II

HISTORICAL WRITINGS
IMPORTANT NOTICES

INTRODUCTION

This document is contained in a booklet used by De Andreis from 1815 to three months before his death in 1820. It presents an account of his journey, notes taken mainly on the spot, and at times related in the first person, and sometimes dated. Part travel diary, part record book, it has an immediacy that his other narrative, the “Itinerary,” lacks. Although the “Itinerary” is more polished, “Important Notices” contains details that he did not copy into the later work and are not available elsewhere.

This document is divided into five sections. It opens with an historical account of the events in Rome leading up to the departure of the Vincentians for the American mission. De Andreis kept rough financial accounts in section two, along with details of the voyage. Section three recounts their ocean crossing and gives the text of the vow taken by the missioners as they feared for their lives. A lengthy fourth section follows, written by someone else, clearly a French missionary to America, as a memorial to attract missionary vocations and financial support. Dated 2 July 1815, this insert predates the rest of the material. This probably means that De Andreis had it copied, probably at Baltimore. Section five is a short account of the rest of the trip to Saint Louis. The author finished the last page in July 1820 with some reflections on the successes of the missionaries.

This little booklet, 3 1/2” by 2 1/4” (9 by 5.5 cm), is small enough to be slipped into a breast pocket for reference. Some headings are original; those in brackets have been added to facilitate reading.
IMPORTANT NOTICES CONCERNING THE MISSION OF LOUISIANA IN NORTH AMERICA

"Eo purior, quo altior, fontique proximior sumitur unda"
Father De Andreis, Rome, 1815

[Section One: Rome to Bordeaux]

In August 1815, Bishop Louis William Dubourg happened to come to lodge at the house of Monte Citorio in Rome. He was the administrator and is now the very worthy bishop of New Orleans and of all Louisiana, where he was sent by Propaganda.

Without anyone planning it, Providence arranged a meeting between the bishop and Father Felix De Andreis. During this meeting, after describing at length the state of the diocese, the bishop asked him to undertake this mission. He expressed his ardent desire for such a mission, something he had nourished for more than sixteen years. Yet he protested that he did not want to do anything without having God’s will openly manifested through his lawful superiors. In view of the recovery of the Congregation, they were unable to let their confreres go. But the bishop made them realize that he would make the request for him to the Supreme Pontiff.

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1 Important Notices. Autograph notebook, Italian and French, 76 pages, 3 1/2 x 2 1/4", (9 x 5.5 cm), with pages 23–69 in another hand, in French. In the Archives of the General Curia, Rome, De Andreis papers. Two early copies, one in Italian, one in French, also exist in the same archives.

2 "Ever purer, ever higher, ever closer does the wave rise to its source." This citation, typical of the De Andreis style, probably was intended by him to refer both to the spiritual journey to God and to the physical journey to America undertaken by the missionaries.

3 The editor has added headings in brackets to facilitate reading.

4 Napoleon suppressed all religious congregations in his empire, 25 April 1810. This included almost all of Italy with the exception of Naples. After the emperor’s fall, in June 1815, the way was open to start anew the Italian houses closed until that time.

5 Beginning here and continuing to the end of page 4 of the original, Rosati quoted De Andreis in the former’s “Recollections.” See Rosati, Stafford Poole, trans., “Recollections,” 71-73.
That same evening De Andreis went to explain the entire matter to Father [Carlo Domenico] Sicardi that he might be aware of all that was being requested. As a result, the bishop together with His Eminence Cardinal [Lorenzo] Litta, the prefect of Propaganda, placed the request before the pope. The latter immediately agreed and to the reply that his superiors might forbid it, added, "it doesn't make any difference."

The next day Father Sicardi was presented to the Holy Father and spoke against De Andreis's departure. He [De Andreis] submitted a report in which he showed that his superiors had already approved his consistent wish since they had once destined him for China. He mentioned his superiors' opposition and his desire to remain always a member of the Congregation. Nevertheless, he submitted the decision to His Holiness as the supreme oracle and remained indifferent toward whatever the response would be.

When the Holy Father had read his report he responded that "we will deal with the superiors about this" and he delegated the responsibility to Cardinals [Mario] Mattei and Antonio Doria to handle the matter. These cardinals spoke first with the superiors and then with De Andreis. Then without Father De Andreis having made the least request, two other subjects spontaneously joined him.6 Seeing this, he recalled his lively desire, shared several times with Father [Joseph] Rosati when these two were giving missions, of dedicating himself to the foreign missions. He notified Rosati of this opportunity with a simple letter without asking for it [his agreement], but requiring just a simple yes or no.

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6 Rosati identifies these two confreres as a Mr. Cremisini and Brother Pietro Polenghi. Both quickly withdrew. (Rosati, "Itineraire," 27 September 1815; also Ricciardelli, Vita, 184.) Cremisini was possibly Antonio Cremisini (1792-1875), later the provincial of Rome.
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A simple yes was Rosati's response, provided that the will of his superiors be united to the will of the Holy Father. Father Sicardi, the vicar general, added that he was indifferent and would abide by whatever the Holy Father determined, but he remained opposed because of the frail health of De Andreis. Providence disposed that at that time the house physician had spoken in favor. Consequently his [Sicardi's] opposition remained without effect.

Other very strong opposition, however, was presented, such that it more than once seemed that the affair would not be concluded at all. The bishop had already resolved to defer his consecration until he saw its outcome.

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7 Rosati wrote his own recollections:

Toward the middle of this mission [in La Scarpa, which began 5 September 1815] I received a letter from Father Voggi with a note from Father De Andreis. He told me about the mission of Louisiana in North America, and he told me that, since he was aware of my dispositions, he had counted me in the number, etc., but that there was time for me to withdraw if I did not wish, and that, consequently, I should answer with just a yes or a no. Beside myself at news so unexpected, and so conformable with my desire, I recommended myself to God, and consulted with Father [Bartolomeo] Colucci, my director. I answered him with a simple yes on condition that our superiors would give me permission for it.

(Joseph Rosati, "Memoria," typed copy, in DRMA, Rosati papers.)

8 This is an oblique reference to some doubts about the orthodoxy of De Andreis's teaching. Questions had been raised about his use of a book which, harmless in itself, had a French translation placed on the Index of Forbidden Books. Bishop Dubourg was aware of the accusations, and wrote "I have reasons to believe that the charge, from beginning to end, is a vile slander." (Melville, Louis William Dubourg, 347-48; Bozuffi, Il servo di Dio Felice de Andreis, 110-11.)

A note in the Paris manuscript may also allude to this:

With his departure he left a great void, both with the people who lived at Monte Citorio and among externs who regarded him as one of the most learned priests and holy ecclesiastics in Rome, and who, for that reason, esteemed him and loved him greatly, even those who, for another reason, would have wanted to see him more attached to the doctrine of Saint Alphonsus Liguori which began to be fashionable at that time.

(Notices VI, 432.)
Nevertheless, he was consecrated on 24 September and went immediately to Castelgandolfo to plead his cause. Knowing well how to act, with God’s blessing he succeeded in having the entire affair brought quickly to Cardinal [Ercole] Consalvi, the secretary of state. The latter had arrived in Rome two days before and had Father Sicardi summoned to convey to him the Holy Father’s wishes.9 He did not have to repeat them, and so the affair was concluded, namely that a seminary would be founded and subjects would be named, that is, four priests, one brother and several postulants.10 Afterwards, however, one priest and the brother withdrew.11

On 14 October, in the company of Bishop Dubourg, those destined to depart were presented to the Holy Father at Castelgandolfo to receive his blessing: Fathers Felix De Andreis, a priest of the Mission, John Baptist Acquaroni, a priest of the Mission, Joseph Rosati, a priest

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9 One of Dubourg’s accounts is found in a letter to John Carroll, archbishop of Baltimore:

Divine Providence, having, from the first days of my residence in this capital, inspired four or five of the best members of the congreg. of the missions of St. Vincent a’ Paulo, to offer me their services towards the formation of a Seminary and the attendance on the Missions in my Dioceses, The most distinguished Prelates and Cardinals joined in a Kind of coalition with their saintly Superiors to appose [sic] the departure of one of them, the head and soul of the rest, who is considered the model and oracle of the Roman Clergy; But the Pope decided in my favour and ordered his own Secretary of state Cardi. Consalvi to terminate the contest.

(Dubourg to Carroll, from Rome, 5 October 1815, in AAB, Carroll papers, 8AH6. English.)

10 Rosati also mentioned a Roman priest, Father Bighi, who was among the first to ask to join the group. He withdrew, but later came to Lower Louisiana as part of Dubourg’s band. (Rosati, “Itineraire,” 27 September 1815; also Ricciardelli, Vita, 185.)

11 Father Joseph Pereira and Brother Antonio Boboni. (Rosati, “Memoria,” typed copy, DRMA, Rosati papers.)
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of the Mission, 12 Joseph Pereira, a postulant priest, 13 Mister Leo Deys, a cleric for Propaganda, 14 Antonio Boboni, a postulant brother.

In the name of all, De Andreis presented a formal request: (1) that we be able to celebrate the office of Saint Vincent as a double minor on 27 September 15 and on 19 July, since on that day Cardinal Consalvi, the secretary of state and the pope's delegate, and Father Sicardi, our vicar general had concluded the question of the American mission. (2) A plenary indulgence in our churches on 3 December, the feast of Saint Francis Xavier. (3) A dispensation from the oath of remaining in the dioceses, for the former students of the Alberoni, who might want to join us. 16 (4) The faculty for the entire group to go to confession on the journey to all the confessors already approved, until arriving at our destination. (5) To make the Way of the Cross with a crucifix and to erect it where there were no Franciscan convents. 17 Afterward, the request was made orally for the faculty of celebrating mass on the ship.

We were received with great kindness at the foot kissing 18 and he [the pope] gave us his blessing. Afterwards there was no difficulty at all concerning all the favors requested, with the exception that to

12 Rosati arrived in Rome 3 October after his missionary journey.

The consolation I experienced in speaking in person with Fr. De Andreis and with Fr. Acquaroni about our mission, and especially in knowing the very worthy Bishop Dubourg, just consecrated bishop of Louisiana, was a suitable reward for the trouble which I could not in the least expect in seeing how much suffering our departure was giving to our superiors. I will thank the Lord who helped me to bear up under this very painful conflict that my heart was experiencing.

13 That is, he was seeking admission to the Congregation, having already been ordained a priest. If he was the same Joseph Pereira de Miranda listed in the Roman province catalogue for 1822, he would have been 35 years old.

14 Leo Deys, a student for Propaganda Fide, entered Monte Citorio, at age 24, on 27 September 1814, and left 21 October 1815 for America. It was he, perhaps because of his knowledge of French, who introduced Bishop-elect Dubourg to De Andreis. The register of student remarks: "He behaved excellently in all ways." ("Catalogus in quo praeter Convictorum nomina, eorum etiam qualitates adnotantur," register of students at Monte Citorio, 1720-1870, Archives of the Roman Province, 3.5.11, 37.)

15 This feast was extended to the entire Congregation only in 1822.

16 None joined De Andreis, although some did join the bishop.

17 The erection of the Way of the Cross was restricted at the time to Franciscans.

18 A papal ceremony.
celebrate mass there was the condition that the altar be well fixed. He [the pope] did the same with various other special requests presented subsequently and gave us his permission. Besides the great opposition offered very forcefully by some, even cardinals, against the departure of De Andreis, at the end the secretary of finances, a person very dear to the Holy Father, to whom the Holy Father usually would readily agree in everything, presented his opposition. The pope responded in frank and precise terms “just leave, and don’t ever talk to me again about this matter.” This confirmed, as the final evidence, the manifestation of God’s will and wishes beyond any hope to the contrary.

When the departure of this apostolic vanguard approached, the superior gave a rule to be followed on the journey. It consisted of twenty articles drawn from the rules and practices of the Congregation and from the advice Saint Vincent gave to those whom he sent to the foreign missions.¹⁹

On the night between 21 and 22 October, the first group embarked from Ripa Grande for Marseilles. The members were Fathers Joseph Rosati, John Baptist Acquaroni, members of the Congregation of the Mission, Father Joseph Spezioli,²⁰ a clerical postulant, Leo Deys, a cleric for Propaganda, postulant brothers Antonio Boboni and Francis Borawanski. They were joined at Civitavecchia by Father Joseph Pereira, a clerical postulant.

Cardinal Litta predicted great things for the mission, as he was a very experienced prefect of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith. He said that he was sure of the eventual good outcome of this mission.

Bishop Dubourg insisted from the beginning and often repeated in various ways and on different occasions that he was assuming the total expense of the journey for the missionaries, and that, besides, he had already in hand as much as he needed for their transport. In the presence of the vicar general Father Sicardi, he obliged himself besides to take care of their clothing.

¹⁹ Since De Andreis was the superior for the first time in his community life, he is the likely author of this document, which, however, is no longer extant.
²⁰ Spelled Specioli here.
Finally, a plan for the regulation for the establishment of the missionaries in Louisiana was drawn up in Naples. The bishop signed it on 17 November 1815, and it consisted of ten articles. A copy of it or the original signed in this way is with the vicar general.\textsuperscript{21}

In a long meeting held with His Eminence Cardinal Litta an agreement was made to tolerate slavery, provided that the slaves be treated with equity, charity and humanity, as Saint Paul also says: \textit{Domini, quod justum est et aequum servis praestate} ["let the masters deal justly and fairly with their slaves"].\textsuperscript{22} Yet they should always speak up for emancipation. Concerning the seminary to be established, the cardinal said that the revenues for the support of the bishop of New Orleans should, when gathered, easily furnish its endowment.

At Naples they could not obtain anything from the king, but the cardinal [Aloysio Ruffo Scilla] nevertheless donated 100 ducats, and Father [Fortunato] Masturzi, another eighty, which had been held by Father [Giuseppe Antonio] Defulgure and by me. Besides two chalices, two missals, six or eight large reliquaries, a new cassock made of thin cotton cloth and several other significant items, such as pictures, rosaries, scapulars and other things, were awaited.

On their return from Naples they understood that from the convoy that had gone by sea to Genoa had come the sorry news of the departures, first of Boboni and then of Pereira.\textsuperscript{23}

In Rome Father Luigi Giorgi donated a silver chalice and forty scudi. He said that he intended to make this gift to us missionaries.\textsuperscript{24} He had already donated a trunk, a beautiful reliquary, and various pictures and devotional items from Father Maestro Alimenti. The following showed that they were eager to come to America: Fathers [Simone] Ugo, [John Baptist] Tornatore, [Filippo] Dalla and the novice brother Agnello Rosati; in Naples, Fathers [Giuseppe] Girardi, [Emanuele] De Ecclesiis, Brother Luisi, Brother [Pasquale] D'Urso and Brother [Agnello] Graziano.

\textsuperscript{21} This document bears two dates: 27 September and 17 November. The earlier marks the day when the agreement was reached; the later, the actual day of signing. It is reprinted in Rybolt, \textit{The American Vincentians}, 451-54.

\textsuperscript{22} Col 4:1.

\textsuperscript{23} From Genoa, Boboni went to San Remo, his native place, to bid goodbye to his family. De Andreis wrote him to stay there. Pereira felt he too should withdraw to care for his aged mother. (Rosati, "Itineraire," 10 October 1815.)

\textsuperscript{24} That is, not to the diocese of Louisiana.
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It was proposed to the vicar general that should we need faculties exceeding those of a visitor, which would not be easy to request again, it might be judged appropriate to concede those given to missionaries going to Goa: the establishment of a council which would hold the faculties of the [superior] general. He responded that he had given all the faculties, which he specifically reconfirmed, to bring to America whoever would wish to come, especially brothers.

It was resolved that the following four would leave by land for Bordeaux: Fathers Marliani, a Roman, Joseph Buzieres, French, Don Casto [Benito Gonzalez], a Spaniard, and De Andreis.

Mister Deys purchased a [book by] Defulgure from Father Thomaso for twenty-five paoli. Several hundred large and small pictures of Our Lady and of Saint Louis were left for the bishop on our return from Naples.25

That group left on 15 December from Rome. Francis Xavier Dahmen,26 a German, joined them. They went to Monterosi where they had to wait for Buzieres to arrive from Viterbo. He came on the next day by private coach, at a cost of twenty-six paoli.

From there we left on the sixteenth and went to spend the night at Otricoli. On the seventeenth we ate at Terni and spent the night at Spoleto. The eighteenth we ate at Foligno and spent the night at Nocera. On the nineteenth we ate at Sigillo and spent the night at Cantiano. On the twentieth we ate and spent the night at Fossombrone. On the twenty-first we ate at Fano and spent the night at Cattolica. On the twenty-second we ate at Savignano and spent the night at Cesena. On the twenty-third we ate at Castel San Pietro. On the twenty-fourth Bologna and we spent the evening at Castelfranco. On the twenty-fifth27 we stopped. We left after lunch and arrived at Marsaglia. On the twenty-sixth at Parma and we spent the night at Borgo San Donnino. On the twenty-seventh at Piacenza, which we left on the thirtieth.

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25 This confusing paragraph in De Andreis's hand, and dealing with financial matters, seems to have been placed here because of space left on the page during the composition of this booklet.
26 Spelled Dhamen here.
27 Christmas Day.
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Brother Blanka joined us at Piacenza. On the thirtieth of December we left Piacenza at six and arrived at Stradella. The next day, the thirty-first, we ate at Voghera and spent the evening at Tortona. On January first [1816] at Alessandria and the evening at Asti. On the second we reached Turin in the evening. We left Turin on the third. 28 On the sixth we passed Susa and, fortunately, Mont Cenis. On the seventh at Bramans, the eighth at Saint Michel, the ninth at Aiguebelle, the tenth at Biviers, the eleventh at Tullins, the twelfth at Saint Marcellin. I celebrated mass in the church where our confirere Father Bouchant was the vicar. 29 We spent the evening at Romans. On the thirteenth at Valence and in the evening at Loriol. The fourteenth at Montelimart and Pierrelate, the fifteenth at Bagnols and in the early evening at Pont du Gard. 30 On the sixteenth at Nimes and in the evening at Lunel, on the seventeenth at Montpellier where we stopped and the bishop had us stay at the seminary where we remained until the twentieth. In the morning we reached Pezenas. On the twenty-first in the morning at Béziers, in the evening at Narbonne. On the twenty-second at Moux, the evening at Carcassonne. The twenty-third at Castelnaudary, the evening at Villefranche. The twenty-fourth at Toulouse, the twenty-fifth the same place. The twenty-sixth at Castelsarrasin, the twenty-seventh at Agen. The twenty-eighth at Marmande, the twenty-ninth at Langon and the thirtieth at Bordeaux.

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28 Letter 8, 4 January, yields the date of departure as the fifth, the more likely one, in view of the business they conducted there, as mentioned below.
29 Gabriel Bossan.
30 This reading is conjectural; the original text is unclear, and the early copy omitted it. The two manuscript versions of this portion of the journey differ as to where they spent the night of the fifteenth (see the Itinerary). The text of Important Notices places Pont du Gard after Bagnols; the text in Itinerary places Pont du Gard before Bagnols. Since the group traveled an average of 30 kilometers a day, it is likely that Important Notices is the correct version, since this distance easily fits with the route Montelimar-Pierrelatte-Bagnols-Pont du Gard. The mention of Pont du Gard in the Itinerary could be a confusion with Pont St. Esprit, which the group traversed between Pierrelatte and Bagnols.
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[Section Two:

Assistance received on the road]

At Piacenza support for two and a half days, some few provisions for the road, and more than ten écus in cash. At Turin Father Craveri paid all the expense of lodging, about fifteen écus. No mass.\(^{31}\)

At Montpellier we were lodged for three days at the seminary and when we left the superior gave us 25 francs. At Béziers the pastor gave us 27 francs for 27 masses, 13 for Father Marliani and 14 for me.\(^{32}\)

I began the twenty-first of January at the Hospital of the Incurables of Saint Louis. At Castelnaudary we dined at the house of the Sisters of Charity. One of them, Magdelaine Seguin, is a pharmacist and she offered herself for Louisiana. They are not Sisters of Saint Vincent; they are called [Sisters of Charity] of Nevers.\(^{33}\)

At Toulouse I received 150 francs from the superior of the major seminary for 150 masses that we are to celebrate, at least one every day. At La Reole we dined at the home of the pastor.

Extraordinary expenses

A gradual\(^ {34} \) at Turin, 3 francs.

Two crucifixes, one for Father Marliani, the other for Mr. Casto, 7 lire and 9 sous.

A hat cover for Father Marliani at Turin, 15 sous.

A pair of gloves for Mr. Casto at Turin, 30 sous.

At Valence, 5 francs for Father Buzieres for his travel to Clermont.

For shoe repair and other small expenses, 5 francs to Mister Deys.

Other shoes and tobacco, etc., 3 francs.

To the brother for Father Marliani's cassock, and to buy iron, 60 francs. Another 61 francs given to the brother for the expenses incurred on 25 February.

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\(^{31}\) The missionaries had stayed in public lodgings and were unable to say mass because the Vincentian house was not yet opened.

\(^{32}\) At this point, the writer begins the account in French.

\(^{33}\) Perhaps a mistaken identification, since no sister by this name belonged to the Sisters of Charity of Nevers.

\(^{34}\) A service book with liturgical music.
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To Father Marliani for a book, 2 francs. For three vestments and an antependium, 6 napoleons each. For laundry, about 6 francs. The expenses incurred by the brother are recorded separately. Also, all Father Acquaroni’s expenses are registered in order. For an Italian and French dictionary, 16 francs and 10 sous. New shoes and soles, 10 francs.
To the brother on 14 March, 4 louis d’or.
On 16 March I gave the procurator 89 silver écus for the house. I mean 89 Roman écus.
For 350 masses, Bishop Dubourg gave us from Lyons 1000 écus (that is 1000 francs) to have the baggage sent.
The bishop arrived at Bordeaux on 22 May 1816. He accepted Brother Medard [Delatre] and let go Fathers Marliani, Spezioli and Buzieres.
Father [Joseph] Boyer, the first vicar general of Bordeaux, presented us with the Holy Bible of Vence in seventeen volumes in quarto or octavo.35
Father Bornac [Bournac], honorary canon and chaplain of the [Hospital of the] Incurables, gave us an English dictionary, several books and other items.
From Rome to Piacenza, 150 écus for the private coachman and daily expenses.
One single coachman, 150. From Piacenza to Turin, 45 to the coachmen.
37 1/2 écus ut s[upr]a [“as above”] from Turin to Montpellier.
For the coachmen, 28 louis d’or.
At Aiguebelle, 9 January, I gave him 5 louis.
At Romans another 6 louis, 12 January, and then 9 at Lunel totaling 20 louis d’or.

We arranged for the same coachman from Montpellier to Bordeaux for 25 louis. At Bordeaux, I gave the coachman, Jean Lognier, 59 louis for all the expenses of the journey, which included the private coach, a broken window and some other expenses for portage etc. That is, I completed that payment. From the rest of the letter of exchange taken at Turin for 300 Roman écus, I have 6 louis d’or, at present, on 2 March. I have given the brother 46 francs.36

On 12 March 1816, the archbishop of Bordeaux, Charles d’Aviau du Bois de Sanzai orally gave me the power to hear confession for all reserved cases, even those reserved with excommunication. He appointed me chaplain in the prisons of the Chateau du Ha37 where I preached and said mass on all the feast days and where I heard

36 This reference to 2 March 1816 dates the passage.
37 The Fort du Hâ, now demolished, was located just a few steps away from the cathedral.
confessions for four and a half months. Fathers Marliani, Spezioli and Buzieres stayed in Europe but we added the priests, Fathers Carelli and Ferrari, the cleric Tichitoli, and Brothers Medard Delatre from Amiens, thirty-eight years old, and John Flegifont from Limoges, thirty-five years old. They were received [as postulants] and should have commenced their seminary [novitiate] on 9 June 1816, but it was believed better to defer this.

On 12 June we left Bordeaux on a sloop. We ate dinner at Bec d’Ambese and on the same sloop on the Garonne and the Gironde, we arrived at 1:00 A.M. at Poliac [Pauillac] and boarded the American brig “Ranger” where the thirteen of us slept: Fathers Rosati, Acquaroni, Caretti, Ferrari and De Andreis, the clerical brothers Tichitoli, Deys, Gonzalez and Dahmen, and the lay brothers [Martin] Blanka, Francis [Borawanski], Medard [Delatre] and John [Flegifont] with another traveler, a young man from Baltimore.38

The next day [13], Corpus Christi, six of us came on the sloop to Poliac [Pauillac] to celebrate there. Two of us39 celebrated mass, the others received communion. When we returned to the brig we set sail at eight and arrived in the evening off Royan.

On the fourteenth we all celebrated mass on the brig and at about eight o’clock we entered the ocean amid very favorable weather, but because of the extraordinary movement we immediately fell sick. On the fifteenth, because of sickness, no one was able to celebrate mass. We celebrated two masses on the sixteenth,40 a Sunday, and the weather was wonderful. Before leaving Bordeaux the bishop [Dubourg] had given us a brief discourse, exhorting us to have confidence in God and fraternal unity, and he gave us all the information we needed for Baltimore. He named as his vicar general the superior [De Andreis], and gave the faculties for this to Father Rosati as well, during his [De Andreis’s] absence.

A vow made on the sea on 18 July, being 300 miles from Baltimore and afflicted by the contrary winds, at first vespers of the feast of Saint Vincent de Paul.41

38 Rosati identifies him as a Mr. Norris, a Quaker.
39 De Andreis and one other.
40 De Andreis preached. See Letter 18, 14 August 1816.
41 The ship was unable to make headway, and supplies were running low. The passengers feared starvation more than death in a hurricane.
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We, the undersigned missionaries of Louisiana, amid the perils which surround us, being firmly convinced of the influence and special favor which thou, O glorious and illustrious hero of Christian Charity, St. Vincent of Paul, dost enjoy, before the throne of the Divine Majesty; on this day, dedicated by the Church to the celebration of thy feast and glorious triumph; prostrate at thy feet, implore thee by the zeal which inflamed thy heart for the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the welfare of those who consecrate their lives to promote these ends, to deign to accept the vow we joyfully offer thee, and by which we bind ourselves to celebrate, in the best possible manner, the day of thy happy death, on the 27th of September, 1816, to prepare for it by a novena, and a fast on the eve; in the hope that thou wilt obtain for us a favorable wind, and a happy outcome of our voyage; together with an increase of that apostolic spirit, which was so conspicuous in the whole course of thy holy life.

Amen.42

Each one then signed his name. We celebrated the feast with the greatest possible solemnity.

On the day of the octave, 26 July, we set foot on land on the American continent at Baltimore in the state of Maryland in the United States.43 We went immediately to the Sulpician seminary44 where we received the most charitable welcome in the world. An Irish merchant,
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Mr. [Luke] Tiernan, took care of our baggage at the customs, had them moved along, and they were, fortunately, released when we paid 200 dollars. Today, 8 August, with great consolation we heard of the conversion of three heretical ministers in New York.

Brother Flegifont left us since he was sick. Father [Simon] Bruté gave us 100 dollars on two occasions.

[Section Four:

Information about the United States, about religion and the missions]

The United States, with Louisiana, which now forms a part of it, extends between the twenty-eighth and fiftieth degree of latitude and has more than fifty degrees of longitude. It is more than 700 leagues long and 500 wide, measured at their greatest distances, and contains about 2 million square miles, or more than 222,000 square leagues. By

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45 Rosati glossed over the problem in his "Recollections," II:38, but was more explicit in his "Life of De Andreis," Summarium, 265. Charles Nerinckx also referred to their mistake of not presenting a bill of lading with detailed prices and descriptions of the items imported. (C.P. Maes, The Life of Reverend Charles Nerinckx (Cincinnati, 1880), 351.)

46 This reference to 8 August 1816 dates this passage. One of these ministers was Virgil Horace Barber, 1782-1847, an Episcopalian, later a Jesuit. His wife became a Visitation nun in Georgetown, and all of their children entered religious life. ("Barber," New Catholic Encyclopedia.) The identity of the others is not clear. They may have been George Edmund Ironside (d. c. 1827), probably a layman, and later an active author of works about the classics; another called variously Dr. Keeley or George Kewley; perhaps John Richards, and Keating Lawson. ("New York," Catholic Encyclopedia, XI, 23b.) De Andreis summarizes the event in Letter 20.

47 The following generic material is not in De Andreis's hand. Because it betrays long familiarity with American missionary life, its author was possibly a Sulpician (Bruté?) or another missionary, even Dubourg himself. That the author was French can be deduced by references to "our France," and "our Bossuet." De Andreis probably intended this material as information for him to pass along to his students. The date of 1815 for its composition suggests that it was copied in Baltimore, from another document dated 1815, and inserted here by a member of the group. Its numerous exhortations show that it was intended for prospective missionaries.

48 One league equals nine miles in this section of the document, although the standard measure is much smaller.
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Contrast, France, taken in its former borders, has only 180,000 miles, or 20,000 square leagues.

China, which some say has 150 and others more than 300 million inhabitants, has about one-third less surface. It is as large as four-fifths of Europe.

Britain has 1609 square leagues and 2,290,000 inhabitants.

Ohio has 4350 square leagues and 227,000 inhabitants. It could have 6 million, and is one twenty-fourth of Europe. The Mississippi Territory has 10,000 square leagues and 40,000 inhabitants. It could have 14 million, one twenty-seventh of Europe. Pennsylvania has 5200 square leagues and 810,000 inhabitants. It could have 7 million. Maryland has 1600 square leagues and 380,000 inhabitants. It could have 2 million, one-fifth the size of Europe. Virginia has 8000 square leagues and 974,000 inhabitants. It could have 10 million. Kentucky is a province of 5500 square leagues, that is to say three times larger than Britain, which has only 1609. The first family was established there in 1775. Fifteen years later, in 1790, it already had 73,677 persons, and in 1810, 406,511.

Now if Britain has 2,200,000 inhabitants, the result in the table of population of these five departments is that Kentucky (even supposing that it does not have the best soil, nor the more favorable circumstances of population than Britain) could have 6 million and if it follows the same growth in population as it does now, this would happen before the middle of this century.

Description of the current state of 2 July 1815

A weak Catholic mission has continuously existed in the English colonies in North America since their origin. It was supported by the zeal and perseverance of the Jesuits, established in Maryland, from where they helped certain parts of the neighboring provinces. All the

\[\text{That is, states. This is one of several indications that the author was French, since "département" is a rough French equivalent of "state."\]  

\[\text{The date 1815 may be an error for 1816. If not, this material was probably copied from another memorandum written by a French missionary to America. A reference at the end of the section to the baptism, "last year," 1814, of the children of William Clark, points to 1815. On the other hand, the reference to "Bishop" Dubourg below, ordained 24 September 1815, may point to 1816.}\]
laws of the English penal code against Catholics, and particularly those
against missionaries, were in effect in these lands, although in general
they have been less rigorously enforced in recent times. The Church
was supported with difficulty amid the greatest obstacles, but at the
revolution of 1775 these provinces formed an independent nation
under the name of the United States and they adopted a system of
universal tolerance. Religion increased so rapidly that in 1789 the
venerable Pius VI deemed it proper to establish a permanent episcopal
see at Baltimore for all the United States instead of vicars apostolic.
Bishop [John] Carroll was the first bishop. After this period the number
of Catholic congregations increased daily in the various states. At the
request of the bishop and the clergy of the United States, Pius VII,
although in the midst of his bitter problems, undertook the division
of this vast diocese. In [8 April] 1808, Baltimore was erected as a
metropolitan see and four suffragan dioceses were given to it: Boston,
New York, Philadelphia and Bardstown, Kentucky. In addition, there
was the administration of the diocese of New Orleans in Louisiana,
an area as vast as all the United States together, and which had just
been annexed to it. Although vacant at the time, this see depended at
the time of its annexation on the archdiocese of Havana.

Bishop Carroll took the title of archbishop of Baltimore and
received the pallium. Father [Jean Louis] Cheverus, a French priest,
was named bishop of Boston; Father [Benedict Joseph] Flaget, another
French priest, a Sulpician, bishop of Bardstown; Father [Michael
Francis] Egan, an Irish Franciscan, bishop of Philadelphia, and Father
[Richard Luke] Concannon, a Dominican and a close friend of Pius
VII, bishop of New York. This latter died in Naples just as he was
about to leave for his diocese. The three others were consecrated in
Baltimore in the first days of November, 1810, by Bishop Carroll
assisted by Bishop [Leonard] Neale, a former Jesuit like himself but
American born and previously nominated his coadjutor under the title
of bishop of Gortyna. All these bishops, as well as the archbishop,
had been missionaries. Their promotion was regarded less as a reward
for their apostolic virtues than as a benefit for the flocks confided to

51 Concannon had been detained by the French military authorities in Naples as
a British subject. He remained there from 1808-1810.

52 Actually, 28 October.
their zeal. Their promotions merely opened a way for the bishops to work harder.

Bishop Egan died in 1812. He was succeeded by Henry Conwell, 26 November 1819. His see is still vacant. That of New York was filled in September 1814. When our Holy Father, Pius VII, returned to Rome and was free to exercise anew his care for all the churches of the world, among the numerous nominations that he made, he gave to the diocese of New York Father John Connelly, an Irish Dominican, consecrated in Rome.

As for New Orleans, Bishop Dubourg from Bordeaux, the president of the College of Saint Mary at Baltimore and a Sulpician priest was named its bishop by the archbishop administrator John Carroll, while waiting for His Holiness to make arrangements also for the diocese of Philadelphia.

The clergy of the United States are composed of a certain number of priests born in the country and educated before the American revolution in the seminaries of the Low Countries or France. Afterwards they were educated in those now existing in the United States. They were also composed of a larger number of priests who came from Europe, that is from France and Ireland, the great majority; from Belgium and Germany, from Italy and even from Russia, that is to say Prince Demetrius Gallitzin for the long time at the head of a very flourishing parish in Loretto, Pennsylvania.

These priests belong for the most part to various societies or congregations. First, the Jesuits, who had first planted the faith in these lands, have for a long time been left alone or nearly alone. There are about twenty of them. The greatest number are employed in the ministry in various states. The others remain in Georgetown, a little town separated from the capitol, Washington, by only a bridge. Their college there is very flourishing and has more than eighty boarders. It has magnificent buildings, and is under the guidance of Father John

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53 Actually, 22 July 1814.
54 He was succeeded by Henry Conwell, 26 November 1819.
55 Actually, 4 October 1814.
Grassi, who came from Russia three years ago and is the current superior of the Jesuits in the United States. They also have a novitiate at White Marsh where there are some twenty subjects, its superior is Father [Anthony] Kohlmann the younger, called from New York for this purpose last January.

The Dominicans have a house in Kentucky where there are several priests and novices. The Augustinians have a beautiful church and a house in Philadelphia, but there are only two of them.

At Baltimore the Sulpicians have a seminary, the archbishop's seminary. To this seminary, which has not been large up to now, is joined the college of Saint Mary which they run. The buildings are considerable and the chapel is a beautiful edifice in Gothic style with a basement and vaulted underground chapel. The college has had up to 130 boarders but it declined greatly during the war [of 1812]. Another seminary and college was established 1809 at Mount Saint Mary's at the foot of the Alleghenies, 18 leagues from Baltimore in the same state of Maryland. It has some eighty students of whom twenty or so are destined for the ecclesiastical state. Bishop Flaget has succeeded at Saint Thomas near his episcopal see of Bardstown in Kentucky to recruit a dozen or so ecclesiastical students, and Father David, like him a Sulpician, directs this young seminary.

There are also six Trappists in New York. They are what remains of a larger number whom their superior general brought back with him to France last year. Some other societies have a few dispersed members.

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56 Since the Society of Jesus had legal existence for a time only in Russia and Prussia, John Anthony Grassi had been there on official business. His "The Catholic Religion in the United States in 1818" appears in *American Catholic Historical Researches* 8 (July 1981): 98-111; reprinted from *Woodstock Letters* 11 (1882): 236-44. He wrote of the Vincentians (pages 103-04):

Some Lazarists from Italy have lately reached the Western territory of the United States, and they are only waiting the arrival of the Bishop from [of] New Orleans to fix upon a place for their establishment. The zeal and activity of the Rev. Mr. Andreis, who is the Superior of these missionaries, excited expectations of great works for the glory of God: he has already written that God has deigned to crown his labors amongst the Indians with signal success.
even produced among the most enlightened persons a degree of favor and a marked preference for the true Church. They respect its ministers more even than those of the sects and they have no problem at all in agreeing that it is quite bad that imprudent or evil reformers have thus divided Christians among themselves and rent the bosom of mother Church. Many Protestants are true deists, without faith or any other practice than those that their becoming name and their particular sect impose on them for Sundays, and on a small number of other occasions. They resemble bad European Catholics, and it is very hard to free them from their deism. But those sincerely attached to Our Lord and to His Gospel, although in error, seriously lend themselves to the examination proposed to them, and they often overcome all their difficulties to be openly united to the true Church. If a number of missionaries permitted them to consecrate a part of their time to them—the number being far from sufficing for Catholics themselves—they would be united to the Church in quite large numbers. This cannot be done now, although there is already great consolation in this matter.

Extent and population of the United States

One cannot give a better idea of the extent of the field open in the United States to the zeal of priests zealous for the glory of their divine master and for the salvation of souls, than by looking at some of the data which geography and official statistics furnish in this regard, especially relative to the current state and the very rapid progress throughout the country.

The United States extends from north to south as far as Paris to Cairo, and from east to west as from Lisbon to Astrakhan, if one includes Louisiana, or only from Paris to Saint Petersburg if one takes only the United States. In comparing them with our France, the United States can be represented in a general way by the figures below which represent it as ten times larger than France, including Louisiana, or five times larger taking only the United States properly so called.

| United States | 8,000,000 inhabitants |
| Louisiana     | 100,000 inhabitants  |
| France        | 28,000,000 inhabitants |
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Currently, the United States comprises about one million square miles and Louisiana, which has been annexed to it, just as many. That makes two million square miles, while France taken in its proper boundaries by the medium calculations, comprises only 190,000 square miles, that is to say, less than one tenth. On the other hand, the United States contains only about eight million inhabitants, while France has 28 million, but it is ten times less extensive, and this means that it is, therefore, really inhabited more than forty times the United States. Or if one takes only the United States without Louisiana, currently nothing more than an enormous wild country with some 100,000 colonists dispersed, France is twenty times more populated than the United States.

But the population is increasing at a truly astounding rate, especially since the revolution that made these territories independent. One can have an idea of this only by displaying the tables of its progress and for those we go to the public newspapers. We see from these tables that all the states are growing in population but at very different rates. Some of them are quite small or medium-sized like Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and even Virginia, the oldest states. Several others are much more like New York, which has tripled in twenty years. Kentucky has quadrupled in the same time. Ohio has grown six times in ten years. Some are only just beginning, and have a territory more extensive than the most populated states such as New York, Pennsylvania and Virginia. They have only 40,000 inhabitants, like Mississippi or 14,000 like Illinois. But if one considers their progress in ten years, one sees that they have grown five times during that period.

If we examine the proportion of the population in the territory, we see that it offers another curious aspect of what one can, except for local data, calculate for the future. All the territory of the United States can generally be well populated, from Maine in the north, to Mississippi in the south. The rest of the immense proportions of territory, where one cannot yet have any exact account of the population, is left still blank on the tables.\footnote{That is, on printed population tables.}
From Kentucky and Ohio to the Lake of the Woods between the other lakes and the Mississippi, a territory larger than France has only a population of 30,000 to 40,000 souls. Therefore, what could these areas become one day? What could they become in a half-century or century? And if religion is dear to us, what vows should we not make that the Lord prepare the ways for it by assuring its benefits at the same time as those [other benefits] which are doubtlessly inferior, although interesting themselves, namely civilization and education.

The United States with Louisiana has its natural frontier at the mountains, where the Missouri with its tributaries and the Mississippi have their source, but they intend to move its borders westward all the way to the Pacific Ocean, which is very near the mountains, and where the beautiful Columbia river should take them. They ought to form one day a new Europe. Without doubt it is not presumptuous that they then be one single republic or association of republics as at present. Perhaps before that time they will have undergone the political changes more or less like those that Providence has bestowed on the ancient nations and those we call modern nations, and which for America are the truly ancient nations. But whatever the chances are, the existence, promises and graces of religion and the Church of Jesus Christ should extend everywhere for all time until the consummation of the ages. They will be accommodated with that sovereign liberty, that essential and characteristic independence, which has marked their progress in the midst of the nations whose customs, interests and social institutions seemed more different. May true Christians and great souls made for thinking, so to say, with Jesus Christ himself and the apostles (Hoc sentite in vobis quod et in Christo Jesu ["have that same mind in you which is also in Christ Jesus"]\textsuperscript{62}) carry to these vast regions the intention of solicitude and hopes, of outpourings of love, prayers, true prayers and may they make by them on that occasion the efforts which Providence will be able to grant to their zeal.

Towns are forming and multiplying, and they grow in those regions at the same rate as the states themselves. Nothing is more common than hearing people in the little towns of 200 or 300 houses

\textsuperscript{62} Phil 2:5.
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say that fifteen, twenty or twenty-five years ago this house was here and it was the first to be built. Many of these towns soon stop growing at a size that they will never be able to surpass. Others slow down at least somewhat. Others continue to grow at an astonishing pace. Take for example a glance at the four towns below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Town</th>
<th>1790</th>
<th>1800</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boston</td>
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<tr>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
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<td>New York</td>
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<tr>
<td>Baltimore</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the towns and in the states Catholics progress like others. How happy they would be if their clergy grew at least as rapidly. Baltimore has four churches and ten or so priests for 7000 to 8000 Catholics or more. Philadelphia has four or five priests for 15,000 to 18,000 Catholics. New York has as many Catholics, but has only three priests and two churches. Boston, two priests and one church. How a religious and charitable heart ought to groan at seeing in these few examples given here the large difference between the needs and the resources.

Support of the clergy

The Catholic clergy, as well as those of the sects left to themselves, support themselves and divine worship by either their own resources or contributions of various sorts.

1. The clergy have their own funds, or rather certain groups or individuals have property. People cannot acquire property until they are naturalized. A group can acquire property under the name of one of its members charged with passing it on by his will to a successor who is also naturalized. Thus it is that, up to the American revolution, the Jesuits kept the lands that they had acquired when they came with Lord Baltimore to found the Maryland colony in 1632. Or this group may incorporate, that is to say, can be recognized as a legal and authorized association. Those of its members who are naturalized own property as a body, under conditions of transmission, acquisition or alienation, and recognition either by Congress for the entire republic,

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63 These spaces for figures were left blank in the original.
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or by the particular legislature of a state within its own territories. A parish can acquire and own the same in the name of its trustees. The lands acquired for this purpose can acquire a great value, and this is the most solid means of existence that the clergy can manage. But management problems only interfere with the zeal of a good priest.

(2) Individual clergymen or a society can undertake instruction and out of their proper benefice they can support themselves and the young people whom they prepare to share with them the works of the holy ministry. This is one of the most honorable and useful means for becoming independent of the people, even those whom they serve. It is one of those means that gains the most respect and interest; in certain ways it best favors the success of the mission. But this method is more or less precarious according to times and persons, and often depends on the caprice of relatives, and on fashion, on the talents of teachers, etc., and although religious instruction of Catholic children is part of their work and is a great good, it also harms other purposes of the mission.

(3) The manner in which the faithful support the missionary who should rely on them is to make a sufficient subscription for his support, for a servant, a horse and the support of a chapel. The subscription is paid partly in money, partly in gifts, rental income, etc. One can, however, generally reproach Americans for not being very generous in subscribing or very exact in fulfilling their obligations. The priest uses one of the trustees to gather the subscription, or where the collection itself is very disagreeable, he does it himself. In one or other case, he is almost everywhere obliged each year to recall the people to their religious obligations and their natural honesty in this regard. There is a way of doing this with dignity, authority and delicacy. There is [also] a way of being compromised in this.

(4) There are occasional mass intentions, only a few in certain areas, but more in others. This occasional income is regulated by the bishops for those normal times which are the ordinary procedure among Catholics.64

(5) The places in church are rented. These are the pews rented in proportion to their location near the altar and the pulpit. The pews

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64 That is, the bishops regulated stipends for baptisms, weddings, etc.
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contribute to good order, and their rental has remained generally in the hands of the trustees. One part is set aside with the collection during the liturgy either for the support of the building and for divine worship, or for the poor, etc. This revenue is quite considerable in certain churches in the towns, enough to provide the income for the majority of the expenses, and one of the main objects of the responsibility of the trustees.

(6) Also one must take into account the zeal of the Catholics in Europe, who at least for vestments, books, travel expenses etc., cannot show too much zeal in a cause as beautiful as that of the missions. Neither can they encourage themselves enough to follow the glorious examples of their parents, particularly as regards this North America, of which the French have already acquired both Canada and Louisiana for religion and the Church.

One can see from these few observations that the situation of the missionaries and the resources which they have to do good in all that concerns temporal matters depends too much on the initial funds brought over and on their use if they have any. They also depend on the societies or individuals through whom one can be related to the people and especially to the trustees with whom the missionary is obliged to deal. There are as many religious and tactful trustees to render services to religion and its ministers as there are bothersome and troublesome men to harm them.

Missionaries

A missionary arriving from Europe must learn the language. He can always suppose that he is succeeding in some small way in becoming useful, but the degree of application and of success has to rely greatly on the services that he will render to a people particularly eager for instruction and ready to hear good sermons. Simple manners, a sincere piety and solid instructions captivate their attention and attract others. The American people are in general respectful listeners, have good sense and are ready to render justice and to allow for imperfections in those whom they hear.

A missionary has to be prepared to change several points in his European way of living: his dress, food, lodging, use of time, etc. A zealous man does not worry at all about this. It is sufficient for him to
realize that all the confreres who have preceded him are well cared for in the changes that he has to undergo.

Provisions for journeys can be found on his own land. When he does not stay in town at all, and even if he does stay there, he always has to be ready to travel, generally on horseback. In fact, scarcely a day goes by without being on horseback, and a missionary acquires great facility and ease and even appreciation for this exercise.

What a missionary should desire above all is to be able to know in advance the kind of people for whom he will have to act. But among such a mixed population it would be very difficult to recount all the chances of social communication for the ministry. There are all sorts of nuances. A man of God, an apostolic man, prepares himself to become all things to all in order to gain all. For the rest, one generally sees a reasonable, meek, sustained way of living, devoted to duty and disinterested succeeding everywhere. One can repeat here that despite the depravity present in several places, there is much good sense and good will in most people. This prepares the ways favorably for every prudent and well disposed missionary.

One can sometimes encounter prejudices to be overcome at first, but by applying oneself with goodness, perseverance and skill he eventually succeeds and so becomes more respected and useful. For the rest, who could, who ought to count on a ministry exempt from contradictions and even from more or less sensible afflictions?

It is a matter of giving oneself first to God and not of going here or there on this earth except where his love and service lead, and of doing whatever God's will is.

One further observation. This is that circumstances often involve obstacles difficult to overcome regarding the degree of pomp or simply of greater decency than one would want to bring to the various parts of the divine service. Happy are we if we begin in several places with very few of these exterior consolations which are so sweet to a good priest. We can expect that our successors will one day reap more agreeable fruits from our first troubles. For the rest, a zealous priest will soon find the means to provide for himself and for his people a good chapel where the divine service is celebrated quite well.

Oh, great is the consolation of missionaries, of founders and the first workers of these infant churches. What should suffice for them is their unity in all things for their divine master, and their sense of his
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presence and of attention to him in all things; their heart-to-heart communications with him in prayer and even more intimate and completely ineffable communications at the holy altar; their custom of deepening several of the words that they read by repeating them very often in their liturgy and their readings, for example, to enjoy the gospel of John, read every day at the end of mass, and so fitting for missionaries in danger of producing little fruit. The words of the Our Father *adveniat regnum tuum!* ["thy kingdom come"], the words of the creed *propter nos homines descendit de coelo, incarnatus est, crucifixus, passus, sepultus, cujus regni non erit finis* ["for us he came down from heaven, became man, was crucified, suffered, buried, his kingdom will have no end"]; of the Benedictus, *tu puer propheta altissimi vocaberis; parare vias ejus ad dandum scientiam salutis* ["you, child, will be called a prophet of the Most High; you will prepare his ways to give knowledge of salvation"]; *Illuminare* ["Illumine"], etc. A thousand other like phrases. The *Veni sancte spiritus et emite caelitus* ["Come Holy Spirit, and send forth from heaven"], etc.


George Caleb Bingham's *Boatmen on the Missouri*. 1846.
*Collection of the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco*

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66 The sequence (hymn) for the mass of Pentecost.
A missionary ought to redeem the time, and the best means of all is the habit of recollecting himself, for example, on trips, in the country, etc. This habit doubles the strength of the soul and the results of a very transient life, one so full of distractions as ours is.

Without doubt, in our France, where in the majority of provinces the population is Catholic, there is need for a much greater number of priests than in the United States. But also this comparatively great overabundance, if we realize that outside the towns the dispersal of families renders the ministry otherwise quite difficult, and the distance between places where the priests are found stationed, makes it almost impossible for neighbors to assist and to substitute for each other. The result is that the majority of Catholics are absolutely deprived of every assistance, especially at their death.

If we ask what causes this very admirable growth of population, this is not our topic to examine. We point to emigration from Europe as one of them, and many French families have come to be established in the United States since the revolution. A greater number of families came from Germany, an even greater number still from Ireland. But one should notice already the emigration from the older states to the newer ones, from the shores of the Atlantic to the west. Families prospering in the old states are increasing their departures for the new states where they continually pour in, even though those states are already populated, or the means for establishment are even more abundant in the new areas where they go.

Protestantism

The constitution of the United States and those of individual states permit no national religion and pay no salary to any clergy. In fact the Protestants form the great majority of the population and in several states they are almost the entire mass. Only in Louisiana are Catholics themselves the large majority. Although Catholics in Maryland are as numerous as any one of the sects found there, Protestants dominate in number. They are generally richer but they have not been able to fill the greater number of public offices. Catholics, however, are admitted there without any distinction and the laws do not offer a pretext for any trouble relative to the religion that one professes. There are Catholics in the Congress and in the legislatures of the various states, among the generals, etc.
Protestants are distinguished by that name from Catholics, as well as by their common principle of the arbitrary interpretation of scripture, without acknowledging any authority established by Our Lord to direct them in this interpretation. They differ among themselves in every imaginable nuance, whether considered in general as divided into different nominal sects or even considering each of the sects in particular. They often differ more among themselves than they do from Catholics. The details of opinions about clothing and of practices of each sect, of the name of the character and the classes of

Period log-built church. Located along the route through Pennsylvania.  
*Courtesy of the author*
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their followers, of their ministers and of their places of assembly, would make a large book. The following short notices should suffice here.

The Episcopalians of the Anglican Church, the national church before the revolution, had agreed to receive their ministers from England. Separated from their mother church after the revolution, they had to keep their clergy independent of the English bishops, who have consecrated only their first bishops. The articles of faith and the liturgy have already undergone notable changes. This sect has lost much since the revolution, especially among the people. It is one of those whose members tend the most to indifferentism, although their clergy are supported still, as far as one can determine, like those of England. They share their pretensions for apostolicity, share in their biblical enterprises, and defend themselves as well as they can by a conduct full of superiority and of dignity against the zeal of Methodist ministers who take many people away from them.

The Presbyterians and the Congregationalists have gained rather than lost since the revolution. Their more republican spirit renders this sect more popular. Their ministers are even more opposed to the Episcopal Church than to the Catholic Church, above all, in the eastern states. The ministers principally tend to Socinianism, or they profess it openly. Like their predecessors they strongly neglect baptism and the Lord's supper. This is probably the most widespread sect.

The Methodists, a sect dating from only the middle of the last century, is a composite of the two first churches and still attaches itself to the members of the following ones. This is a popular sect for the people and for the blacks. Like the Episcopalians they have bishops. The first one of them was ordained by Wesley, a simple minister at the time of his final decision to break completely with the Church of England. Their meetings are noisy and their preaching is animated and often attended by cries of joy or gasps from their hearers. They still go to hold their assemblies in the country. They camp under a tent for three or four days, fewer, however, now than at the time of their first fervor.

The Baptists, or Anabaptists, appear to follow in number the preceding sects. They get this identity from their parents, but among the people they mix easily with Methodists and Presbyterians. Though still baptizing by immersion, they hardly baptize at all. Among all the Protestants negligence of this sacrament has remained enshrined
among the majority of the former sects. By it they would bring even more children to the true church, which is still the largest. This deplorable situation is very astonishing on the part of the people who pride themselves so much on being attached in all things to the holy scripture, which is so evident and so clear in twenty places concerning this sacrament.

The Quakers still exist in great numbers in Pennsylvania and in certain commercial towns. They are no longer those tremblers of the past nor those zealous people who are coldly and modestly fanatics, whose stories one has read. They are people who are still regular and attached systematically to their practices and special observances, which are half religious and half civil. Without sacraments or liturgy, or practically any ministry, they have nothing Christian about them except for the name and seem just like a sect of religious freemasonry. A good Quaker is a moderate person, tidy, with a modest and pleasant life quite devoted to his business, even sharp and taking advantage however he can. They dispute [about religion] only rarely, they heartily reject all the other sects, and do not mix at all as their ancestors did in catechizing or converting others. A Quaker is still a kind of wise man in the eyes of a philosopher, but a very sad Christian in the eyes of one who believes sincerely in Jesus Christ, his gospel and his divine institutions.

The Lutherans exist in a large number among German emigrants or their descendants, but Luther is hardly recognized among them, so far are they from him on every matter.

The Moravian Brethren are found also principally among the Germans, but they are not a numerous sect. Though hard working and thrifty, they are very ignorant.

Protestants from France, Switzerland, Holland and from part of Germany are the former Calvinists, but they have only a few churches in certain towns, and they generally join their neighbors of all the sects.

The Swedenborgians, or the people of the New Jerusalem, the Mennonites, the Scuders, the Shakers, the Dunkers, the Sandemanians, the Universalists, the Priestlians, the Covenanters, etc., etc., are the least numerous sects. One could easily enlarge the list of the sects by

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67 The author means that those baptized become by that fact, members of the Catholic Church, whether they realize it or not.
the names of several other formally separated schisms or by markedly
detailed nuances that subdivide those main sects that we have already
decided to mention.

As to the Jews, they are everywhere in the commercial towns. There are several synagogues.

Again, one would need a book to give the detail of each sect in a way to come to know them well. It would be very interesting to study this. Methodists in particular offer in their organization some things less known than what one sees in the first sects of Protestantism. Ecclesiastical history has known them for a long time, although to know their current state well would entail making a new study about the places where one has to observe and deal with them.

I do not fear at all advancing the opinion that all the enlightened members of these numerous sects, and especially their ministers, experience the radical vice of their position, the nullity of faith, of ministry and of any divine institution. When they still dispute about points of detail and bring up secondary grievances, they experience the immense superiority of the Catholic Church and they recognize the rights of the mother church. Therefore, why do they not reunite? There would be many reasons to deduce from it, of which the least good would try to be surrounded and covered with the pleasant mantle of indifference that at bottom is the least philosophical and the least Christian reason. There would be need for an even greater number of missionaries who would at the same time be instructed, zealous and moderate to operate or to speed greatly the ruin of all this assembly of sects whose incoherence and vanity our great Bossuet⁶⁸ pointed to so well from the beginning.

Protestants frequent Catholic churches in great number, often even in preference in some way to their own. When they marry Catholics they have no difficulty in presenting themselves to Catholic priests, who always reserve to themselves the celebration of marriages, nor in consenting to the principal condition that is always demanded, that all the children be raised Catholic. Quite often in the missions they themselves offer their children to be baptized with the promise that they will be Catholics. So it is that Bishop Flaget last year baptized, at

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the insistence of their father, five children of the governor of Upper Louisiana, Mr. [William] Clark, with other children of the nephew of General Wilkinson, etc. By order of the president and the Congress he was responsible with [Meriwether] Lewis for traveling to the sources of the Missouri river and to the mouth of the Columbia river on the Pacific Ocean.

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69 Actually three. The baptismal records of the (Old) Cathedral list the following as baptized by Benoit Joseph [Flaget], bishop of Bardstown on 8 August 1814: Meriwether Lewis Clark, William Paston Clark and Marie Marguerite Clark. These were children of William Clark, "Governor of the Missouri Territory" (1813-1820), and his first wife Julia (Judith) Hancock. The bishop also listed himself as the godfather for the three children, aged 5, 3 and 1. Julia Clark, who died 27 June 1820, had two other children, George Rogers Hancock Clark and John Julius Clark. Of their five children, only Meriwether Lewis and George Rogers survived their parents.

70 The only other baptism recorded on that day was of Julie Clark Kampbelle, daughter of Jean Kampbelle and the late Marie Nicholas, perhaps a relative of the general.

71 The next paragraph resumes De Andreis's account in his own hand.
On 1 September two wagons left. On the third, four of our companions left with a third wagon and on the tenth all the others left by stage. For this journey one can look at Father Rosati’s journal. We arrived at Pittsburgh the nineteenth where after lodging at the Western Hotel for two days we left for a boarding house.

Francis Xavier Dahmen, with Brothers Blanka, Delatre and Borawanski. Pack animals drew the wagons, and the missionaries followed on foot.

They were De Andreis, Rosati, Acquaroni, Caretti, Ferrardi, Deys, Gonzalez, Borgna. Bruté, their host, reported the departure, that same day, to Elizabeth Ann Seton:

We have fixed in the stage of Pittsburg our good missionaries, Mr. De Andreis. (a saint, but why should not I add to it many of the others, God knows!) Mr. Rosati and Mr. Acquaroni, two priests more of St. Vincent, Mr. Carretti [sic] and Mr. Ferrardi, two other priests, the last one twenty-four years old, so amiable. Mr. Tichitoli, a charming youth in minor orders, and three more, all indeed the most amiable pack of men you ever saw. Then, Ross, one of our pupils who returns that way to New Orleans, very pious, given to them (O Providence) as their guide on the road.

(Rev. Simon Gabriel Bruté In His Connection with the Community. [Emmitsburg, Md.]: 1886. Cited partially in M.J. O’Malley, “The Centenary of the Foundation of the St. Louis Diocesan Seminary,” SLCHR 1 [1919]: 44.) Mother Seton responded to him: “Communion, directed those of the Sisters to thanks for the blessed missionaries sent to enlighten our savage land.” (Seton, Emmitsburg, to Bruté, Baltimore, 2 September 1816; original in archives of the Daughters of Charity, Emmitsburg, Maryland, Seton letters, XII-55-1-8.)

 Apparently one of several rooming houses in the city.

The four who had left with the wagons arrived later: Dahmen and Delatre on 21 October, Blanka and Borawanski the next day. (Rosati, “Itineraire,” 21 and 22 October 1816.) The next paragraph is in Latin.
On the anniversary of the happy passing of Saint Vincent, 27 September, and at the same time [to celebrate] the growth of the American Mission, to fulfill the vow made while we were tossed about among the waves of the Atlantic Ocean, we celebrated a novena and fasted on the vigil. At Pittsburgh we celebrated the feast with a solemn mass and first and second vespers with a spiritual joy increased by receiving certain letters from Europe and the arrival of the wagons.76

We left Pittsburgh on a bad flat boat 27 October, and arrived at Louisville 19 November. We were all lodged at the house of Francis Mod,77 a good Catholic.

The superior [De Andreis] went to the seminary of Bardstown and decided with the bishop that the entire group should wait in Kentucky for Bishop Dubourg to arrive. He [De Andreis] wrote to the others to come to the seminary to learn English there.78 The priests would exercise their ministry and the seminarians would study their theology as they did up to the beginning of October of the next year, 1817. When the news came of the arrival of Bishop Dubourg with another band of missionaries at Annapolis in Maryland, and following the orders of this bishop, Fathers Rosati and De Andreis with Brother Blanka and, at their head, Bishop Flaget, the very worthy bishop of Bardstown, traveled overland to Saint Louis in upper Louisiana to prepare the way and to dispose minds and hearts to receive the bishop.79

After having discussed with the people of Sainte Genevieve and of Saint

76 The next paragraphs are in French.
77 Spelled Modde, Mode, or, more usually, Mudd. Rosati notes that the group, or some of them, lodged with Mr. Tarascon. (Rosati, “Itineraire,” 19 November 1816.)
78 Rosati notes that they remained in Louisville until the feast of their patron, Francis Xavier, 3 December, about two weeks. (Rosati to Nicola Rosati, from Bardstown, 8 June 1817; copy in DRMA, Rosati papers; also, Rosati, “Itineraire,” 3 December 1816.)
79 In keeping with the charge given him by Dubourg, Flaget had sent a circular letter to all the parishes of Upper Louisiana. In it he asked that each parish hold a meeting to select a delegate to meet him in Saint Louis, to deliberate on the support of the bishop and the maintenance of a seminary. (The text is given in Rothensteiner, History of the Archdiocese, vol. 1, 252-54.) Flaget's diary specifies their departure on 2 October, also in company with Joseph Tucker. Their route led them through Elizabethtown, Owensboro and Morganfield, and they crossed the Ohio at Shawneetown. They arrived 11 October in Sainte Genevieve, and 18 October in Saint Louis.
Louis, both in the church and in groups that met in the priest's house, they determined certain general matters to receive and support the bishop, and they also received 1000 piasters for the journey of the bishop and his missionaries. Bishop Flaget and Father Rosati returned to Kentucky, and Father De Andreis with the brother stayed at Sainte Genevieve to await the bishop.

At last, on 29 December, the feast of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, the two bishops, Dubourg and Flaget, arrived by steamboat at Sainte Genevieve. Father De Andreis went to receive him at the bank of the Mississippi on horseback accompanied by about forty of the main inhabitants of the village. To the sound of bells, he was received there under a canopy carried by the most elderly heads of households. The throne was arranged majestically, and twenty-five altar boys in red cassocks and linen surplices went to receive him with

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80 Rosati’s name appears in the cathedral baptismal register for 19 and 20 October, further confirming the dates of their visit.

81 Flaget reported on his visit as follows to David:

How much was I astonished to find that they did not seem concerned about his arrival, than about that of the emperor of China! Moreover, in what a state was the presbytery! No doors, no windows, no floor, no furniture; the church still worse; the people filled with prejudices against their Bishop, whom they had never seen. But at last I succeeded in reconciling them to the new arrangement; they seemed to rejoice at the thought of having a Bishop; they began to fix up the presbytery, etc.

(Cited from Melville, DuBourg, vol. 1, 416.) De Andreis remained in Sainte Genevieve mainly to spare his delicate health the harsh return trip to Kentucky. (Ricciardelli, Viña, 331.) Flaget and Rosati left Saint Louis 23 October, and Kaskaskia on the 28th; they arrived at Saint Thomas, 6 November.

82 According to Flaget’s “Journal,” the bishops arrived on the “Pique.” Flaget described their craft:

Nothing could be more original than the medley of persons on board this boat. We have a band of seven or eight comedians, a family of seven or eight Jews, and a company of clergymen composed of a tonsured cleric [Francis Niel], a priest [Stephen Badin] and two Bishops; besides others, both white and black.

(“Journal,” 17 décembre; Spalding, Flaget, 173-74, spells it Piqua.) “Pique” or “Pike” was the “Zebulon M. Pike,” the first steamboat to arrive in Saint Louis, which it did on the previous 9 August. It called regularly at Sainte Genevieve during its years of service. (See Gould, Fifty Years, 103; and William M. Lytle, comp. Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807-1868 [Mystic, Conn.: Steamship Historical Society of America, 1952].)
Historical Writings: Important Notices

Father De Andreis who performed the office of the pastor at the door of the Church. On the second day of the year he [Dubourg] made his solemn entry into Saint Louis, and on the Epiphany he celebrated there a pontifical mass.

On 3 December 1818, the feast of Saint Francis Xavier, the internal seminary or novitiate of the Lazarists opened at Saint Louis in a little brick house situated between the priest's house and the church. It was called Gethsemani. Three novices took the habit, the priest Andrew Ferrari, the deacon Francis Xavier Dahmen, the subdeacon Joseph Tichitoli, who after several days, because of his bad health, was ordained a deacon and a priest and was sent to lower Louisiana.

On the vigil of the Epiphany, 1819, four Lazarist missionaries arrived at our seminary of Saint Mary of the Barrens from Italy: Father Francis Cellini, a novice priest, Brother Francis Anthony Borgnia, a clerical student, Brother Anthony Potini, a clerical student, and the coadjutor brother, the novice Bartholomew Bettelani. He, however, afterwards declared that he did not wish to become a brother.

On 9 January 1820, the new cathedral was at the point of being able to be used and the bishop took the step of bestowing the honor of blessing it on us Lazarists, and so, accompanied by Fathers Acquaroni, Borgna, Dahmen and four altar boys, I performed the ceremony at eight o'clock in the morning, and immediately after I brought the blessed sacrament there and that evening I gave benediction. In the morning at eleven o'clock, the bishop in his pontifical vestments

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81 The traditional rites for the reception of the bishop and the subsequent visitation of parishes specified that the bishop be received by the elders of the town or parish, and then escorted beneath a canopy to the church. Once arrived there, the pastor offered a sprinkler and holy water, then the vessel with incense. The pastor incensed the bishop, who then proceeded to the main altar. It is likely that the same ritual was repeated in Saint Louis. De Andreis was only substituting for the absent diocesan pastor, Henry Pratte.

84 Dubourg arrived by horse and carriage Monday, 5 January, according to Flaget's "Journal." Flaget then installed him as bishop during the mass.

85 He was ordained a priest on 15 December 1818.

86 The next paragraph is in Italian.

87 Usually called Philip Borgna. It is doubtful that someone else is meant here.

88 Rosati, in a letter from the Barrens, dated 20 July 1820, noted that Bettelani was now seeking readmission. (Rosati to Baccari, copy in DRMA.) The next paragraph is in French.
accompanied by an assistant priest and a priest who was master of ceremonies, and four other priests in chasubles, two deacons, two subdeacons and twenty-six altar boys superbly dressed, made his solemn entry into the church. Pictures, chandeliers and other beautiful ornaments adorned it, while beautiful music was playing, and the singing caused the church to echo with this verse from the fifth psalm: Introibo in domum tuam, adorabo ad templum tuum, et confitebor nomini tuo ["I will enter your house, I will worship at your temple, and I will proclaim your name"].

In July 1820, four years after our arrival in America, we found that the root had multiplied four times. Four of us had emigrated, and counting novices and professed we now number sixteen.

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89 Ps 5:8. The next paragraph is in Italian.
90 He makes the same reference in Letter 83, 4 September 1820.
91 De Andreis did not write these lines. Someone else added them on a loose page in the back of the booklet. Cellini, formerly a canon of Santo Spirito in Sassia in Rome, had also studied medicine there. (Rosati’s “Catalogus Parochiarum et Missionum Dioecesis S. Ludovici Anno 1816.” DRMA, Rosati papers, 28; also, his “Life of De Andreis,” in Summarium, 60.)
ITINERARY

INTRODUCTION

The "Itinerario Italo-Gallo-Americano," in its original Italian, is De Andreis's most important account of the founding of the American mission. After his three years on the American mission, the events leading to its foundation had come into sharper focus for him, its first superior. He summarizes his purpose in the opening paragraph: to satisfy the holy curiosity of others and to lead them to praise God.

The sources of his work, besides his own recollections, must have been the small notebook entitled "Important Notices," which it completes, and his letterbook, now lost. He may have had access to a journal kept by his companion Joseph Rosati. De Andreis's two accounts, while parallel, are also complementary. The importance of this narrative lies in its rich details. The author recounts the basic events carefully, but also, unwittingly, gives a picture of his own psychological and spiritual alertness.

He divides his narrative into three main sections. The first and most interesting part begins in Rome and brings the reader up to the landing of the missionaries in Baltimore. The second section inserts details on the American mission: land, population, the position of Catholics and information on Protestants for readers unaware of them. The final section briefly reviews his travels to Kentucky and then to Saint Louis. He concludes with an attempt to interest others in the American mission, speaking frankly of the difficulties of missionary life in the New World. An appendix details the role of Bishop Dubourg. In so doing, the author anticipated some of the criticisms to which the bishop was later subjected—and probably deserved.
ITINERARY.
ITALY, FRANCE, AMERICA

Saint Louis,
[December] 1819

To satisfy the holy curiosity of our friends in Italy, I have intended for some time now to undertake a lengthy, more detailed and more interesting account of what we underwent after our arrival in America. My work has not always left me free enough, nor did it not grant me the necessary time and leisure. Now, however, I am confident that I have found both the time and required leisure and, confident of both, I foresee that it will be some time before the bearer [Angelo Inglesi] departs. At the moment, I do not know my goal in writing this somewhat brief narrative, but I am sure that whatever I have to say will move my readers to praise God and to arouse pleasing religious sentiments in their hearts. I begin by giving an overview of our time from Rome to Bordeaux, and from there to our landing in Baltimore.

From Rome to Bordeaux

Exactly four years ago today, that is, from 15 December 1815 till now, 1819, I left Rome before dawn in the company of the Roman priest, Father [Caietano] Marliani (he remained in Bordeaux because the doctors judged him incapable of handling a sea voyage); the German, [Francis] Xavier Dahmen, then still a layman, but now a priest novice in our Congregation, and present here where I am writing; and the Spaniard, Mr. Casto [Benito] Gonzalez, who, although an excellent

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93 The editor has added headings to facilitate reading.

94 Marliani, a priest of the diocese of Rome, was ordained there, 20 January 1814, after making his ordination retreat at Monte Citorio. Although his name does not appear in any extant Vincentian document attesting to his membership in the Congregation, it does occur in an ordination list for secular priests. ("Libro in cui sono scritti i nomi degli ordinandi," 1788-1842, Roman Province Archives, 3.5.31.)
Christian, for proper reasons and to our mutual satisfaction, left our mission and left the diocese. On the next day, [16 December] the French priest, Father Buzieres, joined us. By mutual consent, however, he remained in France to do good there.

We did not know each other. We were strangers to one another and had not previously understood our common objective. Nevertheless, we were soon bound together with the bonds of the most sincere and cordial friendship. The next day [17 December] we began the Christmas novena.95 Each day we celebrated our pious exercises and had holy conferences and discussions that were full of zeal. All during our journey our goal was never to miss mass and usually we three priests celebrated it, although that cost us dearly. Almost always we had to use our privilege of saying mass *post meridiem* ["in the afternoon"], with all its attendant problems of hunger,96 cold, fatigue and the like. This privilege caused me to dispute with certain priests in France who did not want to allow me to use it. In addition, in the various dioceses we had to have our *Celebret* examined by the Ordinary.97 This made our contentment in being able to celebrate somewhat thorny.

Since among the priests I alone was a confessor, I very often had to allow the others to use the faculty given us of hearing confessions of our own confreres in turn, but I was obliged in different regions to go and beg here and there for a confessor, and this exposed me to strange arrangements especially in France. Ordinarily since we had to pay for the coachman, we contented ourselves with one meal daily during the trip, and in the carriage itself we distributed to each some bread and a block of chocolate, our breakfast and lunch. We observed this practice until we reached Bordeaux.

Here, now, is our itinerary. We left Rome on the 15th and stopped at Monterosi, to wait there for Father Buzieres, who according to our

95 This may mean that the group celebrated the novena traditional in the Italian provinces of the Congregation, but it most probably means that they held other special devotions during the nine days before the feast.
96 This is, since they had to remain fasting from food and water from the previous midnight until after mass. They also had the privilege of celebrating mass before dawn, as mentioned below.
97 This document identifies the bearer as a priest and had to be presented to the proper authorities before he could celebrate mass. The title means "Let N. celebrate."
agreement came from Viterbo to join us the next day. On the 16th, we stayed at Otricoli. On the 17th, we stopped at Terni and left for Spoleto. On the 18th, I had the pleasure, which I had longed for, of saying mass at the oratory of the Buon Gesu of Foligno. This pleasure too, however, soon became bitter, since, because of the recent large snowfall on the Calla, the road to Loreto was impassable. We had greatly wanted to visit that shrine before leaving Italy to place ourselves under the auspices of [Mary] Star of the Sea and so we were deeply depressed. Yet in the end we had to resign ourselves to embrace this mortification from God's hand and admit our unworthiness of receiving such a favor.

Then we took the road to Furlo and by evening arrived at Nocera. There we clambered up on the ice with lanterns in our hands to the upper city to visit the holy bishop of this diocese. On the 19th, we went up to Cantiano, where we nearly had to spend the night in the rain because of the convoys of French carriages restoring the manuscripts stolen by the preceding government.

On the 20th, we were at Fossombrone, the 21st at Cattolica, the 22nd at Cesena, the 23rd at Castel San Pietro. On the 24th we visited the body of Saint Catherine at Bologna but, unable to locate our confreres despite all our looking, we spent that evening at Castelfranco. There we had the consolation of passing that memorable night in the church, taking part in the offices, and we readily satisfied our devotion with the celebration of the three masses. We were somewhat perplexed about traveling on such a day [Christmas], but after thinking it over, we left after lunch so as not to inconvenience the coachman. That evening we were at Marsaglia. On the 26th, after mass at Parma, we spent the night at Borgo San Donnino. On the 27th, we reached Piacenza, where we had Benediction after vespers at our college of San Lazzaro. Refreshed by the cordial reception of the worthy superior and the confreres, we did not leave there until the 30th, having enrolled in our troop a German coadjutor brother, Martin Blanka. On the 30th we were at Stradella, and the 31st at Tortona.
Historical Writings: Itinerary

On the first of January [1816], I had the pleasure of embracing in Alessandria our confreres Fathers Bianchi and Kobutt, and also that evening, in Asti, Father [Giovanni Battista] Gardini. On the second, we reached Turin, where I fortunately found several of our confreres, among whom Father Cravieri was very kind to us, as was the merchant, Mr. Crodara. It was there that I met my half-brother, who had come with an empty carriage just to bring me to our family home. Convinced that it was impossible for me to make such a visit, I saluted my father in a letter. On the fifth we went to Susa, and the next day, the feast of the Epiphany, we celebrated a very early mass, taking full advantage of the privilege of celebrating mass ante auroram ["before dawn"].

We began the ascent of Mont Cenis. It was covered with snow and terribly cold, but the trip was pleasant, and by evening we were at Lanslebourg. The third day [7 January], Sunday, was memorable for us. It had been snowing all night, and the very high wind scattered the snow in all directions. We started before dawn, however, but after two or three leagues, we had to stop. A terrible fatigue would have overcome the horses in plowing a way through the snow, which by then reached their bellies. They had been whipped continuously by a ferocious wind that made the snow fall horizontally. We clearly were running the risk of falling into a precipice, since in Savoy almost every public road runs along one of them. The blizzard made it such that it was impossible to make out the road from its surroundings. The result was that the coachman had no other recourse than to release the horses since it was impossible to turn the coach around and return. He left us there between the mountain and the cliffs. The wind made the coach bounce and, although it was apparently hermetically sealed, the snow still penetrated through invisible openings. We were eventually covered with it, though we did not know how.

We stayed about two hours exposed to the danger of being tipped over and buried in the snow. The coachman reappeared and harnessed the horses again, and then with great difficulty we made a few more leagues up to Bramante, where we stayed in a poor inn. We had no

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101 His father married three times; he refers here to his half-brother, Vincenzo, born of the second marriage.
102 See Letter 8, 4 January 1816.
103 Now a French town, Bramans.
sooner set foot inside than I asked if it would be possible to say mass. The innkeeper’s wife told me that the church was at a distance, and that, because of the storm, it was impossible to take me there. A little while later the innkeeper himself arrived. I asked him the same thing, and he told me that since the church was only a stone’s throw away, he was encouraging me to follow him, as he would precede us. We prepared to follow him right through the waist-high blinding snow. The wind froze our breaths, but after a few steps, this Savoyard greyhound of ours vanished because of his rapid pace. We remained lost amid a bewildering sea of snow, unable to see either where we had come from or where we were supposed to go (at least I could not), since the wind and the snow kept us from even opening our eyes.

Half dead from the cold and covered at the same time with sweat from the exertion of the walk in the snow, I was for a moment left speechless, believing that death was inevitable. I could not refrain

The ruins of the chapel at Monte Cenisio, which De Andreis sought shelter in during a blizzard.

*Courtesy of the author*
from blaming what happened to me on my imprudence. At length, it pleased God to bring us to the church, more dead than alive. I needed a full fifteen minutes to catch my breath. My cloak was covered with rock-hard ice and was completely damp with sweat, the snow disguising its natural color. We found the church full of people and the pastor insisted that I preach. Since I did not yet have enough French to be able to preach \textit{ex abrupto} ["on the spur of the moment"], I found myself in a state in which it would have been possible only to recommend my soul to God.\textsuperscript{104} We had no fire or place to rest, and so I sought strength in the "food of the strong." Consequently I celebrated mass, but it scarcely seemed possible that I had escaped alive.

Many other circumstances have to be omitted so as not to delay too long. On the next day, 8 January, we left to go to Saint Michel, on the 9th, to Aiguebelle, the 10th at Biviers, and on the 11th we entered France,\textsuperscript{105} and went to Grenoble. There we were unable to celebrate mass because bad weather did not let us visit the bishop to have him examine the \textit{Celebret}. When he learned of it, he sent us the vicar general to give us his greetings, and so we returned to Tullins. On the 12th, I said mass at Saint Marcellin, where the vicar was Father Bouchate,\textsuperscript{106} whom I had met in Italy. We spent the night at Romans. On the 13th, I said mass at the Valence cathedral, where the entrails of Pius VI repose in an elegant marble vessel.\textsuperscript{107} This would be beautiful even in Saint Peter's [in Rome]. We spent the night at Loriol.

On the 14th, 15th and 16th, we went through Montelimart, Pierrelatte, Pont du Gard,\textsuperscript{108} Bagnols, Nimes, Lunel, and on the 17th we arrived in Montpellier. Our desire to celebrate mass was frustrated, and it made us fast until about 5:00 P.M. The bishop welcomed us at the seminary, where we stayed until the 20th. I was impatient to hear

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\item \textsuperscript{104} That is, to prepare himself for death.
\item \textsuperscript{105} The current French border begins at Montcenisio.
\item \textsuperscript{106} Gabriel Bossan, b. 1759, entered the Congregation in 1777. At the Revolution, he fled from the seminary community at Béziers to Bologna, perhaps where he met De Andreis.
\item \textsuperscript{107} This pope, under the control of the French revolutionary government, died in Valence. In keeping with ancient papal tradition, his heart and entrails were removed from his corpse and preserved apart. The monument, consisting of a portrait bust of the pope, was carved in white marble by the contemporary Italian artist Antonio Canova.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Conjectural reading. Also see \textit{Important Notices}, note 30.
\end{enumerate}
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news of our companions who, under Father Rosati's leadership, had traveled by sea. A lady came looking for me hoping I would have some news about Bishop Dubourg. She told me that of the twenty-one boats that set out for the southern ports of France, only nineteen had arrived. Added to our lack of news, this information certainly made me very fearful of the shipwreck of our companions. God only knows what an awful night this caused me, perceiving vividly in my dreams their supposed death in whirlwinds on a stormy sea.

On the 20th we were at Pezenas. On the 21st, after saying mass at Béziers, we spent the evening at Narbonne, and we received some confused information that our confreres had stayed at the same inn where we were staying. This consoled me greatly. On the 22nd, we were at Moux and Carcassonne, the 23rd at Castelnau d'Argonne and Villefranche, and the 24th at Toulouse, where at the major seminary we at last had the supreme consolation in embracing all our dear companions, safe and sound. For their part, they had been worried about us. We stayed two days to enjoy their company. On the 26th, we left them to go to prepare our lodgings at Bordeaux, the place chosen for our stop until we would embark [for America].

We crossed Gascony and on the 30th arrived in the city [Bordeaux]. It would be difficult for me to express the kindly and charitable reception which the archbishop, Charles [François d'Aviau] du Bois de Sanzai, gave us there. He kindly kept me in his home for four and half months, and he arranged for each member of our double group a lodging with some religious community or with a priest. He immediately gave me all the [ecclesiastical] faculties, and came in person to install me as chaplain of the prisons of the Château du Hâ, where I said mass, preached and heard confessions on feast days. Since I have spoken enough in other letters about our stay at Bordeaux, let us move now to our embarkation.

Bishop Dubourg arrived in Bordeaux on [22 May] the day before the Ascension and began to arrange for our departure. This prelate arrived in the company of a young cleric from Milan, [Joseph] Tichitoli, an excellent subject, now our priest novice. I neglected to mention that about two months after our arrival in Bordeaux, we were joined there by two wonderful priests from Porto Maurizio, the canon Joseph Caretti, a young man, to say nothing of his beautiful politeness and moral qualities. I closed his eyes [in death] a year ago, and he was the
Historical Writings: Itinerary

first one buried in the new cathedral of Saint Louis. The other was Andrew Ferrari, equally lovable for his even greater talent. He is now our novice and works in the state of Indiana, at Post Vincennes, in the diocese of Kentucky. I sent him there at the request of the two bishops [Flaget, Dubourg] in the hope of making an establishment there. He will soon be joined by another subject [Dahmen]. I forgot to say that one of the greatest consolations I had in France was to come to know and to experience the holy friendship of the good Daughters of Charity. My own mother could not have done more. It is incredible, and we still keep up a correspondence.

From Bordeaux to Baltimore

On 12 June, dressed in civilian clothes, with a cravat and a round hat, the normal garb of clergy in America, we embarked on the Garonne in a sloop. About midnight it reached the American brig, "The Ranger," which awaited us off Pfoliac [Pauillac]. We climbed aboard the vessel by a rope ladder. Our baggage had already been loaded. We were, all told, thirteen: five priests, four clerics, one brother and three postulants. All three of them have since left us. Our places were prepared in a large open room. Each of us had a bed with his belongings around him like the shelves in a bookstore. We made our entire voyage with another young man, a Quaker from Baltimore. The captain professed no religion. He was an American, along with his entire crew. Among them were two blacks and an Indian. Not only did the captain not impede us, but he helped us as much as he could in the exercise of religion. He always treated us very well and enjoyed attending our services and hearing about religious matters. But when we came to conclude our discussion, he would frankly say that dollars, money, moved him more than the soul, and this world more than the next. His blindness moves me to tears.

109 No trace of his grave remains today.
110 These letters are no longer extant.
111 Medard Delatre, John Fleigifont, Francis Borawanski.
112 Rosati identifies him as Mr. Norris.
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The next day, [13] the feast of Corpus Domini,113 since we were still off Poliac [Pauillac], we went ashore early in the morning in the sloop, and two of us said mass while the others received communion. We hurried back to the brig, and at 8:00 it set sail and in the evening we arrived off Royan. On the 14th, according to the permission given us by the Holy Father, we all celebrated mass on the ship. We had all the necessary requirements with us, hosts, wine and candles. Every time we celebrated, a priest vested in surplice and stole stood beside the celebrant, with his hand on the base of the chalice after the consecration, to eliminate any problem. At about 8:00 we entered the sea amid favorable weather. But the effect of the sea was quickly felt, and all fell ill. The result was that on the next day, the 15th, we did not have mass because we were all seasick. On the 16th, a Sunday, there were two masses, and so with the exception of one or two days of violent storms, we always had two or more masses. On feast days, we sang mass and vespers. We regularly held conferences and the other pious exercises in common, such as [spiritual] reading, the Divine Office, examens and the litany of the saints for the conversion of souls. Fathers Rosati and Caretti and two of the postulants were always ill. The writer was the one who suffered least of all.

We had several stormy days, and we spent one particular night at prayer, since we thought it would be the last night of our lives. The blows that the sea directed against the boat were so violent that at every instant it seemed to be hurled about and it looked like it would shatter into a thousand pieces. The sailors were trembling and the captain begged us to pray. God wished us to escape although this martyrdom was lengthy and its victims prepared, but the blow was deferred—God only knows why.

Before leaving Bordeaux, Bishop Dubourg gave to the writer the patent [official appointment] of vicar general, and another one to Father Rosati, in case the first came to be lost. The archbishop of Bordeaux, as the bishop with jurisdiction over the coasts, gave us all the permissions we needed up to Baltimore. As we passed by the coast of Spain we saw sea monsters and whales, sometimes swimming a little distance from us. Among the other fish, we admired the fish that flew

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113 Another name for Corpus Christi, the Feast of the Body and Blood of Christ.
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like birds. One evening one of them flew onto the table in our room. We ate it and it was excellent. It was shaped something like a small cod, with wings of scales spread out enough to let it fly from wave to wave. Quite often we observed a very curious phenomenon at sea. Although we were miles and miles from the continent, we saw a huge tall tower, arising from the waves all by itself, without any apparent foundation.

We made a novena to Saint Vincent, and it happened that on the feast day of this saint, a black slave was to be punished for theft and drunkenness with the penalty customary in similar cases. This consisted in his being thrown from the top of the mast into the sea, tied with a rope that passed beneath the ship. It was then pulled and made the poor sufferer pass underneath once or twice, at the risk of losing his life. I told the captain that, since the day was a great feast for us, he should spare the poor man on behalf of our saint and teacher. Fortunately I obtained what I wanted.

We were at sea about 40 days, and on several days we made no headway owing to calms or adverse winds. The captain noted sourly that the provisions would run out and that we might even die of starvation. We were about 300 miles from Baltimore, and each day we made no progress either ahead or behind. Consequently, we jointly resolved at first vespers of the feast of Saint Vincent to make a vow conceived in the following terms:

We, the undersigned missionaries of Louisiana, amid the perils which surround us, being firmly convinced of the influence and special favor which thou, O glorious and illustrious hero of Christian Charity, Saint Vincent de Paul, dost enjoy, before the throne of the Divine Majesty; on this day, dedicated by the Church to the celebration of thy feast and glorious triumph; prostrate at thy feet, implore thee by the zeal which inflamed thy heart for the glory of God, the salvation of souls, and the welfare of those who consecrate their lives to promote these ends, to deign to accept the vow we joyfully offer thee, and by which we bind ourselves to celebrate, in the best possible manner, the day of thy

114 The manuscript reads 3,000.
happy death, on the 27th of September, 1816, to prepare for it by a novena, and a fast on the eve; in the hope that thou wilt obtain for us a favorable wind, and a happy outcome of our voyage; together with an increase of that apostolic spirit, which was so conspicuous in the whole course of thy holy life. Amen.

As some of our number were French, the above words were translated into that language, and all joined in making the vow. We celebrated the feast of Saint Vincent with all possible solemnity; our little room was hung with sheets festooned with fringes, and decorated with reliquaries, mirrors, Agnus Dei, etc. Each one celebrated mass. Mass, vespers, sermons in French, etc., etc. These exercises were performed with heartfelt delight.

It was not long before we experienced the effects of our vow. A few days later, to everyone's great surprise and joy, we began to perceive the American continent. It seemed at first only like a dark line, dotted here and there with clusters of green trees. We soon entered Chesapeake Bay, from which we had so long been kept away by the current flowing out from the Gulf of Mexico into the Atlantic Ocean, like a large river bearing along with it masses of seaweed and other marine plants. When we entered the bay, a sloop came out from the Maryland shores, according to custom, with a pilot on board, to take command of our brig and steer her through the difficult passages in the bay. The captain immediately came to tell us the news that the pilot was a Catholic, which was, of course, sufficient reason for an exchange of mutual congratulations. On the 25th, we drew near land and, anxious to go ashore, Father Acquaroni asked my leave to make use of the opportunity presented by the return of the sloop to satisfy that wish of his. He did so and returned that same evening to the ship.

I cannot describe the impression produced upon us the next morning by the magnificent view of Baltimore harbor, together with the splendid situation of the bay. I hardly think there can be a more beautiful prospect in the world. Our first impulse, on landing, was to kneel and kiss the ground and offer ourselves to God with certain religious acts, but the place where we disembarked was so crowded that we deferred doing that to a more opportune time. Our landing
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took place on 26 July, the octave day of Saint Vincent, about ten o'clock
in the morning.

Having entered the place, we soon perceived the difference
between the cities of Europe and those of the new world, with regard
to the construction of the houses, streets, etc. The streets are very
broad, the houses rather low. There are sidewalks, as in the Corso at
Rome, usually bordered with trees and numerous pumps and siphons
to get water. The population is absolutely half whites and half blacks.115
Hungry and sweating as we were because of the excessive heat of the
season, we had to cross the entire city, inquiring as we went along for

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115 The Baltimore Federal Republican and Baltimore Telegraph for 27 July 1816, the
day after the arrival of the group, included, among other signs of local life, an
announcement of a grand concert by Signor Pucci on the "grand pedal harp," also
accompanying himself on the Spanish guitar. Elsewhere was an advertisement for the
sale of a negro woman, 35 years old, a good seamstress and cook.
Saint Mary’s College, the Sulpician house to which we had been recommended. It was situated outside the city, at the very opposite end to the place of our landing.

We reached it at last, and were received by the president, Father Bruté, the most holy, humble, affable, learned and zealous man I have ever known. He welcomed us with the utmost cordiality, and during the whole time of our stay in Baltimore and even afterward never ceased to bestow upon us marks of his kindness. He obtained for us many handsome donations of several hundred scudi, besides which he supplied us with everything that we could possibly need. For some days we remained at the college, after which we were located with different priests, as had been done at Bordeaux. The worthy vicar general, Monsignor Fenwick, conferred on me the honor of singing the solemn mass at the cathedral, on the Assumption [15 August], the principal diocesan feast, and the day on which the first bishop in the United States was consecrated. We were constantly employed on feast days in various sacred functions at the different Catholic churches, but it pained me, as I saw magnificent churches and heard their bells pealing, to be told that these edifices belonged to various sects of heretics, although in the state of Maryland, and especially in the city of Baltimore, the Catholics are more numerous and fervent.

I immediately wrote to the archbishop, residing at Georgetown, to apprise him of our arrival. I asked from him the requisite permissions, which he gave me in a most courteous response. I wrote to the bishop of Bardstown in Kentucky [Flaget] to inform him of our arrival and to accompany a long letter of recommendation from his friend Bishop Dubourg. He deputed him [Flaget], as his neighboring bishop, to assist us. The worthy prelate, Bishop Flaget, of whom I have already spoken much in former letters, answered very quickly. He encouraged me to leave as soon as possible before winter and assured me that he would help us in every possible way. In view of this, we prepared to leave, but before resuming the story of our journeys in America, I think it opportune to add some description of the state of religion in the United States, to illumine what follows.

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116 Letter 17.
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Geography and Statistics

To give a proper idea of the extent of the field open in the United States to the zeal of priests, zealous for the glory of God and the salvation of souls, we should begin by giving some notions of geography and statistics about the locality and the progress of population. The United States including Louisiana, recently added, are situated between 28 and 50 degrees latitude and comprise more than 50 degrees of longitude. They have more than 3000 leagues in length and more than 500 in width, measuring the greatest distances, and they contain about two million square miles. This means that they extend as far from north to south as Paris to Cairo, and from east to west as Paris to Astrakhan. Louisiana alone is as large as the rest of the United States together, that is, it alone contains a million square miles. It is hard to determine the size of the population, since it changes and increases with unbelievable speed from one day to the next. Thus Louisiana, which a few years ago counted scarcely 60,000 inhabitants, today climbs to around 600,000.

Here we are truly in our infancy, both in the world and in the Church. The cities and the states that we see being born, grow and develop before our eyes through constant immigration from all parts of Europe. They come here to unite, and they show the truth of the motto on the seal of the United States, e pluribus unum. Here mixed together are English, Irish, Scots, French, Germans, Flemish, Danes, Spanish, etc. Out of this mixture there results a new and original character. Louisiana is already divided into four states or territories that will shortly become states. It has the peculiarity that it extends to the Pacific Ocean and embraces from thirty to forty nations of yet uncivilized Indians. Pushed by the waves of European colonies, they are concentrated in that last section of the continent, and they will shortly be constrained either to become civilized or to give way. This is the right moment for their conversion. These are the designs of Providence in sending so many missionaries to this part of the world. The time has come to fulfill the prophecy in fines orbis terrae verba eorum ["to the ends of the world their message"].

Some days ago, the bishop spoke to me about the project of an establishment to be formed in a

117 Ps 19:5.
place one hundred leagues up the Mississippi called Prairie du Chien, for the education of Indian boys. The government will provide support and will help to open up missions among these barbarous nations who begin to gather in that place. Oh how happy I would regard myself if I could spend the rest of my miserable life there! Generally, however, all the parts of the United States can seize the attention and arouse the zeal of Gospel workers, since these are regions now in the process of formation. They are coming out of chaos, and in terms of religion they will be, so to say, *primi occupantis* ["belong to the one who arrives first"]. All the states are increasing in population and although in different proportion, the oldest ones, in the East, like Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Virginia, are growing almost imperceptibly, while the others are growing more rapidly, like New York, which has tripled its population in twenty years. Kentucky in a similar period has quadrupled, and Ohio has sextupled. The population grows, properly speaking, in proportion to migration to the West. Louisiana, however, is today the land of promise, where people come not only from Europe but also from the eastern states in a constant flow of emigration. Catholics were cheered in particular by the news of the arrival of the bishop with a great number of missionaries.

**The Position of Catholics**

There are various states among the United States where Catholics are barely recognized, and in some, like New Jersey, they have been forbidden. There are large cities where no Catholics live. There are very few priests in the dioceses of Boston, New York and Philadelphia. In Maryland and in Kentucky they are in greater number, but still are quite far from meeting the need of the Catholics. The priests have to be, so to speak, always on horseback to travel around to oversee the various congregations of which each priest has a certain number determined for his province. Louisiana, until recently the most abandoned, today seems to be the best served. With all this, we are still quite far from sufficing. The more priests there are, so to speak, the more the needs grow. Too, the more thoroughly we sow, the more easily we discover that there would be so much more to do were there only more workers.
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Unhappily for North America, the first colonies founded there were composed almost completely of heretics from all the sects thriving in England. This is why in the great mass of population there is found such a truly deplorable state of religion. Attached to their sects by accident of birth and education, they grow in an ignorance and laziness nearly impossible to eradicate. It is true that the first colonists in Louisiana were Catholics. Yet, since they were for a long time bereft of ministry, their Catholicism has become a nomen sine re ["meaningless name"]. If Providence had not sent to them in this quandary a bishop in due time, that is, to the multitude of new colonists who had arrived to make a foundation after the union of this region with the United States, then the weak progress of the Catholicism which still remained would have been eliminated. The spark was so close to being snuffed out that, with all our efforts, two years of hard work would still not suffice to revive it. The number of the sects is astonishing, and no year passes without the birth of another new one, such as the New Light Christians, recently born. ¹¹⁸

Notes on Protestants

Consequently, I will give a little idea of the main sects. No one should wonder if I pass over in silence much that deals with the nature of the age, of production and commerce, of civil behavior, because such information is available in books of geography and natural history, and my work would be overly long. I have to restrict myself to my goal: we came here only to seek souls, and so I let myself be occupied only in what concerns that. The greatest obstacle to the reform of Catholics and the conversion of the Indians is the numerous and varied sects of the heretics.

The Episcopalians, the Anglicans, form the major sect. This is the dominant religion, becoming the national religion when England sent the first colony to America. Its ministers came from England and had government support. This sect has lost out with the United States revolution, because not only was it forced to separate itself from the

¹¹⁸ The New Light Christians developed from the Presbyterians in Kentucky, beginning about 1803.
head of the so-called religion, the king of England, and consequently admitted a thousand changes in its faith and liturgy, but also it lost its quality of dominance and all those related advantages. The constitution of the United States established after the revolution did not allow any national religion, and did not pay any clergyman. Consequently, the Catholics, who had been so persecuted by the Anglicans in Great Britain and the United Kingdoms, enjoy in America the same privileges as Protestants. They are admitted into public life without discrimination, and the laws allow no pretext for any sort of repression of religion. Hence there are Catholics in the congress, in the legislatures of individual states, etc. The Episcopalian have their own bishop and priests and are always in league with the Methodists. There are schisms among them, and they go to war, but there are great crowds of proselytes. The Presbyterians gained more than they lost at the revolution. Their republican spirit makes their sect more popular. Their ministers are also rivals to the Catholics, since, like Episcopalians, they overlook baptism from day to day, and that is the reason why many among them die without baptism.

The Methodists were born some fifty years ago, and are a composite of the two preceding and of many members of the following sects. This sect is fashionable among the people and among the blacks. They have bishops like the Episcopalians. The first of them was consecrated by a simple minister named Wesley, the founder of the sect. His principle was this charming maxim that he produced once for his justification. It is contained in a verse from Milton, “Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.”119 The meetings of these sectarian are loud and noisy. Their energetic and noisy preaching is accompanied with shouts of joy and confusion from the whole audience and by manic outpourings. They assemble in the open for several days under many thousand cabins and tents and make a kind of spiritual retreat. These are called Camp Meetings, and they recruit members from other sects. It must be admitted that sometimes those far from the way of salvation do a great good. They move souls from vice and oblige sinners to make their confessions in public meetings.

119 Meaning, probably, that it would be better to be master in one’s own irregular situation (a bishop ordained by priests) than to be subservient to others. It is a citation from John Milton, Paradise Lost, book I, line 263.
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The Baptists, or Anabaptists, are in Kentucky and Louisiana, Illinois and Indiana. They are perhaps the strongest and most numerous there. They baptize adults publicly through immersion in rivers. This does not happen without violating modesty, especially with persons of the weaker sex. After being baptized, they regard themselves as confirmed in grace, and hence baptism is for them a point of perfection, and it happens that they generally neglect it. Unfortunately, by the evil of the devil, in all protestant sects this negligence in the administration of a sacrament of such importance is daily becoming common. This could still generate so many children for the true Church. Oh, how many souls are excluded from heaven! Quis talia fando temperet a lacrimis ["Who could refrain from weeping after mentioning such things"]?\(^{120}\) I have baptized several people much advanced in age and on the point of death after having instructed them better, and having them make a renunciation, and then embrace the true faith in the true Church. We do not have to deal with heretics but with infidels. They take their liberty so far as to interpret the Scripture as they will, and even are blinded about the most interesting, clearest and most repeated points, like baptism, which is found in twenty different places in sacred scripture.

The Quakers are still found in large number in Pennsylvania, which is their kingdom, and in commercial cities, but today they only quake coldly and are modestly fanatical, unlike those whom history mentions. They live a regular and tidy life, and are attached to the system of their practices, but they are unusual, half civil and half religious, enemies of fashion, of entertainments, of compliments and above all of oaths. They have no sacraments and no liturgy, and are Christians in name only. They have a reputation of being generous and honest, they abhor war and slavery and do whatever they can to emancipate slaves. They would rather be killed than utter an oath and be enrolled in the militia. They do not wish to dispute in religious matters, and they heartily ridicule all the others. They are attentive to their own interests. They seem to be wise men to the eyes of the philosopher, but to an enlightened Christian they are pious.

\(^{120}\) Virgil, Aeneid, 2.8. (Harvard University Press: Loeb Classical Library, Aeneid, page 294, verse 5.)
The Lutherans and their descendants came in great numbers as emigrants from Germany. From Luther they maintain only the simple name, but they are quite removed from his teaching and thinking.

There are a few Moravian Brethren among the Germans, and they profess a kind of brotherhood, as if they were a religious order. They are normally hardworking, industrious and frugal, but quite uneducated.

The Dunkers are a type of religious community, very similar in many of their maxims and practices to the ancient Pythagoreans. They are bearded and wear clothing of an old-fashioned cut. They profess great rejection of the world and of themselves, and are very religious and upright. They agree with Protestants in the more essential issues.

The French, Dutch and German Calvinists are quite few in number, and have only a few churches of their communion. They have no great difficulty in coming together wherever they are with some other sect.

The Swedenborgians, or Brothers of the New Jerusalem, the Scuders, the Mennonites, Shakers, Sandemanians, Jumpers, Hutchinsonians, Priestellians, Testamentarians, Universalists, Detensionists, Muggletonians, Brownists, Ubiquitarians, Antonians, Burghers, Kitlers, Independents [Congregationalists], Puritans, Johnisians, etc., are very few in numbers. The Socinians are making great progress. Jews have some synagogues in commercial centers. For the rest, even a thick book would not suffice to give a single detail about each sect and to make them known. All these sects tend toward indifferentism, a system for everything, half philosophy, half Christianity. Many of them have the name of some sect but at root are Deists, materialists or atheists. Some even call themselves nullists: I am nothing. This is true, although many in each sect would willingly come to the Catholic church, and they prefer it to the majority of their temples. They have no difficulty in preferring in their esteem a Catholic priest to one of their own ministers. Thus is it quite evident that to have them return to the bosom of the Church, always supposing God’s grace, etc., we would need only a larger number of well instructed, zealous and moderate priests to bring about the ruin of the empire of

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121 This list of names combines both popular and official names of small formal or informal sects. Most of them had only a transient existence.
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error, already parading in a thousand guises, and to establish the rule of truth and Catholic unity.

I say "moderate," and woe to an impetuous zealot in this country. He could ruin everything and would cause infinite disorders, with no gain. We have examples before our very eyes, as I myself learned to my cost. I have had to suffer terrible threats and the blackest calumnies of simony and even more delicate matters. It pleased God that these were not believed, despite the testimony which a Protestant general gave as being an eyewitness.  

He tried to make me confess the crime, but this was for me only a reason for consolation, since it did not make the people unready to listen to a man who was so persecuted. Thanks be to God I am no longer in this state, since I perceived the danger in time and withdrew. Good Catholics love good moderation in their priests, and this is the genius of the nation and the taste of the present age. Whoever is not liberal is more moved to cause disturbances than to edify.

From Baltimore to Kentucky

I return now to our journeys. Having made the requisite arrangements, a cleric,  

brother Blanka and the two postulants  

set out from Baltimore on foot on 3 September for Pittsburgh. They were to accompany our baggage, about eighty trunks and cases. The others, not strong enough to go on foot, started on the 10th of the same month in a public conveyance, for which we had previously paid a high price. It was a kind of diligence, called here a "stage." It was very inconvenient and exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. All eight of us got in, along with our luggage. The first day everything went well, and we stayed at Chambersburg, one of the congregations of father [Nicholas] Zocchi, a Roman, who, when we passed through was in another congregation, that is, parish, in Tauney-Town. The

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122 See Letter 72, 28 December 1819, on the same subject.
123 Francis Xavier Dahmen.
124 Delatre and Borawanski; Flegifont had decided not to continue because of his health.
125 Nicholas Zocchi (1773-1845) came to Baltimore in 1803, and after his ordination lived in Taneytown, where he died 17 December 1845. Although the party passed through Emmitsburg, they did not have the occasion to visit Elizabeth Ann Seton and her sisters.
next day, the rain began and seemed to follow us for four or five days, during which we passed over the most frightful roads. We were obliged to get out every now and then to ease the vehicle. Two occurrences, almost of a miraculous nature, took place along the way. One was that Father Acquaroni and two others,\footnote{Rosati identified them as Tichitoli and Ross, a student. (Rosati, "Itineraire," 11 September 1816.)} wishing to take a shortcut, got lost in the woods for half a day. This caused us the greatest anxiety since we did not know how to find them in this immense forest. We found them at our first stopping place.

The other circumstance, which I myself witnessed, was as follows. An enormous boulder became detached from its place and, rolling rapidly down the mountain, crossed the road at the very moment that two or three of our companions were walking there.\footnote{Rosati identified them as Deys and Casto. (Rosati, "Itineraire," 11 September 1816.)} It seemed inevitable that it would severely injure or kill them. They were preserved, the huge mass passing within a hair’s breadth of their feet without touching them. The rains continued to fall in such torrents that it was almost impossible to continue our journey. Dark night overtook us at the foot of a steep hill, where, with the excessive rains, the bad roads were full of ruts. The horses were so fatigued (one of which fell and needed ropes to be raised to his feet again,) that they were reduced to the most pitiful condition. Indeed, I was told that one among us could not refrain from shedding bitter tears. And, in fact, there we were, in the midst of frightful precipices unable to see each other, with the rain beating down on our head and shoulders. This kept us from having any light. We were far from human habitation, with streams of water running under our feet, with no help to raise up the horses, and no way to continue our journey—it is difficult to depict all the horror of such a situation. At length, after many efforts the horse was raised up and, wet through and through, we returned to the stage. There, as if sitting on a hobbyhorse, we could see the stars at every moment. After three or four hours we
arrived at a wretched inn where there was fire enough to dry our poor garments.\footnote{128}

The next day we arrived at a place called Bloody-Run, in memory of the outrages there committed by the Indians. Here we seemed to be in the midst of a spacious sea, for the whole country had been

\footnote{128} Morris Birkbeck, founder of the English Settlement in Illinois, traveled this road in the spring of 1817. He wrote:

Old America seems to be breaking up and moving westwards. We are seldom out of sight, as we travel on this grand track, towards the Ohio, of family groups . . . . To give an idea of the internal movements of this vast hive, about 12,000 wagons passed between Baltimore and Philadelphia, in the last year, with from four to six, carrying from thirty-five to forty cwt. The cost of carriage is about seven dollars per cwt., from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, and the money paid for the conveyance of goods on this road exceeds £300,000 sterling. Add to these the numerous stages loaded to the utmost, and the innumerable travellers, on horseback, on foot, and in light waggons, and you have before you a scene of bustle and business, extending over a space of three hundred miles, which is truly wonderful.

(Archer Butler Hulbert, The Old Glade (Forbes's) Road (Pennsylvania State Road). Vol. 5 of Historic Highways of America [Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark, 1903], 201-02.)
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flooded. We were, therefore, detained for two or three days at no slight expense. Finally we started with some difficulty. After going some three leagues, the coachman stopped at an inn. Without saying goodbye to the innkeeper in the American way, he turned back under the pretext that the Juniata had overflowed its banks and that the stage would be unable to cross it.\textsuperscript{129} Thus, after paying the whole fare to the end of our journey, we were left halfway on the road. By good fortune, I had a letter of introduction to an Italian doctor who lived at Bedford, on the other side of the river. I therefore asked one of our priests and a student to ford the river as best they could, to convey it to its address and get another stage. Their undertaking succeeded, and the next day we crossed the river in boats. We had to be very careful to keep our balance in them to keep from falling, since they were long and narrow.

On the other side of the river, we found the stage awaiting us, and in it we continued for another day's journey. But towards evening or, if I am not mistaken, the following morning, we met with the same difficulties at Stoystown. Here we had to remain three or four days more to wait for another stage. It came finally, but it was already full of passengers, and we were told that it would be vain to wait for another one, since our turn had passed. These enormous expenses threatened to leave us without resources in a country where there were only a few dispersed Catholics, no churches, no priests, no friends, with an entirely foreign language and customs. Having considered the matter carefully, we put our baggage into a wagon, and set out on foot in two bands. At one point I chanced to be alone,

\textsuperscript{129} Another traveler wrote:

The roads, at that day, across the mountains were the worst we can imagine, cut into deep gullies on one side by mountain rains, while the other was filled with blocks of sand stone. As few of the emigrant wagons were provided with lock-chains for the wheels, the downwards impetus was checked by a large log, or broken treetop, tied with a rope to the back of the wagon and dragged along on the ground. In other places the road was so sidelong that all the men who could be spared were required to pull at the side stays, or short ropes attached to the upper side of the wagons, to prevent their upsetting.

(Hulbert, \textit{The Old Glade}, 197-98.)
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and somewhat apart from the rest of the company. In the midst of these frightful mountains, in doubt as to the road, and scarcely knowing how to get on, the smiling picture of Rome, its churches and my friends, presented themselves vividly to my mind. Like a sword, it made me experience, for an instant, all the tortures of melancholy. But, thank God, faith and the desire for the salvation of souls soon restored peace and serenity to my soul. We stopped after two days, met the other band, and only with some difficulty found a stage. We arrived at Pittsburgh on the evening of 19 September. On the 27th, we fulfilled there the vow we had made to Saint Vincent, and we received letters from Europe, a considerable source of consolation to us. The Catholics of the city received us well, but I recall that I have related all that occurred in other previous letters.

We had to remain there until the 27th of October, since the waters of the Ohio were too low to let us continue. On that day we started in a sort of vessel called a “flat-boat,” made just like a small house or large tent whose roof served as a deck. It was a moving sight to behold the banks of the river crowded with persons who came to bid us farewell. Many of them gave us considerable sums of money and exhibited lively marks of sorrow at our departure. Our voyage went on very well. There is not, I think, in the world a longer river whose banks are more diversified with the beautiful scenery that presented
itself day after day. From time to time we went ashore on one side or the other of this enormous river, about fifty times the length of the Tiber. We would walk about among the thick forests, where no human had ever walked, except for Indians, nor human voice ever heard. Joyfully we made the echoes repeat for the first time the sweet names of Jesus and Mary, and the canticles of the Lord. In these forests, one is stopped at every step by brushwood and hanging branches, while the ground seems to sink under the feet, covered as it is with decayed tree trunks and leaves, fallen during so many years. There is also some danger in advancing too far into the woods because of the snakes, especially the sonnettes [rattlesnakes]. I saw some of them. Their tails have a set of bent rings, running one into another. When the snake moves, these rings warn of its approach, and allow the traveler time to put himself on his guard. I think I have elsewhere mentioned the cordial welcome in the various places that we passed, but especially at Marietta. There, a lawyer, one of the main citizens of the place, earnestly tried to detain us so that we might teach him the [Catholic] religion. He promised that he would be most docile to all our instructions, but Providence willed us elsewhere.

At last, on 19 November, we reached Louisville where, after two days rest, I left my party at the house of a good Catholic and went on horseback to Bardstown, about forty miles away. I went to ask the bishop [Flaget], quid faciendum ["what we should do"]. He was well acquainted with Louisiana, since he had visited there some years before, and he had since kept up a correspondence with people who

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130 He repeated the same idea, as Philippine Duchesne reported in 1820. French text in Paisant, Les années pionnières, L. 72, p. 298.
131 The author omitted mention of a personal devotion of his, celebrated "on the boat, at Cincinnati, on the Ohio, 11 November 1816, the vigil of my vocation day," i.e., the day of his entry into the internal seminary (novitiate) in Italy. He left several lines of spiritual resolutions taken on that day. His text concludes: "the 27 of September 1819, at St. Louis, I made a one-day spiritual retreat, in which I confirmed in globo the preceding resolutions reduced to the motto of the U.S., e pluribus unum." (Pages 39-40 of "Bridegroom's concerns, nec superflua nec superflue," a notebook in Volume II, Scritti vari, De Andreis collection, Appendix.) He refers to this latter retreat in Letter 70, 23 September 1819.
132 De Andreis traveled with Casto, and they had their interview with Flaget on 26 November. He notes in his diary for that day: "Father De Andreis made me realize his desire to spend the winter with me. I happily agreed, although I foresee the great difficulty I will find myself in to feed and house so many."
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lived there. We still had a long way to go. With winter rapidly approaching, we were running the risk of being stopped by the ice. Besides, we needed some time to study English and become more perfectly acquainted with French. The question now was whether we should continue immediately or stop. The bishop received me with the greatest kindness and convinced me that it would be very imprudent to proceed immediately to Saint Louis where nothing had been prepared to receive us. That, however, would be the least inconvenience. I therefore resolved to accept Bishop Flaget’s generous offers to stay at Saint Thomas seminary at Bardstown. Bishop Dubourg disapproved of my action, but when he arrived on the spot and saw how matters stood, he could do nothing else but approve it. I think that I have probably already given in previous letters enough information about what took place in Kentucky and what concerns my departure from there, my arrival in Louisiana, my stay at Sainte Genevieve, the meeting, reception and taking possession by the bishop [of his diocese] on Epiphany, 1817.

From Bardstown to Saint Louis

Some details of the ten-day trip on horseback from Bardstown to Saint Louis should be mentioned. For example, we got lost at night in the woods with nothing to eat except some corn bread cooked on the hearth with a little honey and some sage tea. We found flocks of parrots and other beautifully colored birds. Their song, however, is not worth much, and so on, but there were many things of this type. When I reached Kaskaskia in the state of Illinois, two days before arriving in Saint Louis, I saw my first Indian. He came along carrying

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133 The original plan had been that the students would remain at Saint Thomas, and the priests and Brother Blanka would go on to Saint Louis. (Rosati, “Recollections,” II:51; also, his “Life of De Andreis,” Summarium, 84-85.)

134 Their trip took them across the Ohio river at Shawneetown, Illinois, and then roughly following Illinois routes 13 and then 3, one of several trails known as the Shawnee-Ozark Trail. Donatien Olivier, the pastor of Prairie du Rocher and Kaskaskia, was apprised of their coming into his parish. He rode to Kaskaskia to accompany them to the landing across from Sainte Genevieve.

135 Since one of the crew of the “Ranger” was an Indian, here he probably means an Indian in his own surroundings.
his catch, a kind of small buck. Later on I had occasion to see them often and to deal with them and instruct and baptize them, as well as to hear their confessions and bring them Holy Communion. Once I saw the people of an entire nation. Truly, they arouse my compassion, and I long for the moment when I can dedicate myself to their civilization and sanctification.

Period brick home, Shawneetown, Illinois.
Courtesy of the author

Since Father Acquaroni was impatient to come to Saint Louis, I wrote for him to come. He arrived after Easter, 1818, and after a few months was sent to help in three French parishes. Soon after arriving in one of them [Saint Charles] he was replaced, but he continues in the other two. Just recently I went to visit him. He has much to suffer, but the people love him and he is doing much good.136 In the following October, Father Rosati left Bardstown and, with the entire band of missionaries who had remained there, he went to the Barrens, where the site of the seminary had already been determined. It will also become our house and a center for our foundations.

136 Acquaroni began his missions in June 1818; he was also briefly the substitute pastor of Saint Charles. The baptismal records show him celebrating baptisms there from 21 June through 11 August 1818. See Letter 70, 23 September 1819, concerning De Andreis’s visit.
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In 1818 we began our novitiate here in Saint Louis in a little separated brick hut that we called Gethsemane. I have already spoken of this sufficiently in my previous letters. At present it seems that my main occupation is the formation of good clergy. Those whom we now have, after they unpacked their things, are excellent, thanks be to God. I leave it to Father Rosati to tell you about that, since he has been diligent in keeping almost a daily record of what has happened.\(^{137}\) I do not have that much patience, and I recall well whatever has happened, but as to chronology, especially in what I wrote about our trip in the mountains of Pennsylvania, the passage of the Alleghenies and Lamb-Hill before arriving in Pittsburgh, I might have made mistakes, because my memory sometimes deceives me.

Conclusion

Many other events that cut more to the quick force me to suppress them out of respect, but help me to add to the glory of God. Under a bitter and hard shell the Lord hides the almonds of paradise, and no words can express this. \textit{Secundum multitudinem dolorum meorum in corde meo consolationes tuae laetificaverunt animam meam} ["When cares abound within me, your comfort gladdens my soul"],\(^{138}\) and \textit{sicut abundant passiones Christi in nobis, sic per Christum abundat consolatio nostra} ["As we have shared much in the suffering of Christ, so through Christ do we share abundantly in his consolation"].\(^{139}\) Oh, how true is it that God did not leave us to conquer by shrewdness, who \textit{dat nivem sicut lanam} ["He spreads snow like wool"];\(^{140}\) \textit{fidelis [autem Deus est] ... non patitur nos tentari supra id quod possimus, sed facit etiam cum tentatione proventum} ["God keeps his promise. He will not let you be tested beyond your strength. Along with the test he will give you a way out of it."]\(^{141}\) Whoever truly desires to die to himself really tastes how

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\(^{137}\) Rosati was an assiduous record keeper. Most of his journals are still extant, forming the basis for his historical account of the early days of the American mission. See his "Recollections," \textit{Vincentian Heritage} 1 (1980) to 5:2 (1984).

\(^{138}\) Ps 94:19.

\(^{139}\) 2 Cor 1:5.

\(^{140}\) Ps 147:16.

\(^{141}\) 1 Cor 10:13.
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sweet the Lord is, who seeks him with simplicity, who desires to be able to say, *funes ceciderunt mihi in praecaris* ["For me the measuring lines have fallen on pleasant sites"]\(^{142}\) *et in terra deserta, et invia, et inaquosa, sic in sancto apparui tibi* ["the earth, parched, lifeless and without water; thus have I gazed toward you in the sanctuary"]\(^{143}\) etc. Whoever desires to know what is said in the Apocalypse: *quod nemo scit nisi qui accipit* ["which no one knows except the one who receives it"],\(^{144}\) whoever tries to sing happily in this exile, *dirupisti vincula mea tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis* ["you have loosed my bonds; to you will I offer sacrifice of thanksgiving"]\(^{145}\) etc., who has left all, and understands his feelings and also himself, and comes to America resolved to sell his dear life for Jesus Christ, will suffer less than he thinks. With infinite contentment he will suffer and say with joy when he will have to be deprived of the most necessary and dear things: *satiabor cum apparuerit gloria tua* ["I shall be filled when your glory appears"]\(^{146}\). Amen. Amen.

P.S. Having read over the preceding wandering itinerary, it seems to me that I should be reproved for an essential lack and for having to duly enhance the majestic and radical mass of the entire machine\(^{147}\) instead of doing justice to the rare and extraordinary merit of our prelate, the most worthy Bishop Louis William Dubourg. Of all the vices, that which I feel the most is an insuperable aversion to adulation. Nevertheless, it is born from that inexhaustible source which dominates me and, despite my weak efforts to destroy it, I still want to speak out of pride and innate arrogance. I glorify God and honor the unrecognized truth of the person of whom I speak. I certainly must admit that after God I owe the merit of what has happened and what is happening to the rare talents, industry, experience, enterprise, skill, prudence, vigilance, zeal and dogged insistence of this singular man, of whom history struggles to furnish a like example. He provided us

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\(^{142}\) Ps 16:6.

\(^{143}\) Ps 63:3.

\(^{144}\) Rev 2:17.

\(^{145}\) Ps 116:16-17.

\(^{146}\) Ps 17:15. A modern translation reads: "on waking, I shall be content in your presence."

\(^{147}\) That is, the rest of this pioneer group.
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with ready cash, with directions and recommendations for everything. He opened the way to us, removed obstacles, secured the means, and while remaining personally in France disposed of matters so wisely that we could have continued with our eyes closed. His reputation and loving manners turned hearts to favor him and his missionaries. Under his protection, or to say it better, under his wings, or to say it even better, upon his wings, we crossed the long routes of the country, and we found everywhere the finest hospitality.

If at this moment there is a college built for the education of young men, a monastery for the education of young girls, a magnificent seminary for ecclesiastics, a cathedral in which in a few days they will begin to officiate, all is the fruit of his active, discreet and bold zeal. He preaches tirelessly like an angel in both English and French, and whoever preaches after him will have to do a lot to fill his shoes. The many conversions of sinners and heretics that have taken place, and generally all the good that has been done—thanks be to God much good has been done—should for many reasons be attributed to him. He alone is at the wheel, the rudder, and he is also at the sail and the oar. He is everywhere. He preaches, hears confessions, baptizes, joins in marriage, assists the sick. He is general, captain, sergeant and private; he spends his evenings answering letters pouring in from every part of America and Europe, *instantia quotidiana, sollicitudo diocesis immense* ["the daily tension, immense anxiety for his diocese"]. God gives him health, and the good we rightfully await from such a man, rightly called apostolic, is beyond all conjecture. God's hand is visibly upon him, and it alone is capable of adequately rewarding him. *Notum est Domino opus eius* ["his work is known to the Lord"].

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148 The Saint Louis Academy.
149 Under the direction of Philippine Duchesne.
150 Saint Mary's of the Barrens.
151 Based on 2 Cor 11:28.