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STUDIES AND REFLECTIONS
ON THE HERITAGE OF THE
SOCIETY OF THE HOLY CHILD JESUS

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SOURCE welcomes contributions, comments,
suggestions. Send same any time to

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two thousand years of theological reflection, based on an even longer tradition of Judaism, have provided us with a wealth of beautiful words. Similarly there is no dearth of variety in what may be termed the gestures of liturgy, which include not only the physical movements made by priest and people, but also, in the Mass, the sharing of food, the interplay of silent, sung and spoken prayer, the use of candles, flowers, incense, the arrangement of people and furniture and whatever. Increasingly the creative use of the surroundings or context of the celebration is being encouraged, so that the assembly can at least see and hear what is going on. More and more the levels of expression, universal, cultural, and that of the local group, are being recognised in the attempt to find words and gestures which can carry both the historical tradition of Judaeo-Christianity and yet be a valid expression for the particular assembly. We are discovering how to bring "whatever is true, whatever is honorable. . . whatever is lovely, whatever is gracious" (Phil 4:8) to our eucharistic celebration.

One cannot but restate as basic principle that the ritual celebration of both old and new covenant is meaningless unless it is the explicitation in a moment of time of what the nation/the Church/the local assembly/the individual implicitly desires to become in relation to "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ who has blest us in Christ with every spiritual blessing . . . to unite all things in him" (Eph 1:3-10).

IN SEARCH OF CORNELIA

Helen Logan, SHCJ

To a native Philadelphian, the streets of the old city have the charm of old memories recalled and of colonial beauty restored. For one who travels these paths in search of Cornelia's family life, they hold a far deeper attraction.

We know that her birthplace, #1 Filbert Street, at the northwest corner of 8th and Filbert, is now a warehouse. The house at #150 Arch Street (now probably #624) is a kind of warehouse with a store front which does not look as though it had been constructed before 1900. However, there is a combination shop and dwelling on 10th Street near Sansom (now numbered 112 S. 10th) which dates back to the 1800's and might possibly have been the place where Ralph Peacock, merchant, conducted his business and had his dwelling in 1813. So far as can be ascertained at the moment the present owner knows of no records before 1816.

"Might possibly have been"--this was the recurrent phrase during the research which took me through the records departments of City Hall, the Philadelphia Historical Commission, the Pennsylvania Historical Society and finally to the archives department in City Hall annex. Using as a basis for my search the careful listing prepared by Mrs. Elinor McCarthy (Caritas's mother) and under the guidance of the very kind archivist, I began to find my way through the annual volumes of the Directory of the City of Philadelphia. The following lists give old and new style numbers where possible:

PEACOCK, Ralph, Sr. and (after 1819) Mary, widow

1807/8 mcht. 122 Arch St. (new) 600 Arch

1809/10 mcht. 1 Filibert St. (new) 801 Filibert
 1811/12 " 150 Arch St. 624 Arch
 1813 " 10th St. nr. Sansom possibly 115 N. 10th
 1814 dstler. 28 N. 9th St.
 1815/17 mcht. 28 N. 9th St.
 1819/22 Mary Peacock, widow 151 N. 9th St.
 (between Race and Vine)
 Note: All the houses between Arch and Vine
 (east side of 9th) have been razed; re-
 construction (housing) is in the planning
 stage.)

MONTGOMERY, Austin (new)

1817/19 mcht. 41 N. Front dw. 310 Chestnut (1108)
 1820/23 " " 252 Arch (922)
 1824/25 " " 310 Chestnut (1108)
 * 1828 " " "
 1829/36 " " 300 Walnut (1114)
 ** 1841 gent. dw. Walnut above 8th
 *** 1854/6 " dw. 219 Spruce (719)

 * Directory not published 1826, 1827
 ** 1837 through 1840 Austin Montgomery not listed
 *** 1842 through 1852 " " "
 **** After 1856 directory " " " "

DUVAL, Lewis

1823/24 mcht. 342 Arch (1132)
 1825 " 179 Market dw. 254 Arch (924)
 * 1828 " " "
 ** 1831 " 13 S. Front
 1833 " " dw. Chestnut betw 12th
 & 13th

1835 mcht. 13 S. Front dw. Chestnut betw. 12th
 & 13th
 1837 " " 352 Chestnut (1226)
 * Directory not published 1826, 1827
 ** 1829, 1830, 1832 no Duval listing in directory
CONNELLY, John and Mary (widow, 1828 on)
 1813/22 com.mcht. 56 Front dw. 280 Chestnut (1012)
 1823/25 gentleman "
 * 1828/33 Mary Connelly, widow "

CONNELLY, Henry

1819 cabt.mkr. 8 Library St.
 1820/22 " 72 S. 4th St.
 1823/24 " 8 Library St. dw. 233 Spruce (733)
 1825 gentleman "
 *
 * Directory not published in 1826, 1827

For an understanding of the change in street numbers it is important to note that the system of street numbering in the City of Philadelphia was "centurized" by a law which was passed in 1856 and in full force by 1858. Until that date the numbering of houses differed from street to street. The law required, for instance, that a house at the southwest corner of 4th and Chestnut Streets be numbered 400 Chestnut St. Since many of the houses connected with Cornelia's history came under this regulation, it is interesting for us to consider a few of them. Let us take, for instance, 219 Spruce Street which eventually became 719. We know that in 1862 two sisters, M. M. Xavier Noble and S. Lucy Ignatia, went to look for 219 Spruce, thinking to find there Cornelia's sister, Isabella Bowen Montgomery. When they learned that the numbers had been changed a few

years previously, they continued their search and finally found Mrs. James Montgomery, Austin Montgomery's sister-in-law, who was delighted to see them. She told them that Isabella lived at 719 Spruce, which until four years before had been 219 Spruce. She told them that Isabella was away visiting friends since she had not been in good health since Austin's death. For a while it was thought that this Spruce Street house was where Cornelia had lived with Isabella until the time of her marriage to Pierce, but with the information given in the Philadelphia Directory we know that the Montgomerys did not live at 219 Spruce until 1854.

Knowing that Cornelia lived with Isabella from the time of her mother's death in 1823, we assume she lived at 310 Chestnut as given in the list of Montgomery addresses above; she may also have lived briefly at 252 Arch Street and 300 Walnut Street. But what of the Duval house (her sister Adeline's) from which she was married? We know from the directory that the Duvals lived at 254 Arch Street in 1825, 1828, and 1831, and possibly in the years between for which there is no directory entry. Might they possibly have lived there until early in 1832? If so, this could have been the address from which the wedding took place December 31, 1831. However, if the Duvals had moved from Arch Street to Chestnut in the latter part of 1831, Cornelia was married from 352 Chestnut Street as indicated on Caritas McCarthy's and Frances White's map of Cornelia's Philadelphia.

Using a table provided by the Pennsylvania Historical Society which gives the numbers for houses on southwest corners (or northwest if odd numbers), I have drawn up the following plans to suggest how to translate old house numbers into new:

	OLD No.	NEW No.	11th St.	9th St.	OLD No.	NEW No.	12th St.
(SW cor.)	286	1100	230	900	326	1200	
	288	1102	232	902	328	1202	
	290	1104	234	904	330	1204	
	292	1106	236	906	332	1206	
	294	1108	238	908	334	1208	
	296	1110	240	910	336	1210	
	298	1112	242	912	338	1212	
	300	1114	244	914	340	1214	
			246	916	342	1216	
			248	918	344	1218	
			250	920	346	1220	
			252 *	922	348	1222	
					350	1224	
					352 *	1226	

If the solution offered by this plan appears to be an over-simplification, it must be remembered that the rule of thumb here is "it might possibly have been" since (1) the older numbers did not always run with regular intervals, sometimes skipping, e.g., from 210 to 216 when crossing the street; (2) vacant lots were not always given a number. Most of all, it will be noted on inspection of the premises that few of the buildings appear to be in the style of the early 1800's.

Hopefully in the near future it may be possible to find more definite information on 624 Arch Street and 115 S. 10th Street. I hope also to be able to do more research on the Manayunk property. If anyone else has already done research on any of these properties, I should be very grateful to hear from you.

CORNELIA'S HOME, 1819-23

When Cornelia Connelly's mother died in May 1823, an inventory was made of the furnishings of the comfortable three-story house at 151 N. 9th Street which Cornelia had called home for four years since her father's death. This list was found by Elinor McCarthy (Cari-tas's mother) among the hundreds of dusty Philadelphia records she searched in the 1950's and '60's to help present the "whole Cornelia" for her Cause. It is a small "gem" among the findings, helping us to imagine more concretely Cornelia's life as she passed from childhood to adolescence.

From Records of Administration of Wills
City Hall, Philadelphia, Pa.

Mary Peacock Adm. *117-1823

Signed John Bowen - Gentleman
Ralph Peacock - merchant
Austin Montgomery - merchant

22nd May 1823

Inventory of the effects of
Mrs. Mary Peacock, dc'd.

	/dollars/cents/	
	D	C
Parlors		
2 shovels, 2 pr. tongs, 2 pr. irons	20	--
2 hearth brushes & bellows	10	--
1 pr. blind & window curtains	10.50	
2 breakfast tables	10.50	
10 mahogany chairs	15	--
alabaster ornaments & mantel screens	5	--
2 pr. plated, 3 pr. brass candle sticks	10	--
/??/ glasses	30	--
2 carpets & hearthrug	50	--
map of Phil.	1	--
glassware	20	--

dinner, br. and tea china	60	--
2 pleated castors	10	--
3 pr. plated tumblers & coasters	4	--
1 pr.	1	--
3 pleated fruit baskets	10	--
1 pr. teapots - Britannia metal	4	--
set of dinner mats	1	--
dinner table	15	--
4 small, 3 large waiters	1.50	
knives and forks	5	--
spice box	1	--
6 pitchers	2	--
8 fancy chairs	15	--
1 hair sofa	15	--
1 chintz covered	10	--
1 sideboard & candlestand	30	--
time piece	10	--
liquor case	1	--
coat & /??/ stone	4	--
mantel lamps	15	--
2 bird cages	3	--
green baize /??/	2	--
India matting for 2 parlors & entry	30	--
Entry & stair carpet & rods	15	--
/This was bottom of first column/ carried forward	436	--
/Top of second/ Brought forward	436	--
2nd story chambers		
1 mahogany & stained bedstead	20	--
1 bookcase	15	--
2 pr. bed & 1 pr. Window curtains	20	--
2 feather beds & pillows	30	--
2 hair mattresses	20	--
5 quilted counterpanes	30	--
19 blankets	60	--
an easy chair	5	--
6 pictures	6	--
1 looking, 2 toilet glasses	9	--
irons, shovels, tongs, chimney board	10	--
2 carpets	20	--

2 wash stands, bowls & pitchers 10 --
 mantle jars /sic/ 5 --
 8 mahogany chairs 15 --
 1 /? / table 5 --

3rd story chambers

20 chairs 20 --
 2 bureaux 10 --
 2 looking glasses 5 --
 3 bedsteads 15 --
 3 feather beds 50 --
 2 counterpanes & 2 blankets 10 --
 black mahogany drawers 2 --
 4 /? / tables 3 --
 basins & ewers 1 --
 2 cot bedsteads & mattresses 10 --
 2 /? / 20 --
 7 old blankets, & quilts 15 --
 kitchen furn valued at 100 --
 books at 75 --
 1052 --

101 shares of Farmers & Merchants
 bank at 50 per share

5050 --
 6102.00

CORNELIA'S CONSTITUTIONS Maureen Crook, SHCJ
 Part II

MAJOR SOURCES (continued)

The constitutions of Cornelia Connelly sought from the beginning to express the unified vision of the Exercises of St. Ignatius, to unite contemplation and action as a means to one end--the fulfillment of the will of God.

Cornelia pointed out to Dr. Grant in March 1862 (D 51:39) that the SHCJ Rule was "in all essentials . . . the same as that of several other approved orders," since it was "taken from the Constitutions of St Ignatius, the source from whence all those Rules sprang; Ours, like theirs, excluding all that is unfit for women." This Ignatian foundation was very precious to her, for she saw it as central to God's gift to her. She had watched the apostolic spirituality and missionary achievement of the Society being formed by it over the years on a sound gospel foundation. She left it as a vital part of her legacy to the Society.

The extent to which the members of her Society had come to share her appreciation of this heritage was revealed after her death in the correspondence between M. Francis Bellasis, writing as secretary general for the SHCJ, and Valerian Cardella, SJ, as they worked to restore to the Society constitutions which really reflected the charism of the foundress. Referring to the SJ Summary, Common Rules and Rules of Religious Modesty, M. Francis wrote (D 58: 137): "Oh no, we are not ignorant that what we most value and love is from the rule of St Ignatius!" These rules had been for the sisters as for Cornelia an "anchor in danger" and "consolation in suffering & trials. The spirit of our little Society has been entirely formed . . . on

these rules . . . "1

At the same time these statements reveal a distortion--a faulty understanding of and exclusive emphasis of the Ignatian element in the Rule and spirit of the SHCJ, to the detriment of other spiritual influences, especially that of St. Francis de Sales. This stress, carried into the Rule of 1887, made the text which was finally approved in 1893 to some degree a defective and impoverished version of Cornelia's ideal and of her constitutional endeavor.

The Visitation Order² and the Spirit of St. Francis de Sales

Pierce, disappointed in his ambition of becoming a Jesuit, and the cardinals concerned

1 M. Francis Bellasis echoes Cornelia's last instruction at Neuilly, March 15, 1877, as M. Maria Joseph Buckle records it (D 67:55): "The second practice I desire you to keep-- is fidelity to the rule and spirit of St Ignatius, than which nothing could be found more perfect for the spiritual life--in this rule & spirit, as you know we have been trained from the first and now it is thirty-one years since we began the Society on these principles."

2 In the year of their conversion Cornelia and Pierce were confirmed by Cardinal Weld in Rome, and Pierce visited the Weld family that August in England. The family had close connections with the Visitation Convent at Westbury-on-Tryme, where Cardinal Weld's sister finished a third term of office as superior in 1846 to be succeeded by his niece. It was

in Cornelia's affairs, anxious, no doubt, to avoid a repetition of the unhappy 'Ignatian experiment' in the Society of the Sacred Heart,³ encouraged her to give St. Francis de Sales a central place in her constitutions by making them an adaptation of those he had drawn up for the Visitation order.

Cornelia had her own reasons for seeking the patronage of this saint. His teachings belonged in many ways to the Ignatian school

at this time that, according to an 1848 letter of Bishop Ullathorne to Cardinal Barnabo, an application was made to these Visitation sisters for a novice mistress for the sisters at Derby. They refused, considering it beyond their competence to form an Institute so different from their own (D 50:72). But perhaps the strongest tie with the Visitation sisters was the fact that Jerusha Barber (whose history was similar to Cornelia's) was a member of the Georgetown Visitation Convent which Pierce visited in 1842.

3 The Sixth General Congregation of the RSCJ in 1839 had changed forty-six articles in their rule, to strengthen the Jesuit element, against the advice of Mother Barat. The changes included also the transference of the mother house to Rome. A crisis was precipitated which lasted until 1843, when the pope appointed a commission of cardinals, including Cardinals Patrizi and Fransoni, who rescinded the 1839 decrees and restored the 1826 constitutions. The idea of the SHCJ foundation was put to Patrizi and Fransoni less than two years later.

of spirituality in which he had been educated,⁴ but in them Cornelia found the spirit of the Spouse in the Canticle, a mystical dimension of love expressed in St. Ignatius's life rather than in his texts, and which she associated with St. Gertrude.⁵ It was also a spirit which, as Cornelia's use of the Visitation texts would suggest, she linked especially with the contemplation of the Holy Child, a spirit of gentle encouragement and simple trust. This matches an awareness, present throughout the constitutions, of the "seed" of the Word, hidden but growing steadily through death to

⁴ See F. Charmot, S.J., Ignatius Loyola and Francis de Sales: Two Masters--One Spirituality, Cross and Crown Series of Spirituality, #32 (St. Louis: Herder, 1966).

⁵ M. Maria Joseph maintained that for Cornelia St. Gertrude was in many ways the embodiment of the interior spirit drawn from "the hidden and humble life of the Holy Child Jesus" which she wished to see among the members of her Society. Cornelia recommended the Exercises of St. Gertrude, which she herself loved, for use during the monthly retreats. The life of the saint was given by her to the first SHCJ crossing to America for spiritual reading on the voyage, and a few days before her death she asked for extracts from this life to be read to her. In her Epiphany letter of 1870 she wrote: "Her beautiful Exercises contain the very Spirit of the Holy Child and the sentiments of the Church in the Divine Office. . . . A better model of acts of love it would be hard to find!" (CC 8:105)

⁶ fruition.

In using the Visitation constitutions she was also fulfilling a requirement of the Church that the constitutions of all new congregations be based on the rule of one of the four major orders, in this case that of St. Augustine.

⁶ Cornelia often cited Jn 12:24: "Unless the grain of wheat falling into the ground die, itself remaineth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit" (Douai). James Walsh, S.J., noting the recurrence of the theme in the letters of St. Ignatius of Antioch, illustrates with parallel texts the affinity between this saint and "Cornelia of Philadelphia" ("The Spirit of the Holy Child Jesus," The Pylon, 19 /1968/, #3 /Cornelia Connelly special issue--the last published/, pp. 39-45). St. Francis de Sales, addressing "the Sisters of the Monastery of the Visitation of Annecy" in his preface to the Rules of St. Augustine and the Constitutions of the Sisters of the Visitation (English translation, London: Manresa Press, 1930), opens with four references to the letters of Ignatius of Antioch on the subject of consecrated virgins.

⁷ St. Francis de Sales described the rule of St. Augustine as "so animated by the spirit of charity, that . . . it breathes nothing but gentleness, sweetness, and benignity, and is therefore suitable for all persons, nations, and temperaments" (pp. 17-18). It is "the true way in which you ought to walk, in order to reach the perfection of the religious life," and the constitutions he has built on it "are so many marks set in the way, that you may be enabled the better to

The SHCJ Archives/Rome contain a copy of the Visitation rule in the 1818 French edition with Cornelia's name on the fly-leaf--she probably brought it with her from Rome in 1846. A strong Salesian element was present from the beginning in the SHCJ constitutions, but the texts on which Cornelia built were almost completely lost in revisions after her death.⁸

The Constitutions of the Society of the Sacred Heart

The Society of the Sacred Heart was responsible in the providence of God for Cornelia's early formation in religious life and her final preparation for her work as a religious foundress.

Mother Barat's foundation was in many ways similar to the one which Cornelia envisaged--Incarnational, Ignatian, feminine, engaged in an apostolate of education. Excerpts from her rule are found in the earliest draft of the SHCJ constitutions and in all later revisions, notably in the Rules for the Minor Offices and especially those for the Mistresses of the Poor Schools.

In 1854 Cornelia adapted for her own Society the idea of the "Abrégé" which headed the

keep it" (p. 14). Though bitter to the taste at first, they will become "sweet as honey to your mouth"--the mortification they involve will "cause the love of Him to live and reign in us, Who died for the love of us" (pp. 43-44). This was the kind of spirit Cornelia was seeking.

⁸ See Source #4, pp. 6-7.

Sacred Heart constitutions.⁹ Mother Barat's exposition of the spirit of her Society was replaced by Cornelia's rich paragraphs on the spirit of the Society of the Holy Child Jesus, but even these show textual influences from the Sacred Heart rule. The other paragraphs follow in general the 'model' of the Abrégé, but purposeful adaptation is exemplified in these passages.

The general effect on the SHCJ constitutions of all that Cornelia received during eight years of close association with the Society of the Sacred Heart, above all from her association with their foundress, was greater than any textual study could hope to reveal.

The Constitutions of the Daughters of the Sacred Heart (Figlie del Sacro Cuore)

Through Father Grassi, S.J., Cornelia and her Society had a link with Blessed Teresa Verzeri and the Daughters of the Sacred Heart which was to influence the SHCJ constitutions.¹⁰ Father Grassi was responsible for Dr. Asperti's departure from Bergamo to become chaplain to the sisters at Derby in October 1847. He probably sent with him a copy of Blessed Teresa's constitutions which had been printed that year.

⁹ The Sacred Heart Abrégé was written by Mother Barat in 1805 and was to some extent based on the "Ignatian" rules of the Diletti di Gesu, a group of apostolic women to which M. Barat had belonged, 1800-1804. The Italian branch of the Diletti was disbanded; the French branch developed into the Society of the Sacred Heart.

¹⁰ See Source #4, pp. 156-157.

This was afterwards "always kept on the shelf in Mother Connelly's room."¹¹ In the customal which Cornelia was compiling in the 1850's and '60's she included a number of sections from this work.¹²

When Mother Connelly visited Rome in 1869 on business relating to the approval of the Rule, she was delighted to hear the consultant, who was unaware of any common element in the history of the two congregations, say spontaneously, "I think the spirit of the Society resembles that of the Figlie del Sagre Cuore."¹³ It is not surprising that in the revision of that year many new paragraphs from Teresa Ver-seri's constitutions appeared in Cornelia's sections on government.

Cornelia and Teresa seem to have shared a courageous liberty of spirit. They were both determined to be free from the restraint of an enclosure which would be harmful to the apostolate they had in view; to achieve this they were prepared to challenge the customs of their time.

¹¹ Buckle, D 64:157.

¹² For example, chapters on indifference to any office, on the spirit of the institute and how to maintain it, on the assistant, on enclosure, on the lay sisters.

¹³ D 64:157. M. J. Buckle, who gives this information, adds that Cornelia regarded the consultant's remarks as "one of those providential circumstances which showed that the spirit as well as the words of her holy director had passed into the Rule" (D 64:158).

Other Religious Constitutions

Father John Morris¹⁴ was probably the one who secured for Cornelia a copy of the Constitutions of the Religious of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd of Angers to help her to clarify her thinking on government.¹⁵ She also

¹⁴ John Morris (1826-1893), a Cambridge convert, was received into the Church in May 1846 and that autumn went to Rome to prepare for the priesthood at the English College, where the future Bishop of Southwark, Thomas Grant, was rector at the time. Morris was ordained in 1849, and after four years of diocesan work in Northampton returned to Rome as vice-rector of the English College (1853-1857). In England once more he became a canon of Westminster, serving under Wiseman, whom he held in great esteem, until the latter's death in 1865. After a year as secretary to Wiseman's successor, Archbishop Manning, Morris entered the Society of Jesus. See J. H. Pollen, Life and Letters of Father John Morris of the Society of Jesus (London: Burns and Oates, 1896).

¹⁵ The constitutions of Mother Mary Euphrasia Pelletier's congregation were of particular interest to Cornelia, for through their dependence on rules drawn up in the 17thC by St. John Eudes they had roots in the Rule of St. Augustine and the Visitation constitutions. Since Cornelia used the latter in her formation sections it is not surprising to find in her own manuscript translation of the Good Shepherd rule for the novice mistress a marginal comment: "almost the same as our approved Old Rule--and the spirit quite the same." See Source #4, p. 156.

studied the Rule of the Religious of Notre Dame de Sion¹⁶ and was acquainted with the Rules and Constitutions of the Sisters of Notre Dame de Namur.¹⁷ From all of these, as Source #4 makes clear, Cornelia sought guidance in order to satisfy the requirements of the Church in her own constitutions.

Le Bellezze della Fede (1839)

The three volumes of this work by the Theatine ex-general Gioacchino Ventura (1792-1861) explore the teachings of the Fathers of the Church with particular reference to the Incarnation and the manifestation of Christ at the Epiphany. Cornelia may well have heard Ventura preach during the Octave of the Epiphany of 1836 at Sant' Andrea della Valle near which she was living. She received at least the first volume of his sermons as a "gift of Placido Doria" in 1843. The value she set on Ventura's work can be gauged by her use of it in the vital section of her Rule where she expressed her understanding of the name of the Society. Sister Mary Ursula Blake has given us "translations of those passages . . . which seem to find an echo in Cornelia's writings."¹⁸

¹⁶ The Congregation of Notre Dame de Sion was founded by Theodore Ratisbonne. His brother Alphonse's sudden conversion in Rome had interested Pierce and Cornelia in the 1840's. Theodore had the same director, Abbé Bautain of Strasbourg, as the Connellys' good friend J. N. Nicolle. See Source #4, pp. 157-158.

¹⁷ See Source #4, p. 158, and D 51:39.

¹⁸ "Cornelia and Gioacchino Ventura," Source #3 (Summer 1972), pp. 36-44.

St. Francis of Assisi

Cornelia had a great love for this saint¹⁹ so closely associated with devotion to the Holy Child and she endeavored to communicate to the Society something of the spirit of simplicity and joyful dependence on the bountiful Father, whose word is to be discovered in all creatures. The influence of St. Francis's tradition of poverty is present in the Jesuit rules on poverty, which Cornelia adopted, and in the Theatine influence of Ventura. But no direct textual links between the SHCJ constitutions and Franciscan literature are apparent.²⁰

Having examined the sources used by Mother Connelly, we are prompted to review the primary purpose which guided her in their selection. In a letter to Dr. Grant in 1862 she explained that the constitutions she was sending him in

¹⁹ In 1854 Cornelia spent four months in Rome preparing the Rule (in which she had just included her own introductory chapter on the spirit of the Holy Child) for presentation to propaganda. During this time she designed and partially executed a large triptych of St. Ignatius and St. Francis on either side of a nativity scene. This suggests that she had come to regard these two very different religious founders as special patrons in her task of providing suitable constitutions for the Society.

²⁰ The Fioretti which Cornelia recommended for both private and public spiritual reading did not lend themselves to a constitutional text, but through them she fostered the Franciscan element in the Society spirit.

their first printed version contained "all that leads to a perfect imitation of our Lord and to the highest practice of religious perfection that is set forth in the Holy Gospels."²¹ Her attraction to the Ignatian Exercises had the same basis: "By these Instructions /on the Spiritual Exercises/ our Novices will learn how deeply our life is founded on the life of our Lord, and how essentially it is built on the solid rock of His pure, Evangelical, Holy, Catholic doctrine."²²

Cornelia was in the best sense an 'evangelical.' Her Society was to be rooted in the gospels and more particularly in the "gospel in miniature" to be found in the Infancy narratives. In the contemplation of the Child she discovered her key, her point of entry into the whole paschal mystery, her understanding of Christ the Way, "yesterday, today and the same forever" (Heb 13:8).²³

Her constitutions are an attempt to pass on this 'key'; to share with others the discovery of this hidden and humble path to the "perfection of the Gospel" (Rule SHCJ); to inspire them to follow it and, entering into a deep contemplative union with Christ to "run with ardour in the way," "to labour with all our strength" to lead "others to taste and to embrace the sweet yoke which He offers them."

The sources she used were therefore drawn from the writings of those who belonged to the same tradition. As Caritas McCarthy

21 D 51:39.

22 CC 46B:82. See Source #4, p. 2.

23 See Caritas McCarthy, "The Child as 'Key'," Source #3 (Summer 1972), pp. 25-35.

points out:

Perceptively Cornelia focused on those founders with whom she shared spiritual kinship. She knew that her own inspiration lay within the spiritual tradition of contemplative trans-forming union with God-become-man, a union in salvific mission, a union of affective love.²⁴

Cornelia in her contemplation of the "Eternal Wisdom in the lowliness of His humanity" (Rule SHCJ), in her devotion to the "Heart of the Holy Child" and in her zeal for the establishment of the kingdom, takes her place in that tradition.

GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE CONSTITUTIONS
BY CORNELIA CONNELLY 1846-1879

The insights and graces which Cornelia had received as wife and mother were part of a foundation charism centered on the Holy Child. The fifteen manuscript pages with which she left Rome in 1846 were the fruit of an initial attempt to express something of this seed which the Holy Spirit had planted in her heart, a vision of life according to the counsels, drawing its inspiration and graces from the mystery of the Incarnation. As the years passed the seed would grow; so too would her ability to distinguish and formulate its essential characteristics as these were revealed in her own life and in that of the community. This section will trace the general lines of this development.

24 "Cornelia's Sources," Source #4 (Winter 1975), p. 149.

The First Draft of the Constitutions--
an Initial Sketch 1845-46

Cornelia's life before 1846 had prepared her in many ways for the apostolate of "spiritual mercy" which would be entrusted to her Society, but no woman of that time was well equipped for the task of drafting constitutions. Father Grassi, S.J., a wise and experienced guide, took responsibility for the general direction of the undertaking, but as Jesuit assistant for Italy he had to delegate the more detailed work to some other English-speaking priest who had time for the task. Unfortunately for the future history of the Society, in Pierce such a priest was at hand and visiting his wife regularly. He became a kind of literary editor, translating, combining, and paraphrasing the sections which Cornelia, under Grassi's direction, had selected from different sources. The finished text was then submitted to her director for approval. Describing this arrangement Cornelia was later to write that this 'Rule' was "inspected by Father Grassi, but actually drawn up by Mr. Connelly."²⁵ Clarifying this further in a letter to Lord Shrewsbury in 1848, she wrote: "Mr Connelly seems to have forgotten that he assisted me with the Rule on the foundation I gave him and that at that moment, as well as this, I had no idea of accepting anything in the rule but what passed through the inspection of my director."²⁶

The draft opens with an offering of "the following Constitutions" in honor of the Holy

25 D 50:127.

26 D 50:79.

Childhood of our Lord and to the greater glory of God, reflecting already the Salesian and Ignatian character of what was to follow. The second paragraph reveals the pattern which at least in theory guided Cornelia's use of these different sources: the Rule of St. Augustine, St. Francis de Sales's annotations thereon, the Visitation constitutions "as precepts and counsels to this little Congregation."²⁷ At this point Cornelia added an important proviso: "wherever it be not otherwise ordered, or they be not at variance with the double object of the Congregation."

This initial formula can perhaps be regarded as an 'inverted' expression of Cornelia's charism. To build primarily on constitutions composed specifically for cloistered women, even though adapted, was to invite a lack of perspective. This first sketch shows that in some way Cornelia was aware of this. Here and there in the text one finds an attempt to express in Salesian terms something of the interior spirit she wished to foster--the picture of a spousal relationship growing steadily through a gentle, patient fidelity in the school of perfect charity, where all are "children in simplicity and humility." But in the Society this loving contemplation was essentially an apostolic gift and could only be properly understood within the adult mission of the Society. To provide that necessary fusion of contemplation and action, Cornelia had in fact to build primarily on the Ignatian constitutions, which were the existential counterpart of the Exercises.

As a result, the over-all character of this initial draft is profoundly Ignatian, and follows the general arrangement of the Jesuit

27 Paragraph quoted in full in Source #4, p. 6.

rather than the Visitation constitutions. Working through all the main areas of religious life, Cornelia made a mosaic of short extracts, sometimes mere phrases from each of her main sources. The following chart gives the shape of the brief sketch, evidently intended to serve simply as a general guideline for the period of experimentation which would necessarily follow. Whatever proved in practice to be of value would be developed; the rest would be discarded.

First sketch of the Rule, 1846

Headings adapted by Cornelia
Main sources

End of the congregation twofold	Visitation/SJ/SH
Rule	Visitation (adapted)
Form	SJ
Noviceship/Simple Vows	SJ
Admission	SJ/SH
Age, etc.	SJ
Impediments	SJ
School sisters	SJ
Chapter	Visitation
Assistants	Visitation
Officers	Visitation
Mother Superior	Visitation/SJ/?
Bishop	Visitation
Cloister	SH/?
Chastity	SH
Poverty (Dress)	SJ/Visitation
Obedience	SJ/Visitation
Vows	Visitation
Schools	SJ/SH
Retreats	SH/?
Teaching catechism	SJ/SH
Renewal of Vows	SJ/Visitation

Though this text was probably never meant to stand alone, it held a place of vital importance

in the development of Cornelia's thought and in her constitutional work, for she later calls it the "germe" /sic/ of our holy Rule, which was first planted & gradually developed by the Derby Convent."²⁸ The annotations which she made in developing it are to be seen on the original copy in the SHCJ archives/Rome, some of them clearly relating to the alterations made for the revision approved in 1850.

Providentially the early Society did not obtain a Visitation novice mistress. Instead it was formed by Cornelia herself with the guidance of the Society of Jesus and of Dr. Samuele Asperti.²⁹ To secure Jesuit direction, Derby, not too far from the college at Spinkhill, was chosen for the first foundation. As Wiseman wrote to the Jesuit provincial, "the fate of the Establishment seemed/ almost to depend upon this concession."³⁰

Pierce's Pseudo-Rule of 1848

Pierce Connelly had also left Rome for England in 1846 and, finding himself with little to do and only twenty miles from Derby, he began to turn his mind to the internal affairs of the convent. Earlier he had made it quite clear that it was Cornelia who had been asked in Rome to commit her ideas to paper;³¹ now

28 D 50:127.

29 Asperti, with a recent doctorate in philosophy (summa cum laude) from the Gregorian, was waiting for a family problem to be settled before he could enter the Jesuits.

30 Wiseman to Lythgoe, S.J., Sept. 28, 1846, D 50:5.

31 D 5:152.

he coveted authority over the "great work" to which "God seems to have called her."³²

The pose which events suggest he had adopted even in 1846 with Cardinal Fransoni, that of author of the rule, now changed to that of founder of the institute. He therefore wrote formally in French to the cardinal taking such a stance:

Ces Constitutions furent données [sic] à Son Eminence le Cardinal Préfet de la Propagande dans le commencement de l'année 1846. Je les avais préparées pour une petite Congregation que le Bon Dieu m'avait longtemps inspiré le desir de fonder avec l'aide d'une sainte personne qui m'était bienconnue, et qui m'était bien docile.³³

"These constitutions" were an altered version of the original sketch, including a long new section on discipline. Taking the document as a whole one is struck by the fact that what had been for his wife months of spiritual growth and clarification had been for him a time of virtual stagnation.

As soon as Pierce's activities became known to Cornelia she wrote to Rome dissociating herself from them.³⁴ Asperti, chaplain at Derby, also sent a long letter on her behalf, arguing forcefully against any approval for such a rule.³⁵

³² Pierce to his brother, Jan. 1, 1847. Copy HCJ/R. Quoted by Buckle, D 63:162.

³³ Feb. 10, 1848, D 50:37.

³⁴ May 1848, D 50:65-66.

³⁵ May 1848, D 50:58-64.

Both Bishop Ullathorne, whose opinion was sought by the Roman authorities, and the consultant gave an unfavorable assessment of this rule,³⁶ but it is clear from the consultant's report that Pierce was being taken seriously by Propaganda. However, in the absence of sufficient material from the bishops and none from the sisters no vote could be taken, and the 1848 revolution in Rome prevented the matter being carried further.

This defective and artificial rule was filed away with other papers relating to the Society of the Holy Child Jesus. Through it Pierce not only caused Cornelia much suffering, but eventually came near to fulfilling his threat to destroy the Society.

The Constitutions of 1850, Approved by Wiseman

Meanwhile the constitutions were developing quite differently under the hand of Cornelia. Once established at Derby she planted them in a living situation where they might develop among those they were designed to serve. Since the nature of the first sketch presupposed supplementary material, she almost certainly brought with her from Rome copies of the Visitation and Sacred Heart constitutions and at least the SJ Regulae. She had no doubt also discussed with Father Grassi the use of such material in the next stage of development, but he would have left her the final selection of texts within the reality of the English apostolate.³⁷

³⁶ D 50:71-78, 82.

³⁷ "She & Miss Bowles wrote & arranged day after day the Rule as we had it up to 1874. . . From this manuscript we all took the copies we used to use--this had to be done by the Novices

With the advice of the English Jesuits³⁸ and Dr. Asperti Cornelia must have made considerable progress in this work by December 1847 when she pronounced her vows.

I am about to prepare myself before God to make the vows of Poverty Chastity & Obedience according to the spirit & the letter of our rule /she must still have been using the draft as the controlling element, for she added/ with the intention

before they made their vows" (M. Agatha Deacy to M.M.Theophila Laprimaundaye, July 13, 1903, D 58:329). It is likely that by the end of the first year at Derby Cornelia had directed translations to be made of the Jesuit summary, common rules and rules of modesty, and some minor offices; of the Sacred Heart rules for the mistresses of the poor schools and some minor offices; of some Visitation texts on local government and formation. Adaptations of these and material from the draft would have been included in the manuscript Rule.

38 "The very first thing our Mother did at Derby 1846 was to copy the Rules of the Society of Jesus" (D 58:329). "I know that Fr. Cobb helped our Mother to arrange the Rules" (M. Agatha Deacy, Sept. 16, 1903, D 58:333). "The Revd Father Lythgoe SJ has promised us a weekly Director from Spinkhill" (D 65:31). Father Cobb gave the Christmas retreat in 1846. "With regard to Our Ladies Office it was only compliance with the advice of Father Cobb . . . that /Cornelia/ did not institute the recital of it in Choir from the very first days of our establishment at Derby" (Buckle, D 63:74-75).

of carrying out the Rules of St Francis of Sales as I shall interpret them according to the double object of our Congregation of the Hy Ch Jesus.³⁹

At this point, for whatever reason,⁴⁰ Pierce accused Wiseman of changing the rules of the congregation and set out angrily for Rome to present his own revised version.⁴¹ Cornelia denied that there had been any alteration in the rules brought from Rome;⁴² she and Wiseman agreed that it was too soon to seek any approval beyond that already given by Fransoni. As Wiseman explained to Propaganda, May 27, 1848, only the superior had made her vows, the rule was still on trial, and though it seemed wise and well thought out time was

39 Extract from a spiritual notebook belonging to Cornelia. Orig HCJ/Rome. D 50:19.

40 Cornelia may have told Pierce that the sisters were using the Jesuit summary, etc., or that she had received advice from Wiseman on the future government of the Society. Wiseman had seen Grassi in Rome between July and September 1847, and it may have been on his return that he drew up guidelines for the general government changing the term of office from three years (as in the Visitation text of the draft) to six years.

41 "Respecting Mr Connelly, a few days ago I heard that, before he left England, he had turned strongly against me, on the ground, that I had changed the rules of the Convent at Derby, etc." (Wiseman to Lord Shrewsbury, April 24, 1848, D 50:57).

42 CC to Cardinal Fransoni, May 10, 1848, D 50:66.

needed to perfect it.⁴³ The incorporation into one text of the draft and the supplementary material had evidently not yet taken place.

However, at some time between June 1848 and June 1850, Cornelia must have decided that it was time to break out of the chrysalis which had sheltered the infant Society. Perhaps the need to dissociate the Society from the activities of Pierce hastened this decision, but experience would in any case have convinced Cornelia of its necessity. In practice the Ignatian content of the constitutions had proved to be of much greater value to the life of the early Society than the rule of St. Augustine. The structure of the revised text would suggest that Cornelia had deliberately replaced the latter by the summary of the Jesuit constitutions, constitutions which had been given, according to St. Francis de Sales in his preface to the Visitation rule book, "by the Blessed Ignatius of Loyola" to his Society in lieu of a rule.⁴⁴ On this foundation Cornelia drawing on her own contemplative and missionary insights, had now begun to build specifically SHCJ constitutions.

The text which emerged 1848-50 was the first landmark in the constitutional development of the Society. It contained numerous passages from the original draft, but instead of short quotations it relied on longer extracts from the main sources adapted and shaped by Cornelia. In its final form it opened with a statement on the "end of the Society" now wholly Ignatian in character.

⁴³ D 50:69-70.

⁴⁴ Rules of St. Augustine and Constitutions of the Sisters of the Visitation (London, 1930), p. 17.

⁴⁵ See Source #4, p. 26.

The apostolic experience of the sisters had been for the most part in the poor schools, and gradually the educational apostolate had taken the central place in Cornelia's thinking. Dropping the general reference to spiritual works of mercy, she stated clearly that "the Education of females of all classes" was now to be considered "the Primary and essential object of our vocation."⁴⁶ Side by side with her constitutions she had been developing an educational system; in time each would influence the other. Already in adapting the Sacred Heart rule for the mistresses of the poor schools Cornelia omitted any reference to surveillance, which she so much disliked as an educational principle.

By means of the slightly adapted Jesuit summary, whose original apostolic thrust she understood, Cornelia was able to form the members of the Society in a type of spirituality essential for them as uncloistered contemplatives-in-action. Personal perfection and works of mercy were both to be means of giving "greater glory," "greater service" to God. Fourteen times the summary repeats these phrases, linking them with Cornelia's favorite motifs of "growing in devotion," "advancing in the way of God." There too is the central Ignatian concern for a discreet love, a love full of action, caught up in a joyful union with Christ and his mission but also in the vigilant, generous self-oblation which it presupposes. "Unless the wheat grain dies . . ."--in this gospel passage one touches perhaps the core of Cornelia's charism: the tiny seed, hidden, growing, dying, bearing fruit. This awareness of the dynamism of life, of the stages of the Paschal Mystery through which all must pass, is again apparent

⁴⁶ See Source #4, pp. 26ff.

in the Visitation texts chosen by her for the formation sections of her Rule. The following are partially adapted:

Upon these holy vows of Chastity, Poverty and Obedience as upon a consecrated foundation, the sisters of this little Congregation must begin to build up their beautiful and holy life; entering into religion as into a school where they are to learn to practice little by little and day by day more and more of humility up to the glorious knowledge and heavenly profession of charity. And may our most dear Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for the sake of his most Blessed Virgin Mother and by her sweet humility, keep them always little children in simplicity and humility lest the pride which lost so many Angels in heaven be their ruin in holy religion.

The postulant should be instructed and led step by step in religious life and finally understand that the Society is a school of self-denial, mortification of the senses and resignation of all human will; a Calvary where with Christ crucified His chaste spouses are to be spiritually crucified in order to be eternally glorified with him.

(For the novice mistress see Source #4, pp. 51ff.)

The overall pattern of formation Cornelia wanted for SHCJ was the same as that of the Society of Jesus--postulantship, noviceship, simple perpetual vows, scholasticate, tertianship, solemn vows --but events prevented her from ever establishing this in practice. (See Source #4, p. 61.)

Cornelia's other major preoccupation was

government. The mission of the Society demanded a spiritual government carried out within a centralized framework, adapted to the needs of religious women. Effective government would be an instrument whereby the Society could seek the greater glory of God in the discernment and fulfillment of his will.

Cornelia shared the Ignatian vision of government as an expression of the authority of God, communicated through Christ, head of the Mystical Body and king of the universe, to his vicar on earth. This authority was delegated by the pope to others, among whom were religious superiors. They thus received their authority from Christ and their commands were to be received with faith and obedience. Cornelia, profoundly appreciating the position of the papacy at the heart of the Church's unity, wanted to shape her Society according to this model. The Jesuit idea of a general for life to be accepted in faith as the representative of Christ for the whole body of the Society would reflect something of the pattern of government which Christ had given to the Church. (See Source #4, p. 66.)

Wiseman insisted that in the 1850 Rule "the weaker points of women generally" dictate a six-year term. The 1854 text restored the Jesuit based election of the general for life. But the idea of a female in this position was unwelcome to bishops and clergy. In 1864 under pressure Cornelia included in her revision the alternative of a general elected for a limited period. In 1870 obedience finally required her to adopt this alternative and legislate for a six-year term of office for the superior general. Her correspondence in the years which followed this alteration shows how great a sacrifice this was for her. It also reveals that her efforts were concentrated on leading the sisters to an acceptance of Rome's wishes in this matter.

The following table gives a picture of the constitutions at the end of this first stage of development (1850). An important step forward had been taken, but the new material and its arrangement had obscured the original Ignatian pattern of the whole; this was never regained.

Part I (Sources)	Part II (Sources)
End of the Society	Novice Mistress Vis/SJ
Form of the Society	Bursar Vis.
Summary of the Constitutions	Local Government Assistant Councillors Superior Vis.
Common Rules	Noviceship Vis/SH/SJ
Local Chapter	Scholastics SJ
Religious Modesty	Schools SJ/SH
Mistress of the Poor Schools	General Government SJ
Minor Offices	Manner of Sustaining the Society SJ
House Sisters	SJ

In all these sections Cornelia made her own additions and omitted passages which did not convey her thought. Part II of this rule was never printed or placed in the hands of the sisters. At that date affairs of government were considered to be the business of superiors.

Some details were finalized after the arrival of Dr. Melia, who came to St Leonards at

Easter 1850.⁴⁷ A month later, on the basis of his examination, the constitutions were approved by Wiseman and the Society was canonically erected for his diocese.⁴⁸ This was to be the only official approval of the constitutions during Cornelia's lifetime, but this partial seal on her work was precious both to her and to the Society.

The SHCJ constitutions were formulated to pass on a spirituality at the heart of which was Cornelia's deep understanding of the paschal mystery drawn from the contemplation of the Holy Child Jesus. To be united with Christ in baptism was to walk his way; to live the evangelical counsels was to commit oneself to it more deeply. The seed must die, life must be lost, the hidden self must grow strong, each must 'put on' Christ, acquire 'his mind.' Only then would members of the Society bear much fruit, be truly alive, carry the power of the Spirit, become the light of the world, proclaim to all with the

47 Dr. Pius Melia (1800-1883), a distinguished Roman Jesuit, had in 1848 accepted Wiseman's invitation "to come to England to minister to the spiritual needs of Italian resident there." Although Melia "took charge of the mission at Hastings and St. Leonards-on-Sea from 1850 to 1853," he lived most of his life in London, in charitable and financial involvement with his Italian apostolate. In this he worked with his Pallottine brother Raphael, eventually leaving the Society of Jesus. (D 83:176)

48 Approbation given to the Institute of the Holy Child Jesus by the Vicar Apostolate of London in the year 1850, D 50:98.

whole of their lives the Good News of the Kingdom.

Cornelia never developed the Ignatian texts she used on chastity perhaps because she preferred to see the whole of religious life as a living out of the sponsal relationship. Her experience of married life was a source of rich insights concerning the vow of chastity, insights which attracted her to the writings of St. Gertrude and which she passed on to the Society as an important part of the charism she was called to share.

For Cornelia 'contemplating the Eternal Wisdom in the lowliness of his humanity,' humility was the deepest expression of chastity, the perfection of poverty and the fullness of obedience. Unable to share the self-emptying of the Incarnate Word, she could still share his mission of service and sacrifice with the humiliation and suffering this involved. Hence Cornelia's own paragraph on humility was central to the spirituality of the Society she founded. In such a 'school of suffering' Christ learned obedience; members of the Society would learn there a perfect identification in Christ with the will of God and would experience it as a joyful communion: "Tasting beside the crib of an Incarnate God the sweetness of suffering & contempt, may we rejoice to labour & to die with Him in the constant practice of Poverty, Chastity, & Obedience" (Source #4, p. 78).

Cornelia wrote of the sublime teaching to be found in the "humble and hidden life of the Holy Child Jesus." Elsewhere she spoke of the "hidden and suffering life to which you are called by the very name you bear." The Society "is spiritually founded on the virtues of poverty suffering and obedience" (Source #4, p. 51). To live the vow of chastity was to be hidden, humble, suffering, to walk 'step by step' in

the ways of a child (1850), in the 'school of self-denial,' 'spiritually crucified with him.' But for this very reason the sisters were to be full of joy, caught up in the experience of total union.

It is within the discipline of such a total love, within the context of the paschal mystery lived out in the members of the Society day by day, that so many ascetical statements in the constitutions must be placed.

(To be continued in SOURCE #11)

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