract German aspirants who might be trained for the German diocesan clergy. Although external pressures caused him to modify this plan, he never abandoned his project to establish the Congregation in Germany. In fact, shortly before his death he made a quick trip through the Rhineland. By then he had already personally admitted at least seven aspirants of German extraction from such distant areas as Westphalia, Bavaria and Württemberg. Among these was the first German priest of the Congregation, Father Francis Düllmann (1825-1892).

The First Foundations. By 1855, the General Council had decided "in principle" to undertake a foundation in Germany at the first suitable opportunity. However, it was 1863 before the plan could be executed. Appropriately, the first foundation was a retreat house for the clergy at Kaiserswerth in the Rhineland. The next year the ancient Cistercian abbey of Marienstadt in the Duchy
of Nassau was acquired to serve as a college, junior seminary and novitiate. Moreover, in the same year the shrine of Marienthal in the diocese of Cologne was entrusted to the Congregation. Various local works were attached to these houses: parishes, an orphanage, retreat-centers and the ministry at two shrines. As a result of this quick development, a Vice-Province was erected in Germany before the end of 1864.

B. G. 9, 71 ff. Expulsion by Bismarck. This promising development was cut short by a religious persecution originated by Bismarck, the so-called "Iron Chancellor." Once the Jesuits were expelled, the Spiritans saw the handwriting on the wall and decided to transfer the older aspirants of the Congregation to France and Ireland and then temporarily suspend the Marientstadt seminary, vainly hoping to save at least the buildings. This precautionary move was completely useless. For some mysterious reason Bismarck was convinced that the Spiritans were just another form of Jesuits in disguise. An imperial decree of 1873 expelled the Congregation from Germany under the pretext of its affiliation with the Jesuits. The vigorous protests of Father Joseph Strub, then Vice- Provincial of Germany, as well as those of the German Catholic newspapers—and German papers can be very vigorous—were to no avail. For the time being at least, the Congregation had to leave Germany. Relinquishment of these German houses was all the more serious because vocation-rich Alsace had become part of the German Reich as a result of the Franco-Prussian War of 1870.

C. The Congregation Established in Portugal

B. G. 6, 74 f. N. D. Compl. 171 f. Shortly before his death, the Venerable Francis Libermann had considered opening a house in Portugal and was planning to send Father Lannurien to explore the possibilities. The same plan came up again in 1857 and in 1860, but political difficulties prevented its execution till 1867. By that time the Holy Ghost Fathers had spread into African territories over which Portugal claimed control and it was imperative that provisions be made to attract Portuguese candidates. Father Charles Duparquet, one of the well-known pioneers in the African missions of Angola and the Congo, was selected to found the new province of Portugal. In 1867 he opened the first junior seminary of the Congregation at Santarem, [Father Libermann himself had made a pilgrimage to this shrine in May 1846. Cf. N. D. 7, 106 and 8, 454.]
but three years later the government’s anticlericalism necessitated its closure. The personnel was transferred to Gibraltar, where the Spiritans took over St. Bernard’s College while they waited for a more favorable time to go back to Portugal.

Although the situation had hardly improved by 1872, they decided to try again, this time in Braga, the “Rome of Portugal.” They opened a college there and immediate success attended their efforts. From the very start of the College, which was dedicated to the Holy Ghost, God’s special blessings were upon it. Within a few years it established itself as the finest college in the country. Although it did not survive the onslaught of the Portuguese revolution of 1910, people speak about it to this day with respect and admiration. Subsequently, then, other works were founded throughout the land.

d. **First Beginnings in the United States**

*Earliest Contacts.* The first contact of the Holy Ghost Fathers with the territory that was later to become the United States seems to have taken place in a Boston jail. As we have related above, Father Maillard, the Apostle of the Micmac Indians in Acadia, was captured by the British through a breach of promise and was deported to Boston in 1745. Later they shipped him to England and the next contact occurred after the Acadians had been deported from Nova Scotia. It was then in the latter part of the eighteenth century that Father John Brault quietly went to work in New England and gathered up a large group of Acadians to resettle them on Montreal Island.

In 1794, the extension of the French Revolution to Guiana forced all priests of that territory to take the schismatic oath of the clergy. Just then, five Spiritan Fathers, in the strict sense of the term, were working in this colony. When they refused to become schismatics, they were forced into exile. Three of these refugees, Fathers Moranvillé, Hérard and Duhamel, sought shelter in the United States. Father Moranvillé became pastor of St. Patrick’s in Baltimore and in 1806 replaced the old church by a large and beautiful edifice, then one of the most imposing Catholic churches in the States. As a result of the killing pace he kept up while ministering to the yellow fever victims in 1819 and 1821, he fell dangerously ill. When a quiet holiday at the country estate of Charles Carroll failed to improve his health, he finally agreed to
take a short vacation in France. It was too late, however. He died in Amiens on May 16, 1824. Father Duhamel accepted a pastorate near Emmitsburg, Maryland, and it was there that he died in 1818. Both were survived by the third refugee, Father Matthew Hérand, who spent some time at St. Croix as Vice-Prefect of the Virgin Islands and then became Vicar General of the Archdiocese of Baltimore (1816). After another tour of duty in the West Indies, he returned to the United States, became chaplain of the Poor Clares in Pittsburgh and then pastor in Newark, New Jersey. In 1838 he travelled to Paris to celebrate his golden jubilee among his confreres, but died the next year before he could carry out his intention to go back to his parish in Newark.

Contact was resumed again in 1847 when Archbishop Purcell of Cincinnati, Ohio, urged the Congregation to supply priests for his diocese. Father Leguay, then Superior General, consulted the Prefect of the Propaganda, who replied that he would be delighted if the Congregation could undertake to help relieve the shortage of priests in the United States. Anticipating a favorable reply, Father Leguay had already sent Father Loewenbruck to Cincinnati to arrange matters and to negotiate with other bishops who had made similar requests. However, a violent storm drove the sailing vessel back to the shores of France. Apparently, Father Loewenbruck was not a good sailor, for he did not repeat the attempt.

Father Libermann, meanwhile, had been directing his attention to the United States even before his ordination. While still a seminarian, he had wanted to go to America to be ordained there and consecrate himself to abandoned works. However, because of his epileptic condition, his directors had dissuaded him from taking such a perilous step. After he had founded his little congregation of missionaries, he began as early as 1844 to think about works among the slaves in the States, and the thought grew more insistent when Father Fourdinier tried to exclude the "Libermannists" from the old French colonies. Three years later, just when Father Loewenbruck was undertaking his voyage to America, Libermann again investigated the possibility of working among the slaves, even though he realized that "for a long time to come he would not be able to start" such a work. Shortly after, Providence brought the Venerable Francis and Father Loewenbruck together in the preparation of the "fusion" of Libermann's society with the Holy Ghost Fathers.
Once he and his priests had entered the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the whole had become a smoothly functioning unit, Libermann again directed his attention to the United States.

In 1851, as we noted in Chapter VII, Archbishop Purcell wanted the Congregation to establish an interdiocesan seminary in the archdiocese of Cincinnati. Libermann accepted the offer and appointed Father Schwindenhamer director of the new work. However, we have already learned that that project fell short of realization.

After Libermann's death in 1852, a steady flow of invitations came to the Venerable's successor from various dioceses in the States: in 1852 from Savannah, Georgia; in 1859 and again in 1865 from Bishop Verot, the Vicar Apostolic of Florida; in 1867 from Bishop Wood of Philadelphia, the Bishop of Buffalo, the Bishop of Wheeling, and Bishop Elder of Natchez, Mississippi; and in 1870 from the Bishop of Charleston, South Carolina. Despite his interest in these offers, Father Schwindenhamer was forced to refuse them for lack of personnel.

The manpower problem was abruptly solved in 1872 and 1873 when Bismarck expelled the Spiritans from Germany. The Congregation decided to accept the first favorable offer that would reach them from the United States. This offer came in 1872 from Bishop Tobbe of Covington, Kentucky. His Excellency wrote that he was willing to entrust a mission to the Holy Ghost Fathers and place at their disposal a large property at White Sulphur which was already improved with a church and buildings that could be used as a college. The Propaganda approved and Father Schwindenhamer accepted the offer. He dispatched four Fathers to Kentucky, but when they arrived in Covington they found that the proposed college and mission were not yet available.

This situation left them at least temporarily unemployed, but just then Cincinnati's Archbishop Purcell offered them parishes in Piqua, Berlin, and Russia, Ohio. Moreover, a local priest, Father Meyer, promised to give most of the money for the purchase of an estate at Pontiac that could be used very nicely as a training school for American aspirants. These offers were gratefully accepted. Soon reinforcements, including a dozen Brothers, arrived to take care of the new works. On March 1, 1874, Father Schwindenhammer officially erected the Vice-Province of the United States.
B. G. 10, 270 ff. In a very short time the Fathers realized that they had concentrated their houses in too small an area. For this reason Father Joseph Strub, the Provincial Superior, began to look about for other possible sites. He passed through Wheeling, West Virginia, where the Bishop invited him to open a college and take over his seminary, but it appears that he preferred to turn northward and visit Bishop Domenec in Pittsburgh. This saintly prelate received him with open arms. As the chronicler reported, it all seemed very providential. As Father Strub sat before the Bishop’s desk, he looked up and saw that the episcopal coat of arms bore the device: “Come Holy Ghost.” Right then and there, Father Strub felt at home.

The most urgent need of the diocese was a Catholic boys’ school. There had been a number of unsuccessful attempts to get one going, and now Bishop Domenec did his best to persuade the Fathers to try again. He pledged his full support for the College and promised that at the first available opportunity he would give the Spiritans one of the largest parishes in the diocese to provide financial help for the school. Shortly after, in April 1874, the Bishop offered the parish of St. Mary in Sharpsburg, and Father Strub decided to leave Berlin, Ohio and accept it. Very prudently, he decided to wait a little and see how the situation would develop before starting the boys’ school.

B. G. 10, 912 f. Meanwhile, difficulties had arisen regarding the remaining houses in the Cincinnati Archdiocese. Archbishop Purcell began to impose conditions that made community life almost impossible. For this reason the Spiritans decided to withdraw entirely from the Archdiocese and concentrate provisionally on the Pittsburgh area. Temporarily a small seminary was set up for the few American aspirants at Perrysville, Pa., in the now extinct Diocese of Allegheny (1876).

B. G. 11, 187 f. The question of a Catholic academy in Pittsburgh was solved in 1878. Bishop Tuigg, who had succeeded Bishop Domenec, promised to use all his influence on the clergy and the people to make the work a success. Fully conscious of the risks involved, the Spiritans let themselves be persuaded to open a school in the center of town despite the fact that four previous attempts to establish a Catholic College in Pittsburgh had failed miserably. No one was anxious to run the chance of another defeat. The prospects of success were particularly poor because the Catholic
population itself had little confidence in any new effort. Father Joseph Strub demonstrated more than usual courage, then, when he undertook the new venture. Two years later, however, Pittsburgh's College of the Holy Ghost was able to report that the number of its students had risen to more than a hundred and fifty. It was then that the construction of a permanent building was undertaken on a low hill in the center of the town. The cornerstone-laying appears to have been a major event in the history of the city: twenty-five thousand people are reported to have come to attend the ceremony.\(^7\) This was the college that was destined to develop later into the institution of higher learning now known as Duquesne University.

B. G. 11, 1085 ff. Meanwhile other Holy Ghost Fathers undertook an ambitious project in Arkansas, where a railroad company had granted Father Strub a tract of 200,000 acres of land near Morrilton. It was to be used for the settlement of German immigrants, who at that time were flocking to the United States by the thousands. Many of them were Catholics, eager to find across the Atlantic that security and freedom which was denied them in their homeland. Very soon, the German Government became alarmed at this mass emigration and blamed the Spiritans for depopulating the Reich. It honored them by publishing an official warning against their colony in Arkansas. As a result, this colony became even more widely known in Germany. Moreover, it gave the Central Party a chance to attack the Iron Chancellor in the Reichstag (Parliament) and point out the folly of his religious policies. As one Deputy expressed it:

B. G. 11, 1091 ff. It is not the Holy Ghost Fathers but the Prussian policy and its wretched Kulturkampf that are depopulating the country and causing our best people to migrate to the United States, where these religious men offer them the comforts of religion which they cannot have in the homeland.

B. G. 11, 1094 ff. Near Morrilton, Arkansas, the Spiritans reserved for their own use about one thousand acres of their immense concession.

\(^7\)Pittsburghers may be interested in a sidelight on smoke control reported by the Fathers in 1886: "The introduction of natural gas has not only caused a revolution in industry, but has also produced a great change in the atmosphere of the city. Only with great difficulty and on rare occasions could the sun pierce through the dense layer of smoke which constantly shrouded the city. Today the situation is no longer the same. Slowly this dirty and dark town is transforming itself into a magnificent city."
It was to serve as a central community of the Province. Nostalgically they called it Marienstadt, after their ancient abbey in Nassau. A novitiate for Brothers was established there, and the Fathers fanned out from this house to build churches and schools throughout the concession. At first, the colony was quite successful, but in 1881, tornadoes and severe droughts during the next few years thoroughly discouraged the settlers. One after another, the German immigrants began to leave, seeking a more benign climate elsewhere. Pernicious fevers now began to take their toll of the Spiritan community, and the novitiate had to be transferred to another place. In 1892 another tornado wrecked the beautiful gothic church of Marienstadt which had just been finished. Nowadays, only ruins remain of this original foundation in Arkansas, but there are many flourishing parishes in the State which owe their origin to the labors of these immigrant Holy Ghost Fathers.

8. *Internal Consolidation*

The Congregation's internal organization was the object of Father Schwindenhammer's constant care. Although some of the features he introduced have not survived and others have been considerably modified, many of them are still in force.

In 1855 the old Rule of the Spiritans and the "Constitutive and Organic Regulations," added by Father Libermann after the fusion, were revised and more systematically arranged. The old Rule remained as the fundamental law of the society, while the preceptive part of Libermann's Regulations became what are presently known as the Constitutions. We list here the most important modifications contained in the revised Rules and Constitutions which were approved by Rome in 1855:

1. Instead of the private vows hitherto taken by most members, public simple vows were to be pronounced by all members of the Congregation. This official religious status, which Father Libermann had always wanted, met with unanimous approval in the general meeting of 1853.

2. The practice of community life was to be maintained. Superiors were forbidden to assign any member to a post where he would be deprived of the company of a fellow member, unless very urgent and exceptional reasons dictated it.
3. The Congregation was to be divided into autonomous Provinces which would be directly dependent on the Superior General.

4. Periodically General Chapters were to be held to discuss the more important affairs of the Congregation.

C. S. 13, 19 ff. The proposed division into provinces was implemented in 1856, when Father Schwindenhammer erected the Provinces of France, West Africa, the Indian Ocean, and America. In 1862, the rapid growth of the Congregation caused these provinces to be subdivided into vice-provinces which soon numbered nearly twenty. ⁸

C. S. 22, 18 ff. In 1875, Father Schwindenhammer submitted to Rome a second revision of the Rules and Constitutions which contained only three slight modifications and certain reworded passages. This would not be worth mentioning, were it not for an incident that arose in Rome regarding the ancient Rule of the Holy Ghost Fathers. Despite the fact that the Roman consultants, Fathers Ballerini and Massaratti, S. J., had nothing but praise for the revision, the Cardinal in charge submitted the text to still a third consultant.

This last disagreed completely with the two Jesuits. Although the Rule had been approved several times by the Holy See, the new consultant advised its total abolition, alleging that there are only four religious Rules in the Church—namely, those of St. Basil, St. Augustine, St. Benedict, and St. Francis. Furthermore, when it came to the Constitutions, he recommended changes of such sweeping nature that they would have modified the very nature of the Congregation. Finally, even if all these conditions were met, he advised that only a provisional approval should be granted if the society could find any bishops to recommend it. Obviously, he did not realize that he was reading the charter of a society whose history of service to the Church at that time stretched back 172 years! At any rate, the very radicalism of his proposals defeated their purpose, for the Rules and Constitutions were approved without

⁸For those interested in details: the Province of France was composed of the independent vice-provinces of Paris, Vannes, St. Brieuc, Clermont, Bordeaux, Rome and Dublin. The next year the Vice-Province of Germany was added, and the Province of France became "the Province of Europe." The Province of West Africa contained the vice provinces of Senegal, Senegambia, and Gabon. That of the Indian Ocean was composed of the independent vice-provinces of Mauritius, Reunion, Zanzibar, and Chanderdagor (India). The Province of America included the independent vice-provinces of Martinique, Haiti, Trinidad, and Guiana.
any modification, just as Father Ballerini had recommended. Thus it happened that, although modern congregations usually have only Constitutions, the Spiritans were allowed to keep their ancient Rule that dates from 1734 and to consider their Constitutions as the official commentary and interpretation of that Rule.

In 1857 Father Schwindenhammer founded the Bulletin Général to serve as a vehicle of general communication within the Congregation as well as a record of its achievements. At the present time it comprises forty-five volumes of up to 1400 pages each, covering a century of historical development and constituting a rich mine of information not only about the society but also about Africa and the other lands where Spiritans have labored. Wars, persecution, and the ravages of time have made the nineteenth century volumes of the Bulletin extremely rare. They are the prized possession of some of the older houses of the Congregation and of a few important libraries.

9. Political Dangers in France

Father Schwindenhammer's last years were saddened by the increasing threat of political dangers in France. During the first few years of the Second Empire (1850 ff.), the political climate was favorable to the Catholic Church in general and to the Congregation in particular, but as early as 1860, less propitious events began to cast their shadows before them. Napoleon III supported the aspirations of Piedmont regarding the Papal States and thus found himself in direct opposition to the Pope. Shortly after, the Holy Ghost Fathers at the Pontifical French Seminary were violently attacked in the Senate as French ultramontanists in Rome.9

B. G. 4, 471 ff.

B. G. 5, 632 f. During the course of the next year, the Colonial Minister refused to pay the Congregation a salary that was still due to a deceased member, alleging that since the fusion the Spiritans were no longer the congregation that the Government had originally approved.

The amount involved was comparatively insignificant, but the Minister's refusal served to point the direction in which future attacks would move. A few years later, the Holy See rejected a Government candidate for the bishopric of Martinique. Although the Congregation had nothing to do with this rejection, the Government assumed it had and seized the opportunity to portray the

9This term characterized Frenchmen who supported the prerogatives of the Holy See.
Spiritans as unpatriotic citizens who fraudulently used public funds to support their ultramontanist seminary in Rome. The ensuing investigation could not uncover the slightest evidence in favor of this accusation, but the government again renewed its threat to suppress the Congregation on the ground that it was no longer identical with the eighteenth century Holy Ghost Congregation approved by the State. Only after much trouble and effort did Father Schwindenhammer succeed in convincing the Government that its allegation was totally false.

In 1870 and 1871, the Franco-Prussian War and the succeeding Revolution in Paris forced the Motherhouse to disperse once more. The senior seminary at Chevilly was gravely damaged, the Motherhouse itself plundered, and recruitment temporarily brought to a standstill. The Second Empire went down in this military and political chaos and was succeeded by a Republic whose government reeked with anticlericalism. In 1880, just before Father Schwindenhammer’s death, the new Government decreed the expulsion of all religious orders that were not officially recognized. While their official status saved the Spiritans from exile, they soon felt the weight of the State’s powerful weapon of taxation. The first of the antireligious tax laws was passed in 1880. It levied an income tax on the revenues of all authorized religious societies.

One year later, the Superior General died. His health had been weak for many years and now, after governing the Congregation for nearly three decades, he could drive himself no longer. He had been cold and distant, much too formal in his relations and sometimes bombastic in his administration. He did not inspire affection in the hearts of his associates, but he did win everyone’s respect for the magnificent way in which he engineered the Congregation’s firm foundation and promoted its solid growth.

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10Here is an example: “We, Ignatius Schwindenhammer, Superior General of the Congregation of the Holy Ghost and the Immaculate Heart of Mary,

Whereas primo. . . ;
Whereas secundo. . . ;
Whereas tertio. . . ;

Having invoked the Holy Ghost, and in agreement with our Council, have decided and do decide as follows:

One and Only Article . . . The Brothers must take care of the rooms of the Fathers . . .

Given in Paris, at the Motherhouse, September 8, 1857.”